

# **The Ethics of Military Intervention: What Can We Learn From the Modern European Classics?**

**A two-day conference at Columbia University**

**Friday, September 18, and Saturday, September 19, 2009**

**International Affairs Building (IAB), Room 1512**

There has been a lively debate in recent years about the politics and ethics of cross-border military intervention by powerful states. Just war theory and international law have long admitted the use of force in self-defense by states facing actual or imminent attack. But beyond this, there has never been a scholarly consensus on the ethics of military intervention. Does a commitment to universal human rights entail a moral responsibility to counteract large-scale acts of violence committed against civilians abroad? The citizens of Western liberal democracies increasingly believe that such a responsibility does indeed exist, but it remains unclear what precisely it implies and what normative criteria should ultimately guide humanitarian military interventions. The normative picture becomes even more complex when the use of force is considered as a means to promote democratic regime change, or to eliminate putative terrorist strongholds through preemptive and preventive military action.

The organizers of this conference believe that a careful re-examination of the normative arguments on the international use of force put forward by some of the most distinguished modern European political thinkers — ranging from natural-law theorists like Vitoria and Grotius to influential liberals such as Locke, Kant and J.S. Mill — could help us to consider the ethical implications of present-day military interventions in a refreshing new light. In many cases, the nuanced, sophisticated arguments on military intervention developed by those classical European thinkers have fallen into virtual oblivion over the last several decades. Yet those thinkers were grappling with several of the ethical dilemmas that we are facing today, be it with regard to humanitarian intervention, preventive military action to eliminate looming dangers, or more ambitious imperial projects intended to “civilize” foreign peoples and project political stability abroad.

The conference will bring together a distinguished group of American and European scholars in international relations and political theory. Twelve individuals will present a paper each, seeking to illuminate and reconstruct the thought of one or several modern European thinkers on questions of military intervention and empire. The papers will also crucially seek to relate the classical thinkers’ arguments to contemporary world affairs. The conference should be of great interest to faculty and graduate students in political science, international affairs, history, law, philosophy, and European studies.

—Conference Program—

**Friday, September 18, 2009**

**Session One: 9.30 – 11.00am**

Discussant: Jean Cohen

- Ariel Colonomos (CNRS-CERI, Paris), “Worshipping Ambiguous Gods: The Just War Tradition and Preventive War.”
- Benedict Kingsbury and Alexis Blane (NYU), “Relating Justifications for Intervention to Justifications for Punishment: Vitoria, Gentili, Grotius and Contemporary International Law”

***Coffee Break***

**Session Two: 11.30am – 1.00pm**

Discussant: Stephen Holmes (NYU)

- William Bain (Aberystwyth), “Vitoria and the Conditions of Dominion.”
- Richard Tuck (Harvard), “Grotius, Hobbes and Pufendorf on Intervention.”

***Lunch***

**Session Three: 3.00pm – 4.30pm**

Discussant: tbd

- Samuel Moyn (Columbia), “Appealing to Heaven: John Locke on Just War and Colonial Conquest.”
- Jennifer Pitts (Chicago), paper on Wolff and Vattel; title tbd.

**Saturday, September 19, 2009**

**Session One: 9.30 – 11.00am**

Discussant: Nadia Urbinati (Columbia)

- Edwin Van de Haar (Maastricht/Ateneo de Manila), “Hume and Smith on Just War, Empire, and Intervention.”
- Pierre Hassner (CERI Paris), “Sovereignty, Morality and History: The problematic legitimization of force in Rousseau, Kant and Hegel

***Coffee Break***

**Session Two: 11.30am – 1.00pm**

Discussant: Gary Bass (Princeton)

- Andrew Hurrell (NYU/Oxford), “Kant and Kantian theories on military intervention.”
- Jennifer Welsh (Oxford), “Burke and Intervention: The Laws of Vicinity and Neighborhood.”

***Lunch***

**Session Three: 3.00pm – 4.30pm**

Discussant: tbd

- Stefano Recchia (Columbia), “The origins of liberal Wilsonianism: Mazzini on regime change and humanitarian military intervention.”
- Michael Doyle (Columbia), “A Few Words on Millian Intervention.”

## Speaker Bios:

**William Bain** (PhD British Columbia) is Senior Lecturer in International Political Theory in the Department of International Politics, Aberystwyth University. He is the author of *Between Anarchy and Society: Trusteeship and the Obligations of Power* (OUP 2003) as well as several articles that explore the politics and ethics of trusteeship, international administration, and post-conflict reconstruction. He is also editor of and contributor to *The Empire of Security and the Safety of the People* (Routledge 2006). Dr. Bain's main areas of research and teaching are international relations theory, particularly the English School approach, international ethics, and the history of ideas. At present, he is working on a project that explores the political theory of international society, particularly as it relates to unarticulated theological foundations of the normative framework of contemporary international society.

**Ariel Colonomos** is a CNRS senior research fellow at CERI (Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales) and teaches international relations and international ethics at Sciences Po in Paris. From 2005 to 2007, he taught a course on ethical issues in international affairs at Columbia University (SIPA). He has recently published *Moralizing International Relations: Calling to Account* (Palgrave, 2008, translated from French, Odile Jacob, 2005) and *Le Pari de la guerre – guerre preventive guerre juste?* (Paris, Denoël, 2009).

**Michael W. Doyle** is the Harold Brown Professor of International Affairs, Law and Political Science at Columbia University. His current research focuses on international law and international relations. His major publications include *Ways of War and Peace* (W.W. Norton); *Empires* (Cornell University Press); *Making War and Building Peace* (Princeton Press); and *Striking First: Preemption and Prevention in International Conflict* (Princeton Press, 2008). He served as Assistant Secretary-General and Special Adviser to United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan where his responsibilities included strategic planning (the “Millennium Development Goals”), outreach to the international corporate sector (the “Global Compact”) and relations with Washington. He is currently a personal representative of the secretary-general, appointed by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, and the chair of the UN Democracy Fund.

**Pierre Hassner** is Research Director, emeritus, and Research Associate at CERI-Sciences Po, Paris. He has taught political philosophy and International Relations at the Institut d'Etudes politiques in Paris, at the Johns Hopkins University European Center in Bologna, and, as a visiting professor, at various American, Canadian and European Universities. He is the author of *Violence and Peace: From the atomic bomb to ethnic cleansing*, Engl. translation, Central European University Press, 1997; and, with G. Andreani, he has recently edited *Justifying War? From humanitarian intervention to counter-terrorism* (engl. translation Palgrave, 2008). Furthermore, he is the author of chapters on Kant and Hegel in L. Strauss and J. Cropsey, eds., *History of Political Philosophy* (1963 and 1974), and of a chapter on “Rousseau and the Theory and Practice of International Relations”, in C. Orwin and N. Tarcov, eds., *The Legacy of Rousseau*, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1997.

**Andrew Hurrell** is Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at Oxford University and a Fellow of Balliol College. His book *On Global Order: Power, Values and the Constitution of International Society* won the International Studies Association 2009 Best Book Award. Other recent books include: *Inequality, Globalization and World Politics* (1999, co-edited with Ngaire Woods); and *Order and Justice in International Relations* (2003, co-edited with Rosemary Foot and John Gaddis).

**Benedict Kingsbury** is Murry and Ida Becker Professor of Law and Director of the Institute for International Law and Justice at New York University. Recent publications include "State of Nature versus Commercial Sociability as the Basis of International Law," in *Philosophy of International Law* (Samantha Besson and John Tasioulas, ed., Oxford University Press, forthcoming) and, with Pratap Mehta et al., *Global Regulatory Governance and the State: India and the Emergence of Global Administrative Law* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming). He has edited, with Benjamin Straumann, *Alberico Gentili's De Armis Romanis (Wars of the Romans) (1599) trans. by David Lupher* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming), and, with Hedley Bull, Adam Roberts et al., *Hugo Grotius and International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 1990).

**Samuel Moyn** is Professor of History at Columbia University. He works primarily on modern European intellectual history, with special interests in France and Germany, political and legal thought, historical and critical theory, and Jewish studies. Currently, he is working on a study provisionally entitled *A New Theory of Politics: Claude Lefort and Company in Contemporary France* and also on the recent history of human rights. He is the co-director of the New York area Consortium for Intellectual and Cultural History.

**Jennifer Pitts** (PhD, Harvard) is Assistant Professor of Politics at the University of Chicago. Her research interests include modern political and social thought, particularly British and French thought of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. She is the author of *A Turn to Empire* (Princeton University Press, 2005), and editor and translator of *Alexis de Tocqueville: Writings on Empire and Slavery* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). She is currently writing a book, tentatively entitled *Boundaries of the International*, which explores European debates about legal relations with extra-European societies, and the challenges of cross-cultural legal and moral judgment, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

**Stefano Recchia** is a PhD candidate in political science at Columbia University. He is co-editor (with Nadia Urbinati) and translator of *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation Building, and International Relations* (Princeton, 2009). He has published several peer-reviewed articles on military intervention, multilateralism, and post-war reconstruction that have appeared in *Ethics & International Affairs*, *Constellations*, *Ethnopolitics*, and *Teoria Politica*. Mr. Recchia has been a Fulbright Fellow at Harvard University and a Visiting Research Fellow at the EU Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) in Paris.

**Richard Tuck** is Professor of Government at Harvard University. His works include *Natural Rights Theories* (1979), *Hobbes* (1989), and *Philosophy and Government, 1572-1651* (1993). They address a variety of topics including political authority, human rights, natural law, and toleration, and focus on a number of thinkers including Hobbes, Grotius, Selden, and Descartes. His current work deals with political thought and international law, and traces the history of thought about international politics from Grotius, Hobbes, Pufendorf, Locke, and Vattel, to Kant. He is also engaged in a work on the origins of twentieth century economic thought; in it he argues that the 'free rider' problem was only invented, as a problem, in recent decades. Thus his interests to a remarkable degree span concerns in all subfields of the discipline.

**Edwin van de Haar** is a lecturer in international relations in the European Studies Program at Ateneo de Manila University in the Philippines. He received his PhD from Maastricht University and holds master degrees from the London School of Economics and Political Science and from Leiden University. His book *Classical Liberalism and International Relations Theory* is forthcoming with Palgrave Macmillan in late August. Recently his article on Hume's views on international relations was published in *Review of International Studies*.

**Jennifer Welsh** is a professor of International Relations at the University of Oxford and co-Director of the Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict. She earned her Master's and Doctorate in International Relations from the University of Oxford. She is the author of numerous articles and several books, including *Edmund Burke and International Relations* (Macmillan/St. Martin's Press, 1995). She is also consultant to a number of organizations including: the Conference Board of Canada, McKinsey & Co., the Aspen Institute's Business and Society Program and the Government of Canada.

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