

# Ethics in International politics

Dr Bartłomiej E. Nowak  
[info@barteknowak.eu](mailto:info@barteknowak.eu)

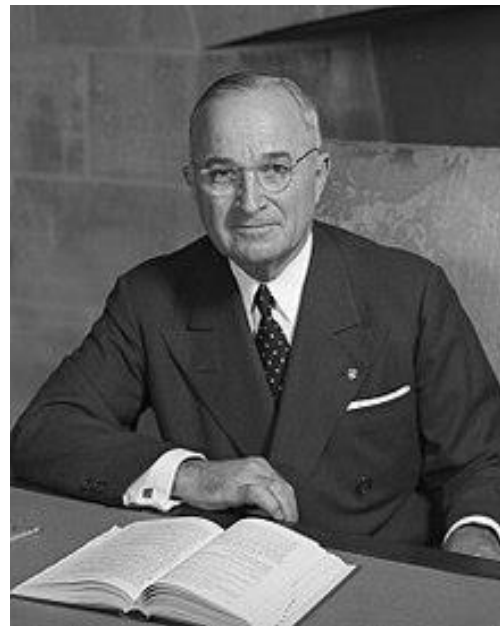
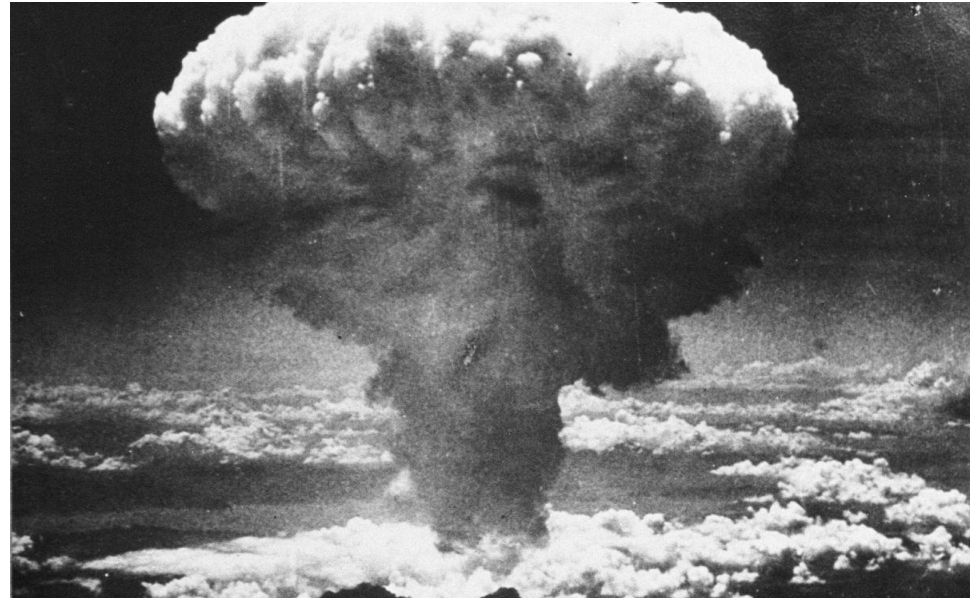






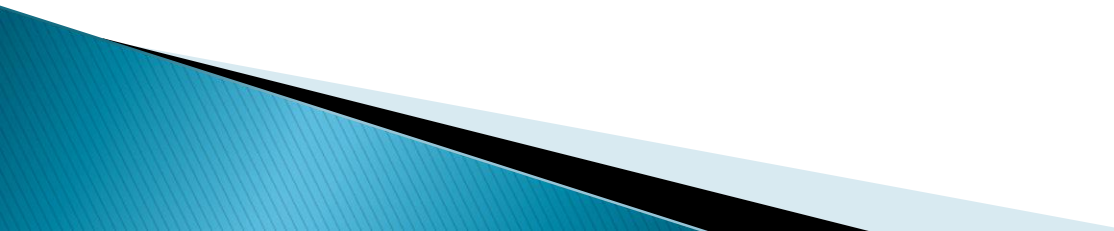








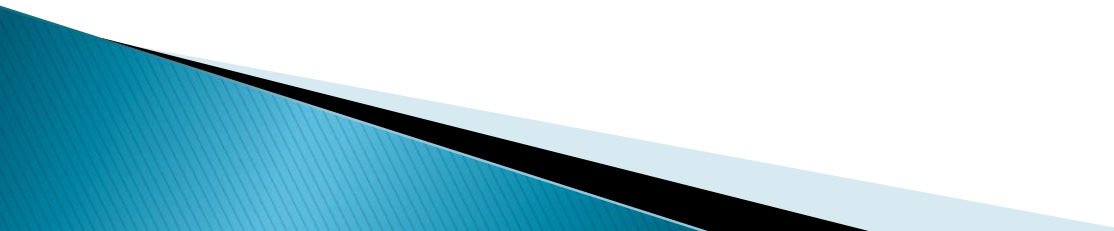
## Policy Questions

- ▶ What is ethical globalization?
  - ▶ Is deterring climate change an ethical issue?
  - ▶ Would you support a nuclear-zero world?
  - ▶ Do you think China is right to state that due to cultural factor they should have a different understanding of human rights?
  - ▶ Should we demand that all countries respect sexual minority rights?
  - ▶ Is democracy the best form of government?
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# 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
- 



# 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

# 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: Duty

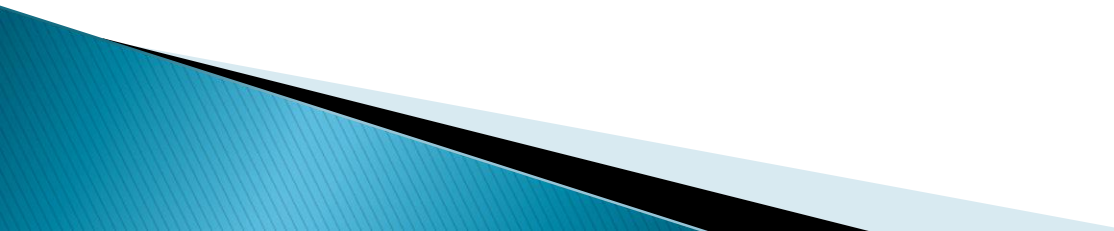
- ▶ Do the right thing because this is the right thing to do, not for other reason
- ▶ Motives and attitudes are important



# Immanuel Kant: Duty

- ▶ 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

- ▶ 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)

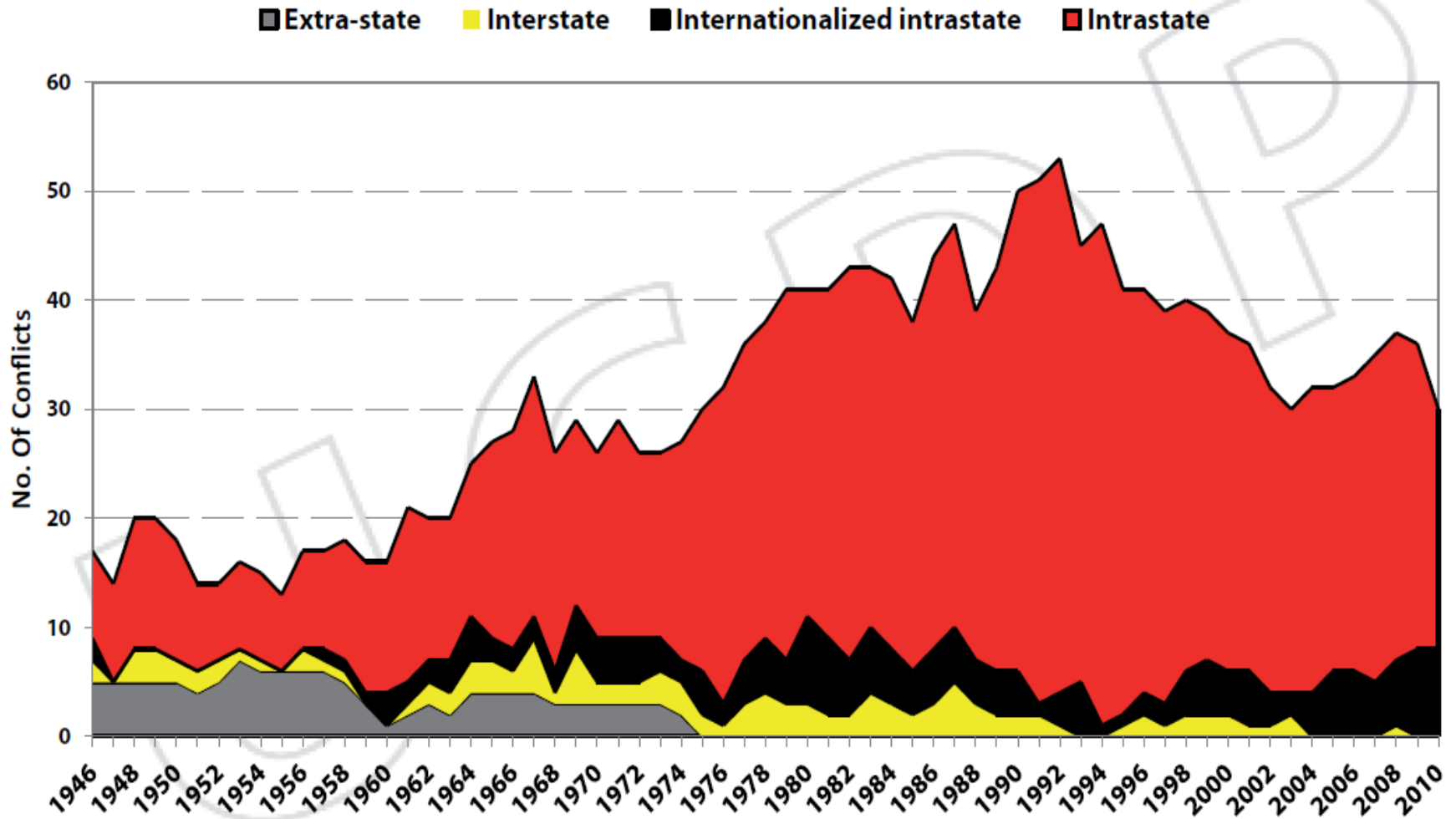
- ▶ International Criminal Court (permanent, 1998)
- ▶ Towards Global Ethics?



# UN Charter, art.51

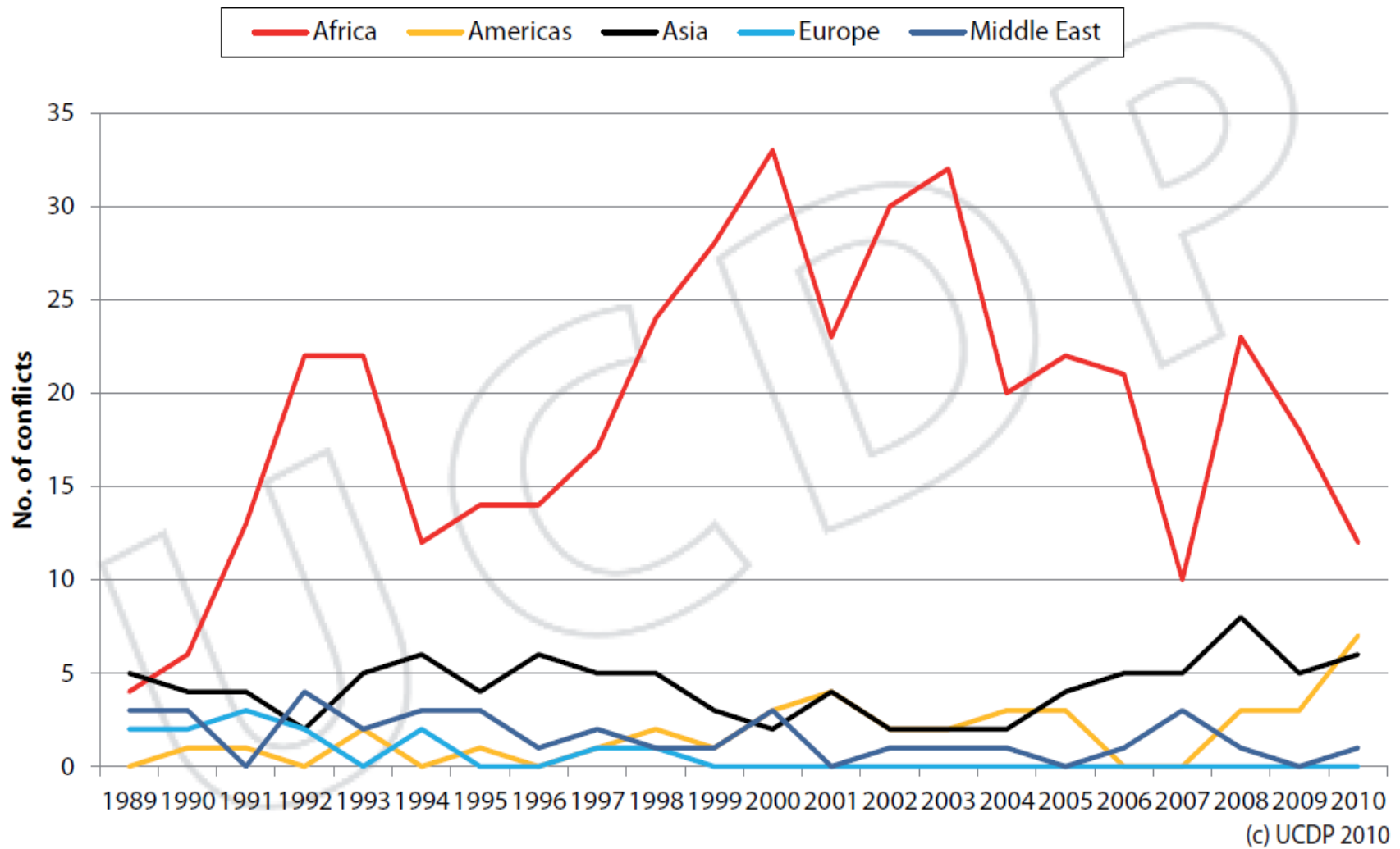
- ▶ States have „the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs”

# 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:

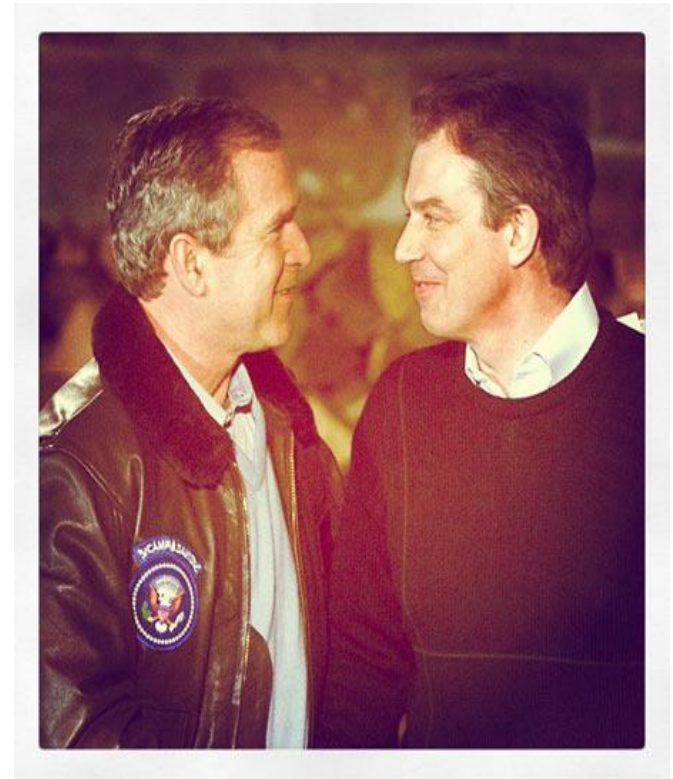
- Responsibility to prevent
- Responsibility to react
- Responsibility to rebuild

## 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?

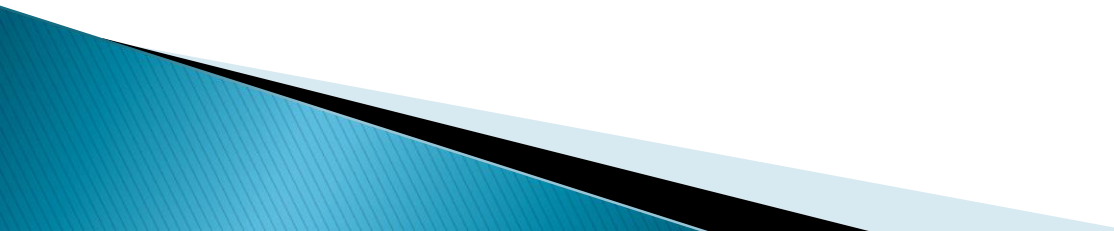




# Immanuel Kant: Law (4)

- ▶ 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

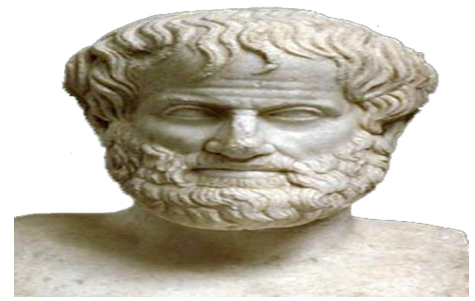
# Immanuel Kant: Freedom (5)

- ▶ 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)

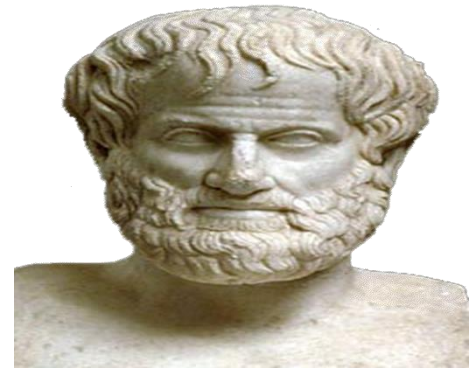
	Motives	Means	Consequences
Scenario 1	good	good	good
Scenario 2	good	good	bad
Scenario 3	good	bad	good
Scenario 4	good	bad	bad
Scenario 5	bad	bad	good
Scenario 6	bad	good	bad
Scenario 7	bad	good	good
Scenario 8	bad	bad	bad

# 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”

# Aristotle



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



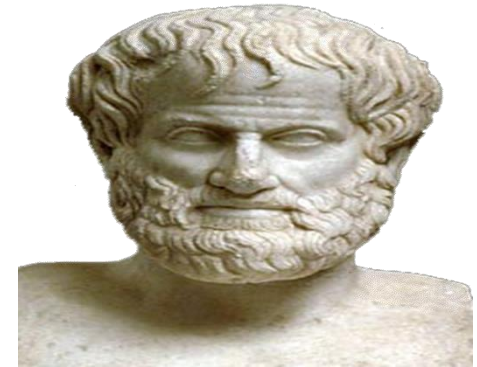
# Winnie the Pooh ☺

- ▶ 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.



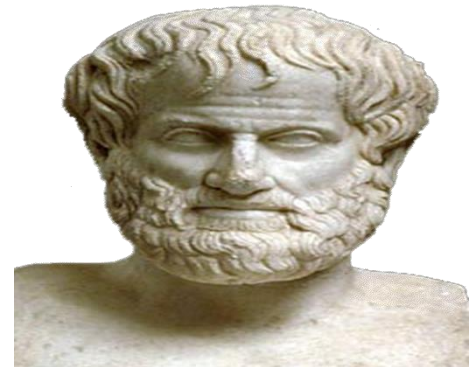
# Aristotle

- ▶ „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”

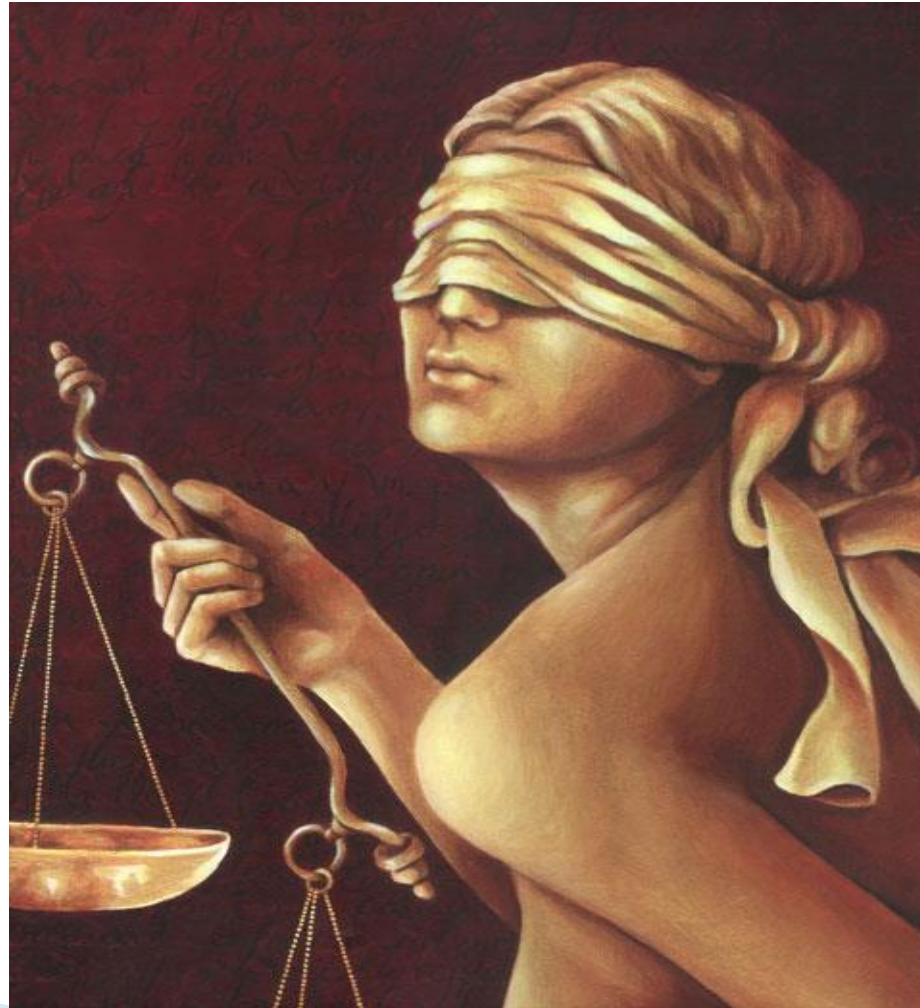


# Aristotle

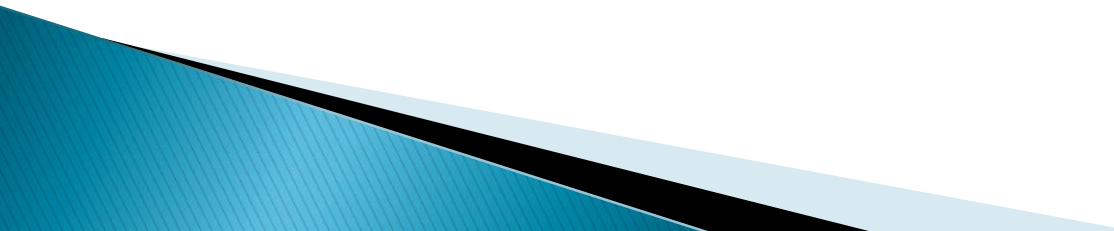
- ▶ „A polis is not an association for residents on a common site or for the sake of preventing mutual injustice and easing exchange. The end and purpose of a polis is the good life and the institutions of social life are means to that end”.



# John Rawls: „Veil of ignorance”

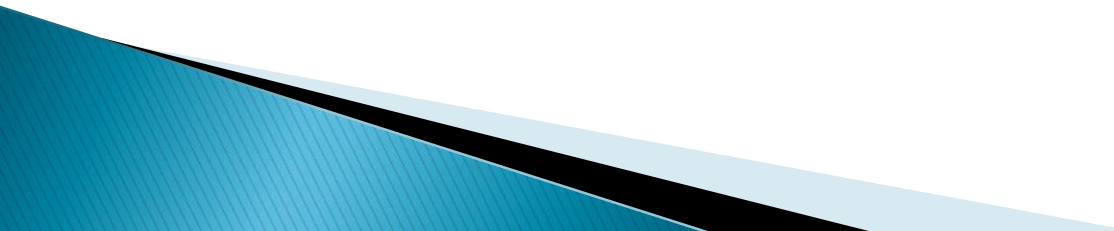


# Hypothetical argument

- ▶ 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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# The case for global ethics?

- ▶ A single ethics or many ethics?
- ▶ Olga Tokarczuk's Nobel lecture: (...) we lack new ways of telling the story of the world. We live in a reality of polyphonic first-person narratives (...) I believe I must tell stories as if the world were a living, single entity, constantly forming before our eyes, and as if we were a small and at the same time powerful part of it.

