

Foreign Military Intervention

Professor Willard-Foster
POLS 259A, Fall 2018
Meeting Time: Tues/Thurs 2:50 – 4:05PM
Location: Old Mill 523
Email: melissa.willard-foster@uvm.edu
Office Hours: TUES 11:25AM-12:25PM; WED 10-11AM
THURS 11:25AM-12:25PM and by appt.
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CONTENT & ORGANIZATION

The practice of states intervening militarily in the domestic politics of other states dates back millennia. But to what extent have the causes of foreign military intervention remained constant over time? Are states still largely driven by narrow geostrategic interests or do norms of humanitarianism now principally motivate intervention? Domestic political pressures are commonly cited as influential in the decision to intervene, but can such pressures force states to pursue military action that fails to serve their strategic interests? This course focuses on the questions of why states intervene and what happens when they do. We will be reading both theoretical arguments and historical accounts in this course. The former is intended to acquaint students with the major theoretical paradigms in international relations and shed light on the reasons states undertake military intervention. The latter is intended to give students some background on specific empirical examples of intervention to better evaluate the merits of the theories presented. Along the way, we will be examining a variety of current events, from the civil war in Syria to turmoil in Iraq, debating a variety of issues and puzzles associated with intervention.

WHAT WILL YOU LEARN IN THIS COURSE?

1. You'll learn about cases of foreign military intervention and patterns in the empirical record
2. How to evaluate major theories of international relations, identify their implications, and develop a critical response
3. You will gain the ability to think critically about current events and issues related to intervention
4. You will acquire skills in conducting research, as well as formulating an argument and expressing it in both written and oral form

READINGS

No specific textbook will be assigned for this course. I will instead post readings on Blackboard. Students will be responsible for *printing and bringing the readings to class*. I reserve the right to change readings and assignment dates as needed. Any changes to the syllabus will be

announced in class and through email. I will be using the university's email list, so please make sure you check this account regularly.

Students are also expected to keep up on current events in this course. Please scan *The New York Times*, Global Edition or any other major newspaper before each class for articles related to course content. (<http://global.nytimes.com/>).

The New York Times permits users 10 free articles per month. Other recommended news sources include *The Washington Post*, *The BBC*, and *The Wall Street Journal*. You can use the library website to access the school's *NYT* subscription. To do so, go to <http://search.proquest.com/advanced/> and use the search pub(international new york times) and set the publication date (below the search boxes) to that day's date. This will give you access to the full articles, but unfortunately not the front-page layout.

ASSIGNMENTS

Participation (15%): Active participation is a requirement for this course. This means that students must come to class prepared to discuss the readings in depth. The quality, not quantity, of your contributions during class will affect the grade assigned. ***Please note that students will be called upon in class.*** If public speaking poses a problem for you, please let me know before the third class. Students who are uncomfortable speaking up in class may instead submit via email a one-page paper in response to one of the discussion questions for full discussion credit.

Discussion Questions: As part of the participation grade, students will write up answers to discussion questions before each class. Students are expected to answer each of the questions in roughly 2-5 sentences, and submit them via BB by **2:45pm** the day for which the reading is assigned. ***Students must also print up the questions with their responses and bring them to class.*** Two points will be deducted from the participation grade for each class a student attends without the printed responses.

Attendance: In order to participate, you must also attend class, but mere attendance does not ensure a passing participation grade. Poor attendance, however, will hurt your grade. Students that have more than **two** unexcused absences will have their participation grade reduced by **ten points** for each additional unexcused absence. I take attendance at the beginning of class. If you come to class late, it is your responsibility to see that your attendance is registered. If you have reason for an excused absence (funeral, hospital stay, etc.) please contact the professor before class or as soon as possible.

Plagiarism Quiz: Plagiarism is a serious offense and any instances will be reported immediately to the Center for Student Ethics & Standards. The following is from the University's Code of Academic Integrity: "All ideas, arguments, and phrases, submitted without attribution to other sources must be the creative product of the student. Thus, all text passages taken from the works of other authors (published or unpublished) must be properly cited. The same applies to paraphrased text, opinions, data, examples, illustrations, and all other creative work. Violations of this standard constitute plagiarism."

To ensure everyone understands what constitutes plagiarism, students must complete the online tutorial at <http://unitproj.library.ucla.edu/col/b Bruinsuccess/>. Click on the “Citing and Documenting Sources” link. There will be a short in-class quiz on *Tuesday, Sept. 11th* that will count toward your participation grade.

SHORT PAPERS (20%)

Each week, one group of students will be assigned to write a short paper. Over the course of the semester, each student will write three papers. In these papers, you will be asked to respond to *one* of the discussion questions in an essay of roughly 500-750 words. If the discussion questions for the week include a related question, students are welcome to address more than one question, but each question should be addressed in the same essay. Keep in mind that the quality of the writing, as well as the accuracy and depth of the answer, is much more important than the number of questions addressed.

Students should write only their 95# at the top of the essay. No names, please. The question(s) must also be included at the top of the essay. The essay is due on the day the reading is due. Students can choose to write their essay for a reading due Tuesday or Thursday. In addition to the essay, students must answer the discussion questions for the other readings assigned that day/week. However, they are excused from the writing responses to the remaining questions on the reading for which they are writing an essay.

If you choose to submit a weekly paper to earn participation credit, you must submit two papers during the weeks in which your short papers are due.

Case Studies I and II (20% & 20%): For these papers, students will write a roughly 7-page paper on a case of foreign military intervention. In the first week of class, I will distribute a list of military interventions from which you may choose (you are not limited to this list). Your research must be based on *at least seven* different sources, *three* of which should be books that focus exclusively on the intervention or target country. Encyclopedia entries, websites, and class readings cannot be counted toward the seven sources. Points will be deducted for failure to use the minimum number of sources required.

The papers will be due **October 18th** and **November 15th** (note, these dates are subject to change). For the first assignment, students must hand in during class a one-paragraph description of the case they plan to examine by **Sept. 20th**. A revised paragraph and annotated bibliography are due on **Oct 4th**. Three points will be deducted from the paper grade for missed or incomplete assignments.

Final Paper (20%): For the final paper, students will build on their case studies to make a theoretical argument about the causes of foreign military intervention. The paper will include revised versions of the case studies, as well as a literature review and findings section. I will distribute in class instructions on the format for this paper. The final paper should total roughly 25-30 pages. The paper is due **December 11th at 1:30**.

PRESENTATION (5%)

Students will present the results of one of their case studies during the last two weeks of class. Presentations should be 10 minutes long and should summarize the findings of the paper.

GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR ASSIGNMENTS

1. Students are asked to use their “95 Number” rather than their names to identify their papers.
2. All assignments must be handed in within the first 5 minutes of class. After that time, students will be marked down **three points** each day (including weekends) the paper is late.
3. The key to good writing is editing. Students will be marked down a **half point** for all spelling mistakes, typos, and simple grammatical mistakes.
4. All assignments must be typed and double spaced, with 1 inch margins and Times New Roman 12 pt. font. Failure to follow the format will result in a **half point** reduction.
5. You may submit an outline of your paper for my comments no later than **one week** before the due date.
6. When discussing other authors’ ideas, remember to use citations. For readings used in class, an abbreviated citation will suffice, e.g. (Walt, p. 4). For all others, consult *The Chicago Manual of Style* (<http://library.uvm.edu/guides/citation/chicago.php>)
7. From the University’s Code of Academic Integrity: “All ideas, arguments, and phrases, submitted without attribution to other sources must be the creative product of the student. Thus, all text passages taken from the works of other authors (published or unpublished) must be properly cited. The same applies to paraphrased text, opinions, data, examples, illustrations, and all other creative work. Violations of this standard constitute plagiarism.” All suspected violations will be reported to the Center for Student Ethics & Standards.

GRADING SCALE

The following scale will be used in the calculation of grades. Please note, I do not round up grades.

	A	B	C	D	F
+	100-98	89-87	79-77	69-67	59 or below
	97-94	86-84	76-74	66-64	
-	93-90	83-80	73-70	63-60	

CLASSROOM PROTOCOL

The Department of Political Science requires that this classroom protocol, defining minimum standards of conduct, be included in all syllabi.

1. Students are expected to attend and be prepared for ALL regularly scheduled classes.
2. Students are expected to arrive on time and stay in class until the class period ends. If a student knows in advance that he/she will need to leave early, he/she should notify the instructor before the class period begins.
3. Students are expected to treat faculty and fellow students with respect. For example, students must not disrupt class by leaving and reentering during class, must not distract class by making noise, and must be attentive to comments being made by the instructors and by peers.

Students are expected to abide by the following guidelines as well:

1. Members of UVM organizations or sports teams that travel out of town must provide an official travel schedule in order to receive accommodation for their absences.
2. Students who require leave for religious holidays must submit a schedule of their anticipated absences in writing before the end of the second week of class.
3. All cell phones and other **electronic devices must be turned off and out of sight before the start of each class.** This includes laptops, iPads, tablets, etc. Prepare to take notes the old-fashioned way – with a pen and paper.
4. Students with disabilities or medical conditions are asked to communicate with the instructor any accommodations they require before the end of the second week of class. For more information on the various resources available for students with disabilities, visit the university's office of disability services, ACCESS (<http://www.uvm.edu/access/>).
5. Covered beverages are allowed in class; food is not.

COURSE OUTLINE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

Course Introduction & Pols 51 Review

Read for Aug 30:

- Stephen Walt, "One World, Many Theories" *Foreign Policy*, No. 110, Special Edition: Frontiers of Knowledge. (Spring 1998), pp. 29-34.
- Micah Zenko, "America is Committing War Crimes and Doesn't Even Know Why," *Foreign Policy*, August 15, 2018

Realism

Read for Sept 4:

- James Rosenau, "Intervention as a Scientific Concept," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 152-6; 160 – 5.
- Frederic S. Pearson, Robert A. Baumann, and Jeffrey J. Pickering, "Military Intervention and Realpolitik," in *Reconstructing Realpolitik*, edited by Frank W. Wayman and Paul F. Diehl (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1994), pp. 205 – 225

Read for Sept 6:

- Tanisha M. Fazal, *State Death: The Politics and Geography of Conquest, Occupation, and Annexation*, pp. 182-198
- Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*, (NY, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 2006), pp. 31 – 55

Libya 2011

Read for Sept 11:

- Ethan Chorin, *Exit the Colonel: The Hidden History of the Libyan Revolution*, Chapter 6, 9-10
- Jo Becker and Scott Shane, "The Libya Gamble: Part 1 – Hillary Clinton, 'Smart Power' and the Dictator's Fall," *New York Times*, February 27, 2016

Read for Sept 13:

- Scott Shane and Jo Becker, "The Libya Gamble: Part 2 – A New Libya, 'With Very Little Time Left,'" *New York Times*, February 27, 2016
- Alan J. Kuperman, "A Model Humanitarian Intervention?: Reassessing NATO's Libya Campaign," *International Security*, Vol. 38, (Summer 2013), pp. 105-136

Liberalism & Latin America

Read for Sept 18:

- G. John Ikenberry, "Why Export Democracy?: The 'Hidden Grand Strategy' of American Foreign Policy" *The Wilson Quarterly*, Vol. 23, no.2 (Spring 1999) (7pp.)
- F. Gregory Gause III, "Can Democracy Stop Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 2005

Read for Sept 20:

- Alexander B. Downes and Jonathan Monten, "Forced to Be Free?: Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization," *International Security*, Spring 2013, Vol. 37, No. 4.
- Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*, (NY, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 2006), pp. 129 – 147; 239 – 259
- **Topic Paragraph Due**

Domestic Politics & Iraq 2003/Afghanistan 1979

Read for Sept 25:

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph Siverson, and James Morrow, *The Logic of Political Survival*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), Chapter 9. (SKIP SECTION WITH FORMAL MATHEMATICAL MODEL)
- Dina Badie, “Groupthink, Iraq, and the War on Terror: Explaining US Policy Shift toward Iraq,” *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 2010, Vol. 6, p. 277- 296

Read for Sept 27:

- Artmey Kalinovsky, “Decision-Making and the Soviet War in Afghanistan: From Intervention to Withdrawal,” *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 11, Number 4, Fall 2009, pp. 46-73

Constructivism: Vietnam & Somalia

Read for Oct 2:

- John M. Owen, “The Foreign Imposition of Domestic Institutions,” *International Organization*, Vol. 56, No. 2, pp. 375-409
- Elizabeth N. Saunders, “Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy,” *International Security*, Vo. 34, No. 2, Fall 2009.

Read for Oct 4:

- Jon Western, “Sources of Humanitarian Intervention: Beliefs, Information and Advocacy in the U.S. Decisions on Somalia and Bosnia,” *International Security*, Vo. 26, No. 4, pp. 112 – 142
- Warren P. Strobel, “The CNN Effect,” *American Journalism Review*, Vol. 18, No. 4, (May 1996), pp. 32 – 38
- **Revised Topic Paragraph and Annotated Bibliography Due**

The Politics of Intervention

Read for Oct 9:

- Michael T. Koch and Patricia Sullivan. “Should I Stay or Should I Go Now? Partisanship, Approval, and the Duration of Major Power Democratic Military Interventions,” *The Journal of Politics* 72, no. 03 (2010): 616-29
- Sarah Kreps, “Elite Consensus as a Determinant of Alliance Cohesion: Why Public Opinion Hardly Matters for NATO-led Operations in Afghanistan,” *Foreign Policy Analysis*

Read for Oct 11: CLASS VISIT—DR. PATRICIA SULLIVAN

- Patricia Sullivan. “War Aims and War Outcomes: Why Powerful States Lose Limited Wars,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51, no. 3 (2007): 496-524

Humanitarian Intervention & Rwanda

Read for Oct 16:

- Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004), Chapter 4
- Benjamin Valentino, “Still Standing By: Why America and the International Community Fail to Prevent Genocide and Mass Killing,” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 1 No. 3, pp. 565 – 578.

Read for Oct 18:

- Richard K. Betts, “The Delusion of Impartial Intervention,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, (Nov/Dec 1994), pp. 20 – 33
- **CASE STUDY 1 DUE**

Ending Civil Wars

Read for Oct 23:

- Daniel R. Lake, “The Limits of Coercive Airpower: NATO’s “Victory” in Kosovo Revisited,” *International Security*, Vol. 34 (Summer 2009), pp. 83 – 112
- Barbara F. Walter, “Designing Transitions from Civil War: Demobilization, Democratization, and Commitments to Peace,” *International Security*, Volume 24, Number 1, Summer 1999, pp. 127-155

**Guest Lecturer: Professor TV Paul, McGill University, “Restraining Great Powers,”
Oct 25 4:15-6pm**

Please plan to attend, but also note, we will meet for class as usual.

Read for Oct 25:

- Chaim Kaufman, “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars,” *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Spring 1996), pp. 136 – 175

Does Peacekeeping Work?

Read for Oct 30:

- Virginia Page Fortna, “Does Peacekeeping Work?” in Karen A. Mingst and Jack L. Snyder, *Essential Readings in World Politics*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2011), pp. 224-232
- Roland Paris, *At War’s End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2004), pp. 40 – 51

Read for Nov 1:

- David M. Edelstein, “Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail,” *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Summer 2004), pp. 49-91

Collective Action & Intervention/Iraq & Afghanistan

Read for Nov 6:

- Susan Allen and Amy Yuen, “The Politics of Peacekeeping: UN Security Council Oversight Across Peacekeeping Missions.” *International Studies Quarterly*, 2013, pp. 1 – 12
- Michael J. Mazarr, “The Rise and Fall of the Failed-State Paradigm,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93 Issue 1 (Jan/Feb 2013): 113-121.

Read for Nov 8:

- Ned Parker, “The Iraq We Left Behind: Welcome to the World’s Next Failed State,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 2, 2012, pp. 94 – 110.
- Daniel Byman and Steve Simon, “Trump’s Surge in Afghanistan,” *Foreign Affairs*, September 18, 2017

Nov 13:

- *View in Class: Frontline Documentary – Losing Iraq, Part I*

Nov 15:

- *View in Class: Frontline Documentary – Losing Iraq, Part II*
- **CASE STUDY 2 DUE**

Student Presentations (Sign up online for date)

Nov 27

Nov 29

Dec 4

Dec 6

DEC 11: FINAL PAPER DUE