

## **MSFS 600-04 Ethics and Decision-Making**

**Spring 2017, Georgetown University**

**Thursday, 3:30-6:00 pm, Reynolds 131**

**Prof. David Hollenbach, S.J.**

Instructor's office: ICC 807

Office hours: Tuesday, 4:00-5:00; Wednesday, 4:00-5:00; or by appointment

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### **Aims of the course:**

The last several decades have seen a rise in attention to ethical questions in world politics. With the end of the cold war in 1989, the attacks of September 11, 2001, and the acceleration of globalization, issues with an ethical dimension have become more urgent on the national and international agendas. Wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria; the displacement of very large numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons, immigration into Europe and the United States; conflicts between religious and cultural communities; awareness of economic inequality; the importance of human rights in the United States and around the world – these are a few of the issues where ethics plays a key role alongside economic, political, cultural and geopolitical forces and where ethical issues of an urgent practical nature arise.

The course will explore the intersection of ethics and a number of issues arising today in international affairs. It is designed for students in the MSFS Global Politics and Security Concentration. It will explore some of the practical ethical issues that may arise for those working in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors. It will address the normative FRAMEWORKS that can guide responses to these practical matters. At the same time, it will reflect on how one will respond to PRACTICAL ISSUES that require choosing between values, weighing priorities, and responding to tradeoffs. The course examines the relationship among ethical and political values, actors, and issues. Specific challenges addressed will include: the protection of human rights, support for democracy, response to migration and refugees, cultural and religious conflict, war, peace, and norms for the use of force, global distributive justice. These topics will be illustrated by analysis of some specific cases in international affairs where ethical questions arise. Thus the class seeks to balance theory, case studies, and practical training.

We will address these broad questions through a close reading of texts, class discussions and debates, case studies, and the writing of several papers.

### **Learning Goals**

The MSFS is graduate program devoted to preparing students for *leadership* and *service* in the world. This course aims to heighten the student's abilities to undertake the critical normative thinking needed for this *leadership* and *service*. Distinct from *description*, *explanation*, and *prediction* as modes of analysis, *normative* thinking is prescriptive analysis about desirable outcomes and the ways professional decisions can advance or hinder these outcomes. The course will seek to the student's abilities to make judgments about normative, ethical issues in a way that will endure one's career in public service.

Through the work of the course you will:

- deepen your knowledge of critical global issues with an ethical dimension

- develop your understanding of several important normative approaches to practical issues that arise in world affairs and how these approaches are shaped by significant traditions of normative thought
- advance your ability to make good judgments about practical matters that have an ethical dimension
- improve your ability to make structured, persuasive arguments about such matters orally and in writing
- sharpen your oral communication skills
- enhance your ability to collaborate effectively in small teams

### Requirements

Broad and active participation is expected of all students. Come to class with the assigned readings completed. Participation includes contributions to class discussion and debate, and your presentations of your work. Unexcused absences will affect your grade adversely. More specific requirements are:

1. All students will prepare a **1-page overview of the readings assigned for each week, to be turned in the beginning of class.** These overviews (1 page, double-spaced maximum) should state the central thesis or theses of each reading assigned for that day. This overview should contain: the major thesis of each assigned article or the central theses of longer assigned reading. A thesis is a direct statement of a central affirmation being made by the author. It can be one or two sentences. The goal is to state the key point(s) being made by the author of the reading, not your response to or evaluation of what the author is saying. We will discuss our evaluations and critiques orally in class once we have clarified the author's actual position. **15% of grade.**
2. **Three framework and practical-issue presentations.** Working in teams of two or three assigned by the instructor, students will together make presentations on the **framework topics or practical questions** being treated in specific classes. Each student will present three times as part of a team. The team presentation should:
  - a. highlight the two or three key positions advanced *by the authors* of the assigned readings on the normative issue(s) being treated in the Framework topic or the Practice Issue assigned, and
  - b. suggest a key question or two for class discussion that can help us pursue both a deeper understanding of what the authors maintain and reach a critical assessment of the normative issue.

The team can use either a very brief handout (one-page maximum) or a short PowerPoint outlining the points that will be made in the presentation. The presentation will be for **20 minutes maximum.** Its goal is to stimulate well-informed class discussion. Presenters should presume that others in the class have done the readings assigned for the day. **Each presentation 10% of grade.**

3. **Two brief papers,** one on a Framework topic and one on a Practical Question on topics other than the ones on which the student has presented. These short papers are **due in class two weeks after the date on which the topic was considered.** The paper should

present an argument for what the student sees as the appropriate stance toward the issue being treated, and why it is appropriate. The argument should be informed by the assigned reading but can be critical of the positions taken by the authors if the student wishes to present such a critique. These papers should be 5-6 pages, double spaced.

**Each paper 15% of grade.**

4. **Final take-home exam.** Students will receive a take-home final on the last day of class. The exam will be due at noon on the date that the exam is scheduled. In the exam students should draw from class readings and discussions in a synthetic way. **Exams should be submitted electronically by 11 am on May 10. 25% of grade.**

No books are required for purchase. All of the readings will be either in books available in the Georgetown bookstore, on reserve in Lauinger Library, or made available on Canvas. Bring the readings to class in hard copy or in electronic form; we will reference them in our discussions.

### Grading Procedures

In this course we will use the standard MSFS grading scale, as follows.

- “A” for superior work and “A-” for excellent work (A = 4.0, A- = 3.67)
- “B+” for very good work, “B” for good work, and “B-” for fair work (B+ = 3.33, B = 3.00, B- = 2.67).
- “C” for passing work (C = 2.00).
- “F” (F = 0.00) for failing work.

### Grade Distribution for MSFS Courses

The MSFS has agreed upon a general standard for distribution of course grades to establish expectations and fairness, as follows:

- 20% A
- 30% A-
- 30% B+
- 20% B and below

Final grades will approximately reflect this distribution.

### Georgetown University Honor System

Students are expected to abide by the Georgetown University Honor System. Students should familiarize themselves with the material and information posted on the Honor Council's website: <https://honorcouncil.georgetown.edu/system/policies> , and with the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences’ policy on Academic Integrity:

<http://grad.georgetown.edu/academics/policies/graduate-student-bulletin-2014-15/sec-VI>

### Academic Resource Center

If you believe you have a disability that may affect your participation in this course, contact the Academic Resource Center (<https://academicsupport.georgetown.edu/> ) for further information. The Center is located in the Leavey Center, Suite 335. The Academic Resource Center is the campus office responsible for reviewing such inquiries.

**Cell Phones Policy.** The use cell of phones is not permitted in class. Laptops may be used only to consult the electronic readings assigned for class.

**SYLLABUS** (subject to revision by the instructor)

Books marked \* are available in the Georgetown bookstore and will be on reserve in Lauinger Library. These books are:

- \*Ben Brown, *Three Days in May*, Faber and Faber, 2011.
- \*Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism*, W. W. Norton & Company, 2007.
- \*Susan Moller Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women*, Princeton University Press 1999.
- \*Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, Basic Books, 2015
- \*John Kelsay, *Arguing the Just War in Islam*, Harvard University Press, 2009.
- \*Paul Farmer, *Pathologies of Power*, University of California Press, 2004
- \*Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Anchor, 2000.

Readings marked © on the syllabus are available in the online Canvas site for the course.

Some readings are available at the URL marked on the Syllabus. These URLs are linked on the electronic syllabus posted on the course Canvas site.

An electronic version of this syllabus, with links to some readings, is on the course Canvas site. Readings are required unless specified as recommended.

**1/12 Introductory: the challenge of ethics in international politics today****Framework: overview of the questions raised in the course**

Do **ethics** matter in international affairs? How? Why?

Recommended background readings:

Markkula Center for Applied Ethics, Santa Clara University, "A Framework for Ethical Decision Making" online at: <https://www.scu.edu/ethics/ethics-resources/ethical-decision-making/a-framework-for-ethical-decision-making/>

Markkula Center for Applied Ethics, "Making an Ethical Decision," online at: <https://www.scu.edu/media/ethics-center/resources/making.pdf>

**Practical issue: the case of the Rwanda genocide**

Film shown in class: "Frontline: The Triumph of Evil."

Case discussion: response of Tony Lake and of Susan Rice to US failure to intervene in Rwanda, and implications for decision on US/NATO intervention in Libya.

Recommended background readings:

©Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide" *The Atlantic Monthly*, September, 2001, Vol. 288, No. 2, pp. 84-108.

"Frontline: The Triumph of Evil," webpage related to the film viewed in class available at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil>

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, *What Is Genocide?* Online at:  
<http://www.ushmm.org/confront-genocide/defining-genocide>

"The U.S. and Genocide in Rwanda 1994," documentation on U.S. policy regarding the Rwanda genocide, available from the National Security Archive online at: <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB53/index.html>

©Alan J. Kuperman, "Rwanda in Retrospect," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2000, 94-118.

©Alison L. DesForges and Alan J. Kuperman, "Shame: Rationalizing Western Apathy on Rwanda," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2000, 141-144.

Samantha Power, "Never Again Again" *Atlantic Unbound*, March 14, 2002, online at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/unbound/interviews/int2002-03-14.htm>

©Guy Martin, "Readings of the Rwandan Genocide," *African Studies Review*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Dec., 2002), pp. 17-29.

Scott Straus, "Darfur and the Genocide Debate," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2005, 123-133. Online at:  
<http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bc.edu/stable/pdfplus/20034212.pdf?acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true>

CNBC, "Bill Clinton: We could have saved 300,000 Lives in Rwanda," 13 Mar 2013, online at: <http://www.cnn.com/id/100546207>

"Romeo Dallaire says genocide in Rwanda is being repeated in Syria" *The Canadian Press*, May 31, 2016, online at:  
<https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/05/31/romeo-dallaire-says-genocide-in-rwanda-is-being-repeated-in-syria.html>

US Secretary of State John Kerry, "Remarks on Daesh and Genocide," March 17, 2016, online at: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2016/03/254782.htm>

## 1/19 Realist perspectives and the role of norms

### Practical issue: what can we learn from two historic decisions?

©Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, ("The Melian Dialogue"), trans. Rex Warner, Penguin, 1954, pp. 400-408.

\*Ben Brown, *Three Days in May* (a play enacting the war-cabinet dispute between Churchill, Chamberlain, and Halifax on whether to fight Hitler in the face of the threat at Dunkirk).

### Framework:

©Stanley Hoffmann, *Duties Beyond Borders: On the Limits and Possibilities of Ethical International Politics*, chap. 1, pp. 1-43.

©Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52, No. 4 (Autumn, 1998), 887-917.

Recommended reading:

©Roger Ruston, *Human Rights and the Image of God*, pp. 65-77. 80-94, 99-113.

©Allen Buchanan and Robert O. Keohane, "The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions," *Ethics and International Affairs* 20, 4 (2006): 405-437.

*Ethics and International Affairs*, see this journal on line at:

<http://www.eiajournal.org/> (Note: entire recent issue available free online.)

©Leslie Gelb and Justine Rosenthal, "The Rise of Ethics in Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2003, pp. 2-7.

©Reinhold Niebuhr, "Why the Christian Church is Not Pacifist," in *The Essential Reinhold Niebuhr*, Robert McAfee Brown, ed., pp. 102-119.

**WED., 1/25, 12:15—1:45 PM. SPECIAL SESSION ON PRACTICAL CASE OF DUTIES TO REFUGEES: THE SYRIA CASE. VISITING SPEAKER: PROF. ELIZABETH FERRIS.**

Prof. Ferris consulted with the UN Secretary General on the drafting of his report to the World Summit on Refugees and Migrants, "In safety and dignity: Addressing Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants - Report of the Secretary-General."

Readings for this session:

Kemal Kirişci and Elizabeth Ferris, "Not Likely to Go Home: Syrian Refugees and the Challenges to Turkey— and the International Community," Brookings Institution Turkey Project Policy Paper, no. 7, September, 2015, online: <https://www.brookings.edu/research/not-likely-to-go-home-syrian-refugees-and-the-challenges-to-turkey-and-the-international-community/>

Daniel Byman and Sloane Speakman, "The Syrian Refugee Crisis: Bad and Worse Options," *Washington Quarterly*, 39:2 (2016): 45–60, online: [https://twq.elliott.gwu.edu/sites/twq.elliott.gwu.edu/files/downloads/TWQ\\_Summer2016\\_Byman-Speakman.pdf](https://twq.elliott.gwu.edu/sites/twq.elliott.gwu.edu/files/downloads/TWQ_Summer2016_Byman-Speakman.pdf)

Recommended:

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *Global Trends 2015*, esp. pp. 1-35. Online at: <http://www.unhcr.org/global-trends-2015.html> See Video: UNHCR, *Global Trends 2015*. <http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/news/videos/2016/6/5763b73c4/global-trends-2015-video.html>

UN General Assembly Global Summit on Addressing Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants, New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, online at: [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/71/L.1](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/71/L.1)

UN General Assembly Global Summit on Addressing Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants Draft Outcome Document, online: <http://www.un.org/pga/70/wp-content/uploads/sites/10/2015/08/HLM-on-addressing-large-movements-of-refugees-and-migrants-Draft-Declaration-5-August-2016.pdf>

Report of the Secretary-General, "In safety and dignity: addressing large movements of refugees and migrants," 21 April 2016. Online: [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/59](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/59)

Documents on President Obama's Leaders' Summit on Refugees, Sept. 20, 2016, online: <http://www.state.gov/p/io/c71574.htm>

Pope Francis, Homily at Lampedusa, July 8, 2013, online at:  
[http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/homilies/2013/documents/papa-francesco\\_20130708\\_omelia-lampedusa.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/homilies/2013/documents/papa-francesco_20130708_omelia-lampedusa.html)

Elizabeth Ferris, *The Politics of Protection: The Limits of Humanitarian Action*

©Elizabeth Ferris, “Faith and Humanitarianism: It’s Complicated,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24, no. 3 (2011): 606-625.

David Miliband, “From sector to system: reform and renewal in humanitarian aid,” speech at Georgetown University, April 27, 2016, online:

<https://www.rescue.org/press-release/sector-system-reform-and-renewal-humanitarian-aid>

Alexander Betts, “Our refugee system is failing. Here's how we can fix it,” TED talk, Feb., 2106, online:

[http://www.ted.com/talks/alexander\\_betts\\_our\\_refugee\\_system\\_is\\_failing\\_here\\_s\\_how\\_we\\_can\\_fix\\_it](http://www.ted.com/talks/alexander_betts_our_refugee_system_is_failing_here_s_how_we_can_fix_it)

Alexander Betts and Paul Collier, “Help Refugees Help Themselves: Let Displaced Syrians Join the Labor Market,” *Foreign Affairs* 94.6 (Nov/Dec 2015): 84-92.

## **1/26 Response to refugees, continued (this class will go from 3:30 to 4:45)**

### **Framework: community membership or universal rights?**

©Michael Walzer, “The Distribution of Membership,” in Thomas Pogge and Darrel Moellendorf, eds., *Global Justice: Seminal Essays*, pp. 145-178.

©Hugo Slim, “Not Philanthropy but Rights: Rights-Based Humanitarianism and the Proper Politicization of Humanitarian Philosophy in War,” 1-30, online at:

[http://www.odi.org.uk/hpg/confpapers/slim\\_new.pdf](http://www.odi.org.uk/hpg/confpapers/slim_new.pdf)

Recommended:

©John Rawls, “The Law of Peoples,” excerpts in Pogge and Moellendorf, eds., *Global Justice*, pp. 421-460.

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

## **2/2 Cosmopolitanism and the populist challenge**

### **Framework: Global community and cultural difference**

\*Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*, Introduction and chaps. 1-7, xi-113.

### **Practical issue: responding to the challenge of nationalist populism today.**

Jonathan Haidt, “When and Why Nationalism Beats Globalism,” *American Interest* 12.1 (Sep/Oct 2016): 1-8. Online at: <http://www.the-americaninterest.com/2016/07/10/when-and-why-nationalism-beats-globalism/>

©David Brooks, “The View from Trump Tower,” *New York Times*, Nov. 11, 2016.

©Fareed Zakaria, “Populism on the March,” *Foreign Affairs* 95.6 (Nov/Dec 2016): 9-15,

Recommended:



*Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 2016, entire issue.

Ronald F. Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash," Faculty Working Paper, Harvard Kennedy School, Aug. 2016. Online:

<https://research.hks.harvard.edu/publications/workingpapers/citation.aspx?PubId=11325&type=WPN>

Jan-Werner Müller, *What Is Populism?* 2016.

©Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Cosmopolitan Patriots," and Nussbaum, "Reply," in Nussbaum, *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*.

Immanuel Kant, "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Intent" in *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays*, Ted Humphrey, ed., pp. 29-40.

Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace," in *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays*, pp. 107-143. Also available online at: <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm>

Pope John Paul II, "Address to the Fiftieth General Assembly of the United Nations Organization," October 5, 1995. Available online at: [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/john\\_paul\\_ii/speeches/1995/october/documents/hf\\_jpii\\_spe\\_05101995\\_address-to-uno\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1995/october/documents/hf_jpii_spe_05101995_address-to-uno_en.html)

## **2/9 Human rights and trans-border accountability**

### **Framework: the meaning and enforcement of human rights**

U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. online at: <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>

©Mary Ann Glendon, "Knowing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," *Notre Dame Law Review* 73, no. 5 (1998), pp. 1153-1176.

©Kathryn Sikkink, *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions Are Changing World Politics*, Introduction, 1-28.

©David Luban, "After the Honeymoon: Reflections on the Current State of International Criminal Justice," *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 11 (2013): 505-515

### **Practical issue: the use of torture to prevent terror**

John Yoo, "Commentary: Behind the Torture Memos," *UC Berkley News*, Jan. 5, 2005, online: [http://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2005/01/05\\_johnyoo.shtml](http://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2005/01/05_johnyoo.shtml)

David Luban, "Liberalism, Torture, and the Ticking Bomb," 91 *Virginia Law Review* (October 2005): 1425-1461. Online at: <http://www.virginialawreview.org/content/pdfs/91/1425.pdf>

©Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, "Committee Study of the Central Intelligence Agency's Detention and Interrogation Program," Foreword by Sen. Diane Feinstein, Findings and Conclusions, pp. 1-29.



©Douglas A. Johnson, Alberto Mora, and Averell Schmidt, "The Strategic Costs of Torture: How "Enhanced Interrogation" Hurt America," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2016: 121-132.

#### Recommended

Geneva Convention IV, 1949, article 3. Online: <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/Article.xsp?action=openDocument&documentId=A4E145A2A7A68875C12563CD0051B9AE>

UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, esp. arts 1-5. Online at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CAT.aspx>

©Carl Levin and Jay Rockefeller, "The Torture Report Must Be Saved," *New York Times*, Dec. 9, 2016.

David Luban, *Torture, Power, and Law* (2014).

Philippe Sands, "The Green Light," *Vanity Fair*, May, 2008 online at: <http://www.vanityfair.com/news/2008/05/guantanamo200805>

Philippe Sands, *Torture Team: Rumsfeld's Memo and the Betrayal of American Values*, 2008.

Jane Mayer, *The Dark Side: The Inside Story of How the War on Terror Turned into a War on American Ideals*, 2007.

Jane Mayer, "The Bush Six," *New Yorker*, April 13, 2009, online at: <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2009/04/13/the-bush-six>

Jeremy Waldron, "What Can Christian Teaching Add to the Debate about Torture?" *Theology Today* 63 No. 23 (October 2006): 330-343.

Jean Porter, "Torture and the Christian Conscience: A Response to Jeremy Waldron," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 61, 3 (2008): 340-358.

*Torture is a Moral Issue: A Catholic Study Guide*, available online at: <http://www.usccb.org/sdwp/stoptorture>

National Security Archive, The Interrogation Documents: Debating U.S. Policy and Methods. Documents originating from the White House, the Pentagon and the Justice Department concerning the Administration's interrogation policies. Online at: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB127>

Lionel Beehner, "Torture, the United States, and Laws of War," Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder, 2005. Online at <http://www.cfr.org/publication/9209>

Kenneth Roth, "After Guantánamo: The Case Against Preventive Detention," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2008. Online at: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080501facomment87302/kenneth-roth/after-guant-namo.html?mode=print>

©Daniel Kanstroom, "On Waterboarding: Legal Interpretation and the Continuing Struggle for Human Rights," *Boston College Third World Law Journal* 28, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 269-288.

## **2/16 SPECIAL CLASS—LECTURE BY UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ZEID RA'AD AL HUSSEIN**

Georgetown's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy will be awarding the "Jit" Trainor Award for Excellence in the Conduct of Diplomacy to UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein. He will receive the award on February 16th at 4:30 pm at the United States Institute for Peace (2301 Constitution Avenue, NW, Washington, DC). USIP will be the co-host of the talk he will give. ISD is arranging a bus for students to go from campus to the event. The bus will leave Main Gate (37<sup>th</sup> and O) at 3:30 and leave USIP at 6 pm. Since this timing fits with our class, all participants in the class will be expected to attend.

## **2/23 Gender Equality and Women's rights**

### **Framework: Equality of women in diverse cultures**

\*Susan Moller Okin et. al, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* pp. 9-34; 35-46; 59-64; 79-99; 105-131.

### **Practical issue: responding to female genital mutilation:**

World Health Organization, Fact sheet N°241, May 2008, Female genital mutilation, online at: <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs241/en>

©Fuambai Ahmadu, "Rites and Wrongs: An Insider/Outsider Reflects on Power and Excision," in Bettina Shell-Duncan and Ylva Hernlund, eds., *Female "Circumcision" in Africa: Culture, Controversy and Change* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2000).

©Martha C. Nussbaum, "Judging Other Cultures: The Case of Genital Mutilation," in *Sex and Social Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Recommended:

Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya*, chap. 6, "The Initiation of Boys and Girls," available online at: <http://www.fgmnetwork.org/kenyatta/index.html>

Stephen A. James, "Reconciling International Human Rights and Cultural Relativism: The Case of Female Circumcision," *Bioethics* 8, no. 1 (1994), pp. 1-26.

**FEB. 27: SPECIAL SESSION. PROF. JEREMY WALDRON, WILL SPEAK ON CAMPUS ON A TOPIC RELATED TO HIS WORK ON HUMAN DIGNITY IN THE CONTEXT OF RESPONSES TO VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND TERROR. STUDENTS IN THIS CLASS ARE URGED TO ATTEND.**

## **3/2 Ethics of the use of force--Christian and Western Secular perspectives**

### **Framework: Debates and Stances in the Christian and Western secular traditions**

©Walter Wink, "Beyond Just War and Pacifism: Jesus' Nonviolent Way," *Review and Expositor* 89 (1992): 197-214.

National Conference of Catholic Bishops, "The Harvest of Justice is Sown in Peace," November 17, 1993, available online at: <http://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/what-we-believe/catholic-social-teaching/the-harvest-of-justice-is-sown-in-peace.cfm>

\*Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*, which has become a modern class, esp. chaps. 1-5, pp. 3-85.

**Practical issue: Does nonviolent resistance to injustice work?**

©Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth, “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict,” *International Security* 33, 1 (2008): 7-44.

\*Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, Afterword, “Nonviolence and the Theory of War,” pp. 329-335.

Recommended:

Video: Michael Walzer on Just War Theory, online at:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LcBovmGZSPU>

©Augustine, selections on war in Arthur Holmes, ed., *War and Christian Ethics*, pp. 61-83.

©Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, On war, II-II, q. 40, arts. 1-4, On killing, II-II, q. 64, arts. 6 and 7 (“Whether it is ever lawful to kill the innocent?” and “Whether it is lawful to kill a man in self-defense?”).

Adam Roberts, Timothy Garton Ash, eds., *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*.

Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (Columbia Studies in Terrorism and Irregular Warfare).

Video: Erica Chenoweth, “The success of nonviolent civil resistance,”

TEDxBoulder, online at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YJSehRIU34w>

Video: “Loving Enemies in Uganda,” video by Daniel Philpott on Archbishop Odama of Gulu and his response to the Lord’s Resistance Army, online at

<https://michaeldriessen.com/tag/bishop-odama/>

**3/9 No class—Spring Break****3/16 Islamic approaches to ethics, politics, and war****Framework: the pluralism and development of Muslim ethics of warfare**

\*John Kelsay *Arguing the Just War in Islam*, excerpts.

**Practical issue: Should Islam be seen as religion of war?**

Barak Obama, “Remarks by the President at Cairo University,” June 4, 2009. Online: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-cairo-university-6-04-09>

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