

The Democratic Politics of Military Interventions

*Political Parties, Contestation, and
Decisions to Use Force Abroad*

WOLFGANG WAGNER

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Wolfgang Wagner 2020

The moral rights of the author have been asserted

First Edition published in 2020

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2020906501

ISBN 978-0-19-884679-6

Printed and bound in Great Britain by
Clays Ltd, Elcograf S.p.A.

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	ix
<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiii
1. Introduction and Plan of the Book	1
1.1 The 'Neglected Element': Political Parties and Foreign Affairs	2
1.2 Which Parties? Which Policies?	6
1.3 Plan of the Book	8
2. Democratic Politics and Foreign Affairs: A Theoretical Framework	13
2.1 The Normative Debate: The (In)compatibility of Democratic Politics with International Conflict and Security	15
2.2 Zooming in on the Democratic Politics of International Conflict: The Democratic Peace Debate and Beyond	20
2.2.1 Democratic Institutions	22
2.2.2 Liberal Ideas and Political Culture: Ambivalence and Diversity	28
2.3 Differences Among Democracies and Party-Political Orientation of Government	31
2.4 Conclusion	35
3. Contestation and Politicization of Security and Defence Policy	37
3.1 Contestation and Politicization	37
3.2 Methodology	41
3.3 Long-Term Patterns of Contestation: Congressional Voting between 1789 and 2014	44
3.4 Foreign, Security, and Defence Policy Votes in Germany and the Netherlands	50
3.5 Deployment Votes	54
3.5.1 US Declarations of War and Authorizations to Use Force	55
3.5.2 Deployment Votes since the End of the Cold War	59
3.6 Conclusion	61
4. The Party Politics of Foreign and Security Policy	64
4.1 Why Political Parties Differ	67
4.2 How Political Parties Differ: The Left/Right and the 'New Politics' Dimensions	69

4.3 Dimensions of Party-Political Contestation: Evidence from Manifestos, Experts, and Parliamentary Votes	75
4.3.1 Pro or Against the Military and Security and Defence Policy: Evidence from Party Manifestos	76
4.3.2 Pro or Against Peace and Security Missions: Evidence from Expert Surveys	81
4.3.3 Pro or Against Actual Military Deployments: Evidence from Votes in Parliament	85
4.4 Conclusion	95
5. Debating Military Interventions: Party-Specific Arguments and Justifications	98
5.1 Selecting Countries and Military Missions	99
5.1.1 Selecting Missions	99
5.1.1.1 The Military Intervention in Afghanistan	100
5.1.1.2 Fighting Daesh in Iraq and Syria	103
5.1.2 Selecting Countries	107
5.1.2.1 United Kingdom	110
5.1.2.2 Canada	112
5.1.2.3 Germany	114
5.2 Method	116
5.3 Findings	119
5.4 Conclusion	134
5.5 Technical Appendix	136
6. Conclusions and Outlook	139
6.1 Party Politics Matters	139
6.2 Nuancing the Role of Political Parties in Foreign Affairs	141
6.3 The Democratic Politics of Foreign Affairs	144
6.4 Policy Implications	147
6.4.1 Making Space for Transnational Party Politics	147
6.4.2 The Impact of Politicization	150
6.5 Directions for Further Research	151
<i>References</i>	155
<i>Index</i>	173