

**PSC 4383**  
**CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL THEORY:**  
**THE JUST-WAR TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY CIVIC DEBATE**



Fall 2009  
Mondays and Wednesdays 4:00-5:15  
Draper 329

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**REQUIRED BOOKS**

Augustine, *Political Writings* (Hackett)  
Luther and Calvin on *Secular Authority* (Cambridge)  
Vitoria: *Political Writings* (Cambridge)  
John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (Cambridge)  
Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (Basic Books [1977] 2000)  
Other course materials will be made available electronically.

**COURSE OVERVIEW**

The backdrop for this course is supplied by contemporary events—by the problem of international terrorism and the current attempt to address this problem through war. However, this is not a course on terrorism or on the “war against terror” *per se*; it is a course on the power of great texts to help us think deeply, ethically and concretely about war, and thus to debate the justice of any particular war in philosophically fruitful ways. As such, this is a course in the connection between citizenship, philosophy and tradition—in the ways that rich traditions of political-philosophical reflection can be brought to bear effectively on issues of contemporary life.

The course begins with a session on “formulating questions.” In this introductory session we face the challenge of admitting our ignorance and trying to articulate the questions we would most like to answer. We turn then to a seven-week long, in-depth study of the just-war tradition, focusing on the authors and texts which have contributed most to the shape of just-war theory today. After we have gained a sense of the origins and historical development of the tradition, we turn to the central part of the course in which we work through the most important 20<sup>th</sup> century

essay in just-war theory, Michael Walzer's *Just and Unjust Wars*. And finally, (while students are working independently on their final research papers) we examine some of the competing paradigms for understanding war: Liberalism, Marxism, Pacifism, Realism, and Terrorism.

### GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The main goals of this course are to help students (1) develop an interest in questioning contemporary warfare from an ethical point of view, (2) learn how to engage in political analysis in a way that is philosophically sophisticated, not facile or ideological, (3) acquire a basic knowledge of how key writers of the past contributed to the tradition of just-war thinking and (4) see an example (possibly replicable) how the study of great texts can help us to put contemporary events in perspective and teach us how to engage them philosophically as citizens. More specifically, students will learn how six different famous writers in the "just-war tradition" (Augustine, Aquinas, Luther, Vitoria, Grotius, and Locke) advanced our thinking about the ethics of war; develop their own schematic map of the major topics of just-war thinking and the state of the question on each topic; be able to subject current conflicts to a just-war analysis; understand the basic tenets of five competing perspectives on war (Liberalism, Marxism, Pacifism, Realism, and Terrorism); and be able to engage in constructive conversation with diverse kinds of people about the intersection of war and ethics. Students who succeed in the course will...

1. Attend class regularly and participate actively, civilly and intelligently in classroom conversation.
2. Read all assignments consistently and well.
3. Keep notes and possibly journal entries on each major thinker and topic.
4. Turn in an "analysis" of an assigned passage or passages.
5. Turn in an "evaluation" of certain texts.
6. Demonstrate your factual knowledge and comprehension on the midterm exam.
7. Write a "state-of-the-question" paper (and learn from the papers written by your fellow students) on a just-war topic.
8. Perform satisfactorily on the final exam, including the "application" section which asks you to analyze a current conflict from a just-war perspective.

### GRADING POLICY

The course will be reading-intensive and managed like a seminar. Thus students must not only read the assignments for each class session but also come prepared to discuss these assignments in detail. In order to encourage good reading habits from the start, quizzes will be administered at the beginning of each class and will constitute a significant part of the course grade. The final grade for the course will be composed of the following elements.

**Attendance.** As the fruits of this course come largely by way of classroom conversation, attendance is required. I do not distinguish between "excused" and "unexcused" absences, so there is no need to tell me why you were absent or to worry about a doctor's note. After two absences, students' grades begin to decline; after six absences (3 weeks!), students cannot receive credit for the course. Leaving early or arriving late will count as one-half absence.

**Classroom Participation.** The quality of your participation is important both for your grade, and for the success of the course. The participation grade will reflect the frequency with which you

volunteer pertinent contributions to the discussion. If you have not read the texts or have not read them with sufficient care to make informed comments, your participation grade will reflect this too. Since attendance is a precondition of participation, poor attendance will affect your participation score.

**Quizzes.** Quizzes on the assigned reading material will be administered regularly. These typically take the form of multiple-choice questions, but other types of quizzes will also be administered. My quizzes present no difficulty to the student who has read the assignment for the day with care; they are designed simply to ensure your disciplined preparation.

**Analyses and Evaluations.** In order to practice the kind of thinking that will go into your final paper, you will be asked to turn in at least one analysis and one evaluation of key texts we are reading for the course. More on these distinct cognitive activities can be found on the final page of the syllabus.

**Final Papers.** Also called “state-of-the-question papers,” these will be 10-15 pages long and will involve independent research, analysis, synthesis of information and evaluation of the current state of just-war theory on a given topic.

**Exams.** There will be two exams for this course. An in-class midterm exam will cover material from the first half of the semester and will constitute 15% of your final grade. A cumulative final exam will be administered in class on Monday, December 14, 2:00-4:00 PM (Draper 329) and will test your recall of objective knowledge from the course as well as your ability to apply just-war concepts to a contemporary military event.

**Grade Scale**

100 - 90% = A	79 - 77% = C+	59 - 0% = F
89 - 87% = B+	76 - 70% = C	
86 - 80% = B	69 - 60% = D	

Attendance & Participation	10%
Quizzes	20%
Analyses & Evaluations (combined)	15%
Midterm	15%
Final Paper	20%
Final Exam	20%

### HONOR POLICY AND PAPER SUBMISSION TO TURNITIN.COM

Students agree that by taking this course, some papers, exams, class projects or other assignments may be submitted to Turnitin or similar parties to review and evaluate for originality and intellectual integrity. A description of the services, terms and conditions of use, and privacy policy of turnitin.com is available on its web site: <http://www.turnitin.com>. Students understand that all work submitted to turnitin.com will be added to its database of papers and that if the results of such a review support an allegation of academic dishonesty, the course work in question as well as any supporting materials may be submitted to the Honor Council for investigation and further action. Any act of academic dishonesty, on *any* assignment may result in a grade of zero for the entire course. Integrity, honesty, and relying on your own abilities are some of the most important lessons you'll learn in college and carry with you into the "real" world. Remember: each written assignment for the course is designed to stretch your abilities. It is there for a well-determined reason, and merits your serious attention.

### A NOTE ABOUT ASSISTED LEARNING

Any student who needs learning accommodation should inform the professor immediately at the beginning of the semester. The student is responsible for obtaining appropriate documentation and information regarding needed accommodations from the Baylor University Office of Access and Learning Accommodation (OALA) and providing it to the professor early in the semester. The OALA phone number is (254) 710-3605 and the office is in Paul L. Foster Success Center - Sid Richardson - Room 189.

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## CLASS SCHEDULE

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| 1. M 8/24 | Class Introduction: The Just-War Tradition—formulating questions<br>Syllabus cover art: see Rev 19:11–16 |
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### I. Recovering the Tradition

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| 2. W 8/26    | Augustine, Letters 138 and 189; Against the Manichaeans XXII.73-9          |
| 3. M 8/31    | Augustine, Excerpts from <i>City of God</i> and <i>On Free Choice</i>      |
| 4. W 9/2     | Aquinas, <i>Summa theologiae</i> , Secunda secundae, Question 40, Art. 1-4 |
| <b>M 9/7</b> | <b>Baylor Holiday: Labor day</b>   |
| 5. W 9/9     | Luther, <i>Whether Soldiers, Too, Can be Saved</i>                         |
| 6. M 9/14    | Luther, <i>On War Against the Turk</i>                                     |
| 7. W 9/16    | Vitoria, <i>On the American Indians</i>                                    |
| 8. M 9/21    | Vitoria, <i>On the Law of War</i>  |
| 9. W 9/23    | Grotius, <i>De Jure Belli ac Pacis</i> (excerpts)                          |
| 10. M 9/28   | Grotius, <i>De Jure Belli ac Pacis</i> (excerpts)                          |
| 11. W 9/30   | Locke, <i>Second Treatise</i> (excerpts)                                   |
| 12. M 10/5   | Locke, <i>Second Treatise</i> (excerpts)                                   |
| 13. W 10/7   | Writing Workshop   |
| 14. M 10/12  | Midterm Exam (in class)  |

### II. Contemporary Just-War Theory

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| 15. W 10/14 | Ch. 1, Against 'Realism'                          |
| 16. M 10/19 | Ch. 4, Law and Order in International Society     |
| 17. W 10/21 | Ch. 5, Anticipations                              |
| 18. M 10/26 | Ch. 6, Interventions                              |
| 19. W 10/28 | Ch. 9, Noncombatant Immunity & Military Necessity |

- 20. M 11/2 Ch. 10, War Against Civilians: Sieges and Blockades
- 21. W 11/4 Ch. 12, Terrorism
- 22. M 11/9 Ch. 16, Supreme Emergency
- 23. W 11/11 Ch. 18 The Crime of Aggression: Political Leaders & Citizens
- 24. M 11/16 Ch. 19, War Crimes: Soldiers and Their Officers

### **III. Contemporary Rival Paradigms**

- 25. W 11/18 Liberalism. Reading, Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace*; along with with: Beate Jahn, "Classical Smoke, Classical Mirror: Kant and Mill in Liberal International Relations Theory," in Beate Jahn, ed. *Classical Theory in International Relations* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 178-203.
- 26. M 11/23 Marxism. Reading, Mark Rupert, "Marxism," in Martin Griffiths, ed., *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century* (Routledge, 2007), pp. 35-46; W. B. Gallie, "Marx and Engels on Revolution and War," in *Philosophers of Peace and War* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 66-99; and Christopher J. Finlay, "Violence and Revolutionary Subjectivity," *European Journal of Political Theory* 5 (2006): 373-397.

### **W 11/25- F 11/27 Baylor Holiday: Thanksgiving**

- 27. M 11/30 Pacifism. Reading, Reinhold Niebuhr, "Why the Christian Church is not Pacifist"; John Howard Yoder, "Reinhold Niebuhr and Christian Pacifism" *MQR* (1955)
- 28. W 12/2 Realism. Reading, Jack Donnelly, "The Realist Tradition," in *Realism and International Relations* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 6-42.
- 29. M 12/7 Terrorism. Reading, Osama Bin Laden, "Fatwa Urging Jihad Against the Americans."

Final Exam: Monday, December 14, 2:00-4:00 PM (Draper 329)

## Bloom's Taxonomy

(Helpful for thinking about the kinds of thought processes we will engage in over the course of the semester)



In 1956, Benjamin Bloom headed a group of educational psychologists who developed a classification of levels of intellectual behavior important in learning. Bloom found that over 95 % of the test questions students encounter require them to think only at the lowest possible level...the recall of information.

Bloom identified six levels within the cognitive domain, from the simple recall or recognition of facts, as the lowest level, through increasingly more complex and abstract mental levels, to the highest order which is classified as evaluation. Verb examples that represent intellectual activity on each level are listed here.

1. **Knowledge:** arrange, define, duplicate, label, list, memorize, name, order, recognize, relate, recall, repeat, reproduce state.
2. **Comprehension:** classify, describe, discuss, explain, express, identify, indicate, locate, recognize, report, restate, review, select, translate,
3. **Application:** apply, choose, demonstrate, dramatize, employ, illustrate, interpret, operate, practice, schedule, sketch, solve, use, write.
4. **Analysis:** analyze, appraise, calculate, categorize, compare, contrast, criticize, differentiate, discriminate, distinguish, examine, experiment, question, test.
5. **Synthesis:** arrange, assemble, collect, compose, construct, create, design, develop, formulate, manage, organize, plan, prepare, propose, set up, write.
6. **Evaluation:** appraise, argue, assess, attach, choose compare, defend estimate, judge, predict, rate, core, select, support, value, evaluate.