

**TH563-01 / IN600-01**  
**Ethics, Religion and International Politics**  
**Boston College, Fall, 2005**  
**Tuesday and Thursday, 3-4:15, O'Neill 253**

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**Materials:**

**Books marked \* are available in the BC bookstore and will be on reserve in O'Neill Library. These books are:**

\*Robert Cooper. *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*. Paperback. Grove Press, ISBN: 0802141641

\*R. Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*. Paper. Rowman & Littlefield Publishing; ISBN: 0847685551

\*Jonathan Sacks, *The Dignity of Difference*. Paper. Continuum Books. ISBN: 0-8264-6850-0

\*Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument With Historical Illustrations*. 3rd edition. Paperback. Basic Books. ISBN: 0465037054

\*John Kelsay, *Islam and War: A Study in Comparative Ethics*. Paperback: Westminster John Knox Press. ISBN: 0664253024

\*Amartya K. Sen, *Development as Freedom*. Paper. Anchor Books; ISBN: 0385720270 .

**Readings marked # are in a package of photocopied readings available in the BC bookstore. These readings are:**

#Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (Christian Classics, 1981), vol II pp. 996-999, 1003-05, 1009-17; vol. III., pp. 1212-13, 1216, 1220-21, 1359-60, 1470-71, 1474-75, 1464-66.

**Readings marked + are available in Online Reserve with the BC Library.** To obtain these readings go to: <http://www.bc.edu/libraries/services/reserves/> Then click on Course Reserves Catalogue, and enter Name of Course ("Ethics, Religion, and International Politics") or Name of Instructor ("Hollenbach"), Title of Reading, or Author. You will need a BC user name and password to access these readings. Cross registrants can arrange this with the TA. These readings are:

+Alessandro Passerin d'Entrèves, *Natural Law: An Introduction to Legal Philosophy*, chaps. 2 and 3, pp. 22-50.

+Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, trans. Stephen Lattimore (Hackett, 1998), pp. 294-301.

+Reinhold Niebuhr, "Why the Christian Church is Not Pacifist," in *The Essential Reinhold Niebuhr*, Robert McAfee Brown, ed. Yale University Press, 1986, pp. 102-119.

+John Stuart Mill, "A Few Words on Non-Intervention," in Mill, *Collected Works*, vol. 21 (University of Toronto Press, 1963-1991), pp. 109-124.

+Martha Nussbaum, *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, 2002 edition, 2-29, 131-146, 150-151 (includes Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," Appiah, "Cosmopolitan Patriots," Nussbaum, "Reply," and related "Notes").

+Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide" *Atlantic Monthly*, Sept., 2001, vol. 288, 2, pp. 84-108.

+Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (Summer, 1993): 22-49.

+Mary Ann Glendon, "Knowing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," *Notre Dame Law Review* 73, no. 5 (1998), pp. 1153-1176.

+Theodore Koontz, "Christian Nonviolence: An Interpretation," in Terry Nardin, ed., *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives*.

+Arthur Holmes, ed., *War and Christian Ethics*, Baker Book House, 1975, Selections from Augustine, pp. 61-83; Selections from Thomas Aquinas, pp.106-117.

+Stephen Pope, "The Convergence of Forgiveness and Justice: Lessons from El Salvador," *Theological Studies*, Dec. 2003, pp. 812-835.

+J. Bryan Hehir, "Overview," in *Religion and World Affairs*, proceedings of a conference organized by the DACOR Bacon House Foundation, Oct. 6, 1995, pp. 11-19

**Other readings** are available online as indicated in the syllabus, with links provided on the electronic syllabus.

## **Syllabus.**

An electronic version of this syllabus, with links to some readings, is available on the instructor's webpage: <http://www2.bc.edu/~hollenb/>

### **9/6 Introduction: the problem of ethics, religion, and international politics.**

Videotape introduction to course by professor

Recommended reading:

Stanley Hoffmann, *Duties Beyond Borders: On the Limits and Possibilities of Ethical International Politics*, chap. 1, pp. 1-43.

Jose Cassanova, *Public Religion in the Modern World*, chap. 1, 11-39.

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society*, chaps. 1 and 2, pp. 3-52.

### **9/8 Case: the Rwanda genocide.**

NOTE: THIS CLASS WILL BE IN O'NEILL LIBRARY, ROOM 211

Film shown in class: "Frontline: The Triumph of Evil."

Readings:

General Assembly of the United Nations, Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, available online at: [http://193.194.138.190/html/menu3/b/p\\_genoci.htm](http://193.194.138.190/html/menu3/b/p_genoci.htm) See esp. the definition of genocide (art. 2) and the commitment to prevent it (art. 1).

Monty G. Marshall and Ted Robert Gurr, *Peace and Violent Conflict 2005*, biannual study from the University of Maryland Center for International Development and Conflict Management, chaps 1-4 (pp. 1-20). Online at: <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/PC05print.pdf>

Read this material on the overall situation of conflict in the world today to provide background on the context of the Rwanda genocide.

Recommended:

"Frontline: The Triumph of Evil," webpage related to the film viewed in class, available at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/>

## **9/13 Examination of the Case: International response to the Rwanda genocide**

+Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide" *The Atlantic Monthly*, Sept, 2001, vol. 288, 2; pp. 84-108. Online reserve.

"The U.S. and Genocide in Rwanda 1994," documentation on U.S. policy regarding the Rwanda genocide, available from the National Security Archive online at:  
<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB53/index.html>

Recommended:

Alan J. Kuperman, "Rwanda in Retrospect," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2000.

Alison L. DesForges and Alan J. Kuperman, "Shame: Rationalizing Western Apathy on Rwanda," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2000.

Scott Straus, "Darfur and the Genocide Debate," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2005.

Video, "A Good Man in Hell," interview of Gen. Romeo Dallaire by Ted Koppel at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, O'Neill Media Center.

Michael Ignatieff, *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience*.

## **A. Models of the role of ethics in international politics.**

### **9/15 Natural law and *jus gentium* (the law of peoples)**

+Alessandro Passerin d'Entrèves, *Natural Law: An Introduction to Legal Philosophy*, chaps. 2 and 3, pp. 22-50. Online reserve.

#Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, I-II, q. 91, arts. 1-4; q. 93, arts. 1-3; q. 94, arts. 2-6; q. 95, arts. 1-4. Coursepack pages 1-9.

### **9/20 Realism and Liberalism**

+Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, trans. Stephen Lattimore, Hackett, 1998, pp. 294-301 ("The Melian Dialogue"). Online reserve.

+Reinhold Niebuhr, "Why the Christian Church is Not Pacifist," in *The Essential Reinhold Niebuhr*, Robert McAfee Brown, ed. Yale University Press, 1986, pp. 102-119. Online reserve.

+John Stuart Mill, "A Few Words on Non-Intervention," in Mill, *Collected Works*, vol. 21, pp. 109-124 Online reserve.

\*Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations*, pp. vii-26.

Recommended:

Condoleeza Rice, "Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs* 79, no. 1 (2000), pp. 45-62.

David R. Mapel, "Realism and the Ethics of War and Peace," and Jeff McMahan, "Realism, Morality, and War," in Terry Nardin, ed., *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives*, pp. 54-92.

### **9/22 Cosmopolitanism and International cooperation.**

+Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Cosmopolitan Patriots," Nussbaum, "Reply," and related "Notes"), in Nussbaum, *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, pp. 2-29, 131-146, 150-151 (online reserve).

\*Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations*, pp.26-54.

*United Nations Charter*, Preamble and Chaps. 1 and 2. Available online at:  
<http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/index.html>

Recommended:

Immanuel Kant, "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Intent" in *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays*, Ted Humphrey, ed., pp. 29-40, also available online at:  
<http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/ethics/kant/universal-history.htm>.

Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace," in *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays*, pp. 107-143. Also available online at: <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm>

### **9/27 Ethics and models of international politics today.**

\*Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations*, pp.55-172.

Pope John Paul II, "Address to the Fiftieth General Assembly of the United Nations Organization," October 5, 1995. Available online  
[http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/john\\_paul\\_ii/speeches/1995/october/documents/hf\\_jp-ii\\_spe\\_05101995\\_address-to-uno\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1995/october/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_05101995_address-to-uno_en.html)

Recommended:

*The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (September, 2002), available online at the U.S. State Department web site at:  
<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/wh/c7889.htm>

Stanley Hoffmann, "The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism," *Foreign Policy* 98 (1995): 159-177.

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society*, chaps. 3 and 4, pp. 53-98.

### **First paper due 9/29 (next class)**

## **B. Ethnic/cultural//religious conflict and human rights.**

### **9/29, 10/4 Civilizational and religious conflict**

+Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs*, 72, no. 3 (Summer, 1993): 22-49. Online reserve.

\*R. Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*, Introduction and chaps. 1-3, pp. 1-120.

### **10/6 The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights**

U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Available on the internet at <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>

+Mary Ann Glendon, "Knowing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," *Notre Dame Law Review* 73, no. 5 (1998), pp. 1153-1176. Online reserve.

### **10/11 Religious actors for peace, justice, and human rights**

\*R. Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*, chap. 4, pp.121-164.

\*Jonathan Sacks, *The Dignity of Difference*, chaps. 1-2, pp. 1-44.

### **10/13, 10/18 Antecedents and Developments of Human rights in Jewish, Christian and natural law traditions**

\*Jonathan Sacks, *The Dignity of Difference*, chaps 3, pp. 45-66.

#Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, II-II, q. 10, arts. 8 and 11, q. 11, art 3 (tolerance of unbelievers and heretics); q. 42, art 2, (on sedition) q. 66, art. 7 (on theft and robbery). Coursepack pages 10-14.

\*R. Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion*, chap. 7, pp. 245-280.

Pope John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris (Peace on Earth)*, 1963 Encyclical Letter on world

peace and human rights, esp. nos 1-38, 80-145. Available online at:  
[http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/john\\_xxiii/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_j-xxiii\\_enc\\_11041963\\_pacem\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_xxiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_11041963_pacem_en.html)

## **Second paper due 10/20 (next class)**

### **C. Ethical and religious traditions on the use of force**

#### **10/20 10/25 Nonviolence and just war theory in Christian traditions**

+Theodore Koontz, "Christian Nonviolence: An Interpretation," in Terry Nardin, ed., *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives*. Online reserve.

+Arthur Holmes, ed., *War and Christian Ethics*, Baker Book House, 1975, selections from Augustine, pp. 61-83; selections from Thomas Aquinas, pp.106-117. Online reserve.

#Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, II-II, q. 64, arts. 6 and 7 ("Whether it is ever lawful to kill the innocent?" and "Whether it is lawful to kill a man in self defense?"). Coursepack, pages 15-16.

National Conference of Catholic Bishops, "The Church's Teaching on War and Peace"--excerpts from "The Harvest of Justice is Sown in Peace," November 17, 1993, available online at: <http://www.usccb.org/sdwp/harvestexr.htm> Includes link to the full text of this document.

#### **10/27 *Ad bellum* norms today.**

\*Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chaps. 2-4, pp. 21-73.

#### **11/1 *Ad bellum* norms in Islam**

\*John Kelsay, *Islam and War: A Study in Comparative Ethics*, Intro. and chaps. 1-3, pp. 1-55.

**11/3 Substitution for class:** 4:30 PM, Robsham Theater. Lecture by **Mary Robinson**, former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, former President of Ireland, and president of the Ethical Globalization Initiative, on "**Human Rights and Justice for Refugees.**" This lecture is a substitute for class, so all students in the course are expected to attend unless a conflict with another class prevents this. Attendance requires a ticket (no fee), and students are expected to obtain their own tickets. How to do this will be announced in class.

### **11/8 Preemption and humanitarian intervention as just cause?**

\*Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chaps. 5, 6, 7, pp. 74-124.

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* (December 2001), Synopsis, and chapters 1, 2. Available in both HTML and PDF formats on the Commission's website at: <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/iciss-ciise/report-en.asp>

### **11/10 *Jus in bello*, total war and weapons of mass destruction**

\*Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chap. 8, 9, 11, 12, 16-17, pp. 127-159, 176-206, 251-283.

\*John Kelsay, *Islam and War*, chap. 4 and 5, pp.57-110.

### **Third paper due 11/15 (next class)**

#### **11/15 Modes of peacebuilding**

\*R. Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*, chap. 8, pp. 281-307.

+Stephen Pope, "The Convergence of Forgiveness and Justice: Lessons from El Salvador," *Theological Studies* 64, no. 4 (Dec. 2003), 812-835. Online reserve.

## **D. Economic Justice**

### **11/17, 1/22 The Challenge of Global Markets**

\*Jonathan Sacks, *The Dignity of Difference*, chaps 4-5, pp. 67-104.

\*Amartya K. Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Introduction and chaps. 1-4, pp. 3-110.

### **11/24 No class, Thanksgiving holiday**

### **11/22, 11/29 Frameworks for international distributive justice**

\*Jonathan Sacks, *The Dignity of Difference*, chaps 6-7, pp. 105-141.

National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Economic Justice for All: Pastoral letter on Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy*, chap. 2, secs. A and B, nos. 28-95; chap. 3, sec. D, nos. 251-294. NOTE WELL: the paragraph numbers of the "Pastoral Message" that precedes *Economic Justice for All* on this website should not be confused



with the paragraph numbers of the document itself, which begins with "Chapter I." It is available on the internet at this URL: <http://www.osjspm.org/cst/eja.htm>

### **12/1 Markets, democracy, and economic development**

\*Amartya K. Sen, *Development as Freedom*, chaps. 5-7, pp.111-189.

### **Fourth paper due 12/6 (next class)**

### **12/6 Gender, population, environment, and the social framework of development**

\*Amartya K. Sen, *Development as Freedom*, chaps. 8, 9, 11,12, pp.189-226, 249-298.

\*Jonathan Sacks, *The Dignity of Difference*, chap. 9, pp. 161-176.

## **E. Concluding overview**

### **12/8 The role of religious and other advocacy communities in international politics**

+J. Bryan Hehir, "Overview," in *Religion and World Affairs*, proceedings of a conference organized by the DACOR Bacon House Foundation, Oct. 6, 1995, pp. 11-19.

\*Jonathan Sacks, *The Dignity of Difference*, chap. 8, 10, 11, pp. 142-160, 177-209.

Recommended:

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Introduction and Conclusions, pp. 1-38, 199-217.

## **Requirements:**

- I.** Read all assigned readings before the class for which they are assigned.
- II.** Attend class and participate in class discussion. Active engagement in discussion can help your grade.
- III.** Four short papers (4-5 pages, double-spaced). These papers are due on Sept. 29, Oct. 20, Nov.10, and Dec.6. Topics for these papers will be distributed in advance. Each paper 16.25% of final grade.

#### IV. Final assignment

**For all undergraduates :** Final examination. A number of essay topics for the exam will be distributed in advance; in the exam you will be asked to respond to two of these topic that have been selected by the professor. The topics will be synthetic. It will be assessed in light of the evidence that a. the assigned readings have been done with care and that their relevance to the topic of the essay has been understood; b. that the relevant material covered in class lectures has been understood and appropriated; γ. the success of the essay in synthesizing material from diverse readings and lectures that are relevant to the topics of the essays. 35% of final grade. The exam will take place on Saturday, December 17, at 9:00 A.M., in the regularly scheduled classroom . **Make all travel plans in accord with this exam time.**

#### **For graduate students:**

Either the final exam as described above,

Or: a final paper, approximately 15 pages, on a topic agreed in advance with the professor. Graduate students choosing this option should submit a one page proposal for the paper to the professor and should meet with the professor to discuss it and have it approved by November 18. It is the responsibility of the student to take the initiative in submitting this proposal and scheduling this meeting. If this deadline is missed the student will take the final exam. The paper is due by December 15. 35% of final grade.