

POLI 4417F: International Interventions (Fall 2012)

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Office: Social Science Centre 4162

Office Hours: Monday 10:00-12:00
& 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 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 600 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. The reading assignments are due by 5pm the preceding Friday via OWL dropbox.
- 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 OWL dropbox and constitutes 35% of the final grade.
- 5) **Graduate Students Only.** Graduate students will write a critical, academic book review of one or more books from the provided list. The review should be approximately 1,000 words and reflect the academic standard for book reviews. The book review is **due October 22, 2012.**

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.

Please consult the Reserve Readings for this course for copies of books and book chapters.

Required Books for Purchase:

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

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

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

Books for Book Review Assignment:

Michael Barnett. *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011.

Mahmood Mamdani. *Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics and the War on Terror*. Toronto, ON: Random House, 2009.

Jonathan Paquin. *A Stability-Seeking Power: U.S. Foreign Policy and Secessionist Conflicts*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.

Roland Paris. *At War's End: Making Peace after Civil Conflict*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Rory Stewart and Gerald Knaus. *Can Intervention Work?* New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2011.

1. Introduction: Interventions and the International System

- Michael Barnett. "Humanitarianism Transformed." *Perspectives on Politics* 3.4 (2005): 723-740.
- Eric A. Heinze. "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, 2009. Chapter 5: pp. 111-135.
- Francis Fukuyama. "The Imperative of State-Building." *Journal of Democracy* 15.2 (2004): 17-31.
- Recommended:
- Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal. "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42.1 (1998): 3-32.
- Martha Finnemore. "Defining State Interests." *National Interests in International Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996. Chapter 1: pp. 1-31.

2. Foreign Aid

- Hans Morgenthau. "A Political Theory of Foreign Aid." *The American Political Science Review* 56.2 (1962): 301-309.
- Alberto Alesina and David Dollar. "Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?" *Journal of Economic Growth* 5 (2000): 33-63.
- Eric Neumayer. "The Determinants of Aid Allocation by Regional Multilateral Development Banks and United Nations Agencies." *International Studies Quarterly* 47 (2003): 101-122.
- World Bank. *Overview of Assessing Aid--What Works, What Doesn't, and Why*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. 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. "Aid, Policies and Growth: Revisiting the Evidence". *World Bank Policy Research Paper. Number O-2834* (2004).
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. "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, 1989. pp. 255-285.

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

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

(http://www.frbatlanta.org/filelegacydocs/erg204_schmukler.pdf)

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

(http://ftp.columbia.edu/itc/sipa/U6800/readings-sm/Easterly_Debt_relief_Nov21.pdf)

Recommended:

Tony Addison, A. Geda, Philippe Le Billon and S. M. Murshed. "Debt Relief and Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 40.2 (2003): 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. "What Explains the Success or Failure of Structural Adjustment Programmes?" *The Economic Journal* 110.466 (2000): 894-917.

William Easterly. "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 (2005): 1-22.

M. Rodwan Abouharb and David L. Cingranelli. "The Human Rights Effects of World Bank Structural Adjustment, 1981-2000." *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (2006): 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. "Is there a Post-Washington Consensus Consensus?," in *The Washington Consensus Reconsidered: Towards a New Global Governance*. Narcis Serra and Joseph Stiglitz, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. 41-54.

5. Sanctions

Daniel W. Drezner. "The Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion." *International Organization* 57.3 (2003): 643-659. (<http://www.danieldrezner.com/research/Hiddenhand.pdf>)

Robert A. Pape. "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work." *International Security* 22.2 (1997): 90-136

George A. Lopez and David Cortright. "Containing Iraq: Sanctions Worked." *Foreign Affairs* 83.4 (2004): 90-103

Recommended:

Peksen, Dursun. "Better or Worse? The Effect of Economic Sanctions on Human Rights." *Journal of Peace Research* 46.1 (2009): 59-77.

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

David Cortright and George A. Lopez. "Are Sanctions Just? The Problematic Case of Iraq." *Journal of International Affairs* 52.2 (1999): 735-755.

6. Theories of Humanitarian Intervention

Elizabeth G. Ferris. *The Politics of Protection*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press, 2011. Chapters 2 and 5.

Mohammed Ayoob. "Humanitarian Intervention and State Sovereignty." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 6.1 (2010): 81-102.

Robert Pape. "When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Standard of Humanitarian Intervention." *International Security* 37.1 (2012): 41-80.

Recommended:

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. *The Responsibility to Protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*. Ottawa: International Development Resource Center, 2001.

(<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/iciss-ciise/report-en.asp>)

Terry Nardin. "The Moral Basis of Humanitarian Intervention." *Ethics and International Affairs* 16.1 (2002): 57-71.

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

7. Cases of Humanitarian Intervention

Jon Western. "Sources of Humanitarian Intervention: Beliefs, Information and Advocacy in the U.S. Decisions on Somalia and Bosnia." *International Security* 26.4 (2002): 112-142.

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

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

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

Recommended:

Mely Caballero Anthony. "The Responsibility to Protect in Southeast Asia: Opening Up Spaces for Advancing Human Security." *The Pacific Review* 25.1 (2012): 113–34.

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

(<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*. (2011)

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

8. Intervention in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies

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

Andrew S. Nastios. "Commander's Guidance: A Challenge of Complex Humanitarian Emergencies." *Parameters*. (1996) : 50-66.

(<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/USAWC/parameters/Articles/96summer/nastios.htm>)

Recommended:

Elizabeth G. Ferris. "Humanitarian Dilemmas." In *The Politics of Protection*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press, 2011. Chapter 6: 174-199.

Tony Addison and Mark McGillivray. "Aid to Conflict-Affected Countries; Lessons for Donors." *Conflict, Security & Development* 4.3 (2004): 347-367.

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

9. State-Building

Mark T. Berger. "From nation-building to state-building: The geopolitics of development, the nation-state system and the changing global order." *Third World Quarterly* 27.1 (2006): 5-25.

Keith Darden and Harris Mylonas. "The Promethean Dilemma: Third-party State-building in Occupied Territories." *Ethnopolitics* 11.1 (2012): 85-93.

Simon Chesterman. "Humanitarian Intervention in Afghanistan." In *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. Chapter 9: 163-175.

Nicholas Sambanis, Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl and Moses Shayo. "Parochialism as a Central Challenge in Counterinsurgency." *Science* 336.6083 (2012): 805-808.

Recommended:

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

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin. "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States." *International Security* 28.4 (2004): 5-43.

10. Critiques of International Intervention and New Directions

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

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

Elizabeth G. Ferris. "Future Challenges for Humanitarian Actors" and "Concluding Observations and Recommendations." In *The Politics of Protection*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press, 2011. Chapter 9: 245-269 and Chapter 10: pp. 270-286.

Recommended:

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

Raghuram G. Rajan. "The Future of the IMF and the World Bank." *American Economic Review* 98.2 (2008): 110-115 (<http://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/aer.98.2.110>)

11. In-Class Case Study Presentations

12. In-Class Case Study Presentations

**APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Prerequisite checking - the student's responsibility

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

Essay course requirements

With the exception of 1000-level courses, most courses in the Department of Political Science are essay courses. Total written assignments (excluding examinations) will be at least 3,000 words in Politics 1020E, at least 5,000 words in a full course numbered 2000 or above, and at least 2,500 words in a half course numbered 2000 or above.

Use of Personal Response Systems ("Clickers")

"Personal Response Systems ("clickers") may be used in some classes. If clickers are to be used in a class, it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the device is activated and functional. Students must see their instructor if they have any concerns about whether the clicker is malfunctioning.

Students must use only their own clicker. If clicker records are used to compute a portion of the course grade:

- the use of somebody else's clicker in class constitutes a scholastic offence,
- the possession of a clicker belonging to another student will be interpreted as an attempt to commit a scholastic offence."

Security and Confidentiality of Student Work (refer to current *Western Academic Calendar* (<http://www.westerncalendar.uwo.ca/>))

"**Submitting or Returning Student Assignments, Tests and Exams** - All student assignments, tests and exams will be handled in a secure and confidential manner. Particularly in this respect, leaving student work unattended in public areas for pickup is not permitted."

Duplication of work

Undergraduate students who submit similar assignments on closely related topics in two different courses must obtain the consent of both instructors prior to the submission of the assignment. If prior approval is not obtained, each instructor reserves the right not to accept the assignment.

Grade adjustments

In order to ensure that comparable standards are applied in political science courses, the Department may require instructors to adjust final marks to conform to Departmental guidelines.

Academic Offences

"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>."

Submission of Course Requirements

ESSAYS, ASSIGNMENTS, TAKE-HOME EXAMS **MUST** BE SUBMITTED ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES SPECIFIED BY YOUR INSTRUCTOR (I.E., IN CLASS, DURING OFFICE HOURS, TA'S OFFICE HOURS) OR UNDER THE INSTRUCTOR'S OFFICE DOOR.

THE MAIN OFFICE DOES NOT DATE-STAMP OR ACCEPT ANY OF THE ABOVE.

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. <http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/>

Students registered in Social Science should refer to <http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/> <http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/procedures/havingproblems.asp> for information on Medical Policy, Term Tests, Final Examinations, Late Assignments, Short Absences, Extended Absences, Documentation and other Academic Concerns. Non-Social Science students should refer to their home faculty's academic counselling office.

Plagiarism

"Plagiarism: Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offence." (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

Plagiarism Checking: "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>)."

Multiple-choice tests/exams: "Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and/or exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating."

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. <http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/>

PLAGIARISM*

In writing scholarly papers, you must keep firmly in mind the need to avoid plagiarism. Plagiarism is the unacknowledged borrowing of another writer's words or ideas. Different forms of writing require different types of acknowledgement. The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of publication, and page number.

Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

B. In adopting other writers' ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source, these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently. Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases in their suspension from the University.

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Adopted by the council of the Faculty of Social Science, October, 1970; approved by the Dept. of History August 13, 1991

Accessibility at Western: Please contact poliscie@uwo.ca if you require any information in plain text format, or if any other accommodation can make the course material and/or physical space accessible to you.

Mental Health at Western: If you or someone you know is experiencing distress, there are several resources here at Western to assist you. Please visit <http://www.uwo.ca/uwocom/mentalhealth/> for more information on these resources and on mental health.