

# POLI 4417F: International Interventions (Fall 2012)

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**Office:** Social Science Centre 4162

**Office Hours:** Tuesdays 1:00-3:00  
& by appointment

Course Description: This undergraduate/graduate seminar course seeks to explain when and how international actors intervene in the domestic politics and economies of countries. We address both the theory and application of various forms of international intervention including: bilateral and multilateral foreign aid; sanctions; structural adjustment policies; humanitarian intervention and state-building. Key questions that are raised include: what factors motivate international intervention? What are the responsibilities of the interveners and the rights of the intervened upon? Who does international intervention benefit? The goal of the course is to provide an understanding of the broad nature of international intervention in global politics while grounding theoretical arguments in case-specific investigations. The seminar format will involve discussion of the theoretical material as well as relevant current events.

Course Expectations: Students are expected to read all of the assigned course materials and actively participate in the seminar discussion. Graduate students are especially encouraged to read the recommended readings. Students should contribute their views during class discussion and treat all class members with courtesy and respect. Personal electronic devices, other than laptops, are not to be used during class. The use of laptops is strongly discouraged. All ringing cellphones will be answered by the professor and/or removed for the remainder of the class. Attendance is mandatory and unexcused (unaccommodated) absences will be reflected the final grade in the course. The completion of all evaluation components is required for a passing grade.

Prerequisites: POL 2231: International Relations

*Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you will be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment for your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites.*

**Evaluation: Undergraduates**

- 1) Class Participation: 10%
- 2) Weekly Written Responses: 35% (7% x 5)
- 3) Case Study Presentation: 20%
- 4) Research Essay: 35% (13-15 pages)

**Graduate Students**

- 1) Class Participation: 10%
- 2) Weekly Written Responses: 25% (5% x 5)
- 3) Case Study Presentation: 20%
- 4) Research Essay: 35% (20-25 pages)
- 5) Book Review: 10% (1000 words)

- 1) This is a reading-intensive seminar course. Students are expected to come fully prepared to discuss all of the required reading. Students who are not actively participating will be called upon by the professor. Class attendance and participation account for 10% of the final grade.
- 2) Students are expected to submit five (5) one-page, single-spaced critiques of the week's readings (approximately 500 words). Students may choose which weeks to submit responses. For undergraduates, this constitutes 35% of the final grade and for graduate students, 25% of the final grade.
- 3) Students are expected to form groups of 3 or 4 and present a case study applying the theoretical material to contemporary issues in international relations. The presentations will take place during the last two weeks of class and are expected to be 20-25 minutes in length, followed by a class Q&A. A grade is assessed for the group as a whole for both the presentation and response to questions and constitutes 20% of each student's final grade.
- 4) The main component of the course is a research essay that makes a unique and independent contribution to our knowledge on the politics of intervention. Students are asked to choose their own research topic in consultation with the professor. Plagiarism sucks, so don't do it. The papers will be **due on December 10, 2012 by noon** via email/dropbox and make up 35% of the final grade.
- 5) **Graduate Students Only.** Graduate students will write a critical, academic book review of one or more books from a list provided by the professor. The review should be approximately 1,000 words and reflect the academic standard for book reviews.

**Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site: <http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/scholoff.pdf> . Students may be required to submit term papers to TurnItIn.**

## SEMESTER OUTLINE

The following sections outline the main themes of the course. The recommended readings are provided for those who are interested in further material on the theme or specific issues within particular themes. While these readings are a good theoretical and empirical starting point for the Case Study Presentation and Research Essay, they are not exhaustive and students are strongly encouraged to seek out additional material for their presentations and term papers.

### **Books for Purchase:**

Elizabeth G. Ferris. (2011). *The Politics of Protection*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press.

Sarah Lischer (2005). *Dangerous Sanctuaries: Refugee Camps, Civil War, and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Jennifer M. Walsh, ed (2003). *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### **1. Introduction: Interventions and the International System**

Francis Fukuyama (2004). "The Imperative of State-Building." *Journal of Democracy* 15(2): 17-31.

Michael Barnett (2005). "Humanitarianism Transformed." *Perspectives on Politics* 3(4): 723-740.

Eric A. Heinze (2009). "Who Intervenes and Why it Matters: The Politics of Agency." *Waging Humanitarian War: The Ethics, Law, and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention*. Albany: State University of New York Press, Chapter 5: pp. 111-135.

#### **Recommended:**

Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal (1998) "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(1): 3-32.

Martha Finnemore (1996). "Defining State Interests." Chapter 1 in *National Interests in International Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. pp. 1-31.

### **2. Foreign Aid**

Hans Morgenthau (1962). "A Political Theory of Foreign Aid." *The American Political Science Review* 56(2): 301-309.

Alberto Alesina and David Dollar (2000). "Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?" *Journal of Economic Growth* 5: 33-63.

Eric Neumayer (2003) "The Determinants of Aid Allocation by Regional Multilateral Development Banks and United Nations Agencies." *International Studies Quarterly* 47: 101-122.

World Bank (1998). *Overview of Assessing Aid--What Works, What Doesn't, and Why*. New York: Oxford University Press. 8 pages.

[http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRRS/Resources/477374-1252532137596/AA\\_Overview\\_\(ENGLISH\).pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRRS/Resources/477374-1252532137596/AA_Overview_(ENGLISH).pdf)

#### **Recommended:**

Craig Burnside and David Dollar (2004) "Aid, Policies and Growth: Revisiting the Evidence". *World Bank Policy Research Paper. Number O-2834.*

([http://dukespace.lib.duke.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/10161/2032/Burnside\\_aid\\_policies\\_and\\_growth.pdf?sequence=1](http://dukespace.lib.duke.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/10161/2032/Burnside_aid_policies_and_growth.pdf?sequence=1))

The Good Humanitarian Donorship (GHD) Initiative (2003) *The Principles of Good Humanitarian Donorship.* (<http://www.goodhumanitariandonorship.org/gns/principles-good-practice-ghd/overview.aspx>)

### 3. Debt and Debt Relief

Jeffrey Sachs (1989) "Conditionality, Debt Relief, and the Developing Country Debt Crisis ." In *Developing Country Debt and Economic Performance, Volume 1: The International Financial System.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 255-285.

(<http://www.nber.org/chapters/c8992.pdf>)

William Easterly (2001). "Debt Relief." *Foreign Policy* 127: pp. 20-26.

Sergio L. Schmukler, "Financial Globalization: Gain and Pain for Developing Countries," *Foreign Reserve Bank of Atlanta Economic Review* (2004). Available online at:

[http://www.frbatlanta.org/filelegacydocs/erq204\\_schmukler.pdf](http://www.frbatlanta.org/filelegacydocs/erq204_schmukler.pdf)

#### Recommended:

Tony Addison, A. Geda, Philippe Le Billon and S. M. Murshed. (2003). "Debt Relief and Civil War." *Journal of PeaceResearch* 40(2): 159–76.

David C. Hang, "Bad Loans to Good Friends: Money, Politics and the Development State in South Korea," *International Organization* Winter 56 (2002): 177-207.

### 4. Structural Adjustment

David Dollar and Jakob Svensson (2000). "What Explains the Success or Failure of Structural Adjustment Programmes?" *The Economic Journal* 110(466): 894-917.

William Easterly (2005) "What did Structural Adjustment Adjust? The Association of Policies and Growth with Repeated IMF and World Bank Adjustment Loans." *Journal of Development Economics* 76(1): 1-22.

M. Rodwan Abouharb and David L. Cingranelli (2006). "The Human Rights Effects of World Bank Structural Adjustment, 1981-2000." *International Studies Quarterly* 50: 233-262.

#### Recommended:

James Vreeland, "The Effects of IMF Programs on Economic Growth," in *The IMF and Economic Development*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Joseph Stiglitz (2008) "Is there a Post-Washington Consensus Consensus?," pgs. 41-54 in *The Washington Consensus Reconsidered: Towards a New Global Governance*, edited by Narcis Serra and Joseph Stiglitz, Oxford University Press. (Available from Professor).

## 5. Sanctions

Daniel W. Drezner (2003). "The Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion." *International Organization* 57(3): 643-659. (<http://www.danieldrezner.com/research/Hiddenhand.pdf>)

Robert A. Pape (1997) "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work." *International Security* 22(2): pp. 90-136

George A. Lopez and David Cortright (2004). "Containing Iraq: Sanctions Worked." *Foreign Affairs* 83(4): pp. 90-103

### Recommended:

Peksen, Dursun. (2009). "Better or Worse? The Effect of Economic Sanctions on Human Rights." *Journal of Peace Research* 46(1): 59-77.

Steve Chan and A. Cooper Drury (2000). "Sanctions as Economic Statecraft: An Overview." Chapter 1 in *Sanctions as Economic Statecraft: Theory and Practice*. New York: St. Martin's Press. pp. 1-16.

David Cortright and George A. Lopez (1999) "Are Sanctions Just? The Problematic Case of Iraq." *Journal of International Affairs*. 52(2):735-755.

## 6. Theories of Humanitarian Intervention

Elizabeth G. Ferris. (2011). *The Politics of Protection*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press. Chapters 3 and 4.

Nicholas J. Wheeler (2003). "The Humanitarian Responsibilities of Sovereignty: Explaining the Development of a New Norm of Military Intervention for Humanitarian Purposes in International Society." Chapter 3 in *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 29-51.

Mohammed Ayoob (2004) "Third World Perspectives on Humanitarian Intervention." *Global Governance*. 10(1): 99-118.

### Recommended:

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (2001). *The Responsibility to Protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*. Ottawa: International Development Resource Center. (<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/iciss-ciise/report-en.asp>)

## 7. Cases of Humanitarian Intervention

Jon Western (2002) "Sources of Humanitarian Intervention: Beliefs, Information and Advocacy in the U.S. Decisions on Somalia and Bosnia." *International Security* 26(4): 112-142.

Samantha Power (2001) "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen." *Atlantic Monthly*. pp. 84-108.

### Cases:

Nicholas Morris (2003). "Humanitarian Intervention in the Balkans." Chapter 6 in *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 98-119.

**AND/OR**

James Mayall. (2003). "Humanitarian Intervention and International Society: Lessons from Africa." Chapter 7 in *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 120-141.

Recommended:

Ashley J. Tellis (1996) "Terminating Intervention: Understanding Exit Strategy and US Involvement in Intrastate Conflicts." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 19: 117-151.

Stewart Patrick. (2011). "Libya and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention: How Qaddafi's Fall Vindicated Obama and RtoP." *Foreign Affairs*. 26 August.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/68233/stewart-patrick/libya-and-the-future-of-humanitarian-intervention?page=show>

Jon Western and Joshua S. Goldstein, "Humanitarian Intervention Comes of Age: Lessons from Somalia to Libya," *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec 2011)

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/136502/jon-western-and-joshua-s-goldstein/humanitarian-intervention-comes-of-age?page=show>

## 8. Intervention in Complex Emergencies

Sarah Lischer (2005). *Dangerous Sanctuaries : Refugee Camps, Civil War, and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 166 pages.

Recommended:

Tony Addison and Mark McGillivray. (2004). "Aid to Conflict-Affected Countries; Lessons for Donors." *Conflict, Security & Development* 4(3): 347-367.

Max Blouin and Stéphane Pallage. (2008). "Humanitarian Relief and Civil Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52: 548-565.

## 9. State-Building

Mark T. Berger (2006). "From nation-building to state-building: The geopolitics of development, the nation-state system and the changing global order." *Third World Quarterly* 27(1): 5-25.

Keith Darden and Harris Mylonas. (2012). "The Promethean Dilemma: Third-party State-building in Occupied Territories." *Ethnopolitics* 11(1): 85-93.

Simon Chesterman (2002). "East Timor in Transition: Self-Determination, State-Building and the United Nations." *International Peacekeeping* 9(1): 45-76.

Recommended:

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin (2004). "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States." *International Security* 28(4): 5-43.

James F. Dobbins et al. (2006). *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation. [http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2007/RAND\\_MG557.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2007/RAND_MG557.pdf) Summary, Chapters 1 and 10.

Nicholas Sambanis, Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl and Moses Shayo (2012). "Parochialism as a Central Challenge in Counterinsurgency." *Science* Vol. 336 no. 6083 pp. 805-808.

## 10. Critiques of International Intervention and New Directions

Pamela Sparr (1994) "Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment." In *Mortgaging Women's Lives: Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment*. United Nations. pp. 13-30.

Jennifer M. Welsh (2003) "Taking Consequences Seriously: Objections to Humanitarian Intervention." Chapter 4 in *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 52-70.

Elizabeth G. Ferris. (2011). "Concluding Observations and Recommendations." Chapter 10 in *The Politics of Protection*. pp. 270-286.

### Recommended:

William Easterly. (2006). "Invading the Poor." *The White Man's Burden*. New York: Penguin Books. pp. 311-336.

Raghuram G. Rajan (2008) "The Future of the IMF and the World Bank." *American Economic Review* 98(2):110-115 (<http://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/aer.98.2.110>)

## 11. In-Class Case Study Presentations

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### **(Graduate) Statement of Academic Offences**

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[http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/scholastic\\_discipline\\_grad.pdf](http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/scholastic_discipline_grad.pdf)

