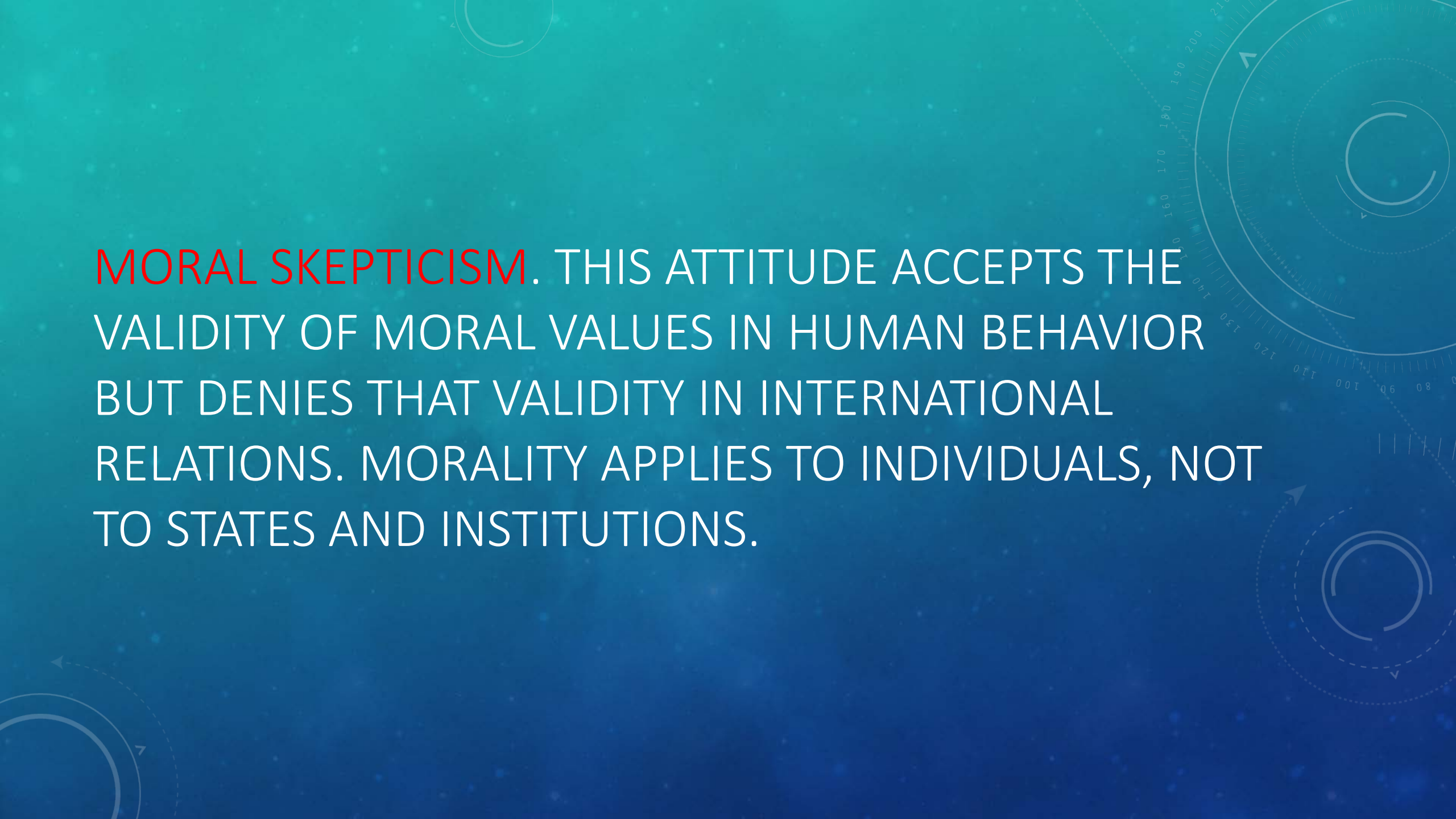


MORAL CYNICISM. THIS ATTITUDE IS BASED ON THE BELIEF THAT THERE ARE NO MORAL VALUES THAT HAVE MEANING IN HUMAN BEHAVIOR. SINCE THERE ARE NO MORAL VALUES, THERE IS NO NEED TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT MORALITY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.



MORAL SKEPTICISM. THIS ATTITUDE ACCEPTS THE VALIDITY OF MORAL VALUES IN HUMAN BEHAVIOR BUT DENIES THAT VALIDITY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. MORALITY APPLIES TO INDIVIDUALS, NOT TO STATES AND INSTITUTIONS.

STATE MORALISM. THIS ATTITUDE ARGUES THAT STATES ARE MORAL CREATIONS AND, THEREFORE, ARE MORALLY LEGITIMATE. NATIONAL BOUNDARIES HAVE MORAL SIGNIFICANCE BECAUSE THE STATES REPRESENT THEIR PEOPLE WHO HAVE COME TOGETHER FOR COMMON PURPOSES AND WHO HAVE A SENSE OF COMMUNITY. A FUNDAMENTAL RULE IS THAT EACH STATE IS SOVEREIGN.

Cosmopolitanism. Those who hold this attitude believe there is a common international morality that is based on the rights and obligations of individuals. Only persons as individuals, not states or institutions, are morally significant. International relations take place not only in a society of states but also in a society of individuals.

The skeptics, state moralists, and cosmopolitans will generally agree, however, on the following:

- Morality does play a role in international relations, even if only the minimal role accepted by the cynics.
- Moral arguments do move and constrain people and leaders.
- Morality is real, even if its norms may not be universal.
- However, the international system lacks a strong consensus on moral values.

There are two fundamental approaches to **ethical reasoning** - moral absolutism (Kantian), the strict adherence to moral values and principles regardless of consequences, and moral consequentialism (Utilitarian), the belief that all moral behavior must be judged by the consequences.

The decisions regarding foreign policies come out of a complex process in which many individuals representing competing institutions, agencies, and organizations will participate. Policies reflect a multitude of influences and views. The decisions that emerge from that process are the result of the complex interaction among all those who are involved. Each will try to make happen what he believes is best from his perspective. In the end, choices and takeoffs will have been made among individuals with different views on morality.

We should expect that the **decision process**, in which individuals participate, is based on ethical reasoning.

At minimum, the process should identify the moral values relevant to the situation, include these values in the assessment of the policy options, and in coming to a decision weigh the **moral consequences** of these options.

That a policy is moral or not requires:
an evaluation of the goal,
the motives and intentions,
the means to be used,
and the probable consequences.

A **moral policy** should be justified in all four ways.