

Ethics in International politics

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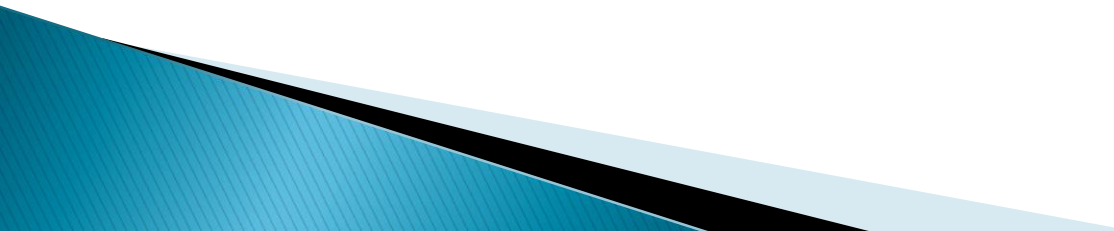
Agenda

- Introduction to ethical choices: utilitarianism vs. Kant
 - Cases of international human rights and security
- Thinking about globalization: Aristotle vs. John Rawls

Moral reasoning

- ▶ Consequentialist – locates morality in the consequences of an act
- ▶ Categorical – locates morality in certain duties or rights

Jeremy Bentham, Principles of Morals and Legislation (1780)

- ▶ The greatest amount of happiness for the greatest number of people
 - ▶ Utility: the basis for morality and law
 - ▶ Whatever promotes pleasure and prevents pain
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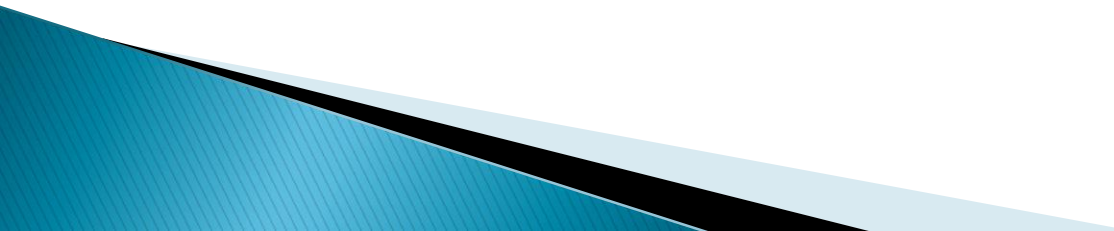
Utilitarianism: case studies

- ▶ 11.09 – terrorist attack on the US and the problem of torture
- ▶ To end the war: Hiroshima & Nagasaki atomic bombing

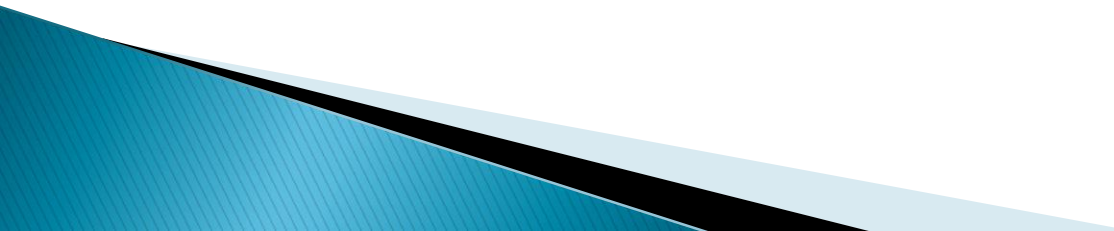
Two problems with utilitarianism

- ▶ open to the objection that it may well sacrifice the minority rights for the sake of happiness of majority
- ▶ People have different preferences. They can assign different utilities to the same issue

First generation of human rights

- ▶ individual civil and political rights (negative rights)
 - ▶ „First” – endorsed in national constitutions
 - ▶ „Negative” – blocking public authority in interfering in private life
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Second generation of HR

- ▶ Socioeconomic rights (positive)
 - ▶ „Second” – 20 century welfare state revolution (redistribution of benefits from economic growth)
 - ▶ Positive – public authority should take steps to ensure minimum food, shelter, health care
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Third generation of HR

- ▶ „Solidarity rights”
- ▶ Rights of groups – minorities, indigenous people

Immanuel Kant, Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals (1785)



- ▶ *morality is based neither on the principle of utility, nor on a law of nature, but on human reason.*
- ▶ *reason tells us what we ought to do, and when we obey our own reason, only then are we truly free.*

Immanuel Kant: Lying (1)

- ▶ Lying is a violation of your own dignity

Post-truth politics?



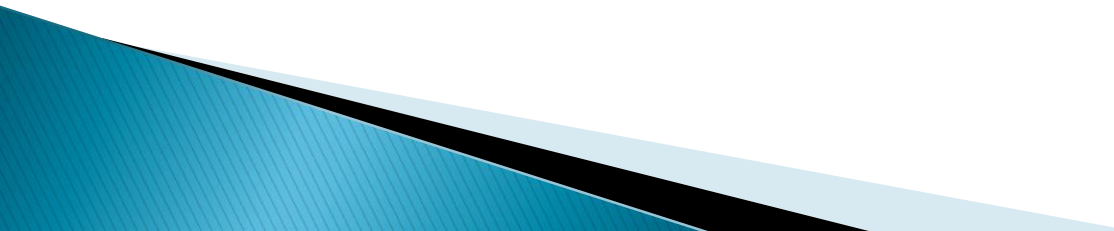
Immanuel Kant: Duty (2)

- ▶ Do the right thing because this is the right thing to do, not for other reason
- ▶ Motives and attitudes are important

Immanuel Kant: Duty (2)

- ▶ Do the right thing for the right reason. But what is the right reason? What is our duty?
- ▶ Different ways to state what our duty is:
 - humanity or human reason
 - law

Immanuel Kant: Humanity (3)

- ▶ Never treat human beings as means to your end
 - ▶ Human being is an end in himself/herself
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Concept of human security

- ▶ Individual at the center (not state!)
- ▶ „Freedom from fear” (violence)
- ▶ „Freedom from want” (hunger, access to water, disease)

UNSC after the Cold War – normative dimension

- ▶ „Progressive individualization of int law” (A.M.Slaughter)

International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (1993)

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (1994)

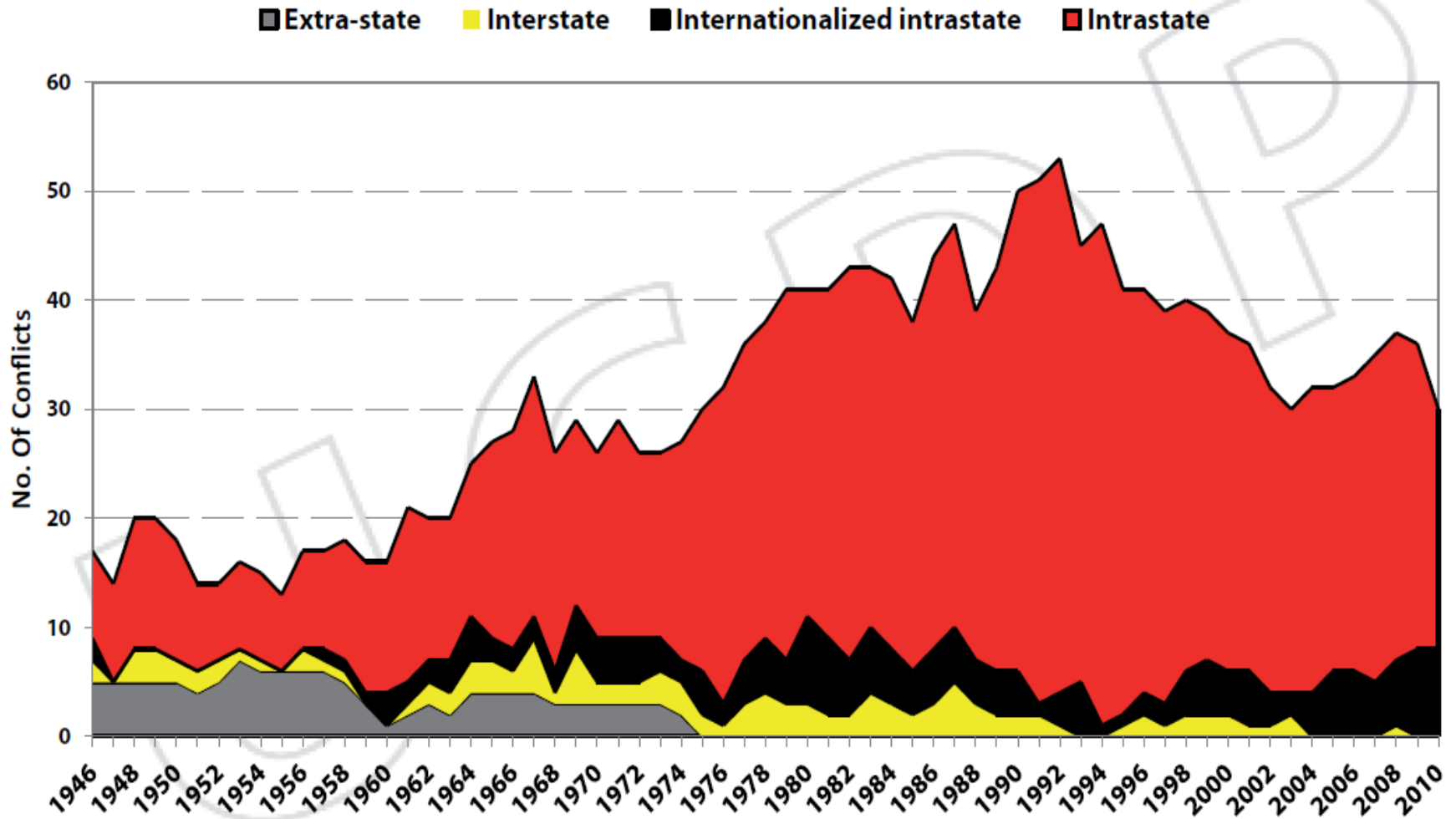
- ▶ International Criminal Court (permanent, 1998)
- ▶ Towards Global Ethics?



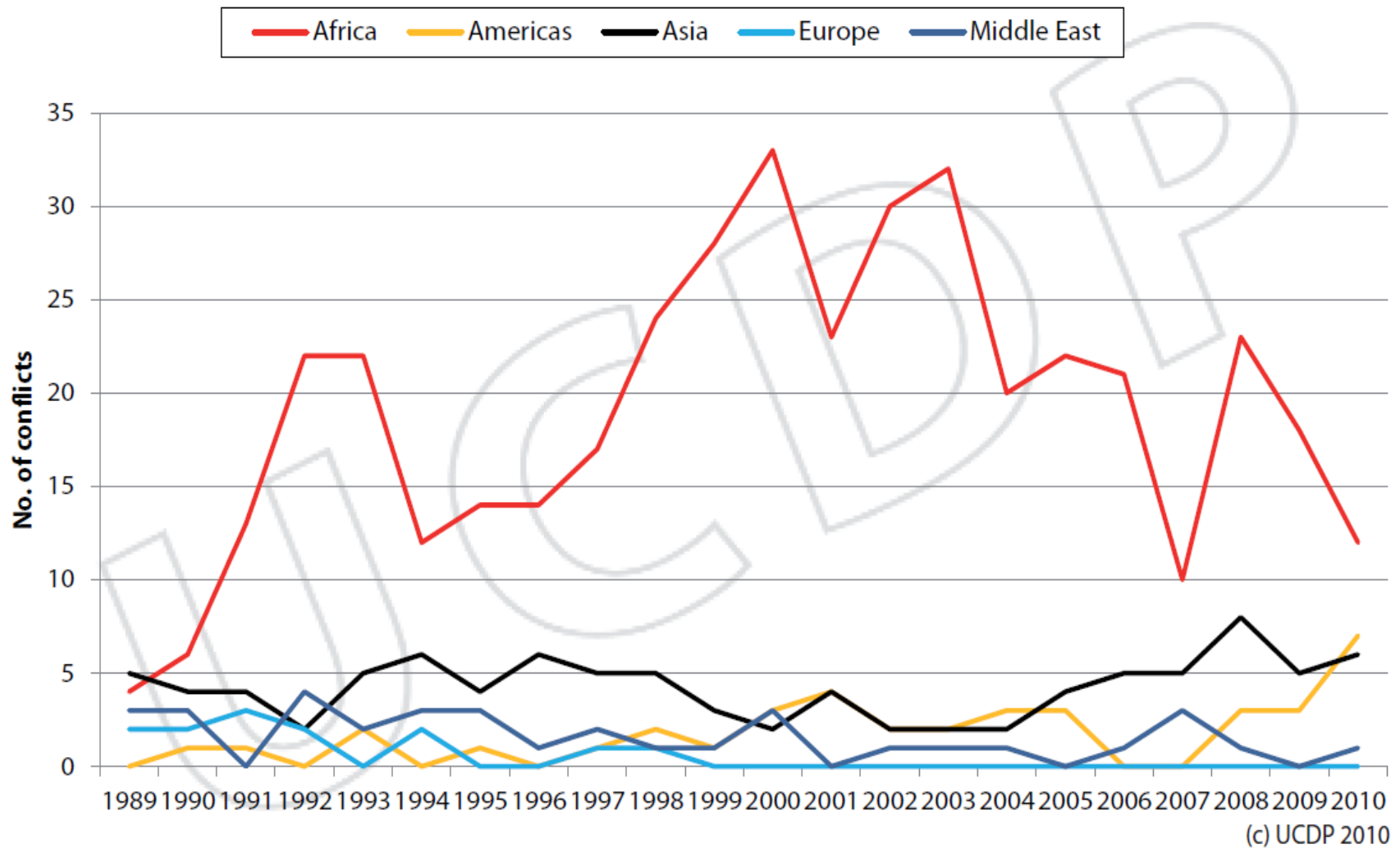
UN Charter, art.51

- ▶ States have „the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs”

Armed Conflicts by Type, 1946-2010



Non-state Conflicts by Region, 1989-2010



R2P concept – „Responsibility to Protect”

- Sovereignty includes not just rights, but also responsibilities
- The State is primary responsible for protection of its population
- If the government is unable or unwilling to protect its own population from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity or ethnic cleansing, the international community should undertake an action



R2P consists of:

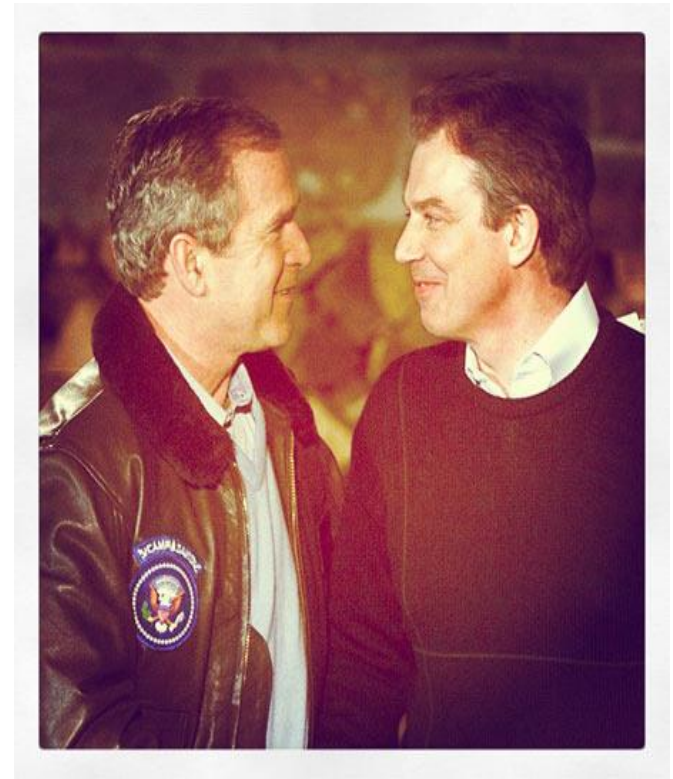
- Responsibility to prevent
- Responsibility to react
- Responsibility to rebuild

Tony Blair's „Reality check”

Six questions before intervention

1. Are we sure of our case?
2. Have we exhausted all diplomatic options?
3. Can we be successful?
4. Are we prepared for the long-term?
5. Is our national interest involved?
6. What is the desired outcome?

Intervention in Kosovo: „Illegal but legitimate”







The costs of intervention
vs.
The costs of non-intervention

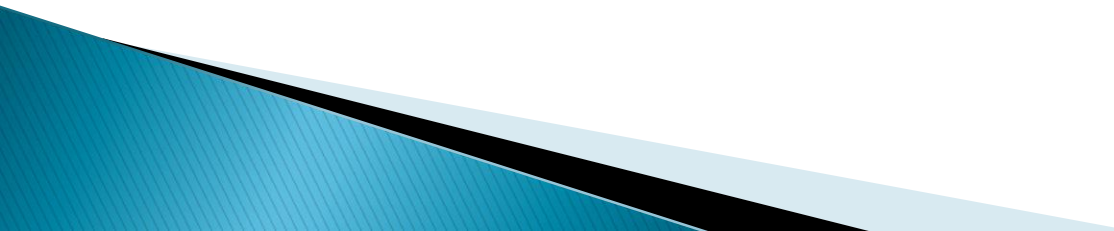
Never again?



Immanuel Kant: Law (4)

- ▶ Duty given by the idea of law: something that tells us what we must do, no matter what. Everyone has to obey it .
- ▶ Tests of morality: law only if it may become a universal law of nature

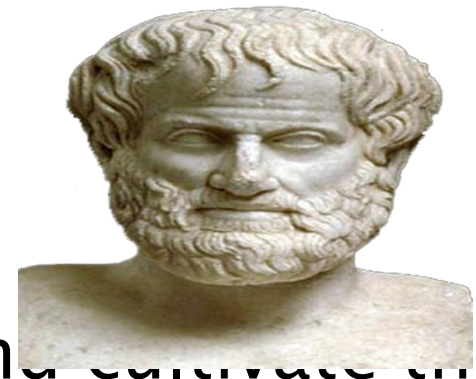
Immanuel Kant: Freedom (5)

- ▶ Freedom is not doing whatever you want
 - ▶ Freedom as self-determination
 - ▶ You are free if you live by your own reason
 - ▶ Autonomy of the will
 - ▶ Impulses and desires make limit your freedom
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Three dimensions of moral judgment (J.Nye)

| | Motives | Means | Consequences |
|------------|---------|-------|--------------|
| Scenario 1 | good | good | good |
| Scenario 2 | good | good | bad |
| Scenario 3 | good | bad | good |
| Scenario 4 | good | bad | bad |
| Scenario 5 | bad | bad | good |
| Scenario 6 | bad | good | bad |
| Scenario 7 | bad | good | good |
| Scenario 8 | bad | bad | bad |

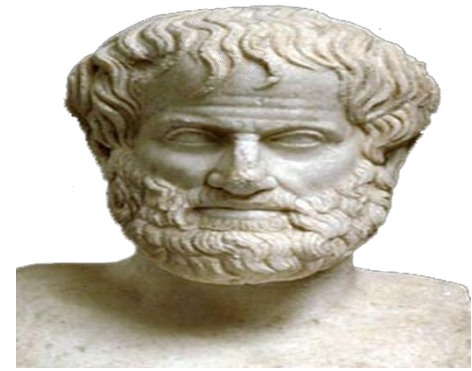
Aristotle



- ▶ Purpose of politics: promote and cultivate the virtue of its citizens
- ▶ The *telos* or goal of the state and political community is the “good life”
- ▶ Citizens who contribute most to the purpose of the community, should be most rewarded
- ▶ justice – giving each person his due, or what he deserves
- ▶ Our place in society is determined by where we best fit



Aristotle



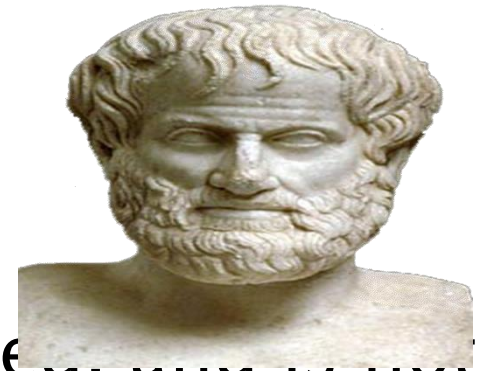
- ▶ TELOS: the point, the end, the goal
- ▶ TELEOLOGICAL REASONING: reasoning from the „telos”(the goal, the end)

Winnie the Pooh ☺

- ▶ That buzzing noise means something. Now, the only reason for making a buzzing noise that I know of is because you are... a bee! And the only reason for being a bee is to make honey. And the only reason for making honey is so I can eat it.

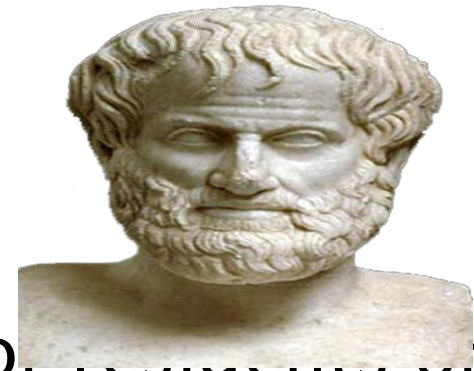


Aristotle



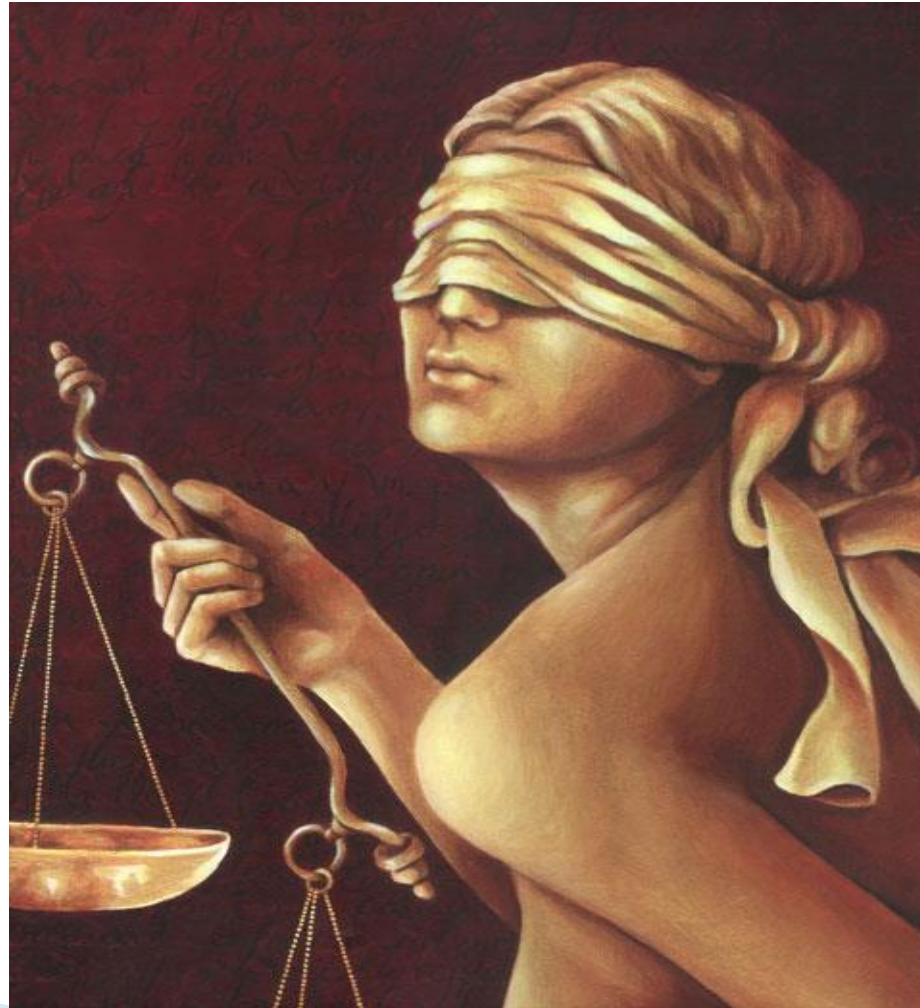
- ▶ „Any polis which is truly so called, and is not merely one in name must devote itself to the end of encouraging goodness. Otherwise, political association sinks into a mere alliance”

Aristotle

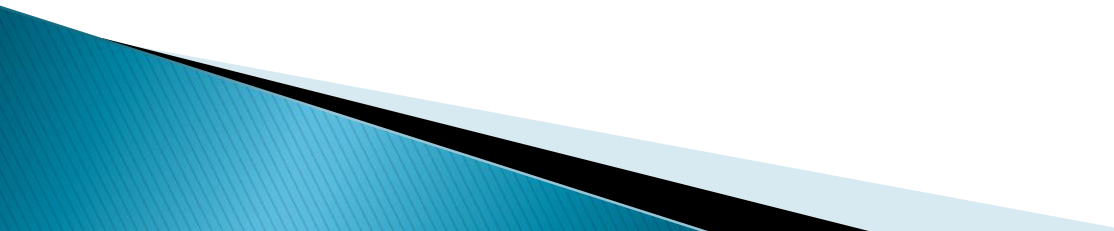


- ▶ „A polis is not an association for residents on a common site or for the sake of preventing mutual injustice and easing exchange. The end and purpose of a polis is the good life and the institutions of social life are means to that end”.

John Rawls: „Veil of ignorance”



Hypothetical argument

- ▶ Principles we would agree if we were choosing rules for society where no one knows his or her age, sex, race, intelligence, strength, social position, family wealth, religion, or life goal
 - ▶ Ignorance makes it impossible for anyone to propose social rules designed to benefit him more than other people
 - ▶ Fair and just
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John Rawls principles

- ▶ 1. everyone should have the same basic liberties: freedoms of speech and conscience, the right to hold office, to vote, freedom from arbitrary arrest, the right to hold personal property, etc.
 - ▶ 2. (a) fair equality of opportunity
 - ▶ (b) difference principle –no differences in income and wealth, *except* those differences that make even the least advantaged members of society better off
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