

Universität Bremen

Summer Term 2022

FB 8

Institut für Politikwissenschaft

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office hours: Wed 14.00-15.00 hrs. (UNICOM 7.2180) and by appointment

BA Political Science Pol-M10

Seminar: Ethics of War and Peace

Fri 10-12, UNICOM 3, Room 2 (Ground Floor)

Goals

The seminar looks at war and other forms of large-scale political violence from a normative point of view. In the first part of the seminar we will discuss standard just war theory and its main opponents (pacifism, realism). In the second part of the seminar, we will learn about more recent developments in just war thinking, including attempts to extend the reach of the normative framework to non-paradigmatic contexts such as terrorism or to technology-driven changes in the nature of warfare.

Schedule

Session	Date	Topic
1	22 April	Introduction
2	29 April	War: Definitions, Trends, Analytical Framework
3	6 May	International Law and the Use of Force
4	13 May	Just War Theory and Its Opponents
5	20 May	Realism
6	27 May	Pacifism
7	3 June	Just War Theory I: Just Cause
8	10 June	Just War Theory II: Legitimate Authority
	17 June	<i>no session</i>
9	24 June	Just War Theory III: Proportionality
10	1 July (8-10)	Just War Theory IV: Terrorism
11	1 July (10-12)	Just War Theory V: Private Military Companies

12	8 July	Just War Theory VI: Economic Sanctions
13	15 July	Just War Theory VII: Ius post bellum
14	22 July	Conclusion

Requirements

All participants are expected to read and think through the assigned texts in preparation of the sessions. Participation without reading will not be beneficial.

- 3 CP (TP 2): short oral presentation (15 min.) plus written elaboration (5 pages) *or* small seminar paper (8-10 pages)
- 6 CP (TP 1): seminar paper (15-20 pages) *or* oral exam (30 minutes)

Students who wish to obtain 6 CP in this seminar can claim a 5-page “rebate” for the seminar paper by volunteering for an oral presentation (without written elaboration).

Note that the page numbers given above assume that the papers are formatted according to the rules laid down in the Institute of Political Science’s [“Study Guide”](#) (sec. IV 4.1). The expected page ranges include the bibliography (references) and excludes the cover sheet, the table of contents, and annexes (if applicable).

Students are required to gain the instructor’s consent to their topic before they start writing. In other words, I may reject or downgrade a paper the topic of which I had not endorsed.

Papers (including elaborations of presentations) may be in English or German and must be sent to the instructor via email by 30 September 2022. Likewise, oral exams may be taken in English or German. Students who intend to use the seminar as a proof of proficiency in English (as required by § 3, sec. 6 of the BA examination regulations [*Prüfungsordnung*]), however, must hand in their papers, or take the oral exam, in English.

For more about seminar requirements see the “Additional Information” section on the Stud.IP course site.

General Literature

Introductions, Overviews, Handbooks, Anthologies, Monographs

Allhoff, Fritz/Evans, Nicholas G./Henschke, Adam (eds.) (2013): *Routledge Handbook of Ethics and War: Just War Theory in the Twenty-first Century*. New York: Routledge.

Begby, Endre/Reichberg, Gregory/Syse, Henrik (2012): *The Ethics of War. Part I: Historical Trends*. In: *Philosophy Compass*, 7 (5), 316-327.

Begby, Endre/Reichberg, Gregory M./Syse, Henrik (2012): *The Ethics of War. Part II: Contemporary Authors and Issues*. In: *Philosophy Compass*, 7 (5), 328-347.

Bellamy, Alex J. (2006): *Just Wars: From Cicero to Iraq*. Cambridge: Polity.

Brough, Michael W./Lango, John W./van der Linden, Harry (eds.) (2007): *Rethinking the Just War Tradition*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Chatterjee, Deen K./Scheid, Don E. (eds.) (2003): *Ethics and Foreign Intervention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coady, C. A. J. (2003): *War and Terrorism*. In: Frey, Raymond G./Wellman, Christopher Heath (eds.): *A Companion to Applied Ethics*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell, 254-266.

Elshtain, Jean Bethke (ed.) (1992): *Just War Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Evans, Mark (ed.) (2005): *Just War Theory: A Reappraisal*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Heinze, Eric/Steele, Brent J. (eds.) (2009): *Ethics, Authority, and War: Non-state Actors and the Just War Tradition*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Johnson, James Turner (2006): *The Just War Idea: The State of the Question*. In: *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 23 (1), 167-195.

Kelsay, John (2010): *Just War, Jihad, and the Study of Comparative Ethics*. In: *Ethics & International Affairs*, 24 (3), 227-238.

Kelsay, John (2013): *Just War Thinking as a Social Practice*. In: *Ethics & International Affairs*, 27 (1), 67-86.

Kinsella, David/Carr, Craig L. (eds.) (2007): *The Morality of War: A Reader*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Lang, Anthony F. (ed.) (2009): *War, Torture, and Terrorism: Rethinking the Rules of International Security*. London: Routledge.

Lang, Anthony F./O'Driscoll, Cian/Williams, John (eds.) (2013): *Just War: Authority, Tradition, and Practice*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

McMahan, Jeff (2005): *Just Cause for War*. In: *Ethics and International Affairs*, 19 (3), 1-21.

Miller, Richard B. (1991): *Interpretations of Conflict, Ethics, Pacifism, and the Just War Tradition*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

Nardin, Terry (ed.) (1998): *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Nardin, Terry/Williams, Melissa S. (eds.) (2006): *Humanitarian Intervention*. New York: New York University Press.

Patterson, Eric (2005): *Just War in the 21st Century: Reconceptualizing Just War Theory after September 11*. In: *International Politics*, 42 (1), 116-134.

Phillips, Robert L./Cady, Duane L. (1996): *Humanitarian Intervention: Just War vs. Pacifism*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Popovski, Vesselin/Reichberg, Gregory M./Turner, Nicholas (eds.) (2009): *World Religions and Norms of War*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.

Regan, Richard J. (1996): *Just War: Principles and Cases*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press.

Reichberg, Gregory M./Syse, Henrik/Begby, Endre (eds.) (2006): *The Ethics of War: Classic and Contemporary Readings*. Malden, Ma: Blackwell.

Rodin, David (2002): *War and Self-Defense*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Rodin, David (2006): The Ethics of War: State of the Art. In: *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 23 (3), 241-246.

Schwenkenbecher, Anne (2012): *Terrorism: A Philosophical Enquiry*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Shue, Henry (2003): War. In: LaFollette, Hugh (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of Practical Ethics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 734-761.

Shue, Henry/Rodin, David (eds.) (2010): *Preemption: Military Action and Moral Justification*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sorabji, Richard/Rodin, David (eds.) (2006): *The Ethics of War: Shared Problems in Different Traditions*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Steinhoff, Uwe (2007): *On the Ethics of War and Terrorism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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

Walzer, Michael (2015): *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*. 5th edn. New York: Basic Books.

Internet Sources

Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs (<http://www.carnegiecouncil.org>)

Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy (<http://www.iep.utm.edu>)

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (<http://plato.stanford.edu>)

Required and Further Reading

22 April 2022

1 – Introduction

Begby, Endre/Reichberg, Gregory M./Syse, Henrik (2012): The Ethics of War. Part I: Historical Trends. In: *Philosophy Compass*, 7 (5), 316-327.

Begby, Endre/Reichberg, Gregory M./Syse, Henrik (2012): The Ethics of War. Part II: Contemporary Authors and Issues. In: *Philosophy Compass*, 7 (5), 328-347.

29 April 2022

2 – War: Definitions, Trends, Analytical Framework

Required Reading:

Levy, Jack S./Thompson, William R. (2010): *Causes of War*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, ch. 1.

Further Reading:

Gleditsch, Nils Petter/Pinker, Steven/Thayer, Bradley A./Levy, Jack S./Thompson, William R. (2013): The Forum: The Decline of War. In: *International Studies Review*, 15 (3), 396-419.

Holsti, Kalevi J. (1996): *The State, War, and the State of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. (2001): “New” and “Old” Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction? In: *World Politics*, 54 (1), 99-118.

Mueller, John (2009): War Has Almost Ceased to Exist: An Assessment. In: *Political Science Quarterly*, 124 (2), 297-321.

Sheehan, Michael (2014): The Changing Character of War. In: Baylis, John/Smith, Steve/Owens, Patricia (eds.): *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. 6th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 215-228.

Walter, Barbara F. (2017): The New New Civil Wars. In: *Annual Review of Political Science*, 20 (1), 469-486.

Waltz, Kenneth N. (1959): *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press.

6 May 2022

3 – International Law and the Use of Force

Required Reading:

Simma, Bruno (1999): NATO, the UN and the Use of Force: Legal Aspects. In: *European Journal of International Law*, 10 (1), 1-22.

Further Reading:

Evans, Gareth/Sahnoun, Mohamed (2002): The Responsibility to Protect. In: *Foreign Affairs*, 81 (6), 99-110.

Pattison, James (2009): Humanitarian Intervention, the Responsibility to Protect and jus in bello. In: *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 1 (3), 364-391.

Simma, Bruno (ed.) (2013): *The Charter of the United Nations: A Commentary* (2 vols). 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Simpson, Gerry (2009): *Law and Force in the Twenty-First Century*. In: Armstrong, David (ed.): *Routledge Handbook of International Law*. London: Routledge, 197-209.

Weller, Marc (ed.) (2015): *The Oxford Handbook of the Use of Force in International Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

13 May 2022

4 – Just War Theory and Its Opponents

Required Reading:

Fotion, Nicholas (2000): *Reactions to War: Pacifism, Realism, and Just War Theory*. In: Valls, Andrew (ed.): *Ethics in International Relations: Theories and Cases*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 15-32.

Further Reading:

Anscombe, G. E. M. (1981): *War and Murder*. In: *The Collected Philosophical Papers*. Vol. 3: *Ethics, Religion and Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 51-61.

McMahan, Jeff (1991): *War and Peace*. In: Singer, Peter (ed.): *A Companion to Ethics*. Oxford: Blackwell, 384-395.

Nagel, Thomas (1985): *War and Massacre*. In: Beitz, Charles R./Cohen, Marshall/Scanlon, Thomas/Simmons, A. John (eds.): *International Ethics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 53-74.

Orend, Brian (2005): *War*. In: Zalta, Edward N. (ed.): *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2005 Edition). (<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2005/entries/war/>)

20 May 2022

5 – Realism

Required Reading:

Mapel, David R. (1996): *Realism and the Ethics of War and Peace*. In: Nardin, Terry (ed.): *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 54-77.

Further Reading:

Cohen, Marshall (1985): *Moral Skepticism and International Relations*. In: Beitz, Charles R./Cohen, Marshall/Scanlon, Thomas/Simmons, A. John (eds.): *International Ethics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 3-50.

Hendrickson, David C. (1997): In Defense of Realism: A Commentary on “Just and Unjust Wars”. In: *Ethics and International Affairs*, 11 (1), 19-53.

Morgenthau, Hans J. (1967): To Intervene or Not to Intervene. In: *Foreign Affairs*, 45 (3), 425-436.

Wesley, Michael (2005): Toward a Realist Ethics of Intervention. In: *Ethics & International Affairs*, 19 (2), 55-72.

27 May 2022

6 – Pacifism

Required Reading:

Holmes, Robert L. (1989): *On War and Morality*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, ch. 6.

Further Reading:

Fiala, Andrew (2014): Pacifism. In: Zalta, Edward N. (ed.): *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2014 Edition) (<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2014/entries/pacifism/>)

Holmes, Robert L. (2013): *The Ethics of Nonviolence: Essays*. New York: Bloomsbury.

McMahan, Jeff (2010): Pacifism and Moral Theory. In: *Diametros*, (23), 44-68.

Narveson, Jan (1965): Pacifism: A Philosophical Analysis. In: *Ethics*, 75 (4), 259-271.

Norman, Richard (1995): *Ethics, Killing and War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

3 June 2022

7 – Just War Theory I: Just Cause

Required Reading:

Walzer, Michael (1985): The Rights of Political Communities. In: Beitz, Charles R./Cohen, Marshall/Scanlon, Thomas/Simmons, John A. (eds.): *International Ethics*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 165-194.

Further Reading:

Beitz, Charles R. (2009): The Moral Standing of States Revisited. In: *Ethics & International Affairs*, 23 (4), 325-347.

Luban, David (1980): Just War and Human Rights. In: *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 9, 161-181.

McMahan, Jeff (1996): Intervention and Collective Self-Determination. In: *Ethics and International Affairs*, 10, 1-24.

McMahan, Jeff (2005): Just Cause for War. In: *Ethics and International Affairs*, 19 (3), 1-21.

Orend, Brian (2000): *Michael Walzer on War and Justice*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Smith, Michael Joseph (1998): Humanitarian Intervention: An Overview of the Ethical Issues. In: *Ethics and International Affairs*, 12, 63-79.

10 June 2022

8 – Just War Theory II: Legitimate Authority

Required Reading:

Brown, Davis (2011): Judging the Judges: Evaluating Challenges to Proper Authority in Just War Theory. In: *Journal of Military Ethics*, 10 (3), 133-147.

Further Reading:

Calhoun, Laurie (2002): Legitimate Authority and “Just War” in the Modern World. In: *Peace & Change*, 27 (1), 37-62.

Fabre, Cécile (2008): Cosmopolitanism, Just War Theory and Legitimate Authority. In: *International Affairs*, 84 (5), 963-976.

Finlay, Christopher J. (2010): Legitimacy and Non-State Political Violence. In: *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 18 (3), 287-312.

Held, Virginia (2005): Legitimate Authority in Non-state Groups Using Violence. In: *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 36 (2), 175-193.

24 June 2022

9 – Just War Theory III: Proportionality

Required Reading:

Mellow, David (2006): Counterfactuals and the Proportionality Criterion. In: *Ethics & International Affairs*, 20 (4), 439-454.

Further Reading:

Hurka, Thomas (2005): Proportionality in the Morality of War. In: *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 33 (1), 34-66.

McMahan, Jeff/McKim, Robert (1993): The Just War and the Gulf War. In: *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, 23 (4), 501-541.

1 July 2022 (8-12)

10 – Just War Theory IV: Terrorism

Required Reading:

Walzer, Michael (2006): Terrorism and Just War. In: *Philosophia*, 34 (1), 3-12.

Further Reading:

Boyle, Joseph (2003): Just War Doctrine and the Military Response to Terrorism. In: *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 11 (2), 153-170.

Coady, C. A. J. (1992): Terrorism. In: Becker, Lawrence C./Becker, Charlotte B. (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ethics*. New York: Garland, 1241-1244.

Held, Virginia (2004): Terrorism and War. In: *The Journal of Ethics*, 8 (1), 59-75.

Meggler, Georg (ed.) (2005): *Ethics of Terrorism and Counter-terrorism*. Frankfurt a.M.: Ontos.

Rodin, David (2006): The Ethics of Asymmetric War. In: Sorabji, Richard/Rodin, David (eds.): *The Ethics of War: Shared Problems in Different Traditions*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

11 – Just War Theory V: Private Military Companies

Required Reading:

Pattison, James (2008): Just War Theory and the Privatization of Military Force. In: *Ethics & International Affairs*, 22 (2), 143-162.

Further Reading:

Alexandra, Andrew/Baker, Dean-Peter/Caparini, Marina (eds.) (2008): *Private Military and Security Companies: Ethics, Policies and Civil-Military Relations*. London: Routledge.

Leander, Anna (2005): The Power to Construct International Security: On the Significance of the Emergence of Private Military Companies. In: *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 33 (3), 803-826.

McMahan, Jeff (2006): The Ethics of Killing in War. In: *Philosophia*, 34 (1), 23-41.

Pattison, James (2012): The Legitimacy of the Military, Private Military and Security Companies, and Just War Theory. In: *European Journal of Political Theory*, 11 (2), 131-154.

Rodin, David/Shue, Henry (eds.) (2008): *Just and Unjust Warriors: The Moral and Legal Status of Soldiers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Singer, Peter W. (2002): Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry and its Ramifications for International Security. In: *International Security*, 26 (3), 186-220.

8 July 2022

12 – Just War Theory VI: Economic Sanctions

Required Reading:

Gordon, Joy (1999): *A Peaceful, Silent, Deadly Remedy: The Ethics of Economic Sanctions*. In: *Ethics and International Affairs*, 13, 123-142.

Further Reading:

Christiansen, Drew, S. J./Powers, Gerard F. (1995): *Economic Sanctions and the Just-War Doctrine*. In: Cortright, David/Lopez, George A. (eds.): *Economic Sanctions: Panacea or Peacebuilding in a Post-Cold War World?* Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 97-117.

Gordon, Joy (1999): Reply to George A. Lopez's "More Ethical than Not". In: *Ethics and International Affairs*, 13, 149-150.

Lopez, George A. (1999): *More Ethical than Not: Sanctions as Surgical Tools*. In: *Ethics and International Affairs*, 13, 143-148.

Pape, Robert A. (1997): *Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work*. In: *International Security*, 22 (2), 90-136.

Pierce, Albert C. (1996): *Just War Principles and Economic Sanctions*. In: *Ethics and International Affairs*, 10, 99-113.

15 July 2022

13 – Just War Theory VII: *Ius post bellum*

Required Reading:

Orend, Brian (2002): *Justice after War*. In: *Ethics and International Affairs*, 16 (1), 43-56.

Further Reading:

Bass, Gary J. (2004): *Jus Post Bellum*. In: *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 32 (4), 384-412.

Bellamy, Alex J. (2008): *The Responsibilities of Victory: Jus Post Bellum and the Just War*. In: *Review of International Studies*, 34 (4), 601-625.

Evans, Mark (2009): *Moral Responsibilities and the Conflicting Demands of Jus Post Bellum*. In: *Ethics & International Affairs*, 23 (2), 147-164.

Gheciu, Alexandra/Welsh, Jennifer (2009): *The Imperative to Rebuild: Assessing the Normative Case for Postconflict Reconstruction*. In: *Ethics & International Affairs*, 23 (2), 121-146.

Lang, Anthony F. (2007): *Crime and Punishment: Holding States Accountable*. In: *Ethics & International Affairs*, 21 (2), 239-257.

22 July 2022

14 – Conclusion