

University of Pittsburgh
Graduate School of Public and International Affairs
PIA 2328: Ethics and National Security
Fall 2017
Wednesday, 9:00 AM - 12:00 PM, 3430 Posvar Hall

Professor Luke N. Condra

Office Hours
3810 Posvar Hall
Thursday, 10 AM – 12 PM, and by appointment
Signup: <http://www.wejoinin.com/sheets/otstx>
Tel: 412.648.8088
Email: lcondra@pitt.edu

Course Description

“Politics will, to the end of history, be an arena where conscience and power meet, where the ethical and coercive factors of human life will interpenetrate and work out their tentative and uneasy compromises.” –Reinhold Niebuhr¹

This course examines the substance and process of national security policy making in the United States since the end of World War II, and the ethical implications of policy. It has two primary pedagogical goals.

The first is for students to increase their substantive knowledge of national security policy and to understand how the U.S. government formulates and implements policy. To do this, students will read theoretical and empirical literature, as well as in-depth case studies of policy formation and implementation. We will discuss and critique these readings together in class.

The second goal is for students to acquire an appreciation for the tension that exists between different ideological priorities that inform national security policy, and to practice advocating for policy on normative grounds. Policy preferences are informed by different moral and ethical principles, which means that policy usually involves some messy amalgamation of competing visions of what the world ought to be. Students will engage in the task of policy formulation and recommendation through writing assignments and exercises designed to mimic this process at the highest levels of government.

¹ Quoted in Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 383.

Course Objectives

By the end of the course, students should be able to:

1. Speak knowledgeably about the main topics and questions that concern those who work in the arena of national security and foreign policy.
2. Understand how foreign policy is formulated and executed in the U.S. government, and be able to cogently critique the different styles and models of decision-making adopted under presidential administrations in the modern era.
3. Evaluate policy arguments according to logical, evidentiary, and ethical standards, and be able to craft clear and persuasive policy recommendations that are sensitive to competing priorities.

Course Assignments and Percentage of Final Grade

1. Participation: Quality of participation in class discussion and exercises, and quality of written outlines. (10%)
2. Reading Outlines:
Each week students will be directed to specific readings and one student will be responsible for providing a 2-page outline of what they considered the most relevant points of the readings and, if relevant, how the student thinks they could apply to a current national security issue. These outlines are due on Tuesdays at 9:00 AM (on CourseWeb) to give everyone 24 hours to read them carefully. We will use the outlines in the context of class discussion.
3. Policy Memos: Five policy memos. Memo topics will be assigned at the end of class and memos are due by 9:00 AM the following Wednesday. Assignment dates are not set. We will discuss memo structure in class. Students should post their finished essays to CourseWeb (LastName-Memo-#) (12-pt Times New Roman font, double-spaced, 1-inch standard margins, paginated, 4 pages maximum, name and date at the top of the first page). (10% each; 50% total)
4. Research Paper: The paper should analyze an issue or problem in the area of national security policy, drawing on relevant theoretical and empirical scholarly work, and advocate a policy solution to the problem. (12-pt Times New Roman font, double-spaced, 1-inch standard margins, 20-25 page range, paginated). (40%)

You will present an overview of your paper idea for group discussion and feedback in class in Week 5. In a formal presentation, you will explain the issue or problem that you are writing about, motivate why it is important, explain how you will analyze the issue (methodology), explain your (preliminary) answer or solution, and defend your conclusions. The class will provide critical feedback after your presentation. If you wish, you may also come see me first to discuss your ideas. Paper: due December 14.

Readings

Required readings are listed for each week. You should come to class having read the material listed under that week. Book sections and academic articles are available as PDF documents on the class' CourseWeb page.

There is one required book which you should purchase:

- Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 3rd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

In addition to the listed readings for each class session, you should consistently read a national newspaper's coverage of foreign policy, including relevant op-eds.

Course Structure

Each week we will discuss the readings together. You should come having done all of the readings (and be up to date on the news of the day) and having a firm grasp of the relevant issues presented in the material. You should be prepared to contribute significantly to our group discussion on those topics.

In addition, note that in some weeks, we will focus some of our attention on applying the theoretical and empirical material to a particular historical case that helps illustrate issues involved in policy formation and implementation. In those weeks, please read up on that case if you are unfamiliar with it; you will gain much more from the readings and discussion if you learn something about the case beforehand.

Finally, note that in some weeks, a set of primary documents is also listed. In these weeks you will take on the roles of policy makers formulating and implementing policy *in that historical case*, using information that was available to policymakers at the time. We will do this exercise in the first instance together as a group, but in later weeks, students will do the exercise as a group, with the aim of briefing and advising the president at the end of their deliberations.

Grading Policy

GSPIA's grading policy is based on the premise that work at the graduate level is fundamentally different from that at undergraduate institutions. Expectations regarding student performance will be higher.

- "A" signifies an exceptional level of achievement. The student displays a superb command of the subject matter and can creatively apply it at many different levels.
- "B" indicates a good but not outstanding level of achievement. B students demonstrate a decent grasp of the material and the ability to apply at several but not all levels.
- Grades in the "C" range are an indication of below satisfactory performance at the graduate level, with marks of "C-" and below not counted toward a student's degree requirements. Students receiving grades of "C+" or lower on early assignments are urged

to meet with the instructor at the earliest opportunity to identify potential problems and develop strategies for improvement.

Please note that I will not accept work that is submitted past the deadline, barring a legitimate emergency. If your assignment is submitted late, it will not receive any credit. Please plan accordingly!

Cheating and Plagiarism

Plagiarism is “the unauthorized use or close imitation of the language and thoughts of another author and the representation of them as one's own original work.” It is a serious violation of academic ethics. Please note that I adhere strictly to the school policy on plagiarism. Any assignment found to have plagiarized material will automatically receive a failing grade, and can result in a failing grade for the class, so take the time to familiarize yourself with the rules of citation and with GSPIA’s policy (found in Appendix A of the online GSPIA Handbook of Academic Policies and Procedures). If you have any questions on how to cite sources correctly, please ask me directly. You are expected to complete all written assignments individually.

Special Needs

If you have a disability for which you may be requesting an accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both me and Disability Resources and Services, 140 William Pitt Union, (412) 648-7890/ (412) 383-7355 (TTY), **as early as possible in the semester**. DRS will verify your disability and determine reasonable accommodations for this course.

Course Schedule

Week 1 (August 30): Course Introduction: What is America's role in the world?

- Robert Kagan, "Superpowers Don't Get to Retire: What Our Tired Country Still Owes the World," *New Republic* (May 26, 2014). Available from: <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/117859/allure-normalcy-what-america-still-owes-world>.
- Barry Posen. "Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, (Jan/Feb. 2013). Available from: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2013-01-01/pull-back>.
- Stephen M. Walt, "The Collapse of the Liberal World Order," *Foreign Policy* (June 26, 2016). Available from: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/26/the-collapse-of-the-liberal-world-order-european-union-brexit-donald-trump/>.
- Hal Brands, "How to Diminish a Superpower: Trump's Foreign Policy after Six Months," *War on the Rocks* (August 1, 2017). Available from: <https://warontherocks.com/2017/08/how-to-diminish-a-superpower-trumps-foreign-policy-after-six-months/>.
- Pew Research Center, "Public Uncertain, Divided over America's Place in the World," (May 5, 2016). Available from: <http://www.people-press.org/2016/05/05/public-uncertain-divided-over-americas-place-in-the-world/>.
- Donald J. Trump, "Remarks on the Strategy in Afghanistan and South Asia," August 21, 2017. Available from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/08/21/remarks-president-trump-strategy-afghanistan-and-south-asia>.

Week 2 (September 6): Ethics in Foreign Policy

"Moral politics is an art of execution: principles unaccompanied by practical means or by an awareness of possible tradeoffs remind one of Peguy's famous comment about Kant—his hands were pure, but he had no hands." —Stanley Hoffman²

- Robert W. McElroy, *Morality and American Foreign Policy: The Role of Ethics in International Affairs* (Princeton University Press, 1992), chapter 1, "The Debate on Morality and International Relations."
- Stanley Hoffman, *Duties beyond Borders: On the Limits and Possibilities of Ethical International Relations* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1981), 10-43.
- Henry Kissinger, "Morality and Power," in Ernest W. LeFever, *Morality and Foreign Policy: A Symposium on President Carter's Stance?* (Washington, DC: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1977), 59-66.
- E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis: 1919-1939* (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd, 1962), 63-94, 146-169.

Background:

- Thucydides, "Melian Dialogue" in *The Peloponnesian War*. Available from: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/melian.htm>.
- Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation," in H. Gerth and C.W. Mills, eds., *From Max Weber* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 77-75, 117-128.
- The West Wing*, S3 E8 "The Women of Qumar"

² Stanley Hoffman, *Duties beyond Borders: On the Limits and Possibilities of Ethical International Relations* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1981), 143-44.

Week 3 (September 13): Decision-Making and Policy Formation

“Whatever one’s view about the degree to which choices in international affairs are ‘objectively’ determined, the decisions are made by individuals who will be above all conscious of the seeming multiplicity of options.” –Henry Kissinger³

- David J. Rothkopf, *National Insecurity: American Leadership in an Age of Fear* (New York: Public Affairs, 2014), 163-182. Available as an ebook from University of Pittsburgh library.
- Stephen D. Krasner, “The Garbage Can Framework for Locating Policy Planning,” in Daniel W. Drezner, ed., *Avoiding Trivia* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2009), 159-172. Available as an ebook from University of Pittsburgh library.
- Bruce W. Jentleson, “An Integrative Executive Branch Strategy for Policy Planning,” in Daniel W. Drezner, ed., *Avoiding Trivia* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2009), 69-83. Available as an ebook from University of Pittsburgh library.
- Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 1-18.
- Benjamin H. Friedman, Harvey M. Sapolsky, and Christopher Preble, “Learning the Right Lessons from Iraq,” in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., *The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics*, 7th ed., (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2009), 294-308.
- Peter Baker and Eric Schmitt, “Several Afghan Strategies, None a Clear Choice,” *The New York Times* (September 30, 2009). Available from: <http://nyti.ms/2aOmW00>.
- Peter Baker, “How Obama Came to Plan for ‘Surge’ in Afghanistan,” *The New York Times* (December 5, 2009). Available from: <http://nyti.ms/1KI4P51>.

Background:

- “So, Does the National Security Strategy Matter?” *War on the Rocks* podcast. Available from: <https://warontherocks.com/2017/08/so-does-the-national-security-strategy-matter/>.
- Peter W. Rodman, *Presidential Command* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 3-35, 117-139, 179-202.
- Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen, Jr., *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Congressional Research Service, “The National Security Council: An Organizational Assessment,” December 28, 2011. Available from: <http://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL30840.pdf>.

Week 4 (September 20): Use of Force and Just War Theory

“The aggressor is always peace-loving; he would prefer to take over our country unopposed.”
–Carl von Clausewitz⁴

Come to class with an application of just war theory to discuss

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 3rd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2000), chapters 1-3, 8-10, 14.

³ Quoted in Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 47.

⁴ Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 370.

Seth Lazar, "Just War Theory: Revisionists Versus Traditionalists," *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (2017): 37-54.

Noah Berlatsky, "What Makes America so Prone to Intervention?" *The Atlantic* (September 5, 2013).

Interview with Stanley Hauerwas. Available from:

<https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2013/09/what-makes-america-so-prone-to-intervention/279393/>.

C. S. Lewis, "Why I Am Not a Pacifist," in C. S. Lewis, *The Weight of Glory* (New York: HarperOne, 1949), 64-90. Available from:

[http://cnqzu.com/library/Philosophy/neoreaction/extra%20authors/Lewis,%20C.%20S/C.S.Lewis-The Weight of Glory -HarperOne\(2001\).pdf](http://cnqzu.com/library/Philosophy/neoreaction/extra%20authors/Lewis,%20C.%20S/C.S.Lewis-The%20Weight%20of%20Glory-HarperOne(2001).pdf).

Gary Gutting and Cecile Fabre, "In the Age of ISIS, Can We Still Have 'Just Wars'?" *New York Times* (August 13, 2015). Available from: <http://nyti.ms/1P8LGNn>.

Background:

The West Wing, S1 E3 "A Proportional Response"

Week 5 (September 27): Research paper proposal presentations

No reading assigned.

Class time will be devoted to student presentations of research paper proposals and peer critiques. We will discuss details in class beforehand.

Week 6 (October 4): Preemptive and Preventive War

"The 'Holy War' psychology of the Arab world is matched by the apocalyptic psychology within Israel...Each side appears to look with relative equanimity upon the prospect of major hostilities and each side apparently is confident of success...[S]omeone is making a major miscalculation."
—Dean Rusk⁵

Case: *The Six-Day War* (1967)

Primary documents: declassified U.S. officials' memoranda and cables, June 5-10, 1967.

Group in-class policy-making exercise.

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 3rd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2000), chapter 5.

Jack Levy, "Preventive War and Democratic Politics," *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (2008): 1-24.

Dominic Tierney, "'Pearl Harbor in Reverse': Moral Analogies in the Cuban Missile Crisis," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 9, no. 3 (Summer 2007), 49-77.

Zack Beauchamp, "Lindsey Graham: Trump 'told me' he will bomb North Korea if it keeps testing missiles," *Vox.com* (August 1, 2017). Available from:

<https://www.vox.com/world/2017/8/1/16075198/trump-lindsey-graham-north-korea-war>.

Vipin Narang and Ankit Panda, "War of the Words: North Korea, Trump, and Strategic Stability," *War on the Rocks* (August 10, 2017). Available from:

<https://warontherocks.com/2017/08/war-of-the-words-north-korea-trump-and-strategic-stability/>.

⁵ Quoted in Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2002), 166.

Background:

Tom Segev, *1967: Israel, the War, and the Year that Transformed the Middle East* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007), 323-418.

The West Wing, S5 E13 “The Warfare of Genghis Khan”

Week 7 (October 11): Aerial Bombing

“Even this very limited bombing of the North could come to an early end--if our restraint is matched by restraint in Hanoi. But I cannot in good conscience stop all bombing so long as to do so would immediately and directly endanger the lives of our men and our allies. Whether a complete bombing halt becomes possible in the future will be determined by events.”

—President Lyndon B. Johnson⁶

Case: Vietnam War (1965)

Primary documents: declassified U.S. officials’ memoranda and cables, April-July 1965.

Group in-class policy-making exercise.

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 3rd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2000), chapter 16.

Alexander B. Downes, “Military Culture and Civilian Victimization: The Allied Strategic Bombing of Germany in World War II,” in Daniel Rothbart, Karina V. Korostelina and Mohammed Cherkaoui, eds., *Civilians and Modern War: Armed Conflict and the Ideology of Violence* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 72-95.

Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 115-155.

Charles Dunlap, “Getting the Law Right on Carpet Bombing and Civilian Casualties,” *War on the Rocks* (March 23, 2016). Available from: <https://warontherocks.com/2016/03/getting-the-law-right-on-carpet-bombing-and-civilian-casualties/>.

Background:

The West Wing, S3 E5 “War Crimes”

Week 8 (October 18): Nuclear Weapons and Proliferation

“A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. The only value in our two nations possessing nuclear weapons is to make sure they will never be used. But then would it not be better to do away with them entirely?” —President Ronald Reagan, 1984 State of the Union

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 3rd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2000), chapter 17.

Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), chapter 8, “Threat that Leaves Something to Chance,” 187-203.

National Conference of Catholic Bishops, “The Challenge of Peace: God’s Promise and Our Response, a pastoral letter on war and peace,” (Washington, DC: Office of Publication Services of the U.S. Catholic Conference, May 3, 1983). Available from:

<http://www.nuclearfiles.org/menu/key-issues/ethics/issues/religious/us-catholic-bishops-pastoral-letter.htm>.

⁶ Lyndon B. Johnson, “Address to the Nation,” May 31, 1968. Text available from: <http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/johnson/archives.hom/speeches.hom/680331.asp>.

Albert Wohlstetter, "Bishops, Statesmen, and Other Strategists on the Bombing of Innocents," *Commentary*, Vol. 75, No. 6 (June 1983). Available from: <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/bishops-statesmen-and-other-strategists-on-the-bombing-of-innocents/>.

Scott D. Sagan and Benjamin A. Valentino, "Revisiting Hiroshima in Iran: What Americans Really Think about Using Nuclear Weapons and Killing Noncombatants," *International Security* 42, i. 1 (2017): 41-79.

Al Mauroni and David Jonas, "All Cards on the Table: First-Use of Nuclear Weapons," *War on the Rocks* (July 25, 2016). Available from: <http://warontherocks.com/2016/07/all-cards-on-the-table-first-use-of-nuclear-weapons/>.

Charles Dunlap, "Is the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Immoral?" *War on the Rocks* (August 2, 2017). Available from: <https://warontherocks.com/2017/08/is-the-treaty-banning-nuclear-weapons-immoral/>.

Background:

The West Wing, S3 E18 "Enemies Foreign and Domestic"

Week 9 (October 25): Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency

"So I want the American people to understand that we have a clear and focused goal: to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either country in the future. That's the goal that must be achieved. That is a cause that could not be more just. And to the terrorists who oppose us, my message is the same: We will defeat you."
—President Barack Obama⁷

Max Boot, "Lessons from a Decade of War: Counterinsurgency Is Here to Stay," *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 6 (November/December 2014), 5-14.

Daniel Byman, "ISIS Goes Global: Fight the Islamic State by Targeting Its Affiliates," *Foreign Affairs* 95, i. 2 (March/April 2016): 76-85.

Bryan C. Price, "Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism," *International Security* 36, no. 4 (Spring 2012): 9-46.

Matt Peterson, "Is Obama's Drone War Moral?" *The Atlantic* (August 18, 2016). Available from: <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/08/obama-drone-morality/496433/>.

Joseph H. Felter and Jacob N. Shapiro, "Limiting Civilian Casualties as Part of a Winning Strategy: The Case of Courageous Restraint," *Daedalus* 146 (2017): 44-58.

Background:

The West Wing, S3 E21 "Posse Comitatus"

Week 10 (November 1): Intelligence and Espionage

"They [intelligence agencies] are seeking additional insight beyond what's available through open sources. And if that weren't the case, then there would be no use for an intelligence service. And I guarantee you that in European capitals, there are people who are interested in, if not

⁷ Barack Obama, "Remarks by the President on a New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan," March 27, 2009. Text available from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-a-new-strategy-afghanistan-and-pakistan>.

what I had for breakfast, at least what my talking points might be should I end up meeting with their leaders. That's how intelligence services operate.” –Barack Obama⁸

- Ross W. Bellaby, *The Ethics of Intelligence: A New Framework* (Taylor and Francis, 2014), Introduction and chapters 1, 4, and 5. Available as an ebook from the Pitt library.
- E. Drexel Godfrey, Jr., “Ethics and Intelligence,” *Foreign Affairs* 56, i. 3 (April 1978): 624-642.
- Mark Bowden, “The Dark Art of Interrogation,” *The Atlantic* (October 1, 2003). Available from: <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2003/10/the-dark-art-of-interrogation/302791/>.
- Christopher Michael Sullivan, “The (in)effectiveness of torture for combating insurgency,” *Journal of Peace Research* (2014).
- Loran F. Nordgren, Mary-Hunter Morris McDonnell, and George Loewenstein, “What Constitutes Torture? Psychological Impediments to an Objective Evaluation of Enhanced Interrogation Tactics,” *Psychological Science* 22, no. 5 (2011): 689-694.
- Amy B. Zegart, “The Domestic Politics of Irrational Intelligence Oversight,” *Political Science Quarterly* 126 (Spring 2011): 1–27.
- Mark Stout, “The Leaks that Hurt Us All,” *War on the Rocks* (August 4, 2017). Available from: <https://warontherocks.com/2017/08/the-leaks-that-hurt-us-all/>.

Background:

United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, “Committee Study on the Central Intelligence Agency’s Detention and Interrogation Program,” (Washington, DC: December 2014).

The West Wing, S2 E16 “Somebody’s Going to Emergency, Somebody’s Going to Jail”

Week 11 (November 8): Borders and Immigration

“We should not view national boundaries as having fundamental moral significance. Since boundaries are not coextensive with the scope of social cooperation, they do not mark the limits of social obligation.” –Charles R. Beitz⁹

- Luis Fraga and Gary M. Segura, “Culture Clash? Contesting Notions of American Identity and the Effects of Latin American Immigration,” *Perspectives on Politics* 4, 2 (June 2006): 279-87.
- Hopkins, Daniel J. 2010. "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition." *American Political Science Review* 104 (1):40-60.
- Enos, Ryan. 2014. "Causal Effect of Intergroup Contact on Exclusionary Attitudes." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 111 (10): 3699-3704.
- Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Nuclear Ethics* (New York: The Free Press, 1986), chapter 3, “Obligations to Foreigners.”
- Julia Preston, “Immigrants Aren’t Taking Americans’ Jobs, New Study Finds,” *New York Times* (September 21, 2016). Available from: <https://nyti.ms/2k5EDvF>.

⁸ Quoted in David Nakamura and Karen DeYoung, “Obama defends U.S. intelligence-gathering tactics,” *Washington Post* (July 1, 2013).

⁹ Charles R. Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 151.

James Traub, "Stephen Miller Has a Point, You Cosmopolitans," *Foreign Policy* (August 4, 2017). Available from: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/08/04/stephen-miller-has-a-point-people-immigration-refugees-trump-raise-act/>.

Background:

The West Wing, S2 E8 "Shibboleth"

Week 12 (November 15): Foreign Aid and Distributive Justice

"Economic development happens, not through aid, but through the homegrown efforts of entrepreneurs and social and political reformers. While the West was agonizing over a few tens of billion dollars in aid, the citizens of India and China raised their own incomes by \$715 billion by their own efforts in free markets. Once aid agencies realize that aid CANNOT achieve general economic and political development, they could start concentrating on fixing the system that fails to get 12-cent medicines to malaria victims." –William Easterly¹⁰

Peter Singer, "Famine, Affluence, and Morality," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1972): 229-243.

Garrett Hardin, "Lifeboat Ethics: The Case Against Helping the Poor," *Psychology Today* (September 1974). Available from:

http://www.garretthardinsociety.org/articles/art_lifeboat_ethics_case_against_helping_poor.html.

Stanley Hoffman, *Duties beyond Borders: On the Limits and Possibilities of Ethical International Relations* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1981), 141-187.

Robert W. McElroy, *Morality and American Foreign Policy: The Role of Ethics in International Affairs* (Princeton University Press, 1992), chapter 3, "Famine Relief to Soviet Russia."

Nathan Nunn and Nancy Qian, "US Food Aid and Civil Conflict," *American Economic Review* 104, no. 6 (2014): 1630-1666.

Jeffrey Sachs, "The Case for Aid," *Foreign Policy* (January 21, 2014). Available from: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/01/21/the-case-for-aid/>.

Paul D. Miller, "What is foreign aid for?" *Foreign Policy* (January 27, 2011). Available from: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/01/27/what-is-foreign-aid-for/>.

Background:

The West Wing, S4 E12, "Guns Not Butter"

Week 13 (November 22): Thanksgiving Recess

Week 14 (November 29): Economic Sanctions

"I do not understand how your Christian conscience allows you [Bishop Tutu] to advocate disinvestment. I do not understand how you can put a man out of work for a high moral principle. You put a man out of a job and make his family go hungry so that some high moral principle could be upheld. I think your morality is confused just as was the morality of the

¹⁰ William Easterly, "Why Doesn't Aid Work?" *CATO Unbound* (April 2, 2006). Available from: <http://www.cato-unbound.org/2006/04/02/william-easterly/why-doesnt-aid-work>.

church in the Inquisition, or the morality of Dr. Verwoerd in his utopian dreams. You come near to saying that the end justifies the means, which is a thing no Christian can do.” –Alan Paton¹¹

Nikolay Marinov, “Do Economic Sanctions Destabilize Country Leaders?” *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2005): 564-576.

Daniel W. Drezner, “Sanctions Sometimes Smart: Targeted Sanctions in Theory and Practice,” *International Studies Review* 13, i. 1 (March 2011): 96-108.

Philip I. Levy, “Sanctions on South Africa: What Did They Do?” *American Economic Review* 89, no. 2 (May 1999): 415-420.

Joshua Keating, “Why Did International Sanctions Work on South Africa but Not Other Dictatorships?” *Slate.com* (December 6, 2013). Available from: http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_world_/2013/12/06/opponents_of_sanctions_on_south_africa_were_wrong_but_that_doesn_t_mean.html.

Alexia Fernandez Campbell, “The new sanctions against North Korea, explained in under 500 words,” *Vox.com* (August 6, 2017). Available from: <https://www.vox.com/world/2017/8/6/16103954/north-korea-sanctions-haley-china-un>.

Background:

The West Wing, S2 E7 “The Portland Trip”

Week 15 (December 6): Humanitarian Intervention

“There are goods more important than order. There are wrongs worth righting even at the cost of injuring order.” –Charles Krauthammer¹²

Primary documents: declassified U.S. and foreign officials’ cables, October 1993 – April 1994.

Timeline: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/etc/slaughter.html>.

Group in-class policy-making exercise.

Paul Christopher, *The Ethics of War & Peace: An Introduction to Legal and Moral Issues*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1999), 190-207.

Samantha Power, *‘A Problem from Hell’: America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), chapter 1.

Gareth Evans and Mohammed Sahnoun, “The Responsibility to Protect,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2002) 99-110.

Pape, Robert A. 2012. “When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Standard of Humanitarian Intervention,” *International Security* 37 (1): 41-80.

Stuart Gottlieb, “Syria and the Demise of the Responsibility to Protect,” *The National Interest* (November 5, 2013). Available from: <http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/syria-the-demise-the-responsibility-protect-9360?page=show>.

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Week 16 (December 13): Research papers due