Constructor University/University of Bremen   Fall 2023

MA in International Relations: Global Governance and Social Theory

Seminar: Normative Theories of International Order

Peter Mayer
InIIS, UNICOM, Mary-Somerville-Str. 7 (Haus Wien), room 7.2180
Office hours: by appointment
e-mail: prmayer@uni-bremen.de
phone: (0421) 218-67483

Goals

This seminar deals with the ethical dimension of world politics. In the first part of the seminar participants are introduced to moral and political philosophy as well as to the most important schools of thought in international ethics. In this context, we will also look at human rights, which are often viewed as guiding principles for international action and institutions. Subsequently, the course focuses its attention on a range of more specific problems, each viewed from a normative perspective: the ethics of force and coercion (including intervention) in international politics; the nature, scope, and justifiability of distributive justice at the international and transnational levels (including the problem of intergenerational justice that comes into play in such issues as climate change); and the moral requirements of the global polity.

Requirements

All participants are expected to read and think through the required readings in preparation of the session. They are advised to take notes of the main points made in the text and make sure they have identified the arguments that are proffered in support of its conclusions. They should also reflect on how the various texts selected as required readings for the session at hand relate to one another (and to others we talked about in previous meetings): where do the authors agree, where do they differ (and why)? etc. (3 CP)

Participants who seek **9 CP** (**large module version**) have to meet two further requirements:

- They must submit one **"review essay"**. A review essay summarizes and discusses a contribution to international ethics. Eligible contributions (together with information on how to get hold of them) are listed . Each earmarked "paper" (which may be an article or a book chapter) can be reviewed by one student only. Students are asked to indicate their interest in reviewing a given contribution via email at least two weeks before the relevant seminar meeting. Allocation takes place on a first come, first served basis. (A constantly updated list in the folder "Review Essays" on the Stud.IP course site keeps everyone in the loop about which texts are still available.) The expected length of the review essay is 1,500-2,000 words. First versions of review essays must

be uploaded to the Stud.IP course site (folder "Review Essays") no later than Tuesday before the respective seminar meeting. There will be penalties (grade deductions) for late uploading (modelled on the rules for take-home exams). Participants are encouraged to revise their review essay upon further reflection. The deadline for the final version is **15 March 2024** (1.5 CP).

- In addition, they are required to hand in a **term paper** (c. 5,000 words) on a topic belonging to the field of international ethics. Both theoretical and applied papers are appropriate. For the topic, the instructor's prior consent must have been obtained. The term paper is due on **15 March 2024** (4.5 CP).

Participants who wish to obtain **6 CP** (**small module version**) have two options. They can either write **two review essays** or a (shorter) **term paper** (3-3,500 words). Students who pick the first option may choose up to one contribution that is required reading and no two contributions from the same session. In either case (final versions of review essays or term paper) the deadline is **15 March 2024** (3 CP).

Students who opted for a term paper are expected to hand in a short **exposé** outlining their ideas for the paper (up to two pages) by **10 February 2024**. The exposé is mandatory, although there will be no grade ("Studienleistung").

For more on seminar requirements see below. Further hints are collected in the "Additional Information" section of the Stud.IP course site.

Term papers, exposés, and final versions of review essays must be sent to the instructor via e-mail (PDF, Word, RTF). Hard copies are not required. Note that, according to the rules of the university, you must add to your term papers (including, in this case, the final versions of the review essays) a signed "**copyright declaration**" (for the prescribed form and some background information see here). For the program rules governing late submission of final papers (and take-home exams) see the "MAIR Manual for Students" (sec. 5).

Weighting of Partial Grades

9 CP (large module version, IR-C3a)

- review essay: 25%
- term paper: 75%

6 CP (small module version, IR-C3b)

- first option: two review essays (final version): 50% each

- second option: term paper: 100%

Schedule

Session	Time	Topic
1	5 Oct	Introduction: Two Classical Views on Morality and Int'l Relations
2	12 Oct	Morality, Ethics, Metaethics
3	19 Oct	Schools of Thought in International Ethics
4	26 Oct	Political Theory and Human Rights
5	2 Nov	Universal Human Rights and Cultural Diversity
6	9 Nov	Migration
7	16 Nov	War
8	23 Nov	Sovereignty, Collective Self-Determination, and Intervention
9	30 Nov	Secession
10	7 Dec	Affluence, Poverty, and Global Justice I
11	14 Dec	Affluence, Poverty, and Global Justice II
12	21 Dec	Preserving the Global Commons
13	11 Jan	Global Governance
14	18 Jan	Conclusion

Sessions take place 10:00-13:00 hrs. The venue is UNICOM 7.2210.

Topics and Readings

An asterisk (*) denotes that the text (or parts of it) is available in the folder "Further Reading".

5 October 2023

1 – Introduction: Two Classical Views on Morality and International Relations

Required Reading:

Thucydides (2002): The Melian Dialogue. In: Brown, Chris/Nardin, Terry/Rengger, Nicholas (eds.): *International Relations in Political Thought: Texts from the Ancient Greeks to the First World War.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 53-60.

Grotius, Hugo (2002): Prolegomena (from "The Law of War and Peace"). In: Brown, Chris/Nardin, Terry/Rengger, Nicholas J. (eds.): *International Relations in Political Thought:*

Texts from the Ancient Greeks to the First World War. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 325-333.

12 October 2023

2 – Morality, Ethics, Metaethics

Required Reading:

Frankena, William K. (1973): *Ethics.* 2nd edn. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, ch. 1.

Darwall, Stephen L. (2003): Theories of Ethics. In: Frey, Raymond Gillespie/Wellman, Christopher Heath (eds.): *A Companion to Applied Ethics.* Malden, Mass: Blackwell, 17-37.

Further Reading:

Copp, David (2001): Metaethics. In: Becker, Lawrence C./Becker, Charlotte B. (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ethics.* 2nd edn. New York: Routledge, 1079-1087.*

Copp, David (ed.) (2007): *The Oxford Handbook of Ethical Theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Darwall, Stephen L. (1998): *Philosophical Ethics.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

Hutchings, Kimberly (2010): *Global Ethics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity, chs. 2 & 3.*

Singer, Peter (ed.) (1993): *A Companion to Ethics.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Singer, Peter (2011): *Practical Ethics.* 3rd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.*

19 October 2023

3 – Schools of Thought in International Ethics

Required Reading:

Beitz, Charles R. (2001): International Justice: Conflict. In: Becker, Lawrence C./Becker, Charlotte B. (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ethics.* 2nd edn. New York: Routledge, 871-874.

Mapel, David R./Nardin, Terry (1992): Convergence and Divergence in International Ethics. In: Nardin, Terry/Mapel, David R. (eds.): *Traditions of International Ethics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 297-322.

Further Reading:

Beitz, Charles R. (1999): *Political Theory and International Relations.* 2nd edn. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cochran, Molly (1999): *Normative Theory in International Relations: A Pragmatic Approach.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dower, Nigel (2012): Global Ethics, Approaches. In: Chadwick, Ruth F. (ed.): *Encyclopedia of Applied Ethics.* 2nd edn. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 504-513.

Kennan, George (1985/86): Morality and Foreign Policy. In: *Foreign Affairs,* 64 (2), 205-218.

Mapel, David R./Nardin, Terry (eds.) (1998): *International Society: Diverse Ethical Perspectives.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Nardin, Terry/Mapel, David R. (eds.) (1992): *Traditions of International Ethics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shapcott, Richard (2017): International Ethics. In: Baylis, John/Smith, Steve/Owens, Patricia (eds.): *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations.* 7th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 204-218.*

26 October 2023

4 – Political Theory and Human Rights

Required Reading:

Lukes, Steven (1993): Five Fables about Human Rights. In: Shute, Stephen/Hurley, Susan (eds.): *On Human Rights: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures 1993.* New York: Basic Books, 19-40.

Further Reading:

Beitz, Charles R. (2001): Human Rights as a Common Concern. In: *American Political Science Review,* 95 (2), 269-282.

Donnelly, Jack (2013): *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice.* 3rd edn. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Kymlicka, Will (2002): *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction.* 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nickel, James W. (2001): Human Rights. In: Becker, Lawrence C./Becker, Charlotte B. (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ethics.* 2nd edn. New York: Routledge, 796-800.*

Shestack, Jerome J. (1998): The Philosophic Foundations of Human Rights. In: *Human Rights Quarterly,* 20 (2), 201-234.

Waldron, Jeremy (ed.) (1984): *Theories of Rights.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

2 November 2023

5 – Universal Human Rights and Cultural Diversity

Required Reading:

The Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association [Melville J. Herskovits] (1947): Statement on Human Rights. In: *American Anthropologist,* 49 (4), 539-543.

Okin, Susan Moller (1998): Feminism, Women's Human Rights, and Cultural Differences. In: *Hypatia,* 13 (2), 32-52.

Further Reading:

Goodhart, Michael (2003): Origins and Universality in the Human Rights Debates: Cultural Essentialism and the Challenge of Globalization. In: *Human Rights Quarterly,* 25 (4), 935-964.

Okin, Susan Moller/Cohen, Joshua/Nussbaum, Martha C./Howard, Matthew (1999): *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

9 November 2023

6 – Migration

Required Reading:

Carens, Joseph H. (1987): Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders. In: *Review of Politics,* 49 (2), 251-273.

Miller, David (2006): Immigration: The Case for Limits. In: Cohen, Andrew I./Wellman, Christopher Heath (eds.): *Contemporary Debates in Applied Ethics.* Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 193-206.

Further Reading:

Brock, Gillian/Blake, Michael (2015): *Debating Brain Drain: May Governments Restrict Emigration?* Oxford New York: Oxford University Press.

Carens, Joseph H. (2013): *The Ethics of Immigration.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carens, Joseph H. (2014): An Overview of the Ethics of Immigration. In: *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy,* 17 (5), 538-559.

Fine, Sarah/Ypi, Lea (eds.) (2016): *Migration in Political Theory: The Ethics of Movement and Membership.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Miller, David (2016): *Strangers in Our Midst: The Political Philosophy of Immigration.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Risse, Mathias (2008): On the Morality of Immigration. In: *Ethics & International Affairs,* 22 (1), 25-33.

Seglow, Jonathan (2005): The Ethics of Immigration. In: *Political Studies Review,* 3 (3), 317-334.

16 November 2023

7 – War

Required Reading:

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

Further Reading:

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.

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

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

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

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

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

23 November 2023

8 – Sovereignty, Collective Self-Determination, and Intervention

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.

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

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

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

Holzgrefe, J. L./Keohane, Robert O. (eds.) (2003): *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

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

30 November 2023

9 – Secession

Required Reading:

Buchanan, Allen (1997): Theories of Secession. In: *Philosophy and Public Affairs,* 26 (1), 31-61.

Further Reading:

Buchanan, Allen (2004): *Justice, Legitimacy and Self-Determination: Moral Foundations for International Law.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buchanan, Allen E./Moore, Margaret (eds.) (2003): *States, Nations, and Borders: The Ethics of Making Boundaries.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moore, Margaret (ed.) (1998): *National Self-Determination and Secession.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wellman, Christopher Heath (2005): *A Theory of Secession: The Case for Political Self-determination.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

7 December 2023

10 – Affluence, Poverty, and Global Justice I

Required Reading:

Singer, Peter (2011): *Practical Ethics.* 3rd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ch. 8.

Hardin, Garrett (1974): Living on a Lifeboat. In: *Bioscience,* 24, 561-568.

Further Reading:

Cullity, Garrett (1994): International Aid and the Scope of Kindness. In: *Ethics,* 105 (1), 99-127.

Kuper, Andrew (ed.) (2005): *Global Responsibilities: Who Must Deliver on Human Rights?* New York: Routledge.

O'Neill, Onora (1991): Transnational Justice. In: Held, David (ed.): *Political Theory Today.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 276-304.**

Singer, Peter (2009): *The Life You Can Save: Acting Now to End World Poverty.* New York: Random House.

Soroos, Marvin S. (1977): The Commons and Lifeboat as Guides for International Ecological Policy. In: *International Studies Quarterly,* 21 (4), 647-674.

Unger, Peter K. (1996): *Living High and Letting Die: Our Illusion of Innocence.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

14 December 2023

11 – Affluence, Poverty, and Global Justice II

Required Reading:

Pogge, Thomas (2004): "Assisting" the Global Poor. In: Chatterjee, Deen K. (ed.): *The Ethics of Assistance: Morality and the Distant Needy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 260-288.

Risse, Mathias (2005): Do We Owe the Global Poor Assistance or Rectification? In: *Ethics & International Affairs,* 19 (1), 9-18.

Further Reading:

Beitz, Charles R. (1999): *Political Theory and International Relations.* 2nd edn. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Chatterjee, Deen K. (ed.) (2004): *The Ethics of Assistance: Morality and the Distant Needy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Føllesdal, Andreas/Pogge, Thomas (eds.) (2005): *Real World Justice: Grounds, Principles, Human Rights, and Social Institutions.* Dordrecht: Springer.

Jaggar, Alison M. (ed.) (2010): *Thomas Pogge and His Critics.* Cambridge: Polity.

Pogge, Thomas W. (2008): *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms.* 2nd edn. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Singer, Peter (2016): *One World Now: The Ethics of Globalization.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, ch 3.

21 December 2023

12 – Preserving the Global Commons

Required Reading:

Hardin, Garrett (1968): The Tragedy of the Commons. In: *Science,* 162, 1243-1248.

Singer, Peter (2011): *Practical Ethics.* 3rd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ch. 9.

Further Reading:

Caney, Simon/Hepburn, Cameron (2011): Carbon Trading: Unethical, Unjust and Ineffective? In: *Royal Institute of Philosophy Supplements,* 69, 201-234.

Gardiner, Stephen M. (2006): A Perfect Moral Storm: Climate Change, Intergenerational Ethics and the Problem of Moral Corruption. In: *Environmental Values,* 15 (3), 397-413.

Gardiner, Stephen M./Caney, Simon/Jamieson, Dale/Shue, Henry (eds.) (2010): *Climate Ethics: Essential Readings.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moellendorf, Darrel (2009): Justice and the Assignment of the Intergenerational Costs of Climate Change. In: *Journal of Social Philosophy,* 40 (2), 204-224.

Roser, Dominic/Seidel, Christian (2017): *Climate Justice: An Introduction.* London: Routledge.

Singer, Peter (2016): *One World Now: The Ethics of Globalization.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, ch. 2.

11 January 2024

13 – Global Governance

Required Reading:

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

Further Reading:

Archibugi, Daniele (2004): Cosmopolitan Democracy and its Critics: A Review. In: *European Journal of International Relations,* 10 (3), 437-473.

Craig, Campbell (2008): The Resurgent Idea of World Government. In: *Ethics & International Affairs,* 22 (2), 133-142.

Keohane, Robert O. (2011): Global Governance and Legitimacy. In: *Review of International Political Economy,* 18 (1), 99-109.

18 January 2024

14 – Conclusion

More on Seminar Requirements

Review Essay

Assignment

A review essay summarizes and discusses a seminal contribution to international ethics, assuming a reader who is not familiar with the work reviewed. Eligible contributions are listed .

The essay is in three parts of unequal length. The first part is a "topical" paragraph stating the key point(s) or central argument made in the article (or book chapter) – its main message, as it were. It is not enough to say what the contribution is about; the paragraph should provide us with an idea of the core insight(s) the author tries to convey to his or her readers (although, of course, details must wait).

The second part is a summary of the contribution that shows how it reaches its main conclusions. This part aims to "reconstruct" the reasoning that is intended to convince the reader (of the contribution) that these conclusions are warranted. "Reconstruct" is meant to indicate that your summary need not take the form of a section-by-section retelling of the text ("first he says this, then he says that"), although it should reproduce the main steps of the argument. Although, unavoidably, many details will have to be left out, the summary ought to be accurate and fair. Do not aim at "completeness" in your summary; securing intelligibility and readability of your essay is more important than trying to do justice to every twist and turn in the contribution reviewed.

The third part reflects on the contribution and critically engages (some of) its arguments and conclusions. It is "critical" in the sense of "critique" (giving both shadows and light their due), not necessarily "criticism" or rejection. This is not to say that you are expected to side with the views defended in the contribution – far from it – although I advise against polemic, denigrating or complacent language. The focus should be on the substantive merits of the argument(s) made by the contribution, not on how you felt about it, although you will, of course, present *your* view of these merits. (Steer clear of role-playing.) Comments on the quality of the writing (style, accessibility, etc.), while not anathema, should not be at the center of your response. (You are

not commenting on a student paper after all.) Your discussion of the contribution may benefit from, or include comparisons to, other works including other texts we discussed in the seminar (which, of course, must be appropriately referenced).

The second and the third part amount to at least a third of the essay each. The overall length of the review essay is 1,500-2,000 words. Exceeding the upper limit by up to 10% (200 words) is unproblematic.

Allocation of Contributions

Since each eligible contribution may be reviewed by one participant only, students who wish to review a particular piece are required to reserve the text with me via email. Allocation takes place on a first come, first served basis. Students may not choose two contributions belonging to the same session. The folder "Review Essays" on the Stud.IP course site includes a document "Contributions, Reviewers, Due Dates" showing who has committed to reviewing which contribution so far.

Submission and Form

Review essays are uploaded to the Stud.IP course site by Tuesday before the seminar meeting to which I have assigned them (see below). Please use the relevant sub-folder of the folder "Review Essays". There will be penalties for (unexcused) late uploading (modelled on the sanctions for late submission of take-home exams – see "Manual for Students" sec. 5). (The uploaded essay is understood as no more than a first version, with the final version being due only at the end of the semester – see below.)

Try to get by without notes (at least in the first version). Do not forget to create paragraphs. I recommend that you insert a few subheadings to help your reader find their way in your text more easily (e.g. "Main Points"/"Core Message", "Summary"/"Reconstruction", "Reflection"/ "Comments"). There is no need for a table of contents, though (even in the final version). When quoting (directly or indirectly) from the reviewed contribution you may save space by simply adding the page or page range in parentheses (omitting the author's name). It will be understood that you are referring to the contribution that is reviewed in the essay. When referencing other texts apply the rules laid down in the "MAIR Stylesheet". Make sure the (final version of the) essay reads well, is clearly written throughout, and has been carefully proof-read. (There will be grade deductions for poor editing in the final version of the paper.)

As mentioned above, the uploaded review essay is understood as a first version (which may also be shorter than the final one). Students are encouraged to revise their essay(s) upon further reflection and possibly in response to comments made in class or in the Forum before submitting it (or them) to the instructor for grading. The final versions of the review essays should be sent via email and saved in PDF, Word, or RTF. They should include a cover sheet with the usual information (names of the universities, name of the program, semester, name of the instructor, title of the paper, your name, your email address, your matriculation no., a word count,

and the date of submission) and may be submitted as a single document (file) (if two are owed). Remember to add the required copyright declaration (for the prescribed form as well as some background information see here).

The final version of the review essays is due on 15 March 2024.

Eligible Papers for Review Essays

Papers for review essays must be "booked" with the instructor in advance. If you have to submit two review essays (in order to obtain 6 credits for the course), the contributions you choose for reviewing must have been assigned to different sessions.

Please inform me of your choice via email. The document "Contributions, Reviewers, Due Dates", which is accessible via the folder "Review Essays" on the Stud.IP course site, provides you with constantly updated information about who has committed to reviewing which contributions and, consequently, which papers are still available.

Political Theory and Human Rights (First version due: 24 Oct)

Beitz, Charles R. (2003): What Human Rights Mean. In: *Daedalus,* 132 (1), 36-47. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/20027821)

Cohen, Joshua (2004): Minimalism About Human Rights: The Most We Can Hope For? In: *Journal of Political Philosophy,* 12 (2), 190-213. (http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9760.2004.00197.x)

Cranston, Maurice (1983): Are There Any Human Rights? In: *Daedalus,* 112 (4), 1-17. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/20024883)

Rorty, Richard (1993): Human Rights, Rationality, and Sentimentality. In: Shute, Stephen/Hurley, Susan (eds.): *On Human Rights: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures 1993.* New York: Basic Books, 111-134. (Folder: Contributions)

Shue, Henry (2020): *Basic Rights: Subsistence, Affluence, and U.S. Foreign Policy.* 3rd edn. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, ch. 1 (Security and Subsistence). (https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvqsdnkw.7)

Universal Human Rights and Cultural Diversity (31 Oct)

Donnelly, Jack (2007): The Relative Universality of Human Rights. In: *Human Rights Quarterly,* 29 (2), 281-306. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/20072800)

Jaggar, Alison M. (2005): "Saving Amina": Global Justice for Women and Intercultural Dialogue. In: *Ethics & International Affairs,* 19 (3), 55-75. (Folder: Contributions)

Nussbaum, Martha C. (1995): Human Capabilities, Female Human Beings. In: Nussbaum, Martha C./Glover, Jonathan (eds.): *Women, Culture, and Development: A Study of Human Capabilities.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 61-104. (https://doi.org/10.1093/0198289642.003.0003)

Okin, Susan Moller (1994): Gender Inequality and Cultural Differences. In: *Political Theory,* 22 (1), 5-24. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/192130)

Taylor, Charles (2008): Conditions of an Unforced Consensus on Human Rights. In: Pogge, Thomas/Horton, Keith (eds.): *Global Ethics: Seminal Essays.* St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 405-430. (Folder: Contributions)

Migration (7 Nov)

Abizadeh, Arash (2008): Democratic Theory and Border Coercion: No Right to Unilaterally Control Your Own Borders. In: *Political Theory,* 36 (1), 37-65. (https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591707310090)

Singer, Peter (1994): *Practical Ethics*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ch. 9 (Insiders and Outsiders). (Folder: Contributions)

Steiner, Hillel (1992): Libertarianism and the Transnational Migration of People. In: Barry, Brian/Goodin, Robert E. (eds.): *Free Movement: Ethical Issues in the Transnational Migration of People and of Money*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 87-94. (Folder: Contributions)

Walzer, Michael (1983): *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality.* New York: Basic Books, ch. 2 (Membership) (Folder: Contributions)

Wellman, Christopher Heath (2008): Immigration and Freedom of Association. In: *Ethics,* 119 (1), 109-141. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/592311)

War (14 Nov)

Buchanan, Allen/Keohane, Robert O. (2015): Toward a Drone Accountability Regime. In: *Ethics & International Affairs,* 29 (1), 15-37. (http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0892679414000732)

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

McMahan, Jeff (2006): The Ethics of Killing in War. In: *Philosophia,* 34 (1), 23-41. (http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11406-006-9007-y)

Nagel, Thomas (1972): War and Massacre. In: *Philosophy and Public Affairs,* 1 (2), 123-144. (https://www.jstor.org/stable/2264967)

Narveson, Jan (1965): Pacifism: A Philosophical Analysis. In: *Ethics,* 75 (4), 259-271. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/2379723)

Sovereignty, Collective Self-Determination, and Intervention (21 Nov)

Brown, Chris (2003): Selective Humanitarianism: In Defense of Inconsistency. In: Chatterjee, Deen K./Scheid, Don E. (eds.): *Ethics and Foreign Intervention.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 31-50. (Folder: Contributions)

Luban, David (1980): Just War and Human Rights. In: *Philosophy and Public Affairs,* 9, 161-181. (https://www.jstor.org/stable/2265110)

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

Walzer, Michael (2004): The Argument about Humanitarian Intervention. In: Meggle, Georg (ed.): *Ethics of Humanitarian Interventions.* Frankfurt a.M.: Ontos Verlag, 21-34. (https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=603713&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_21)

Young, Iris Marion (2003): Violence against Power: Critical Thoughts on Military Intervention. In: Chatterjee, Deen K./Scheid, Don E. (eds.): *Ethics and Foreign Intervention.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 251-273. (Folder: Contributions)

Secession (28 Nov)

Copp, David (1998): International Law and Morality in the Theory of Secession. In: *The Journal of Ethics,* 2 (3), 219-245. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/25115581)

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Term Paper

The term paper addresses a topic that belongs to the field of international ethics, i.e. it looks into a normative question with an international dimension. Normative questions are about what is right or wrong, desirable or undesirable, etc. from a moral point of view. The potential referent objects of such questions are diverse: they may pertain to specific political decisions, policies, practices, or institutions. Both theoretical and applied papers are welcome. The difference is one in degree rather than one in kind, though: theoretical papers generally benefit a great deal from examples, and what is applied in applied papers is theory. Templates for papers include *inter alia* the depiction and critical analysis of a theory or theoretical argument, the description and reasoned evaluation of a theoretical controversy, and the application of a theory to an empirical case (i.e. the evaluation of a decision, behavioral pattern, etc. in light of the theory).

The paper may dig dipper into a topic that we have dealt with in the seminar or choose one of the many topics not covered by the seminar but still belonging to the field of international ethics. *Please note that you are required to let me know about your topic before you start writing.* In other words, I may reject or downgrade a paper the topic of which I had not endorsed.

Finding a (precise) topic (or research question) is not an easy task in ethics as in any other field. So you should not get nervous if you do not find one immediately. Usually, some amount of reading is necessary before a sufficiently clear-cut research question crystallizes. Consult the "Further Reading" sections in the syllabus and the "International Ethics Bibliography" (in the general document folder) or the tables of contents of journals such as "Ethics & International Affairs".

Send me a short exposé outlining your ideas for the paper (up to two pages) by 10 February 2024. The exposé is mandatory, although there will be no grade ("Studienleistung").

Some of the further reading suggested in the syllabus is available via the folder "Further Reading", especially texts which cannot be accessed through the two universities' collections of e-journals and which I happen to possess in digital form. Most of the books recommended should be available in the university libraries. You may also check out the [InIIS Library](#), which specializes in political theory and IR. It is a reference library but students may borrow a limited number of books for 10 days or so. Note that since this is not a lending library you should try other places first. If you wish to borrow a book or make photocopies please contact Peter Arnhold (arnhold@uni-bremen.de) at InIIS. Finally, there is the option of inter-library loan, which often works surprisingly fast.

When writing the paper make sure you comply with the formal rules (e.g. for referencing) laid down in the ["MAIR Stylesheet"](#). The short ["Appendix"](#) to Stephen Van Evera's "Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science" (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997) provides useful hints for good academic writing (although some of the advice may have been given with non-normative, empirical papers in mind). I appreciate papers that are clear (both in structure and language) and accessible (including to an imagined reader who is not familiar with the

topic under study or perhaps even international ethics as a field). Originality and "depth" are, of course, virtues of a paper, but they should not come at the price of obscurantism. Moreover, you should not think that carefully describing and analyzing a "given" argument or debate and raising some critical questions about it in conclusion is not valuable or demanding – quite the contrary.

The deadline for the term paper is 15 March 2024.