

CANADIAN SCHOOL OF PEACEBUILDING
CANADIAN MENNONITE UNIVERSITY
Who Is My Neighbour? Ethics in a Bordered World
POLS/PCTS–3950C
SESSION II: June 18-22, 2018

Course Syllabus

Instructor: Roger Epp, PhD (Queen's University)
Email: repp@ualberta.ca
Lecture times: 8:30am-5pm, Monday to Friday
Office hours: After class

Last date for voluntary withdrawal without academic penalty: July 15, 2018

COURSE DESCRIPTION

The course will consider some of the most urgent ethical questions that arise in a bordered world – a world that is framed and experienced in terms of insiders and outsiders, or the tension that lies between loyalty to a particular state and the idea of a single humanity. What moral status do borders possess? What do they permit, require, enable, and excuse? How do they distinguish 'us' from 'them'? Grievable lives from those that are not grievable? What of the stateless? How to speak of the human?

This is *not* a course in formal ethical theory or the application of rationalist ethical principles to set-piece dilemmas. Nor will it simply adopt the standard representation of the international as a realm in which the only ethical subjects are state leaders – those who must be willing to pay the price of 'dirty hands' to uphold their responsibilities to 'their own people.' Instead, it will draw a circle that is both more inclusive and more intimate. It will invite self-reflection, conversation, and disagreement. It will be attentive to the stories and divided loyalties we carry, and take account of the contradictory trajectories of our times. On one hand, the world is now experienced increasingly, if unevenly, as a single place – a single economy, ecosystem, digital culture, and constellation of airports. Human rights declarations, refugee conventions, and the doctrine of the responsibility to protect the innocent in the face of 'crimes against humanity' count almost all states as signatories. Organizations declare themselves 'beyond borders.' On the other, new walls of all kinds are being built to keep people safe and others out; and, as Paul Virilio has written, fear is now synchronized through our screens so that 'the same feeling of terror can be felt in all corners of the world at the same time.' We are implicated in different ways in those tendencies; some of us are its net-beneficiaries. What does the work of peacemaking require?

OBJECTIVES

After successful completion of this course students should have:

- Become conversant with a number of important thinkers and concepts
- Reflected deeply on the moral horizons and modes of political-ethical thinking that orient them for living and doing peacebuilding work
- Developed skills in advancing spoken and written arguments about things that matter.

REQUIRED TEXTBOOK(S)

It is the participant’s responsibility to order texts online, as e-books or from local book-sellers ahead of time.

LIST A: *Required*

Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963; Penguin Classics, 2006)
 Alex Bellamy, *Fighting Terror: Ethical Dilemmas* (Zed Books, 2008)

LIST B: *Before beginning the course, you should have read one of these books. It will be part of course discussions as well as a subsequent assignment.*

Payam Akhavan, *In Search of a Better World. A Human Rights Odyssey* (House of Anansi, 2017)

Note that you can also listen to the lectures from which the book is derived at

<http://www.cbc.ca/radio/ideas/the-2017-cbc-massey-lectures-in-search-of-a-better-world-1.4222812>

Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (WW Norton, 2007)

Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* (Zone Books, 2010)

Ian Clark, *The Vulnerable in International Society* (Oxford UP, 2013)

James der Derian, *Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network*, 2d ed. (Routledge, 2009)

Jenny Erpenbeck, *Go Went Gone* (2017)

Eric Fair, *Consequence: A Memoir* (Henry Holt & Co., 2016)

Michael Ignatieff, *The Ordinary Virtues: Moral Order in a Divided World* (Harvard UP, 2017)

TEACHING APPROACH

In addition to lectures, the course will include opportunity for interactive exercises, guest presenters, and possibly a small group project. Above all, the course will invite serious self-reflection and conversation without expecting – or desiring – a uniformity of views.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND DEADLINES (for credit)

The following are the general outlines of requirements for those taking the class for credit. Others are encouraged to read as much as possible, however, in order to receive maximum benefit from the course. Assignments can be submitted in person during the course or via email to the instructor.

ASSIGNMENTS	DUE DATE	VALUE
1. Personal essay	June 18, 2018	20%
2. Seminar reflections	Daily during the course	15%
3. Participation		20%
4. Major assignment	August 7, 2018	45%

ASSIGNMENT DESCRIPTION

1. Personal essay: In his book *Sources of the Self* (1989), Charles Taylor writes that “to know who you are is to be oriented in moral space.” All of us, he writes, have moral frameworks or horizons, explicit or implicit, inherited or chosen, that are the background for our intuitions and judgments. We cannot do without them. But he also says that in our age we have a challenge of articulacy in terms of those moral frameworks or horizons – the ones that remind us who we are and help us navigate questions of what is

right or wrong, good or virtuous (and not), meaningful or trivial, or worth doing. What about human beings makes them worthy of regard? In this essay, you are asked to position yourself in relation to the course. Who are you: citizen? patriot? migrant? exile? resident alien? settler? decolonized? global citizen? Why? Where is home for you? What identity or identities, experiences, family stories and/or intellectual commitments constitute your moral horizons, that is, your starting point for thinking about ethics and world politics? Be personal. Be reflective. Tell and interpret a story. You might think about Payam Akhavan's first chapter/lecture, and consider the Ignatieff and Nussbaum readings for Day 1. Acknowledge complexity, uncertainty, unreconciled tensions or divided loyalties.

Due: June 18, 2018

Length: 1500 words

2. Seminar Reflections: For each day of the course, students will prepare a brief reflective paragraph, which can engage one or more of the readings directly, but may also consider, reconsider, challenge, amplify, rebut, or revise comments made in the seminars, or continue a thread from a previous day. What was noteworthy or brilliant or troublesome about a reading or the discussion? How might it get applied to a specific situation? What does it illuminate for you? How does it change how you see things?

Due: No later than start of class, June 19, 20, 21, 22, and (by email) 8 a.m. on June 25.

Length: 5 X 300 words (typed or hand-written, emailed or hand-delivered)

3. Course Participation

Students will be expected to keep up with assigned readings and actively engage in class activities. Students will also be encouraged to identify and introduce relevant audio and video clips that can focus discussion on a particular topic. Note that the participation grade will be assessed by engagement in the course material and discussions.

4. Major Assignment: The major assignment will have two parts. The first resembles a book review in that it asks you to take one of the books in List B above and think about it critically in relation to either one of the books in List A or any of the assigned readings. Further details will be provided in the seminar. The second part will consist of an essay written in response to a question selected from a list provided to you on the first day of class. The questions will ask you to think thematically across the course.

Due: August 7, 2018

Length: 2 X 1200-1500 words

ASSIGNMENT GUIDELINES (for credit)

STYLISTIC REQUIREMENTS

CMU has adopted the following as its standard guide for all academic writing:

Hacker, Diana. *A Pocket Style Manual*. Sixth edition. Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2012.

The final paper should follow an accepted academic format for citations, bibliography, etc. (e.g. APA, Chicago, MLA). You may choose the format but whichever you use, be sure to use it properly and consistently.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

1. All material referred to in any assignment MUST be appropriately referenced. Plagiarism is a serious matter. Students should be aware of CMU Academic Policies, particularly those regarding academic misconduct (plagiarism and cheating), which apply to all University courses. These are detailed on CMU's website (<http://www.cmu.ca/students.php?s=registrar&p=policies>) and in the CMU Calendar (also available online: <http://www.cmu.ca/academics.php?s=calendar>).
2. Assignments are due as scheduled. Assignments will be assessed a four percent (4%) late penalty per day until they are submitted. I will not accept assignments more than two weeks late except in cases of verifiable medical or family emergency.
3. Students are encouraged to take up any concerns/questions regarding grades, first with the instructor, then with the Associate Dean of Program, Ray Vander Zaag. The CMU Calendar outlines its appeals process clearly.
4. Email: Substantive discussions are best done person to person, not electronically. During the seminar week, email can be used to set up personal appointments, to send regrets if one has to miss class, and so on, but not for engaging in substantive discussions.

EVALUATION

In general, I expect you to *follow the guidelines* of the assignment and to discuss deviations from them with me before turning it in. In evaluating your work, *quality* is more important than quantity. I appreciate creativity, clear expression of ideas, evidence of engagement with the reading and class sessions, and projects that are of real interest and value to you.

In your papers, be sure to avoid any form of *plagiarism*. If you have doubts about what is appropriate, a useful website is <http://www.indiana.edu/~istd/>. Plagiarism is a serious issue and will result in grade reduction or action by the university (see university policy on this).

Good communication skills are essential for justice and peacebuilding work. Students will be expected to communicate knowledgeably, clearly, effectively, concisely and persuasively. All written work should be well informed, well organized and well documented.

Each completed assignment will be given a numerical grade (according to its value toward the final grade) and the corresponding letter grade. The final mark for each student is determined by the sum total of all numerical grades, which is then assigned a letter grade according to the scale below.

LETTER GRADE/PERCENTAGE SCALE

Letter Grade	Percentage	Grade Points	Descriptor
A+	95-100	4.5	Exceptional
A	88-94	4	Excellent
B+	81-87	3.5	Very Good
B	74-80	3	Good
C+	67-73	2.5	Satisfactory
C	60-67	2	Adequate
D	50-59	1	Marginal
F	0-49		Failure

Criteria	A - Excellent	B - Competent	C - Below Expectations
CONTENT (quality of the information/ideas and sources/details used to support them)	- has clarity of purpose - has depth of content - displays insight or originality of thought -demonstrates quality and breadth of resources	- has clarity of purpose - has substantial information and sufficient support - contains some originality of thought -uses quality resources	- has clarity of purpose -lacks depth of content and may depend on generalities or the commonplace - has little originality of thought -uses mostly quality resources
STRUCTURE (logical order or sequence of the writing)	- is coherent and logically developed -uses very effective transitions	- is coherent and logically developed -uses smooth transitions	- is coherent and logically (but not fully) developed -has some awkward transitions
CONVENTIONS (appearance of the writing: sentence structure, usage, mechanics, documentation)	- has virtually no errors of conventions	- has minimal errors of conventions	- is understandable <u>but</u> has noticeable problems of sentence structure, usage, mechanics or documentation
STYLE (personality of the writing: word choice, sentence variety, voice, attention to audience)	- is concise, eloquent and rhetorically effective -has nicely varied sentence structure -is engaging throughout and enjoyable to read	- displays concern for careful expression -has some variation in sentence structure -is generally enjoyable to read	- has some personality <u>but</u> lacks imagination and may be stilted and may rely on clichés -has little variation in sentence structure -is not very interesting to read

NOTE: The *CMU Student Handbook* is a useful guide for further information on CMU policies regarding grades, academic misconduct, and appeals. Grades are not final until vetted and approved by the Dean's Office.

FINAL DATE FOR WITHDRAWAL

Final date to withdraw from this course without academic penalty is July 15, 2018.

If a student is unable to complete the requirements of a course by the end of the semester, the student must submit a written appeal for an "incomplete" to the Registrar's office: spenner@cmu.ca. The student should seek the instructor's support for the appeal and submit the appeal before the last day of classes. If the student's appeal is granted, the instructor will enter a grade of I (for incomplete)

accompanied by a temporary grade (which is based on completed work and assigns a value of zero for uncompleted work). Instructor grades are due by August 21st. If the student completes the remaining work within the extension period, the grade will be recalculated and the incomplete status will be removed. If the student does not complete the work within the extension period, the incomplete status will be removed and the grade will remain as originally entered. The maximum extension is: December 1, for courses ending in August.

SCHEDULE, TOPICS & READINGS*

*Note that this schedule, along with assigned readings, may be adjusted slightly in response to pace of discussion, availability of guests, and other scheduling issues. The instructor will provide advance notice of any changes. Please note the distinction between assigned and supplementary readings. While I may draw on the latter in class, they are listed for your reference and follow-up interest.

Monday, June 18 Introduction

CSOP Opening

Who is My Neighbour: On ethics and international politics, suffering and strangers

READINGS: Michael Ignatieff, *The Ordinary Virtues* (2017), Introduction
Martha Nussbaum, "[Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism](#)," *Boston Review*, October 1994

Discussion: Did we fail Syria? Syrians? How? Who is we? What does it mean to call the situation a humanitarian crisis? Asking the same questions, substitute Rohingyas.

Lloyd Axworthy and Allan Rock, "[The tragedy of the Rohingya is our collective failure](#)," *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 4, 2017.

Jan Egeland, "[This is how we failed Syria](#)," Al-Jazeera, March 12, 2015

Jenny Erpenbeck, "[The refugee crisis is forcing Germans to ask: who are we?](#)" *Guardian*, Dec. 15, 2015

Jonah Fisher, "[UN failures on Rohingya revealed](#)," BBC World News, Sept. 28, 2017

Fergal Keane, "[International system has failed Syria](#)," BBC World News, Dec. 21, 2015

**Note: you might also type 'failed Syria' or 'failed Royingya' into your search engine*

Supplementary: Kimberly Hutchings, *Global Ethics* (2010)

Robin Yassin-Kassab and Leila Al-Shami, *Burning Country: Syrians in Revolution and War* (2016)

Tuesday, June 19 A world of states

Morning: *The Best of all possible worlds? Self-Determination, Sanctuary, Sovereignty, Citizenship*

READINGS: Michael Walzer, "[The Moral Standing of States](#)," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 9 (1980): 209-29.

Michael Walzer, "[Emergency Ethics](#)," United States Air Force Academy (1988); also in *Arguing About War* (2004), ch. 3: "Emergency Ethics"

Robert Jackson, *The Global Covenant*, ch. 6

Afternoon: *The Distribution of Vulnerability: Walls, Cracks, Pariahs, Statelessness*

"... contemporary history has created a new kind of human beings – the kind that are put in concentration camps by their foes and in internment camps by their friends." Hannah Arendt

- READINGS: Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, ch. 9
Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* (2010), ch. 1
Ian Clark, *The Vulnerable in International Society* (2013), ch. 4
- Supplementary: Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception* (2005)
Amanda Beattie, *Justice and Morality: Human Suffering, Natural Law and International Politics* (2010)
Charles Beitz, et al, eds., *International Ethics* (1985)
Joseph Carens, *The Ethics of Immigration* (2013)
Joshua Cohen, ed., *For Love of Country* (1996)
W. E. B. DuBois, "Worlds of Color," *Foreign Affairs* (April 1925)
Sarah Fine, "The Ethics of Immigration: Self-Determination and the Right to Exclude," *Philosophy Compass* 8 (2013): 254-68.
Sarah Fine and Lea Ypi, eds., *Migration in Political Theory: The Ethics of Movement and Membership* (2016)
Todd Gitlin, *The Intellectuals and the Flag* (2006)
Stanley Hoffmann, *Duties Beyond Borders: On the Limits and Possibilities of Ethical International Politics* (1981)
Kimberly Hutchings, *International Political Theory: Rethinking Ethics in a Global Era* (1999)
Andrew Linklater, *Men and Citizens in the Theory of International Relations* (1982)
David Miller, *Citizenship and National Identity* (2000)
Terry Nardin, ed., *Traditions of International Ethics* (1992)
Martha Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice* (2006)
John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples* (1999)
K. C. Tan, ed., *Justice Without Borders: Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism and Patriotism* (2004)
R. B. J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (1992)
Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice* (1983), ch. 2: "Membership"

Wednesday, June 20 How to speak of the human?

Morning: Rights

READINGS [Universal Declaration of Human Rights](#)

Afternoon: Crimes Against Humanity

READINGS Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963; Penguin Classics, 2006)

- Supplementary: Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (2011)
Joanne Bauer and Daniel Bell, eds., *The East Asian Challenge for Human Rights* (1999)
Alex Bellamy, *The Responsibility to Protect: The Global Effort to End Mass Atrocities* (2009)
Anne Browne, *Human Rights and the Borders of Suffering: The Promotion of Human Rights in International Politics* (2002)
Alexander deWaal, "The Humanitarians' Tragedy: Escapable and Inescapable Cruelties," *Disasters* 34 (April 2010)
Toni Erskine, *Embedded Cosmopolitanism: Duties to Strangers and Enemies* (2008)
Michael Ignatieff, et al, "[Human Rights as Politics; Human Rights as Ideology](#)" (2003)
Grace Kao, *Grounding Human Rights in a Pluralist World* (2011)
Andrew Linklater, *The Problem of Harm in World Politics* (2011)
Samantha Power, "[Bystanders to Genocide](#)," *Atlantic Monthly*, September 2001
Amr Sabet, *Islam and the Political: Theory, Governance and International Relations* (2008)
Thomas Weiss and Don Hubert, *The Responsibility to Protect* (2001)
Jennifer Welsh, *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations* (2006)

Nicholas Wheeler, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (2000)
Randall Williams, *Divided World: Human Rights and its Violence* (2010)

Thursday, June 21 War Stories

Morning: War and Justice

READINGS: Alex Bellamy, *Fighting Terror: Ethical Dilemmas*, Introduction and chs.1-3
Caroline Kennedy and Nicholas Rengger, "[The New Assassination Bureau](#): On the 'Robotic Turn' in Contemporary Warfare," *Carnegie Council for International Affairs Online*, posted Nov. 6, 2012

Afternoon: Fighting Terror

READINGS: Alex Bellamy, *Fighting Terror: Ethical Dilemmas*, chs. 4-6
Judith Butler, "Torture and the Ethics of Photography," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 25 (2007): 951-966 [Also in *Frames of War*, ch. 2]
Eric Fair, "Consequence," *Ploughshares* 38 (Spring 2012): 59-66.

Supplementary: James der Derian, *Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network* (2001)
Jean Bethke Elshtain, ed., *Just War Theory* (1992)
Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (1987)
Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (2004)
Dexter Filkins, "Atonement: a troubled Iraq veteran seeks out the family he harmed," *New Yorker*, October 29, 2012
David Fisher, *Morality and War: Can War Be Just in the Twenty-First Century?* (2012)
Michael Ignatieff, *The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror* (2005)
Charles Jones, *More than Just War: Narratives of the Just War and Military Life* (2013)
"Just War and its Critics," *Ethics & International Affairs* 27 (2013)
Helen Kinsella, *Image Before the Weapon: A Critical History of the Distinction between Combatant and Civilian* (2011)
Nicholas Rengger, *Just War and International Order: The Uncivil Condition in World Politics* (2013)
David Rodin and Henry Shue, eds., *Just and Unjust Warriors: The Moral and Legal Status of Soldiers* (2008)
Laura Sjoberg, *Gender Justice and the Wars in Iraq: A Feminist Reformulation* (2006)
Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 3d ed. (2000)
Alan Wolfe, *Political Evil: What it is and How to Combat it* (2012)

Friday, June 22 Remembering and Repairing the World

READINGS: KM Fierke, "Who is my neighbor? Memories of the Holocaust/al Nakba and a global ethic of care," *European Journal of International Relations* 20 (2014): 787-809.
Tzvetan Todorov, "Memory as Remedy for Evil," *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 7 (2009): 447-62.
Michael Walzer, "[Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands](#)," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 2 (1973): 160-80
Richard Harrison, *My Mother Closing the Mouth of the War* [tbc]

Supplementary: David Grossman, "Contemplations on Peace," *Writing in the Dark* (2008)
Virginia Held, *The Ethics of Care* (2006)
Fiona Robison, *The Ethics of Care: A Feminist Approach to Human Security* (2011)

On this day, I also want to ensure time for students to discuss their selected 'List B' books in smaller groups. We'll also tie together themes, introduce the final assignment questions, and fill out evaluations.

CSOP closing @ 3:00 p.m.

Coffee Breaks are normally 10:30-11:00 am and 3:30-4 pm.

Class photos will be taken on Monday or Tuesday, plan for 15 minutes for the photo taking.

Aug 21 Last day for instructors to hand in marks for credit students