

## **POL 469F: ETHICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Fall 2024, Tuesdays 11-1

**Instructor: Professor Nancy Bertoldi**

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Office Hours: on zoom on Thursdays 10:30-12 by appointment only

Please book office hours in advance on Quercus and arrive on time to zoom waiting room

Zoom link for office hours will be available on Quercus under announcements

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

The course explores the possibilities for ethical action in international affairs. It is common to theorize international relations in terms of interests and power, but this fails to account for the frequent invocation of the language of justice and fairness in actual international interactions. Drawing on readings from political philosophy, normative international relations theory, feminist theory, critical theory, and post-colonial theory, the course addresses ethical dilemmas encountered in world affairs.

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

1. Describe diverse ethical approaches to central problems from world affairs
2. Identify areas of convergence in scholarly literatures on political theory and international relations
3. Define core concepts that are commonly used in the study of ethics and international relations
4. Discuss the limitations of mainstream approaches to ethics and international relations
5. Develop a critical awareness of the normative dimensions of current controversies in world affairs
6. Write effective essays that apply ethical concepts to contemporary international problems
7. Improve oral and written communication skills
8. Work cooperatively with peers to respectfully discuss controversial and difficult topics

### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

The course will meet for 2 hours of in-person seminar discussion per week. Seminar attendance and participation is mandatory and will be assessed every week. Students who register late should arrange to make-up missed attendance and participation. Successful participation presupposes familiarity with assigned readings, so students should complete assigned readings before the start of each class. All assigned readings are available online, either as online resources through U of T libraries or in pdf form under the library reading list in Quercus.

Performance in the course will be evaluated based on the following components.

Worksheet	15%	due on Quercus on <u>October 22</u> at 11:59 pm
Response paper	30%	due on Quercus on <u>November 5</u> at 11:59 pm
Term test	25%	in class time (11-1) on <u>November 26</u> , room TBA
Participation	30%	required every week

The use of generative artificial intelligence tools or apps for any assignment in this course, including tools like ChatGPT and any other AI writing or coding assistants, is prohibited. Detailed instructions for each required course component are available on Quercus under assignments.

## SEMINAR SCHEDULE

There is no class on October 29 (due to the fall reading week). Drop deadline is November 4.

Sep 3	Week 1	Overview
	<b>Part I</b>	<b>Ethics of International Relations</b>
Sep 10	Week 2	Realist ethics
Sep 17	Week 3	Liberal ethics
Sep 24	Week 4	Rawlsian ethics: ideal theory
Oct 1	Week 5	Rawlsian ethics: non-ideal theory
Oct 8	Week 6	Ethical dialogue
	<b>Part II</b>	<b>International Relations of Ethics</b>
Oct 15	Week 7	International context
Oct 22	Week 8	Nation-states
Nov 5	Week 9	Gender
Nov 12	Week 10	Race and empire
Nov 19	Week 11	Humanity
Nov 26	Week 12	Term test

## READING ASSIGNMENTS

### Week 1: Overview

- No reading assignment.

### Week 2: Realist ethics

- Terry Nardin, "Ethical traditions in international affairs," in Terry Nardin & David Mapel (eds), *Traditions of International Ethics*, (Cambridge, 1992), ch. 1.
- Steven Forde, "Classical realism," in Terry Nardin & David Mapel (eds), *Traditions of International Ethics*, (Cambridge, 1992), ch. 4.
- Jack Donnelly, "The ethics of realism," in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, (Oxford, 2008), ch. 8.
- Duncan Bell, "Political Realism and the Limits of Ethics," in Duncan Bell (ed.), *Ethics and World Politics*, (Oxford, 2010), ch. 5.

### Week 3: Liberal ethics

- Thomas Donaldson, "Kant's global rationalism," in Terry Nardin & David Mapel (eds), *Traditions of International Ethics*, (Cambridge, 1992), ch. 7.
- Anthony Ellis, "Utilitarianism and international ethics," in Terry Nardin & David Mapel (eds), *Traditions of International Ethics*, (Cambridge, 1992), ch. 8.
- David Mapel, "The contractarian tradition and international ethics," in Terry Nardin & David Mapel (eds), *Traditions of International Ethics*, (Cambridge, 1992), ch. 9.
- Michael Joseph Smith, "Liberalism and international reform," in Terry Nardin & David Mapel (eds), *Traditions of International Ethics*, (Cambridge, 1992), ch. 10.

### Week 4: Rawlsian ethics: ideal theory

- John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, (Harvard, 1999), preface, part I, part II, and part IV.

#### Week 5: Rawlsian ethics: non-ideal theory

- John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, (Harvard, 1999), part III.
- Charles Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, (Princeton, 1999), part III and afterword.

#### Week 6: Ethical dialogue

- Sohail Hashmi, "Islamic ethics in international society," in Sohail Hashmi (ed.), *Islamic Political Ethics*, (Princeton, 2002), ch. 8.
- Bassam Tibi, "War and peace in Islam," in Sohail Hashmi (ed.), *Islamic Political Ethics*, (Princeton, 2002), ch. 9.
- Daniel Bell, "Just war and Confucianism," in Daniel Bell (ed.), *Confucian Political Ethics*, (Princeton, 2008), ch. 11.
- Daniel Bell, "Political legitimacy in China," in Joseph Chan, Doh Chull Shin, Melissa Williams (eds.), *East Asian perspectives on political legitimacy*, (Cambridge, 2016), ch. 4.

#### Week 7: International anarchy

- Benjamin de Carvalho, Halvard Leira, and John Hobson, "The Big Bangs of IR: The Myths That Your Teachers Still Tell You about 1648 and 1919." *Millennium* 39 3 (2011): 735-758.
- Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, (Cambridge, 1999), ch. 6.
- Nancy Bertoldi, "Property and International Relations," *International Theory* 16 1 (2024): pp. 1-25.
- Sheryl Lightfoot, "Decolonizing Self-Determination: Haudenosaunee Passports and Negotiated Sovereignty," *European Journal of International Relations* 27 4 (2021): pp. 971-994.

#### Week 8: Nation-states

- Emanuel Adler, "Changing Identities: The Road to Peace" in Emanuel Adler, *Communitarian International Relations*, (Routledge, 2005), ch. 10.
- Edward Said, "A Method for Thinking About Just Peace," in Pierre Allan and Alexis Keller (eds.), *What is a Just Peace?* (Oxford, 2006), ch. 7.
- Iris Marion Young, "Self-Determination as Non-Domination: Ideals Applied to Palestine/Israel," in Iris Marion Young, *Global Challenges*, (Polity, 2007), ch. 3.
- Farid Abdelnour, "Irreconcilable Narratives and Overlapping Consensus: The Jewish State and the Palestinian Right of Return," *Political Research Quarterly* 68 1 (2015), pp. 117-127.

#### Week 9: Gender

- Laura Sjoberg, "The invisible structures of anarchy," *Journal of International Political Theory* 13 3 (2017), pp. 325-340.
- Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 12 4 (1987), pp. 687-718.
- Iris Marion Young, "The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State," in Iris Marion Young, *Global Challenges*, (Polity, 2007), ch. 6.
- Fiona Robinson, "Feminist foreign policy as ethical foreign policy? A care ethics perspective," *Journal of International Political Theory*, 17 1 (2021), pp. 20-37.

### Week 10: Race and empire

- Charles Mills, “Race and Global Justice,” in Duncan Bell (ed.) *Empire, Race, and Global Justice*, (Cambridge, 2019), ch. 4.
- Duncan Bell, *Reordering the World*, (Princeton, 2016), ch. 4.
- Margaret Kohn, “Globalizing Global Justice,” in Duncan Bell (ed.), *Empire, Race, and Global Justice*, (Cambridge, 2019), ch. 7.
- Thomas Piketty, *A Brief History of Equality*, (Harvard, 2022), ch. 4.

### Week 11: Humanity

- Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, (Cornell University Press, 2013), ch. 1.
- Fernando Teson, “The moral basis of armed humanitarian intervention revisited” in Don Scheid (ed.), *The Ethics of Armed Humanitarian Intervention*, (Cambridge, 2014), ch. 4.
- Stephen Zunes, “Complicating the Moral Case of Responsibility to Protect,” in C. A. J. Coady, Ned Dobos, and Sagar Sanyal (editors), *Challenges for Humanitarian Intervention*, (Oxford, 2018), ch. 1.
- Sinja Graf, *The Humanity of Universal Crime*, (Oxford, 2021), ch. 6.

### Week 12: Term test

- No reading assignment.

## **COURSE POLICIES**

**Assignment submission:** All written assignments must be submitted online to Quercus by the due date.

**Late penalties:** Late assignments will be penalized by **2% per late day**, weekends included. The number of late days will be determined by submission times on Quercus. Late assignments will not be accepted after marked assignments have been returned to the class.

**Length penalties:** Students should include word counts in all written assignments. Assignments that are more than 10% longer or shorter than the assigned word count will be penalized by **5%**.

**Grade appeals:** Students who have concerns about the mark they received can request that their work be remarked within two weeks after their marked assignments have been returned. Appeal requests must be submitted in writing and must include a statement of what students feel was overlooked in the marking of their work. Appeals must be submitted in writing to the instructor. In accordance with University of Toronto policies, grades may go up, stay the same, or go down in the appeals process.

**Extensions and make-ups:** No extensions or make-ups will be granted on any assignment, unless students have acceptable reasons that are documented, such as illness or unexpected personal circumstances beyond the student’s control that interfere with the completion of academic obligations. Appropriate documentation must be submitted within one week of missed work. Assignments and tests from other courses scheduled for the same day, work or co-curricular commitments, or transportation problems do not constitute acceptable reasons, so students should plan accordingly in advance. No extensions will be granted after marked assignments have been returned to the class.

**Absences or missed work due to illness:** Students must contact the instructor immediately in cases of illness and must submit appropriate documentation to support accommodations. This documentation can be an absence declaration (via ACORN) or the University’s verification of student illness or injury (VOI) form. The VOI indicates the impact and severity of the illness, while protecting student privacy about the details of the nature of the illness. Students can also submit a letter from a doctor in lieu of the VOI, as long as it is an original medical document, and it contains the same information as the VOI (including dates, academic impact, practitioner’s signature, phone and registration number). More information on the VOI is available at <http://www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca>. For more information on the absence declaration Tool for A&S students, please see <https://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/absence>. Students who get a concussion, break a hand, or suffer some other acute injury should also register with accessibility services as soon as possible.

**Academic integrity:**

- Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University’s plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool’s reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University’s use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>).
- All sources used in written assignments must be properly cited. Failure to acknowledge sources constitutes plagiarism which is a serious academic offense. Students should review “How Not to Plagiarize” and other advice on using sources at [www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources](http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources).
- The University of Toronto expects students to complete assignments on their own, without any outside assistance, unless otherwise specified. No outside assistance is permitted on any assignment for this course. The use of AI tools or any other outside assistance on course assignments will be considered an “unauthorized aid” under the *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* and will be treated as “any other form of cheating”.

**Code of conduct:** The University of Toronto expects all its members to treat each other with courtesy and respect at all times. All members of the learning environment in this course should strive to create an atmosphere of mutual respect where all members of our community can express themselves, engage with each other, and voice different views. Students should make sure to read the University’s Student Code of Conduct <<https://governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/secretariat/policies/code-student-conduct-december-13-2019>> and the University’s policy on the Appropriate Use of Information and Communication Technology <<https://www.provost.utoronto.ca/planning-policy/information-communication-technology-appropriate-use/>>.

## RESOURCES

**Accessibility services:** The instructor is fully committed to providing students with fair access to the course. Students with special needs or disabilities should register with accessibility services to arrange for accommodation needs.

**Registrar support:** Students should contact their registrar promptly if they experience unexpected challenges during the course that may require accommodation.

### **Writing support:**

- Students can visit [www.writing.utoronto.ca](http://www.writing.utoronto.ca) for information and advice on all aspects of academic writing. More than 60 advice files on all aspects of academic writing are available at <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca>. Printable PDF versions are listed at <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/student-pdfs>. The advice on “How Not to Plagiarize” and on standard documentation formats and methods of integrating sources are particularly important and are listed at <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources>. This is also posted on Quercus.
- Writing centers can offer individualized consultations on written assignments. Interested students should book their appointments with specific writing centers early, as they fill up fast. More information about the writing centers is available at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/arts-and-science>.
- For group instruction on writing and study skills, students can take advantage of the “Writing Plus” workshop series, conducted in person and through Zoom. More information about the writing plus workshops is available at <https://uoft.me/writingplus>.
- International students can find information about the English Language Learning program (ELL) at <https://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/current/academic-advising-and-support/english-language-learning>. For more information, please contact the ELL coordinator Leora Freedman at [ell.newcollege@utoronto.ca](mailto:ell.newcollege@utoronto.ca).
- Recognized Study Groups (RSG) are student-led study groups of up to 8 students enrolled in the same A&S course: <https://sidneysmithcommons.artsci.utoronto.ca/recognized-study-groups/>
- The Meet to Complete (MTC) program helps students stay focused by working alongside a small group of students: <https://sidneysmithcommons.artsci.utoronto.ca/meet-to-complete/>

**Health and wellness:** The University’s mental health portal <https://mentalhealth.utoronto.ca/> lists the wide range of available resources that support student wellbeing. Students can also consult the programs that are listed at: <https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/department/health-wellness/>

**Crisis support:** If you’re experiencing distress, you are not alone! Please reach out for help!

Many free crisis lines and support services are available at U of T and the City of Toronto including:

- U of T Telus Health Student Support (formerly My SSP) available 24/7. Call 1-844-451-9700. Outside of North America, call 001-416-380-6578. Online information: <https://mentalhealth.utoronto.ca/telus-health-student-support/>
- University of Toronto: <https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/task/support-when-you-feel-distressed/>
- Good 2 Talk Student Helpline: 1-866-925-5454
- Gerstein Crisis Centre: 416-929-5200
- City of Toronto crisis services: <https://www.toronto.ca/home/311-toronto-at-your-service/find-service-information/?ctx=homepage&keywords=crisis>
- Distress Centres of Greater Toronto: 416-408-HELP (4357), <https://www.dcoft.com>
- The Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (CAMH): 250 College Street (walk-in)

Many of these services are available 24 hours a day every day and some have expertise in addressing specific problems that students may be experiencing. It is always a good idea to also inform your registrar of your circumstances as soon as you are able.