

The Ethics of Peace, War, and Defense

POLI/PWAD/PHIL 272

Fall 2021

MWF 11:15 AM-12:05 PM

Phillips 0247

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Hamilton/Pauli Murray Hall 303

Course Description

This course is a survey of the main questions, controversies, and debates regarding the ethics of peace, war, and defense. The questions covered in this course range from the incredibly broad (is a just war even possible?) down to specific questions concerning the morality of drone warfare, assassinations, and other tactics within war. Topics include potential justifications for defensive, pre-emptive, and preventative war; the combatant/non-combatant distinction; direct vs. collateral damage to non-combatants; the use of tactics including terror, torture, and impersonal warfare; economic and strategic sanctions and blockades, and more.

By the conclusion of this course, students should be able to understand and clearly articulate a variety of criteria for examining the justice of employing military force in war. Students should also be able to identify and analyze the relevant moral and ethical questions and considerations that arise in strategic military and political decision making, and make attempts to reach principled and conceptually rigorous conclusions regarding the use of military force in a given context.

Course Schedule

This course is broadly organized into three units, which allows us to organize the ethical questions of this course into three broad categories. First, we will discuss the justice of war itself, and what considerations might make a war just. In the second unit, we will focus on questions of tactics *within* war—or how to conduct a war in a just *manner*. In the final unit, we will turn to questions of nation-building, reparations, and restorative justice—in other words, questions concerning how to ensure the administration of justice after a war is concluded. Each unit will conclude with a short exam (with the Unit III exam taking the place of a traditional final exam).

A detailed course schedule for each unit may be found below. I reserve the right to make changes to the syllabus, including project due dates and test dates. These changes will be announced as early as possible.

Course Requirements and Grading

Your course grade will be determined by your satisfaction of the following requirements, and weighted as listed below.

Assignment Weights

Participation: 10%

Unit I Exam: 10%

Paper I: 15%

Unit II Exam: 15%

Paper II: 25%

Unit III Exam: 15%

Reading Quizzes: 10% (5 quizzes, totaling 2% each).

Participation and Effort:

Regular and timely attendance is essential to your success in this class. Unexplained absences cost valuable time; late entrances distract the class. I understand that things happen and that sometimes your absence is unavoidable—in those circumstances, please notify me prior to class.

In a class of this size, I do not expect you to speak every period. I do, however, expect every student to make thoughtful contributions throughout the term. Participation is not only measured in quantity, but in quality. I cannot entirely exempt you from speaking in class, no matter how reticent or shy you are. You may, however, bolster your contributions to the class in other ways. Participation in this class may take many forms, and I am generally open-minded—it may include, for instance, asking and answering thoughtful questions in our Slack workspace and meeting with me in office hours in addition to speaking up in class.

You should come to class having completed the assigned readings and prepared your thoughts for discussion. You should be present not only physically, but mentally—focused, taking notes, and engaging with the content and each other.

Exams and Quizzes

There will be **three** exams in this course, corresponding to the conclusion of each course unit. The first exam is worth 10 percent of your grade; the latter two are worth 15 percent each. These assessments are designed to measure your knowledge of the readings assigned and discussed in class, as well as other course concepts. Exams are open book and open note, though no other resources will be permitted. Exams will include a combination of short-answer questions and essays.

There will be **five** brief and unannounced quizzes during the semester. Each quiz will cover content from the previous class as well as from the assigned readings for the day of the quiz. You may drop the lowest quiz grade; the remaining four quizzes are weighted equally at 2 percent each, totaling 10 percent of the course grade.

Absences from exams and quizzes will only be excused for documented medical or family emergencies, such as those outlined in the illness/quarantine policy below. Make up exams or quizzes will be scheduled at my convenience, and may differ from the exam or quiz taken in the class. *You must take the final exam in order to pass the class.*

Papers

You will write **two** approximately five-page papers for this course. The first paper is worth 15 percent of your grade; the second is worth 25 percent. Together, they total 40 percent of your course grade—so please take them seriously. Producing any type of writing is a process of drafting, sharing, redrafting, and revising. In this course, I highly recommend you begin thinking about your paper as soon as you receive the prompt. These papers are your primary opportunity to develop and improve your interpretive, critical, and analytic skills in writing.

An excellent paper will be stylistically elegant and almost entirely free of errors, while demonstrating a clear and cogent understanding of course content and the issues outlined in the prompt. Good papers will contain a significant amount of original critical analysis; a summary or outline of the paper without a well-developed argument is not adequate and will not receive a good grade. *Failure to submit two papers will result in failure of the course.*

The bulk of your paper grade will be based on your demonstrated understanding and critical analysis of the text, your response to the prompt, and your clear, error-free, and elegant use of the English language. You may, however, be penalized for failing to adhere to the following guidelines.

Paper Guidelines

Submission: Papers must be submitted by the deadline marked on the prompt. Upload your completed paper to the ‘Drop Box’ folder on the course Sakai site. This is a private, secure folder that only you and I can access. I will return your graded paper via Drop Box. Your file should be named ‘[LastnameFirstname] I’ or ‘[LastnameFirstname] II’ (for example, my first essay would be named ‘YoungMatthew I’), and saved as a .doc or .docx file format.

Formatting and Length: Papers must be typed in a 12-point serif font such as Times New Roman, Georgia, or Garamond, with 1-inch margins. Please place page numbers on all pages and keep first-page assignment info (my name, course numbers, etc.) to a minimum. Your word count (excluding bibliographic entries and assignment info) should be clearly typed at the top of the paper. Papers should fall within the length specified within the assignment (for example, 800-1200 words). Papers shorter than the minimum length will have a multiplicative penalty of length/minimum applied, while papers longer than the maximum will have a multiplicative penalty of maximum/length applied. Roughly speaking, this means that if you submit a paper that is only 75 percent of the required length, you can earn at most 75 percent of the available credit.

Works Cited: You should include a works cited page at the end of your paper if you reference any works other than those assigned. I do not care what bibliographic style you use, so long as I can track down the source. You *must*, however, include specific page number citations (either parenthetical or as footnotes) when you reference or quote a text.

Lateness: All students will be given one ‘grace day’ for their papers. You may turn in one paper, one day (24 hours) late, without penalty. After that, late papers will be assessed a 10 percent penalty for each day late.

Grading Scale

All letter grades will be given according to the following scale:

A	93-100
A-	90-92
B+	87-89
B	83-86
B-	80-82
C+	77-79
C	73-76
C-	70-72
D+	67-69
D	63-66
F	0-62

Technology, Civility, and Classroom Behavior

Laptops, tablets, e-readers, cell phones, and other electronic devices will rarely be necessary for this class, and should be silenced and put away. Pedagogical studies suggest that material is better processed and retained when students take notes by hand—and electronics in the classroom often prove a distraction for both users and those around them. I may grant exceptions to this policy on an individual basis for those with documented accessibility needs.

Please do your best to remain attentive and engaged in class. I can guarantee you that I put considerable effort into being prepared for class and your questions, and will do my best to make our discussions engaging and interesting. I ask that you do the same. Together, we can make this a pleasant and productive experience.

In this course, we will frequently discuss ideas, theories, and concepts that may be divisive or contentious. I expect the highest standard of civil discourse and mutual respect from, and for, all participants in this class. For my part, it is not my goal to persuade you to see politics through any particular lens or to share my own political conclusions. As I will explicitly remind you throughout the term, my aim is to help you to appraise and examine the various positions we encounter with intellectual charity, integrity, and rigor. Some of the ideas we encounter may be similar to convictions that you or others you know hold. Other ideas may be contrary to your own deeply held religious, ethical, or political commitments. In all, I expect you to react with academic integrity, maturity, and civility.

Communication

There are several open avenues of communication for you, including Sakai, Slack, and email. I'll explain how to use each option below. It is your responsibility to regularly check your UNC email address, as that is how I will contact you with regards to any urgent matter.

Sakai: I will use Sakai for posting assignments, returning graded assignments, and posting course readings not contained in the book. I'll also use Sakai to make course-wide announcements, such as changes to the course schedule.

Slack: I've opened a Slack Workspace for our class. Slack is a very useful instant-message-based platform for work and collaboration, used in many workplaces and organizations. We'll talk more about how to use Slack, but Slack will be our hub for discussion and conversation surrounding the class. I'll often post discussion questions or reading questions on Slack—and you can respond to these as well as post questions or comments of your own. Slack is a great tool for finding study partners or collaborating with your peers. You should use Slack for short questions directed to me, questions about assignments, papers, or readings that you think other students might share, reactions to and discussions of the readings or class discussions, or carrying on conversations beyond the classroom. Regular participation on Slack can count towards your participation grade in the course.

Office Hours: I will keep regular office hours as listed at the top of the syllabus. If you cannot make my regular office hours, please email me to make an appointment. I am happy to meet with you either in-person or virtually via Zoom.

Email: You should use email for any communication that should remain private, including questions about grades, requests for extensions, explanations of absences, etc. My email address is mhyoung@live.unc.edu

I strive to be prompt in responding to your messages, regardless of the medium. However, you should not that I keep normal working hours and as such may not immediately answer messages that arrive late at night or during the weekend. I do not, as a rule, read or respond to emails or messages on Sunday.

Course Texts

You should purchase a print copy of the following text:

Walzer, Michael. *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*, Fifth Edition. Basic Books. ISBN: 9780465052714

All other readings will be made available on Sakai.

Other Policies and Resources

COVID-19 Policies

All students are expected to follow the University's COVID-19 Community Standards, available [here](#). We are required to wear face masks inside all University buildings, including during class. Masks can sometimes make it difficult to hear or converse—so please make sure you speak up and enunciate clearly!

If you are ill, please do not come to class. If you must miss class because you are ill or are quarantined, please let me know as soon as possible so that arrangements may be made to help you keep up.

Honor Code and Academic Integrity

Students and faculty at UNC are governed by the Honor Code. Academic dishonesty—including lying, cheating, or stealing—will absolutely not be tolerated. Any student who is caught presenting someone else’s work as their own, making inappropriate use of resources, or behaving dishonestly in any manner will be strictly penalized, reported to the relevant authorities, and may be subject to Honor Course proceedings.

For additional information about academic integrity, plagiarism, and the honor code, please see <http://www.lib.unc.edu/plagiarism> and honor.unc.edu.

Accessibility Statement

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill facilitates the implementation of reasonable accommodations, including resources and services, for students with disabilities, chronic medical conditions, a temporary disability or pregnancy complications resulting in barriers to fully accessing University courses, programs and activities.

Accommodations are determined through the Office of Accessibility Resources and Service (ARS) for individuals with documented qualifying disabilities in accordance with applicable state and federal laws. See the ARS Website for contact information: <https://ars.unc.edu> or email ars@unc.edu.

Counseling and Psychological Services

CAPS is strongly committed to addressing the mental health needs of a diverse student body through timely access to consultation and connection to clinically appropriate services, whether for short or long-term needs. Go to their website: <https://caps.unc.edu/> or visit their facilities on the third floor of the Campus Health Services building for a walk-in evaluation to learn more.

Title IX Resources

Any student who is impacted by discrimination, harassment, interpersonal (relationship) violence, sexual violence, sexual exploitation, or stalking is encouraged to seek resources on campus or in the community. Reports can be made online to the EOC at <https://eoc.unc.edu/report-an-incident/>. Please contact the University’s Title IX Coordinator (Elizabeth Hall, interim – titleixcoordinator@unc.edu), Report and Response Coordinators in the Equal Opportunity and Compliance Office (reportandresponse@unc.edu), Counseling and Psychological Services (confidential), or the Gender Violence Services Coordinators (gvsc@unc.edu; confidential) to discuss your specific needs. Additional resources are available at safe.unc.edu.

Learning Resources

I highly recommend that students make use of the resources made available via the UNC Learning Center or the Writing Center. Available resources include individual consultations, academic coaching, and personalized writing consultations. Visit learningcenter.unc.edu or <https://writingcenter.unc.edu/> for more information.

Course Schedule

- Aug 18 Introduction – Syllabus; “Preface to the Fifth Edition”; “Preface to the First Edition.”
- Aug 20 *Three Views of Ethics*. Ken Burns, “[War Is All Hell](#)” [Video].
- Three Views of War and Conflict***
- Aug 20 *Realism*. Morgenthau, “Six Principles of Realism.”
- Aug 23 Walzer, ch. 1. “Against Realism.”
- Aug 25 *Pacifism*. May, “Contingent Pacifism.” Walzer, “Afterword: Nonviolence and the Theory of War.”
- Aug 27 *Pacifism*. Hauerwas, “Pacifism.”
- Aug 30 Walzer, ch. 2. “The Crime of War.”
- Sep 1 Walzer, ch. 3. “The Rules of War.”
- Sep 3 McMahan, “The Ethics of Killing in War.”
- Jus Ad Bellum – Just Reasons for War – “When is war permissible?”***
- Sep 6 NO CLASS
- Sep 8 *Just War Theory: Overview*. GEM Ascombe, “War and Murder.”
- Sep 10 *Aggression and self-defense*. Walzer, ch. 4. “Law and Order in International Society.”
- Sep 13 *Anticipation*. Walzer, ch. 5. “Anticipations.”; Luban, “Preventative War.”
- Sep 15 *Intervention*. Walzer, ch. 6., “Interventions.”
- Sep 17 *Intervention*. Walzer, “The Case Against our Attack on Libya”; Galston, “Necessary and Sufficient: The Case Against Libyan Intervention is Philosophically Flawed.”
- Sep 20 *Actions short of war*: Diplomacy, threats, and sanctions/support for allies.
- Jus In Bello – “Fighting Well”***
- Sep 22 *Overview*. Walzer, ch. 8. “War’s Means and the Importance of Fighting Well.”
- Proportionality*.
- Sep 24 Walzer, “Non-Combatant Immunity and Military Necessity.”
- Sep 27 *The question of Responsibility*. McMahan, “Should A Soldier Be Expected to Know Whether His War is Just?”
- Sep 29 Lazar, “The Responsibility Dilemma.”
- Oct 1 NO CLASS.
- Oct 4 **EXAM I**
- Oct 6 *Distinction*. Walzer, ch. 10. “War Against Civilians: Sieges and Blockades.”
- Oct 8 Walzer, ch. 11. “Guerilla War.”

- Oct 11 *Terrorism*. Walzer, ch. 12. “Terrorism.”
- Oct 13 *Terrorism*. Primoratz, “The Morality of Terrorism.”
- Oct 15 *Torture*. Sussman, “What’s Wrong with Torture?” (pp. 30-33); Allhoff, “Terrorism and Torture”; Shatz, “The Torture of Algiers.”
- Oct 18 *Targeted Killing*. Waldron, “Death Squads and Death Lists”; Statman, “Targeted Killing.”
- Oct 20 *Remote Warfare*. Frowe, ch. 11. “Remote Warfare.”; Walzer, “Why Insurgents Often Win.”
- Oct 22 NO CLASS – FALL BREAK – Watch “Eye in the Sky?”
- Oct 25 *Reprisals*. Walzer, ch. 13. “Reprisals.”
- Oct 27 *Supreme Emergency*. Walzer, ch. 16. “Supreme Emergency.”
- Oct 29 *Nuclear Deterrence*. Walzer, ch. 17. “Nuclear Deterrence.” G.E.M. Anscombe, “Mr. Truman’s Degree.”
- Nov 1 **Exam II**
- Nov 3 Walzer, ch. 18. “The Crime of Aggression.”
- Nov 5 Walzer, ch. 19. “War Crimes”
- Nov 8 Wolfendale, “Professional Integrity and Disobedience in the Military.”
- Nov 10 Film: “A War”
- Nov 12 Film: “A War”
- Nov 15 Orend, “Justice After War.”
- Nov 17 Williams and Caldwell, “*Jus Post Bellum*: Just War Theory and the Principles of Just Peace.”
- Nov 19 Rozpedowski, “Just Peace at War’s End: The *jus post bellum* Principles as National and Human Security Imperatives – Lessons of Iraq and Kosovo.”
- Nov 22 OPEN DAY/FLEX DAY
- Nov 24 NO CLASS – THANKSGIVING RECESS
- Nov 26 NO CLASS – THANKSGIVING RECESS
- Nov 29 Fazal, “Why States No Longer Declare War.”
- Dec 1 *Review and Conclusion*. Walzer, “Postscript.”