

Spring 2022
GOV 366C, #38075
classroom: MEZ 1.102
Tues., Thurs. 12:30pm-2:00pm

Professor Jason Brownlee
email: brownlee-at-austin-dot-utexas-dot-edu
office hours: Wed. 11:00am-2:00pm (online)
office: Batts 3.146
online: <https://utexas.zoom.us/j/4599341933>

THE ETHICS OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION

Under what conditions, if any, is it right for an outside power to enter another country and influence the people and government there? Such interventions constitute a substantial component of international politics. For examples, during the past 125 years, U.S. leaders have deployed the country's military personnel not only to win wars, but to set-up new governments, from the occupation of the Philippines and Cuba in 1898 to the recently-concluded wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Through readings, lectures, and films we will study and debate the morality of US and other foreign interventions.

Coursework will cultivate the following skills: 1) drawing main points from major texts, 2) reflecting on patterns in foreign military interventions, 3) applying different models of ethical reasoning to historical and contemporary cases, and 4) communicating with clear prose.

FLAGS

This course carries the **Ethics, Writing, Independent Inquiry** Flags. Courses carrying the **Ethics Flag** equip students with the tools necessary for making ethical decisions in their adult and professional lives. **Writing Flag** courses are designed to give students experience with writing in an academic discipline. **Independent Inquiry** courses provide students with the opportunity for independent investigation of an academic question, problem, or project.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

After successfully completing this course students will have demonstrated they can:

- Draw the main points from major texts concerning the course subject.
- Reflect on patterns in foreign military interventions.
- Apply different models of ethical reasoning to historical and contemporary cases.
- Develop and explore their own research questions.
- Convey their own ideas and reflections in understandable prose.

READINGS

One **course packet**, available for purchase at Jenn's Copy and Binding (2518 Guadalupe), will provide all or nearly all of the required reading starting in Week 3. (For weeks 1 and 2, students will be asked to print texts from Canvas.) Students should expect to read and study roughly 50 book or article pages (roughly 15,000 words) per week, spending an average of 4-6 hours work outside of class. Class meetings are about one-third of the time commitment needed for

satisfactory performance. If you do not have that kind of time for this course, I encourage you to select another class or choose another semester to take this class. Students should acquire a notebook and writing utensils, such as a decent pen, for in-class writing assignments. Paper copies of the course texts are needed for class discussion.

GRADING POLICY

The final grade will come from in-class oral and written work, plus writing, reading, and research outside of class.

I. readiness for lectures, student-driven discussion, and in-class activities (20%, each class of ready attendance, including on-camera Zoom participation, earns a point, maximum 20 points);

II. 2 short discussion papers (1-2 pages, max. 600 words) (5% each, 10% total);

III. group participation during in-class team debate (5%) and a solo-authored debate reflection paper (2-3 pages, max. 900 words) (10%);

IV. a midterm paper with opportunity for revision (3-5 pages, 900-1,500 words) (15% for exam);

V. a solo or partnered research plan and research report of 5-10 pages (1,500-3,000 words) (15%), and 10-minute presentation of results (10%).

VI. closing short-essay exam (15%);

VII. Opportunity for 1-3 additional points from extra-credit comprehension quizzes.

I. READINESS (20%)

Readiness begins with students coming to class on-time (and on-camera in Zoom) for a close discussion of the material. Students are encouraged to take notes by hand and ask questions about any points that are unclear. Readiness also includes being able to address (orally or in writing) the following items on each week's readings:

1. What is the author's argument in your own words?
2. What does the author provide that sounds new about foreign intervention?
3. What is a question you have about the reading and on which you would like to hear your classmates' thoughts?

NOTE: This is a participation-heavy class that requires students to attend actively. Students who do not think they are prepared to show up and engage consistently are encouraged to seek a course that does not require participation.

For students who are generally able to engage, there is no penalty for missing a specific class. Credit for ready attendance begins with the first class in which the student participates. It then increases, by one point, for each day of ready attendance beyond that day, up to a maximum of 20 points. This means, a well-prepared student, even if they missed one or two classes (for whatever reason), would max out their readiness and attendance grade (achieve a full 20/20) after twenty class days, approximately the end of Week 11.

Regarding excused absences (including medical emergencies, athletic events, and religious holidays). A student with excused absences does not need to take any action, unless they think

the excused absences would prevent them from having twenty ready-attendance days. Anyone who would like a university-documented excused absence to count as a ready attendance day may submit an alternate written assignment on that week's readings. The paper will count toward credit in this category.

II. DISCUSSION PAPERS (10% total)

Our discussions on Tuesdays constitute the driving force of the class. (Thursdays are for continuing discussion and for previewing the next week's material.) Although I will facilitate discussion, I prefer you, the students, speak the most, articulate your own ideas, and respond to each other.

Discussions will be structured around ideas raised by students in their assigned discussion papers. During weeks 2-6, 8-12, students will submit 300-600-word (1-2-page) reflections discussing their thoughts about the reading for that week. (Students will alternate weeks based on five assigned groups.) Papers will be due by electronic submission on Canvas **by 11:59pm on the prior Sunday. For example, the paper for Week 3 is due by the end of Sunday, January 30.**

Discussion papers should resemble the style of a book review, but they can be less formal. Each paper should clearly address the following items:

1. [The what] What is the author's thesis? Summarize the author's argument and evidence as it relates to the course topic.
2. [The so-what] Why does this reading matter? What does the author say about the ethics of foreign intervention that makes the text worth reading?
3. [The am-I-convinced] What is your critical assessment of the reading(s)? Is it persuasive or informative? Why or why not?
4. [The questions] Present at least two questions on the readings that you think would be worth discussing in class.

Discussion papers will be graded on a 0-5 scale based on I. Clarity of prose: Is the paper easy to read and understand? II. Grasp of material: Does the paper show that the student has read the texts? III. Critique: Has the student reached his/her/their own assessments about the authors' arguments?

5 – Excellent. The discussion paper was submitted on-time. It reads well and indicates a serious attempt to engage the authors' ideas.

4 – Very good. The discussion paper generally conforms to the instructions and reflects serious work, but there are two or more identifiable flaws.

3 and below – Needs work. There are multiple, noteworthy shortcomings and substantial evidence of a less-than-serious effort.

As for formatting: double-spaced, 1" margins, with a font no smaller than Times New Roman 12. ***Submissions one day late (by Monday 11:59pm) will lose two points. No submissions beyond that time will be accepted.***

III. TEAM DEBATE AND INDIVIDUAL PAPER (15% total)

For week 7 (March 1, 3), students will be randomly assigned to research a debate topic in teams. They will participate in the in-class debate (5%) and submit a paper summarizing their individual experience researching the topic (10%).

IV. MIDTERM PAPER (15% total)

Midway through the course students will submit a 3-5 page (900-1500 word) essay based on course materials. No outside research is required. This paper will be eligible for revision and resubmission in response to the professor's comments.

V. RESEARCH PLAN, REPORT, AND PRESENTATION (25% total)

The capstone of the course is a well-researched topic that the student selects and pursues individually or with a single partner and co-author. The endpoint of this project is a 5-10 page paper due by 11:59pm, May 6. The paper should be similar in tone to the discussion of deontological and utilitarian approaches assigned in Week 1. (A portion of the grade comes from the student or pair of students submitting a research plan.) An additional 10% comes from in-class presentations, on a conference-style panel, of the findings during Weeks 13 and 14 (April 19, 21, 26, 28).

VI. CLOSING SHORT-ESSAY EXAM (15% total)

A closing short-essay exams (May 5, to be hand-written in blue books or on notebook paper) will test the ability of students to synthesize prior course material and directly address the issues at hand. Notes and texts (but no online sources) may be consulted during the exam. Exams are to be completed during the 75-minute class period. It is each student's responsibility to take the exam as scheduled (unless exempted by a university documented time conflict).

VII. EXTRA-CREDIT COMPREHENSION QUIZZES (1-3 points)

Periodically there will be short extra-credit quizzes that recognize close reading and careful work with course materials.

Week One – 1/18, 1/20	INTRODUCTION. 1. Read the syllabus . 2. Sheila Bonde and Paul Firenze . "A Framework for Making Ethical Decisions." <i>Making Choices: Ethical Awareness in International Collaborations: A Contextual Approach</i> (2013).
Week Two –	APPLYING ETHICAL FRAMEWORKS.

1/25, 1/27 (Group 1)	1. Po-En Tseng and Ya-Huei Wang , "Deontological or Utilitarian? An Eternal Ethical Dilemma in Outbreak," <i>International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health</i> , (18-16), 2021, 8565 (13 pp.). 2. M. E. Chamberlain , "Lord Cromer's 'Ancient and Modern Imperialism': A Proconsular View of Empire," <i>Journal of British Studies</i> 12(1) (Nov., 1972), pp. 61-85.
Week Three – 2/1, 2/3 (Group 2)	VIETNAM INTRODUCTION. 1. Jean-Paul Sarte and Frantz Fanon , <i>The Wretched of the Earth</i> , Preface and portion of "On Violence," pp. xliii-lxii, 1-7. 2. Michael Walzer , <i>Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations</i> . 4 th ed. New York: Basic Books, 2006 [1977], pp. 3-47. Supplemental: David L. Anderson, <i>The Columbia Guide to the Vietnam War</i> , New York: Columbia University Press, 2002, pp. 15-70; Thucydides, <i>The Peloponnesian War</i> , pp. 400-408 (the Melian Dialogue); Niebuhr, Reinhold. <i>Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics</i> . New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950 [1932], ix-xxv, 1-22; Carr, Edward Hallett. <i>The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations</i> . New York: Harper & Row, 1939, pp. 63-88.
Week Four – 2/8, 2/10 (Group 3)	THE COLD WAR. 1. Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman , <i>The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism</i> , pp. 1-40. 2. Michael Walzer , <i>Just and Unjust Wars</i> , pp. 86-108.
Week Five – 2/15, 2/17 (Group 4) (Begin work on debate topics.)	COUNTER-INSURGENCY, COUNTER-INDEPENDENCE. 1. Eqbal Ahmad , "Revolutionary Warfare: How to Tell When the Rebels Have Won," <i>The Nation</i> , August 30, 1965, in in <i>The Selected Writings</i> . New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, , pp. 13-23. 2. Marilyn Young , "Counterinsurgency, Now and Forever," in Lloyd Garner and Marilyn Young, eds., <i>Iraq and the Lessons of Vietnam</i> . New York: The New Press, 2007, pp. 216-229.
Week Six – 2/22, 2/24 (Group 5)	RETROSPECTIVE 1. John Lewis Gaddis , 'The Long Peace: elements of stability in the postwar international system', <i>International Security</i> 10(4) spring 1986, pp. 99–142. 2. Eqbal Ahmad , "The Cold War from the Standpoint of Its Victims," in <i>The Selected Writings</i> . New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, , pp. 219-227.
Week Seven – 3/1, 3/3 (In-class debates. Papers due by 11:59pm on 3/4.)	IN-CLASS DEBATES. No new readings. Tuesday: Red and gold teams. Thursday: Blue and green teams.
Week Eight – 3/8, 3/10 (Group 1)	No class meeting on Thursday, March 10. Midterm paper due Friday, March 11, 11:59pm. THE UNIPOLAR ERA.

(In-class short essay exam on 3/10.)	<p>1. Alexandra Homolar, "How to Last Alone at the Top," <i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i>, pp. 189-217. 2. William Kristol and Robert Kagan, "Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy," <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, July 1996, 18-32.</p> <p>Supplemental: Reinhold Niebuhr, <i>Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics</i>. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950 [1932], ix-xxv, 1-22; <i>The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations</i>. New York: Harper & Row, 1939, pp. 63-88.</p>
<i>SPRING BREAK</i>	
<p>Week Nine – 3/22, 3/24 (Group 2) (Research plan due 3/25.)</p>	<p>HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION 1. Samantha Power, "<i>A Problem from Hell</i>": <i>America and the Age of Genocide</i>, New York: Basic Books, 2002, pp. xi-xxi, 503-516. 2. Stephen Wertheim, "A Solution from Hell: The United States and the Rise of Humanitarian Interventionism, 1991–2003," <i>Journal of Genocide Research</i> 12 (3-4), pp. 149-172. Supplemental: Charles Hirschkind and Saba Mahmood. 2002. "Feminism, the Taliban, and Politics of Counter-Insurgency," <i>Anthropological Quarterly</i> 75(2): 339-354., Cyra Akila Choudhury, "Empowerment or Estrangement: Liberal Feminism Visions of the Progress of Muslim Women," <i>University of Baltimore Law Forum</i> 39, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 153-172.</p>
<p>Week Ten – 3/29, 3/31 (Group 3)</p>	<p>TERROR 1. Barton Gellman, <i>Angler: The Cheney Vice Presidency</i>. New York: Penguin 2008, pp. 159-194 (epub version). 2. Alfred W. McCoy, "Torture in the Crucible of Counterinsurgency," in Garner and Young, eds., <i>Iraq and the Lessons of Vietnam</i>. New York: The New Press, 2007, pp. 230-261.</p>
<p>Week Eleven – 4/5, 4/7 (Group 4)</p>	<p>REGIME CHANGE WARS 1. Lee Feinstein and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "A Duty to Prevent," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 83(1), (Jan. - Feb., 2004), pp. 136-150. 2. Noam Chomsky, "Imperial Grand Strategy," in <i>Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance</i>. New York: Basic Books, 2006, pp. 11-49.</p>
<p>Week Twelve – 4/12, 4/14 (Group 5)</p>	<p>LIGHT FOOTPRINT 1. Marilyn Young, "Bombing civilians from the twentieth to the twenty-first centuries," pp. 139-164. 2. Laleh Khalili, "Counterterrorism and counterinsurgency in the Neoliberal Age," pp. 1-23 (from html). Supplemental: Richard Lachmann, "The US Military: Without Rival and Without Victory," <i>Catalyst: A Journal of Theory and Strategy</i> 1(3), Fall 2017, pp. 117-148. Supplemental: Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Obama Doctrine." <i>The Atlantic</i>, April 2016.</p>
<p>Week Thirteen – 4/19, 4/21 (Research presentations from panels 1 and 2.)</p>	<p>RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS. Student-selected topics and readings.</p>

Week Fourteen – 4/26, 4/28 (Research presentations from panels 3 and 4.)	RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS. Student-selected topics and readings.
Week Fifteen – 5/3, 5/5 (In-class short essay exam on 5/5; Final research papers due by 11:59pm, Friday, 5/6.)	ETHICS OF FOREIGN INTERVENTIONS: REVIEW AND TEST. <i>No new readings.</i>

ADDITIONAL COURSE POLICIES AND GUIDELINES

COMMUNICATION

I am happy to field questions, in person or by email, on substantive matters. If you miss a class, you are responsible for getting notes and information from classmates on what was covered. After doing so, you are welcome to approach me with outstanding questions. When communicating by email, plan for a 48-hour (or two business day) response time.

Progress in the Course

Professor Brownlee is committed to helping all students understand the course material to the fullest extent of their interest. Toward that goal he is available outside of class during office hours to respond to questions about the assigned texts. When lectures incorporate slides, these slides will be posted on Canvas after the lecture.

Grade calculation

Final grades will be determined on the basis of the below rubric. A = 94-100; A- = 90-93.999; B+ = 87-89.999; B = 84-86.999; B- = 80-83.999; C+ = 77-79.999; C = 74-76.999; C- = 70-73.999; D+ = 67-69.999; D = 64-66.999; D- = 60-63.999; F = 0-59.999. The professor will not alter grades calculated at the end of the semester.

Suggestions for reading effectively.

Close reading entails reflecting on the text as you are reading, and evaluating the author's argument.

- What is the main claim she makes?
- Does this make sense to you? Why or why not?
- What are the weaknesses of the argument?
- If there is a narrative, who are the main personas and the pivotal events?

Thoughtful reading takes time and energy. Space out readings in reasonable increments. It is more pleasant and more productive to read over several days than to try and compress all the reading into an all-nighter.

The goal of close reading is not turning pages, but being able to say something about the material and evaluate it. When you are done reading, check to see that you can summarize the author's argument in a few sentences. I encourage you to take 5 minutes and write down this summary. Notes and synopses can be used during class discussions, the exams, and the papers.

Attendance and Workload

Students are expected to come ready and on time for all class sessions. In the classroom students are expected to comport themselves in a professional manner. By enrolling and remaining in this course students indicate they have understood the importance of carefully completing the weekly readings and being ready for in-class discussion led by Professor Brownlee. ***NB: If you miss a class for any reason, you are responsible for catching up on the material. That begins with consulting classmates, NOT with asking the Professor "So... what did I miss?"***

Academic accommodations

The University of Austin provides upon request appropriate academic accommodations for qualified students with disabilities. For more information, contact the Office of the Dean of Students at 471-6259, 471-6441 TTY. All accommodations must be coordinated through the Office of the Dean of Students. Students needing accommodations should communicate this need to before the third class meeting by providing the accommodation letter to the professor or teaching assistant.

Religious holidays or official extracurricular activities

Religious holy days sometimes conflict with class and examination schedules. It is the policy of the University of Texas at Austin that you must notify each of your instructors at least fourteen days prior to the classes scheduled on dates you will be absent to observe a religious holy day. If you miss a test due to the observance of a religious holy day you will be given an opportunity to complete the work missed within a reasonable time after the absence.

Students missing class for an official extracurricular activity must provide documentation at least fourteen days prior.

Scholastic Dishonesty

"Scholastic dishonesty... includes but is not limited to, cheating, plagiarism, collusion, falsifying academic records, and any act designed to give unfair academic advantage to the student (such as, but not limited to, submission of essentially the same written assignment for two courses without prior permission of the instructor, providing false or misleading information in an effort to receive a postponement or an extension on a test, quiz, or other assignment), or the attempt to commit such an act" (Section 11-802 (b), *Institutional Rules on Student Services and Activities*).

If you have any questions about what constitutes scholastic dishonesty, you should consult with me and the following website: http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/sjs/acint_student.php . Violations will be reported to Student Judicial Services and the student(s) in question will fail this course. In additions, students are expected to abide by the university's rules on student conduct.

<http://catalog.utexas.edu/general-information/appendices/appendix-c/student-discipline-and-conduct/#subchapter11400.prohibitedconduct>

Grade Appeals

Any complaints about grades should be initiated with a written explanation (by paper or email) of why the decisions behind the assignment of your grade should be revisited. You will have one week after an exam or paper has been handed back to submit this written explanation. Once you have submitted your written request, the professor will decide whether to re-grade your entire assignment. *Performance in other classes taken here at the university is not germane to any grading decision made in this class. Consequently, if receiving a D in this class places you on academic probation, this does not constitute a viable justification for requesting the regarding of an assignment.*

Cell Phones and other External Communications

Starting in the third week (Tuesday, September 10), all electronic devices are to be turned off during class.

Syllabus Changes

The syllabus is subject to change by the professor. Any alteration in the syllabus course schedule will be announced in class and posted to Canvas.

Time management is a valuable skill in college and life. Professor Brownlee is glad to meet with you to discuss ways of organizing your schedule to carve out and protect the time needed for this class, e.g., thinking about when and where you study most effectively. Then set aside blocks of time that are reserved for homework for this class. Whatever your particular approach to managing time, if you would like assistance, it is best to approach Professor Brownlee in the first two weeks of class.

This course is expected to make up one component in a full student schedule of classes, extracurricular activities, work, and other commitments. The assignments and workload are designed to require approximately 5-7 hours, in addition to the time spent attending lectures. (If you do not have that kind of time to devote to this GOV 365, I would encourage you to select another class or choose another semester to take this class.)

Strictness is fairness. Most students are busy; all students merit equal treatment. Professor Brownlee will be strict about applying the announced policies uniformly.

The syllabus specifies the workload, deadlines, and grading rubric for the course. If any changes occur, they will be announced in class. In short, everyone knows the expectations for the class. Further, by taking the course, students are indicating that they will honestly strive to submit their best work punctually.