COURSE DESCRIPTION

Representative subjects include the justification of defensive, pre-emptive and preventive wars; humanitarian intervention; the combatant/noncombatant distinction; the moral equality of soldiers; the distinction between direct and "collateral" harm to civilians; sieges, blockades and economic sanctions; guerilla warfare; terrorism and reprisals; supreme emergency and torture; drones.

There are three main texts for the course: Helen Frowe’s *The Ethics of War: An Introduction*; Michael Walzer’s *Just and Unjust Wars*; J. Glenn Gray’s *The Warriors*. There will also be critical essays various topics by a number of other political theorists and philosophers, as well as some short stories and excerpts from war memoirs. Readings are listed below and will be available on Desire2Learn.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The main course requirement is participation. If you come to each class having read the material carefully and take an *active* role in the discussion then you will have finished almost everything you need to do by the end of the semester. There will be no final. The following requirements are aimed at encouraging participation.

**Reading materials:** You are *required* to bring texts and to download articles and bring them with you to class. You can use a computer in class rather than downloading a hard copy, *provided* that there is no surfing or other abuse of the privilege. If there is, then everyone in the class will be required to download hard copies. I suggest downloading and marking up hard copies in any case, as studies show that students learn better when they perform the physical acts of taking handwritten notes on the readings and in class.

**Class presentations based on reading outlines or summaries, including critical comments and discussion questions, approximately two pages in length.** These summaries should be emailed to me before the beginning of your class presentation. Late outlines will not be accepted. Presentations and summaries are worth 35% of final grade. They must be *typed*, double-spaced, and sent in the following format: your last name, some abbreviation identifying the assignment e.g. author’s last name, and docx. It must be docx. I will give an ‘F’ to a presentation that is not in this format. Presentation assignments with the appropriate reading page numbers are listed in the syllabus below. Presentations will be assigned on a rotating basis. As there are an odd number of
readings, not every student will have the same total number of summaries to write and class presentations to make, but I estimate that each student will do at least five or six of them. I will try to make sure that no student gets stuck with all of the hardest assignments. If a reading is philosophical in character then the summary should be in outline form, reflecting the logical structure of the argument. If the reading is literary in character, then your summary may have a less formal structure. The summary should end with critical comments and an observation or question (or two or three) for class discussion.

**Class participation: 35%**. This includes participation on the days you are not presenting, as well as your record of attendance. You are given two “free” absences (so use them wisely). After that, all absences count against you unless accompanied by a documented excuse of a kind officially recognized by the university. Failure to attend more than 50% of class results in failure of the entire course. Perfect attendance by itself earns only a ‘C’ grade. Less than perfect attendance is graded as less than a “C.”

Aside from attendance, which merely serves as a baseline or threshold grade, your participation grade is based primarily on your taking an active part in class, showing evidence of careful reading of the assignments, doing a good job leading discussion on days you are assigned to summarize the reading, and doing an equally good job on the days you are not leading discussion. The central requirement is active listening and engagement with other members of the seminar. In other words, sitting quietly through most classes will not merit even a “C.” I will keep you apprised every couple of weeks on your performance in class. If you are in any doubt, ask.

**Paper: 30%**. The paper must be at least twelve pages long, typed, double-spaced, and use standard format: one-inch margins, Times New Roman font, MLA or Chicago style footnotes. Students may write on any course topic that takes their fancy, as long as that topic is agreed upon and discussed at least once with the instructor. This discussion must take place by April 20th at the very latest, although I strongly suggest selecting a topic and finishing the paper earlier. However, I do suggest that you wait to pick a topic until we have finished the readings from Frowe, as they cover almost the full range of topics to be discussed in the course. Frowe also suggests further readings on almost any topic you might wish to pursue. Late papers (without a documented excuse of the sort recognized by the university) will lose a grade for every day late. Papers are due the last day of class.

All assignments must be completed to pass the course. Failure to hand in assignments and extended class absences are excused only with documentation for the officially recognized kinds of absences allowed under University policy.

**COURSE POLICIES**

**Disabilities**
If you have a specific physical, psychiatric or learning disability that needs accommodation, please let me know by the second week of the semester so that your
needs may be appropriately met. You will need to provide documentation of your disability to the Disability Services Office, Willard 322 (303-492-8671), so that such accommodation may be arranged.

**Religious Observance**
Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to reasonably and fairly deal with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. Students are required to let me know **within the first two weeks** of the course if they want an accommodation. For details of campus policy see http://www.colorado.edu/policies/fac_relig.html

**Classroom Decorum**
Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. Students who fail to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Faculty have the professional responsibility to treat all students with understanding, dignity and respect, to guide classroom discussion, and to set reasonable limits on the manner in which they and their students express opinions. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with differences of race, culture, religion, politics, sexual orientation, gender variance and nationalities. Class rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal name. I will gladly honor your request to address you by an alternate name or gender pronoun. Please advise me of this preference early in the semester so that I may make appropriate changes to my records. See policies at http://www.colorado.edu/policies/classbehavior.html and at http://www.colorado.edu/studentaffairs/judicialaffairs/code.html#student_code

**Honor Code**
All students are the University of Colorado, Boulder are responsible for knowing and adhering to the academic integrity policy of this institution. Violations of this policy may include: cheating, plagiarism, aid of academic dishonesty, fabrication, lying, bribery, and threatening behavior. All incidents of academic misconduct shall be reported to the Honor Code Council (honor@colorado.edu; 303-725-2273). Students who are found to be in violation of the academic integrity policy will be subject to both academic sanctions from the faculty member and non-academic sanctions (including but not limited to university probation, suspension, or expulsion). Other information on the Honor Code can be found at http://www.colorado.edu/policies/honor.html and http://www.colorado.edu/academics/honorcode

**Sexual Harassment**
The University of Colorado at Boulder policy on Discrimination and Harassment (http://www.colorado.edu/policies/discrimination.html), the CU policy on Sexual Harassment, and the CU policy on Amorous Relationships applies to all students, faculty and staff. Any student, faculty or staff member who believes s/he has been the subject of discrimination or harassment based upon race, color, national origin, sex, age, disability, religion, sexual orientation, or veteran status should contact the Office of Discrimination...
and Harassment (ODH) at 303-492-2127 or the Office of Judicial Affairs at 303-492-5550. Information about ODH and the campus resources available to assist individuals regarding discrimination or harassment can be obtained at [http://www.colorado.edu/odu](http://www.colorado.edu/odu)

**Required Readings:** All books have been ordered at the University Books Store in the UMC and at the bookstore on the Hill. Articles in the reading schedule below should all be available online at the class Desire2Learn site. Here are some other ways to access articles. Go to the university library homepage. Click on the E-Journal finder link on the left of the page. Type in the name of the journal in the search box and voila! The different online databases with that journal will pop up. Just click on whichever one makes you feel comfortable and search internally from there. You can use different methods, from author name, volume/issue, etc. In many cases your best bet is to try JSTOR.

There are several additional articles by Walzer, so don't get confused by assuming that everything referred to by “Walzer” on the syllabus or on the reading list in Desire2L is from *Just and Unjust Wars*.

You are required to bring hard copies of all articles and books to class or to be able to access the article as we are discussing it in class. Students who do not do this forfeit their noncombatant immunity.

A few valuable websites:

International Political Theory Beacon: [http://www.international-political-theory.net/](http://www.international-political-theory.net/)


**SCHEDULE OF READINGS**

NB: All assignments and other information contained in the reading schedule is provisional and subject to change by the instructor. Books and selections may be added or deleted. Students are responsible for knowing about announced changes in the required readings and schedule.

**January**

15  MLK Day, no class

17  Introduction to course

19  War Fiction I
Three short stories on D2L from Phil Klay, *Redeployment*. Read in the order listed.

List of Military Abbreviations to come on D2L (Abbrev.pdf)

“Frago,” __________________________

“Ten Kliks South” _______________________

“Redeployment” __________________________

All on D2L

22 **Rights of Self-Defense**

Helen Frowe, *The Ethics of War and Peace*, Introduction and Chapter 1

1 – 15 __________________________

15 – 30 __________________________

24 **War and Self-Defense**, Frowe, Chapter 2, pp. 31 - 51

31 – 41 __________________________

41 – 50 __________________________

26 **The Conditions of Jus Ad Bellum**, Frowe, Chapter 3, pp. 54 – 74

54 – 61 __________________________

61 – 73 __________________________

29 **Proportionality**


34 – 45 __________________________

45 – 51 __________________________

51 – 57 __________________________
57 – 66 ____________________

31 Proportionality
Finish discussion of Hurka

February

2 Just Wars, Frowe, Chapter 4, pp. 75 -98
7 5– 83 _________________
83 – 98_______________

5 The Conditions of Jus in Bello, Frowe, Chapter 5, p. 99 - 122
99 – 119 _________________
110 – 122 _________________

7 War Fiction II: The Moral Status of Combatants

9 The Moral Status of Combatants, Frowe, Chapter 6, pp. 123 -145
123 – 132_______________
132 – 145_______________

12 Non-combatant Immunity, Frowe, Chapter 7, pp. 146 -164
146– 164_______________
146 - 164_______________

14 Challenges to Non-Combatant Immunity, Frowe, Chapter 8, pp. 166 – 181
166 – 174 _________________
174 – 181 _________________

16 The Moral Status of Terrorism, Frowe, Chapter 9, pp. 182 - 204
182 - 194 ________________

194 - 204 ________________

19  What’s Wrong with Torture?

David Sussman, “What’s Wrong with Torture” Philosophy and Public Affairs, vol. 33, no 1, pp. 1 – 33 (to come on D2L)

1 – 16 ________________

16 – 33 ________________

21  Terrorists, Torture, and Just War Theory, Frowe, Chapter 10, pp. 205 – 223

205 – 213 ________________

213 – 221 ________________

23  Remote Warfare, Frowe, Chapter 11, pp. 223 – 239

223 – 230 ________________

230 – 239 ________________

26  Jus Post Bellum, Frowe, Chapter 12, pp. 239 – 262

239 – 247 ________________

247 – 262 ________________

28  War Fiction II

Short story by Thom Jones “The Pugilist At Rest” (to come on D2L)

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March

2  Realism

Thucydides, “The Melian Dialogue” (to come on D2L)

_____________________

xiii – 13

13 – 20

5

**The War Convention and the Moral Equality of Soldiers**

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (hereafter, JUW): Preface to the original edition, plus Chapters 2 and 3, pp. 21-47

Preface and 21 -34

34 – 47

7

**The Legalist Paradigm and the Crime of Aggression**

JUW, 51-86

51 – 73

74 – 86


9

**The Case for Preventive War**


207 -218

218 – 228

228 – 236

236 – 243

12

**Preventive War**

Finish discussion of Luban
Military Intervention: Secession, Counter-Intervention and Humanitarian Rescue

Walzer, JUW, 86-109

86 – 109


Military Intervention: A Duty to Intervene?

Walzer, "The Moral Standing of States" Philosophy and Public Affairs 9, no. 3 (Summer 1980), approx. 21 pages (‘WALZER_MORAL’)

217 – 224

224 – 237


35 – 41

“R2P.pdf“

Everyone read these two pages

Suggested:

Bellamy, “Whither R2P.pdf”

Bellamy, “Libya and R2P.pdf”

Evans, Gareth, The Responsibility to Protect (Brookings Institution Press, 2008). Chapters 2-3, pp. 31-76. (Evans_R2P.pdf) will ask for the password, which is “wildcats”


Kok-Chor Tan, "The Duty to Protect," in Humanitarian Intervention, 84-117 (“TAN”)

Heather Roff Perkins, “Syria” (Syria.pdf)

19 Justice in War: Military Necessity, Utility, Proportionality and Rights
JUW, 127-159

127 – 144 ____________________________

144 – 151 ____________________________

151 – 160 ____________________________

193 – top of 200 ________________________

ELAC, “Proportionality Policy Brief” (same name pdf)

21 Sieges, Blockades and Economic Sanctions
Walzer, JUW, 160-75 ("War Against Civilians: Sieges and Blockades"

160 – 175 ____________________________

Joy Gordon, "A Peaceful, Silent, Deadly Remedy", Ethics and International Affairs, Vol. 13 (1999), 123-43; George A. Lopez, "More Ethical Than Not" Gordon; "Reply to Lopez" (All three articles are bundled together under "GORDON")

123 – 143 ____________________________

23 Reading to come

26 – 30 Spring Break

April

2 War Memoirs I

Excerpts from Rumor of War by Phil Caputo (to come on D2L)

4 Guerilla War
Walzer, JUW, 176-203

176 – 196 _____________________

Dexter Fillkins, "Mogadishu," from *The Forever War*, pp. 186-9
(Mogadish.pdf)

_________________________

General Petraeus: “Ten Points” (Petraeus.pdf)

______________________

6  Dilemmas of War


225 – 250 _______________________

251 – 268 _______________________

Colin Dueck, "Alternatives to the Bomb" in Protected ("DUECK")

Dueck __________________________

9  Nuclear Deterrence

Walzer, JUW, 269-287

269 – 287 _______________________

Optional:

Nardin, "Nuclear Deterrence and the Argument from Extremity"
(“NARDIN_NUCLEAR”)

11  The Responsibilities of Citizens

JUW, 287-303

287 – 296 _______________________

296 – 304 _______________________

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_________________________
13 The Responsibilities of Soldiers

JUW, 304 - 324

304 – 316

316 – 327


Suggested:

Stanley Hoffman and Michael Smith, "Individual Responsibility, War Crimes and Terrorism" (Hoffman.pdf)

James Child, "Political Responsibility and Noncombatant Liability", in *Political Realism and International Morality*, eds. Kenneth Kipnis and Diana T. Meyers (Westview, 1987), 61-74 ("CHILD_~1")

Michael Green, "War, Innocence and Theories of Sovereignty," *Social Theory and Practice*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Spring 1992), 39-62 ("GREEN WAR")

Osiel, “Virtues and Vices of Military Discipline” in Osiel.pdf

16 War’s Ends and the Importance of Winning

JUW, 109 -127

109 – 124

Brian Orend, “Justice After War” (OrendJusticeAfter.pdf)

Orend article

18 Realism Revisited

Hendrickson, *In Defense of Realism: A Commentary on Just and Unjust Wars* (Hendrick2.pdf)

19 – 38
Pacifism


Cheney Ryan, “Pacifism” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethics of War* (to come on D2L)

**PAPER TOPIC MUST BE AGREED UPON AND DISCUSSED WITH INSTRUCTOR BY THIS DATE**

Warbots


War Memoirs II: War, Forgetfulness, and the Appeals of Battle

J. Glenn Gray, *The Warriors*

Foreword, Note to the Reader, and Chapter 1. “Remembering War and Forgetfulness”

Chapter 2, “The Enduring Appeals of Battle”

Love, Death, and War

*The Warriors*, Chapter Three “Love: War’s Ally and Foe”

Chapter 4, “The Soldier’s Relations to Death,”

Images of the Enemy and the Guilt of War
The Warriors, Chapter 4, “Images of the Enemy”

Chapter 5, “The Ache of Guilt”

May

2 The Future of War

The Warriors, Conclusion

4 Reading Day

PAPER DUE BY NOON