

War: justice, ethics, atrocities in comparative perspective (upper division)

This course examines classic and contemporary theories and critiques of the ethics and justice of war. Are attempts to limit war or to fight only for just causes important advancements in modern civilizations, or are they ways of justifying particular powerful actors? How have the norms and rules of war changed over the last several centuries, and have these changes been good? How are laws of war different from norms of war?

This course takes as its central texts one orthodox account of ethics in war – Michael Walzer's *Just and Unjust Wars* – and one critical account – Helen Kinsella's *The Image Before the Weapon*. By placing these two texts in counterpoint (with numerous supplemental readings) this course will emphasize that the ethics of war are an ongoing debate rather than a settled set of maxims or laws. Further, the ethics of war is a context in which broader philosophical, legal, and IR debates take place. Thus, questions about authority, agency, gender, innocence, humanity, and responsibility will be central to discussion.

Course Requirements:

Reading: you will be expected to complete, or at least attempt, every reading each week. Some of these readings will be very difficult, and that's okay – seminar discussions will help us sort out the different claims and arguments each author makes. Failure to be familiar with the readings, or not bringing the texts to class, will result in being marked absent for the day.

Papers: everyone will write three papers – a book review (2-3 pages), a midterm paper (4-6 pages), and a final paper (8-12 pages). The second session of class there will be a sign-up sheet for book reviews – you will choose to read and review one book from a list provided by the instructor. Each book will correspond to one week of class (beginning week 3), and your review will be due that week. I will hand out a template for how to structure an academic book review; you will need to follow it.

Participation: participation in seminar-style courses is key. In order to help facilitate discussion, the week you write your book review you will be designated the “discussion leader” and will be expected to bring 3 discussion questions to class. I may cold call people if the discussion is lagging, but this is not meant as punishment or quizzing. It's okay if you're not sure or don't know – if I call on you, it should be taken as an invitation to a conversation.

Week 1: Realism's Two Critiques of Justice

Thucydides, The Melian Dialogue and Mytilinean Debate (selections from *The Peloponnesian War*)

George F. Kennan, “Morality and Foreign Policy”

Week 2: Realism's False Realism?

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* chapter 1 (“Against Realism”)

Michael Howard, “Temperamenta Belli: Can War be Controlled?”

J. Ann Tickner, “Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Realism: A Feminist Reformulation”

Week 3: When is violence War?

John Mueller, “The Decline of War, the Persistence of Warfare” in *The Remnants of War*

Jocelyn Kelly, “The Ripple Effects of War: How violence can persist after formal peace is declared”

Frantz Fanon, “On Violence” in *The Wretched of the Earth*

Week 4: Church and Early Modern Restraints on War

Helen Kinsella, *The Image Before the Weapon*, chapters 2 & 3

Week 5: When is War a Crime?

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* chapters 2 & 4

Helen Kinsella, *The Image Before the Weapon*, chapter 4

Week 6: Justice in War

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chapters 9 & 10

Edward Said, “A method for thinking about just peace”

Week 7: Civilians: innocents and participants

Helen Kinsella, *The Image Before the Weapon*, chapter 5

Igor Primoratz, “Civilian Immunity in War: Its Grounds, Scope, and Weight”

Gabriel Mares, “Just War After Colonialism and the War on Terror: Reexamining Non-Combatant Immunity”

Week 8: The Question of Intervention, part 1: Is it Different from War?

Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention*

Ben Kioko, “The right of intervention under the African Union's Constitutive Act: From non-interference to non-intervention”

Week 9: The Question of Intervention, part 2

Samuel Moyn, “Spectacular Wrongs” (review of Gary Bass, *Freedom's Battle*)

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* chapter 6

Week 10: Terrorism

Michael Walzer, *Just and Just Wars* chapter 12

Eqbal Ahmad, “Terrorism: Theirs and Ours”

Week 10: Just war in “the periphery”

Helen Kinsella, *The Image Before the Weapon* chapters 6 & 7

Week 11: Guerrilla Warfare

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chapter 11

Michael L. Gross, *The Ethics of Insurgency*, chapters 2 & 3

Carlos Marighella, “Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla,” selections TBD

Week 12: The Responsibility to Protect

Paul D. Williams and Alex Bellamy, “The new Politics of Protection? Cote d'Ivoire, Libya and the Responsibility to Protect”

Mahmood Mamdani, “Responsibility to Protect or Right to Punish?”

Francis Deng, et al., *Sovereignty-as-responsibility: Conflict Resolution in Africa* chapter 1

Week 13: Back to realism? Christian, Islamic, and Hindu Approaches to Justice and War, part 1

Valerie Morkevicius, *Realist Ethics: Just War Traditions as Power Politics* chapters 1, 2, 3

Weeks 14: Back to realism? Christian, Islamic, and Hindu Approaches to Justice and War, part 2

Valerie Morkevicius, *Realist Ethics: Just War Traditions as Power Politics* chapters 4, 5, 6