

IGA-360: Sovereignty and Intervention

Michael Ignatieff

Mondays and Wednesdays 1:10-2:30 PM

Classroom: RG-20

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Course Description

The choice to intervene in the affairs of other sovereign states remains the most controversial and consequential decision leaders have to take in international affairs. The course teaches students how such decisions should be made.

We will examine the legal, moral and political rationale for intervention in theory and then examine specific interventions since 1989, case by case, in order to understand why some succeeded and why so many failed. We will consider the whole range of interventions: from prevention, through sanctions, to full military combat and post-conflict stabilization.

Students can expect to come out of the course better prepared to address the intervention decisions they may face as policy actors and advisors in the future.

Biography

Michael Ignatieff (Harvard, PhD History, 1976) is the Edward R. Murrow Professor of Practice at the Kennedy School. He is the author of 15 books including *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*, *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience*, *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry* and he edited *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights*. He helped draft *The Responsibility to Protect: The Report of the International Commission on Sovereignty and Intervention*. He was a Member of the Parliament of Canada and served as Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada.

**General Office Hours (by appointment)
Tuesdays 2:00-4:00 PM and other days as needed
Taubman 240, Shorenstein Center**

Students are encouraged to use office hours to discuss memos, assignments, presentations, paper topics, as well as any other matter, including their future professional development.

Please arrange all appointments via email:
brandon_ward@hks.harvard.edu.

Admission

Cross-registrants from other schools and programs, undergraduates and auditors will require the instructor's permission to participate in the course. Priority goes to HKS students.

Grading

Grading will follow the HKS curve: A (10-15%), A- (20-25%), B+ (30-40%), B (20- 25%), and B- or below (5- 10%)

Evaluation and Assignments

- 1. Assignment 1 (20%):** *All* students will complete a 1500 word policy analysis memo. Topic to be assigned. **Due Friday, February 13 by 5:00 PM via the Course Page.**
- 2. Class Presentations (20%):** Classes marked with a * are available as student presentation sessions. Students can sign up on the K-Net class page to present as a group on these days. The objective is *not* to present the reading material, but to widen the frame of discussion, to focus on a key policy dilemma and to take the class into new and challenging areas. A meeting between the instructor and the group is mandatory before each session. The group can be as small as 2 and as large as 4.
- 3. Assignment 2 (20%):** Students who do *not* do a group class presentation will write a 1000 word policy memo. Topic to be assigned. **Due Friday, March 13 by 5:00 PM via the Course Page.**
- 4. Assignment 3 (40%):** *All* students will complete a 3000 word policy analysis paper, critically evaluating an intervention by one state in the internal affairs of another country. **Due Friday, May 1 by 5:00 PM via the Course Page.**
- 5. Class Participation (20%):** The class combines lecture and discussion. Come to class prepared. You are expected to read approximately 40 pages for each class. Be ready for questions and challenges. Your participation in class will be assessed and will figure into your final grade.

Deadlines and Extensions

All assignments should be submitted to the HKS Intranet Course Page. Deadline extensions must be requested from the instructor. Late papers will be penalized.

Plagiarism

Students are expected to do all their assignments themselves and to footnote ideas, quotations, facts, data and other material that they take from any other source. Failure to do so is theft and constitutes an act of professional dishonesty. If plagiarism is proven, students may be asked to withdraw or face expulsion. Please avoid any possibility of penalty by consulting with the instructor in advance to clarify the guidelines you need to follow.

Readings

The readings will expose students to a wide range of sources: journalism, memoir, legal opinions, government and NGO reports, political science and legal philosophy. They are available on-line or on the IGA-360 Course Page, listed by class date. If students experience any difficulty accessing material, they should contact the instructor immediately.

1. Monday January 26: The Meanings of Sovereignty

What are the rules of sovereignty and why do sovereigns keep breaking them?

Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton 1999), ch. 1, "Sovereignty and Its Discontents."

Martti Koskenniemi, "What Use for Sovereignty Today?"
Asian Journal of International Law, 1, 2011, ps. 61-70.
<http://www.helsinki.fi/eci/Publications/What%20use%20for%20Sovereignty-.pdf>

2. Wednesday January 28: Sovereignty and Self-Determination: A Case Study

Do Crimea and Eastern Ukraine have a right to self-determination?

Vladimir Putin, "Speech to the Russian Parliament," March 18, 2014. <http://eng.kremlin.ru/news/6889>

Hurst Hannum, "The Specter of Secession: Responding to Claims for Ethnic Self-Determination," *Foreign Affairs*, 77, 2, March-April 1998, ps. 13-18.

3. Monday February 2: The Ethics of Intervention

Should free societies help others to fight for their freedom?

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 3d ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2000), ch. 6, ps. 86-108.

John Stuart Mill, "A Few Words on Non-Intervention" (1859) in *Collected Works*, vol. 21, (ed. J.M. Robson), oll.libertyfund.org/titles/255, [extract].

4. Wednesday February 4: Intervention, Prevention and Pre-Emption

When are states justified in striking first?

Colin Powell, "Speech to the United Nations Security Council," February 5, 2003.

Tony Blair, "Speech to the House of Commons," March 18, 2003.

Hans Blix, *Disarming Iraq* (Pantheon, New York, 2004), ps. 255-274 .

Michael Doyle, Striking First: Pre-Emption and Prevention in International Conflict (Princeton University Press, 2008), Part Two "Standards," "Difficult Cases."

5. Monday February 9: Intervention and Democratic Consent

Why is domestic support for intervention evaporating?

Timothy Hildebrandt, et al. "The Domestic Politics of Humanitarian Intervention: Public Opinion, Partisanship, and Ideology," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 2012. 10.1111/j.1743-8594.2012.00189.x

Bruce Jentleson and Rebecca Britton, "'Still Pretty Prudent': Post War American Public Opinion on the Use of Military Force," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1998, 42, 4, ps. 395-417.

6. Wednesday February 11: Sovereignty as Responsibility

When sovereigns fail to protect their people, should other states step in?

Luke Glanville, *Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect: A New History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), Introduction.

The Responsibility to Protect, *Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty* (2001), ps. 11-18, 47-55.

<http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>

First Assignment Due: Friday March 13 by 5:00 PM.

Monday February 16: No Class – Holiday (President’s Day)

7. *Wednesday February 18: Intervention as Prevention

If an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, why is preventive intervention so neglected?

Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (Ottawa, 2001), ch. 3, ps. 19-27

Séverine Autesserre, “The Responsibility to Protect in the Congo: The Failure of Prevention” [forthcoming, 2015].

8. *Monday February 23: Kenya- Intervention as Prevention

Did Kofi Annan save Kenya from civil war in 2008?

Kofi Annan, *Interventions: A Life in War and Peace* (Penguin, 2012), ps. 184-205.

Read the February-March 2008 agreements brokered by Kofi Annan.

<http://www.dialoguekenya.org/index.php/agreements.html>

****[DATE CHANGE: WEDNESDAY'S CLASS RESCHEDULED FOR FRIDAY, MARCH 6TH]****

9. *Monday March 2: Intervention as Peace-Keeping

Can peace-keeping work in failed states?

United Nations, MONUSCO (United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo) Background.

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/monusco/background.shtml>

Hatcher, Jessica; Perry, Goma and Alex. TIME, "Defining Peacekeeping Downward: The U.N. Debacle in Eastern Congo," Nov. 26, 2012.

<http://world.time.com/2012/11/26/defining-peacekeeping-downward-the-u-n-debacle-in-eastern-congo/>

Severine Autesserre, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), ch. 4 “Fumbling in the Dark.”

10. *Wednesday March 4: Intervention to Stop Genocide. The Case of Rwanda, 1994

800,000 people were massacred in Rwanda in 1994. Why didn't we stop it?

Romeo Dallaire, *Shake Hands With The Devil* (Random House Canada, 2004), ps. 510-522.

Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (Basic, New York, 2002), ps. 329-385.

11. *Friday March 6: Intervention and Ethnic Cleansing. The Case of Bosnia, 1995

Why did the US intervene in Bosnia? Has it worked?

Richard Holbrooke, *To End a War* (Random House, New York, 1998), ps. 280-312.

Gerald Knaus, “The Rise and Fall of Liberal Imperialism” in Rory Stewart et al, *Can Intervention Work*, (New York: Norton, 2011).

12. *Monday March 9: Intervention: Helping One Side to Win. The Case of Kosovo, 1999

Kosovo was called an ‘illegal but legitimate’ intervention. How can it be both? Did Kosovar independence create a dangerous precedent?

Independent International Commission on Kosovo, *The Kosovo Report* (Oxford: University Press, 2000),
“Executive Summary,” ps. 1-12.

International Court of Justice Ruling Kosovo, July 2010,
excerpts.

Anne Peters, “Does the ‘West’ now pay the price for Kosovo?”
European Journal of International Law, April 22, 2014.
<http://www.ejiltalk.org/crimea-does-the-west-now-pay-the-price-for-kosovo>

13. *Wednesday March 11: Afghanistan. Intervention and the War on Terror

After 14 years of intervention in Afghanistan, what prospects for a stable state?

Rory Stewart, et al. *Can Intervention Work*, “The Plane to Kabul” (Norton, New York, 2011), pgs. 12-40.

Second Assignment Due: Friday March 13 by 5:00pm.

Spring Break (March 14-22)

14. *Monday March 23: Intervention and Counter-Terrorism: Drones

Do new intervention technologies threaten sovereignty?

Department of Justice, “White Paper on Drones,” 2013.
http://msnbcmedia.msn.com/i/msnbc/sections/news/020413_DOJ_White_Paper.pdf

Stanford/NYU Law School, "Living Under Drones," September 2012, Executive Summary and Chapter 4: Legal Analysis (ps. 103-122), www.livingunderdrones.org.

15. *Wednesday March 25: Libya. Intervention as R2P

Alan J. Kuperman (2013), "A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO's Libya Campaign," *International Security*, Vol. 38:1.

16. *Monday March 30: Mali

Did intervention in Libya destabilize West Africa?

Martin Boas and Mats Utas, "Post Gaddafi Repercussions in the Sahel and West Africa," *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 2014, 35, 2, ps. 3-15.

"Is Mali a New Line in the Sand Against Terror?" *New York Times Debate*, January 15, 2013.

<http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2013/01/15/is-mali-a-new-line-in-the-sand-against-terror>

17. *Wednesday April 1: Syria- Failing to Intervene

Is failing to intervene sometimes worse than intervention itself?

Presidential Statement on Syria, August 31, 2013.

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/08/31/statement-president-syria>

Presidential Address to the Nation, September 9, 2013.

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/09/10/remarks-president-address-nation-syria>

Andrew M. Liepman, Brian Nichiporuk, Jason Killmeyer, "Alternative Futures for Syria: Regional Implications and Challenges for the United States" *Rand Corporation*, 2014.

18. *Monday April 6: Countering Islamic State

President has intervened to stop ISIL. Will his strategy work?

Jessica Lewis, "The Islamic State: A Counter Strategy for a Counter State," *Institute for the Study of War*, July 2014.
<http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Lewis-Center%20of%20gravity.pdf>

Anthony Cordesman, "The Imploding US Strategy in the Islamic State War," Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, October 23, 2014.

19. *Wednesday April 8: Intervention By Proxy

Putin has intervened by proxy in Ukraine? What are his goals? What response should there be?

Dimitri Trenin, *The Ukrainian Crisis*:
http://carnegieendowment.org/files/ukraine_great_power_rivalry2014.pdf

James Sherr, "Russian Interests in the Post-Soviet Era," *Hard Diplomacy, Soft Coercion* (London: Chatham House, 2013).

20. *Monday April 13: Ukraine

Can Western sanctions work?

Vladimir Putin, "The New World Order," Speech to the Valdai Club, October 24, 2014.

Celestine Bohlen, "Sanctions," Shorenstein Center Paper, 2015.

21. *Wednesday April 15: Intervention and Sanctions: Iran

Meghan O'Sullivan, "Influencing Iran" in *Shrewd Sanctions: Statecraft and State Sponsors of Terrorism* (Washington: Brookings, 2003), ps. 45-103.

K.W. Waltz, "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb," *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 2012.

22. *Monday April 20: Iran- Cyber and Sovereignty

How do new technologies change the calculus of risk for intervention?

Ron Diebert, *Black Code: Inside the Battle for Cyberspace* (Random House, 2013), ps. 176-187.

J.S. Nye, "Nuclear Lessons for Cyber Security," *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Winter 2011, ps. 18-38.

23. *Wednesday April 22: Peace-Building

At war's end, what works?

Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace: UN Peace Operations* (Princeton, 2006), ch. 8 "The Peacebuilding Record."

Richard Betts, "Pick Your Battles: Ending America's Era of Permanent War," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2014.

24. Monday April 27: Responsible Sovereignty

What if 'responsible sovereignty' became an orienting principle for the foreign policy of states?

Stephen Krasner, "An Orienting Principle for Foreign Policy", *Stanford Policy Review*, 2010.

<http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/49786>

25. Wednesday April 29: Class Evaluation and Summary

Final Paper Due: Friday May 1 by 5:00 PM.