

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PIA 2328

Ethics and National Security

Spring 2019

Wednesday, 9:00 AM - 12:00 PM

3200 Posvar Hall

Instructor: Luke N. Condra

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Office Hours: Thursday, 10 AM – 12 PM (signup: <http://www.wejoinin.com/sheets/otstx>)

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.

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.

Course Assignments and Percentage of Final Grade

1. **Participation:** Quality of preparation and participation in class discussion. This includes coming to class each week with a case that fits into the week’s topic and to which you have applied principles from readings. We will discuss the readings, but we will devote the majority of our time to consideration of the cases or problems that students present.

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

Students should bring to class written outlines of prepared comments on both the readings and their chosen case/problem. (20%)

2. Policy Memos: Two 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). (30%)
3. 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). (50%)
 - January 23. First, you will lead a brief (5 minute) discussion of your initial research ideas in class. The purpose is to brainstorm with the class about your project. You do not need to have more than an idea of the topic on which you might work. If you wish, you may also come see me first to discuss your ideas.
 - February 6. Second, you will write a 2-page research proposal, laying out the question you want to answer and how you plan to investigate it. The instructor will provide written feedback on the proposal.
 - February 20. Third, you will write a revised and extended 4/5-page research proposal, building on feedback received on your first draft. The instructor will provide written feedback on the proposal.
 - April 3. Fourth, you will turn in a rough draft of your paper. Another student will provide written feedback on the draft.
 - April 24. Fifth, you will turn in a final draft of your paper.

Readings

Required readings are listed for each week. You should come to class having read the material listed under that week.

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.

Grading Policy

Your final grade will be assigned on the following scale:

A	=	94-100	B+	=	87-89	C+	=	77-79	D+	=	67-69
A-	=	90-93	B	=	83-86	C	=	73-76	D	=	65-66
			B-	=	80-82	C-	=	70-72	F	=	Below 65

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 be aware that barring extraordinary circumstances, I will not accept late assignments, nor will I give you a grade of “incomplete” for the course and allow you to finish the work in subsequent semesters.

Cheating and Plagiarism

All students are expected to adhere to the standards of academic honesty. Any student engaged in cheating, plagiarism, or other acts of academic dishonesty would be subject to disciplinary action. Any student suspected of violating this obligation for any reason during the semester will be required to participate in the procedural process, initiated at instructor level, as outlined in the University Guidelines on Academic Integrity:

http://www.provost.pitt.edu/sites/default/files/academic_integrity_guidelines.pdf. This may include, but is not limited to the confiscation of the examination of any individual suspected of violating the University Policy. 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 the professor directly. Unless clearly specified (for instance, group presentations), you are expected to complete all assignments individually.

Disability Statement

If you have a disability for which you are or may be requesting and accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both your instructor and Disability Resources and Services (DRS), 140 William Pitt Union, (412) 648-7890, drsrecep@pitt.edu, (412) 228-5347 for P3 ASL users, as early as possible in the term. DRS will verify your disability and determine reasonable accommodations for this course.

Religious Observances

The University of Pittsburgh has a tradition of recognizing religious observances of members of the University community in instances where those observances may conflict with University activities. Examples of such occasions are Yom Kippur, Muharram, Diwali, and Good Friday, but other days of religious observance may also conflict with scheduled academic activities. When such conflict occurs, students and faculty should make a reasonable effort to reach mutually agreeable arrangements to reschedule the academic activity or provide a substitute activity or evaluation. Please make the instructor aware of any such conflicts as early in the term as possible so that we can make appropriate accommodations.

Course Schedule

Week 1 (January 9): Course Introduction

Week 2 (January 16): Ethics in Foreign Policy 1

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.”

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.

Thomas Nagel. 2005. “The Problem of Global Justice.” *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 33(2): 113-47.

Week 3 (January 23): Ethics in Foreign Policy 2

Amartya Sen. 2017. “Ethics and the Foundation of Global Justice.” *Ethics & International Affairs* 31(3): 261-70.

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Nuclear Ethics* (New York: The Free Press, 1986), chapter 3, “Obligations to Foreigners.”

Week 4 (January 30): Use of Force and Just War Theory

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

Week 5 (February 6): Ethics in Cyberspace

Martha Finnemore. 2018. “Ethical Dilemmas in Cyberspace.” *Ethics & International Affairs* 32(4): 457-62.

Corneliu Bjola. 2018. “The Ethics of Countering Digital Propaganda.” *Ethics & International Affairs* 32(3): 305-15.

Duncan B. Hollis and Jens David Ohlin. 2018. “What if Cyberspace Were for Fighting?” *Ethics & International Affairs* 32(4): 441-56.

Week 6 (February 13): Preemptive and Preventive War

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

Neta Crawford. 2003. “The Slippery Slope to Preventive War.” *Ethics & International Affairs* 17(1): 30-36.

Week 7 (February 20): Aerial Bombing

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

Matthew Adam Kocher, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis N. Kalyvas. 2011. *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (2): 201-218.

Robert W. McElroy, *Morality and American Foreign Policy: The Role of Ethics in International Affairs* (Princeton University Press, 1992), chapter 6, “The Limits of Moral Norms: The Bombing of Dresden.”

Week 8 (February 27): Nuclear Weapons and Proliferation

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

Nina Tannenwald. 2013. "Justice and Fairness in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime." *Ethics & International Affairs* 27 (3): 299-317.

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.

Week 9 (March 6): Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency 1

Neta Crawford. 2003. "Just War Theory and the US Counterterror War." *Perspectives on Politics* 1(1): 5-25.

Joseph H. Felter and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2017. "Limiting Civilian Casualties as Part of a Winning Strategy: The Case of Courageous Restraint." *Daedalus* 146 (1): 44-58.

Allen S. Weiner. 2017. "Just War Theory & the Conduct of Asymmetric Warfare." *Daedalus* 146 (1): 59-70.

Week 10 (March 13): Spring Break

Week 11 (March 20): Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency 2

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/>.

John R. Emery. 2016. "The Possibilities and Pitfalls of Humanitarian Drones." *Ethics & International Affairs* 30 (2): 153-165.

Christopher Kutz. 2014. "How Norms Die: Torture and Assassination in American Security Policy." *Ethics & International Affairs* 28 (4): 425-449.

Week 12 (March 27): Borders and Immigration

D. Miller. 2005, "Immigration: The Case for Limits," in *Contemporary Debates in Applied Ethics*, A. Cohen and C. Wellman (eds.), Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 193–206. E-book in Pitt library.

Goodin, R., 1988, "What Is So Special About Our Fellow Countrymen?" *Ethics*, 98 (4): 663–686.

Martha C. Nussbaum. 2008. "Toward a Globally Sensitive Patriotism." *Daedalus* 137 (3): 78-93.

Week 13 (April 3): Foreign Aid and Distributive Justice

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

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."

Week 14 (April 10): Economic Sanctions

Albert C. Pierce. 1996. "Just War Principles and Economic Sanctions." *Ethics & International Affairs* 10: 99-113.

Joy Gordon. 2011. "Smart Sanctions Revisited." *Ethics & International Affairs* 25 (3): 315-335.

Week 15 (April 17): Humanitarian Intervention

Amitai Etzioni. 2016. "Defining Down Sovereignty: The Rights and Responsibilities of Nations." *Ethics & International Affairs* 30 (1): 5-20.

Alex J. Bellamy. 2015. "The Responsibility to Protect Turns Ten." *Ethics & International Affairs* 29 (2): 161-185.

Week 16 (April 24): Research papers due