

Military Intervention
Political Science 289.12
Spring 2009
Monday, 3:30-5:20pm
Monroe B35

Professor Elizabeth Saunders
Office: Monroe Hall 468
Email: esaunder@gwu.edu
Office Hours: By Appointment

Course Goals and Description:

This course has two main goals. First, it aims to familiarize students with the theoretical and empirical literature on military intervention. Second, the course aims to explore the challenges of designing political science research on a complex and policy-relevant topic like military intervention. While we will analyze and critique many article-length studies and portions of books along the way, the culmination of the course will be a detailed analysis of three book-length studies of intervention published in the last few years. We will consider the particular problems of designing a book-length study on a topic such as military intervention. The course will be especially useful for those contemplating writing dissertations on international security topics like military intervention, but its emphasis on both substance and research design should be relevant to most PhD students in international relations or comparative politics.

Learning Objectives:

- Students should be conversant in the intervention literature, including arguments about why and how states intervene and the literatures on specific forms of intervention such as peacekeeping, democratization, and counterinsurgency.
- Students should be familiar with issues of framing, operationalization, and measurement when theorizing about military intervention or related topics and translating theory into empirical research.
- Students should be able not only to analyze and critique existing article- and book-length studies of intervention, but also to propose and carry out research designs for future studies on intervention or related topics.

Prerequisite:

This course is open to PhD students in Political Science only. It is not appropriate for undergraduate or MA students.

General Policies:

Cell Phones and related devices: Before you enter the classroom, turn off all cell phones, pagers, blackberries, and other devices.

Laptops: You are welcome to bring a laptop to class, but the volume must be set to “mute.”

Email: If you have lengthy questions or comments about the course, I encourage you to come talk to me in person rather than using email. Since the class is so small, I do not plan to hold regular office hours, but I am happy to set up appointments to meet with you and am in the office frequently.

Course Requirements:

Class Participation: This is a seminar in which class participation and engagement is vital to the success of the course. You should come to class prepared to critically discuss the readings. Class participation counts for a significant portion of your grade (30%).

Memos, Discussion Questions, and Leading Class Discussion: Students will sign up to lead discussion for two weeks during the semester. For those weeks, students will be responsible for kicking off class discussion and providing questions to keep discussion flowing. In addition, in the weeks they are signed up to lead discussion, students must submit a 2-page memo synthesizing and analyzing the readings for that week, plus a list of 4-5 questions for discussion. The memo should *not* summarize the readings, but should discuss how the readings relate to each other, the issues they highlight, and their theoretical and empirical strengths and weaknesses. Students should email this memo and discussion questions to the entire class by Sunday at 2pm on the day before the seminar they are due to lead.

Book Memo: Students will write a 2-page memo on one of the three books we will discuss at the end of class. Each student will sign up to write a memo for one of the three books; memos will be due Sunday at 2pm on the day before the seminar in which we will discuss the book. As with memos for the regular weeks, the book memo should not be a summary but rather a critical discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the book, with special reference to research design. Additional research is not required. Students will also be responsible for taking the lead in class discussion of the book itself.

Final Paper: A final paper is required and is due **Friday, May 8**. The paper may take one of two forms:

- **Research Design Proposal:** A 15-20 page paper that identifies a puzzle related to military intervention and proposes a theoretical framework, hypothesis, and research design to investigate it. The actual research design need not be carried out, but the final product should lay out clearly how you would do so and leave you in a position to conduct the research and complete a paper.
- **Research Paper:** A standard research paper related in some way to military intervention. The paper should propose a theory, hypothesis, and research design, and provide empirical evidence. The final product should be a conference paper or journal submission. With the permission of the instructor, the paper may be co-authored by two students in the course. I am willing to be flexible on how closely the paper must relate to military intervention, but all topics must be discussed with me and approved in advance.

Regardless of which option you choose, all students must meet with me no later than **Friday, March 27** to discuss your paper topic.

Oral Presentation of Final Paper: In the final class session, students will make a presentation of no more than 10 minutes on their final paper, and take 10 minutes of questions from the class. The presentation is meant to simulate a conference presentation.

Grading:

Class Participation: 30%

Memos on readings, discussion questions, and leadership of class discussion: 10% (5% each)

Book Memo: 10%

Oral Presentation: 5%

Final Paper: 45%

Academic Integrity:

By taking this course, you are agreeing to abide by the University's Code of Academic Integrity. Please read the code at <http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html>. Violations of the Code will be subject to the disciplinary penalties described in the Code.

Course Materials:

There are 4 required books, available for purchase at the GW Bookstore or online. All books are also on reserve at Gelman Library.

1. Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force*, Cornell University Press, 2004 (ISBN: 0801489598).
2. Jeffrey Taliaferro, *Balancing Risks: Great Power Intervention in the Periphery*, Cornell University Press, 2004 (ISBN: 0801442214).
3. Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War*, Princeton University Press, 2008 (ISBN: 0691136718).
4. Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*, Cambridge University Press, 2004 (ISBN: 0521541972).

I may adjust the readings as necessary – you are responsible for any changes to the readings.

Other Readings and Blackboard:

Most articles can be found through the usual electronic sources (JSTOR, Google Scholar, etc.). Many readings and announcements will be posted on Blackboard (for readings, see “Electronic Reserves”). Other readings will be distributed as necessary and students should coordinate with me and with each other to obtain non-electronic readings.

Course Schedule

Please note the two sessions (February 19 and April 8) when we will meet on different days and times.

Week 1 (January 12): Introduction: What is Military Intervention? Definitions

- Hedley Bull. 1984. "Introduction." In *Intervention in World Politics*, edited by Hedley Bull. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention*, Chapter 1.
- Stanley Hoffmann. 1984. "The Problem of Intervention." In *Intervention in World Politics*, edited by Hedley Bull. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bruce W. Jentleson and Ariel E. Levite. 1992. "The Analysis of Protracted Foreign Military Intervention." In *Foreign Military Intervention: The Dynamics of Protracted Conflict*, edited by Ariel E. Levite, Bruce W. Jentleson, and Larry Berman. New York: Columbia University Press.
- James N. Rosenau. 1969. "Intervention as a Scientific Concept." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 13(2): 149-171.
- Herbert K. Tillema. 1989. "Foreign Overt Military Intervention." *Journal of Peace Research* 26(2): 179-196.

Note: No Class January 19 (MLK Day)

Week 2 (January 26): How Should We Study Military Intervention? Research Design Issues

- Barry Bearak. "A Kashmiri Mystery." *New York Times Magazine*, December 31, 2000. Online at <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9F00E2DD1138F932A05751C1A9669C8B63>
- Donald P. Green, Soo Yeon Kim, and David H. Yoon. 2001. "Dirty Pool." *International Organization* 55(2): 441-468.
- Fred I. Greenstein and Richard H. Immerman. 1992. "What Did Eisenhower Tell Kennedy About Indochina? The Politics of Misperception." *Journal of American History* 79(2): 568-587.
- Patrick M. Regan. 2000. "Substituting Policies During US Interventions in Internal Conflicts: A Little of This, a Little of That." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(1): 90-106.
- Alastair Smith. 1996. "To Intervene or Not to Intervene: A Biased Decision." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40(1): 16-40.
- Suzanne Werner. 2000. "Deterring Interventions: The Stakes of War and Third-Party Involvement." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(4): 720-732.

Week 3 (February 2): Why Do States Intervene? Part I (Realist, Domestic, and Economic Explanations)

- Hans J. Morgenthau. 1967. "To Intervene or Not to Intervene." *Foreign Affairs* 45(3): 425-436.
- Frederic S. Pearson, Robert A. Baumann, and Jeffrey J. Pickering. 1994. "Military Intervention and Realpolitik." In *Reconstructing Realpolitik*, edited by Frank W. Wayman and Paul F. Diehl. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Paul K. Huth. 1998. "Major Power Intervention in International Crises, 1918-1988." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(6): 744-770.
- Charles W. Kegley and Margaret G. Hermann. 1996. "How Democracies Use Intervention: A Neglected Dimension in Studies of the Democratic Peace." *Journal of Peace Research* 33(3): 309-322.
- Stephen M. Saideman. 2001. *The Ties That Divide: Ethnic Politics, Foreign Policy, and International Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press. Chapter TBD.
- Benjamin Fordham. 2008. "Power or Plenty? Economic Interests, Security Concerns, and American Intervention." *International Studies Quarterly* 52: 737-758.
- Aysegul Aydin. 2008. "Choosing Sides: Economic Interdependence and Interstate Disputes." *Journal of Politics* 70(4): 1098-1108.

Week 4 (February 9): Why Do States Intervene? Part II (Norms, Bureaucratic Politics, and Individual-Level Explanations)

- Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention*, Chapter 4.
- 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.
- James M. Scott. 1996. *Deciding to Intervene: The Reagan Doctrine and American Foreign Policy*. Durham: Duke University Press. Chapter 1.
- Andrew Bennett. 1999. *Condemned to Repetition? The Rise, Fall, and Reprise of Soviet-Russian Military Interventionism, 1973-1996*. Cambridge: MIT Press. Chapter 1.
- Elizabeth N. Saunders. *Wars of Choice: How Leaders Shape Military Interventions*. Draft MS. Chapters 1-2.

Note: No Class February 16 (Presidents' Day)

Week 5 (Thursday, February 19, 3-5pm, Monroe Room 410**): How Do States Intervene? Multilateralism vs. Unilateralism; the UN as Legitimater?**

- Stephen E. Gent. 2007. "Strange Bedfellows: The Strategic Dynamics of Major Power Military Interventions." *Journal of Politics* 69(4): 1089-1102.
- Sarah Kreps. 2008. "When Does the Mission Determine the Coalition? The Logic of Multilateral Intervention and the Case of Afghanistan." *Security Studies* 17(3): 531-567.
- Patrick M. Regan. 2000. *Civil Wars and Foreign Powers: Outside Intervention in Intrastate Conflict*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Chapter 5 ("The Effectiveness of Multilateral Interventions").

- Michael N. Barnett. 1997. "Bringing in the New World Order: Liberalism, Legitimacy, and the United Nations." *World Politics* 49(4): 526-551.
- Ian Hurd. 2008. *After Anarchy: Legitimacy and Power in the United Nations Security Council*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 5.
- Erik Voeten. 2005. "The Political Origins of the UN Security Council's Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force." *International Organization* 59: 527-557.

Week 6 (February 23): Humanitarian Interventions

- Richard K. Betts. 1994. "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention." *Foreign Affairs* 73 (November/December): 20-33.
- Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst. 1996. "Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention." *Foreign Affairs* 75(2): 70-85.
- Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention*, Chapter 3.
- Alan J. Kuperman. 2008. "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans." *International Studies Quarterly* 52(1): 49-80.
- Barry R. Posen. 1996. "Military Responses to Refugee Disasters." *International Security* 21(1): 72-111.
- Benjamin Valentino. 2003. "Still Standing By: Why America and the International Community Fail to Prevent Genocide and Mass Killing." *Perspectives on Politics* 3(1): 565-578.

Week 7 (March 2): Interventions in Civil Wars

- Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey Friedman, and Stephen Long. "Civil War Intervention and the Problem of Iraq." Draft MS. Available at <http://www.gwu.edu/~igis/seminar.html>
- Michael G. Findley and Tze Kwang Teo. 2006. "Rethinking Third-Party Interventions into Civil Wars: An Actor-Centric Approach." *Journal of Politics* 68(4): 828-837.
- Chaim Kaufmann. 1996. "Intervention in Ethnic and Ideological Civil Wars: Why One Can be Done and the Other Can't." *Security Studies* 6(1): 62-100 (Blackboard)
- Patrick M. Regan. 1998. "Choosing to Intervene: Outside Interventions in Internal Conflicts." *Journal of Politics* 60(3): 754-779.
- Barbara Walter. 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization*, 51(1): 335-364.
- Holger Schmidt. "Biased for Peace: Commitment Problems, Impartiality, and Peacemaking in the Shadow of Shifting Power." Working Paper (Blackboard).

Recommended (Background reading on the causes of civil war):

- Barry R. Posen. 1993. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." *Survival* 35(1): 27-47.
- Nicholas Sambanis. 2001. "Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(3): 259-282.
- Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56(4): 563-595.

- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.

Note: No Class March 9

Note: No Class March 16 (Spring Break)

Week 8 (March 23): Counterinsurgency

- Ivan Arreguín-Toft. 2001. "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict." *International Security* 26(1): 93-128.
- Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr. 1988. *The Army and Vietnam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 1.
- Andrew Mack. 1975. "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict." *World Politics* 27(1): 175-200.
- Reviews of the new *US Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual* by Stephen Biddle and Stathis Kalyvas. 2008. *Perspectives on Politics* 6(2): 347-353.
- Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, III. 2009. "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization* 63(1): 67-106.
- Jason Lyall. 2009. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, forthcoming. Available at http://www.princeton.edu/~jlyall/Artillery_Final.pdf
- Matthew A. Kocher, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis N. Kalyvas. "Aerial Bombardment, Indiscriminate Violence, and Territorial Control in Unconventional Wars: Evidence from Vietnam." Working Paper. Available at <http://www.people.cornell.edu/pages/tp253/docs/KPK.pdf>.

Week 9 (March 30): Peacekeeping, Peace Enforcement, and Occupation

- Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis. 2000. "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 94(4): 779-801.
- David Edelstein. 2004. "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail." *International Security* 29(1): 49-91.
- Michael Gilligan and Ernest J. Sergenti. 2008. "Do UN Interventions Cause Peace? Using Matching to Improve Causal Inference." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3: 89-122.
- Michael Gilligan and Stephen John Stedman. 2001. "Where Do the Peacekeepers Go?" *International Studies Review* 5(4): 37-54.
- J. Michael Grieg and Paul F. Diehl. 2005. "The Peacekeeping-Peacemaking Dilemma." *International Studies Quarterly* 49(4): 621-646.
- Mark J. Mullenbach. 2005. "Deciding to Keep Peace: An Analysis of International Influences on the Establishment of Third-Party Peacekeeping Missions." *International Studies Quarterly* 49(3): 529-556.
- James T. Quinnlivan. 1995-1996. "Force Requirements in Stability Operations." *Parameters* (Winter): 59-69.

Note: No Class April 6

Week 10 (Wednesday, April 8, 10am-12pm, Monroe Room 410**): Regime Change, Institutional Change, and Democratization**

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George W. Downs. 2006. "Intervention and Democracy." *International Organization* 60(3): 627-649.
- John M. Owen. 2002. "The Foreign Imposition of Domestic Institutions." *International Organization* 56(2): 375-409.
- Jeffrey Pickering and Mark Peceny. 2006. "Forging Democracy at Gunpoint." *International Studies Quarterly* 50(3): 539-560.
- Suzanne Werner. 1996. "Absolute and Limited War: The Possibility of Foreign-Imposed Regime Change." *International Interactions* 22(1): 67-88 (Blackboard).
- Alexander Downes. "The Causes of Foreign-Imposed Regime Change in Interstate Wars." Working Paper (Blackboard).
- Stephen Watts. "Dilemmas of Intervention: Military Interventions in Comparative Perspective." Working Paper (Blackboard).

Week 11 (April 13): Book Analysis I

- Taliaferro, *Balancing Risks*

Week 12 (April 20): Book Analysis II

- Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work?*

Week 13 (April 27): Book Analysis III

- Paris, *At War's End*

Week 14 (currently scheduled for Wednesday April 29, but movable subject to class consent): Student Presentations