

## **2020 Online International Summer School in Comparative Conflict Studies**

**June 22 – 27, 2020**

### **International Intervention and the Myth of the "International Community"**

**Dr. Maxine David**

#### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

In 1991, George Bush Senior spoke of a 'New World Order', one in which the United Nations would now be free to fulfil its founders' visions. Since then, in the face of terrible conflicts, whether in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Iraq, Afghanistan, Darfur or Syria, it has become common to make reference to the "international community" and the need for them to respond. Indeed, in 2005, the United Nations General Assembly voted to accept the doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect, charging states, the main components of the so-called international community, with the obligation to respond under circumstances of genocide, ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity and war crimes. However, in the mere 15 years or so after R2P, circumstances are suggestive of a limited and certainly wavering commitment to the principle of rights protection. States such as China and Russia particularly have brought sovereignty rather than human rights firmly back to the centre of UN debate: more old world order than new. In a context of doubt about the future of US global leadership, in a context in which old divisions have re-surfaced and even older alliances are declining, questions must be asked about the international community, about whether it really exists and if so, in what form; and about its responsibilities to help civilian populations when their state will not or cannot. As the Syrian case has shown, while the more powerful states squabble and debate, while they deny their responsibility to protect others, the price is paid by other in thousands, even hundreds of thousands, of lives and in lost generations.

In this course, students will be introduced to the underpinning concepts and competing understandings of (non-)intervention in situations of conflict. Students will learn to identify and deliver a critical analysis of those factors that shape conflict and the "international community's" responses to it. Emphasis is placed on the application of concepts and theories to real-life scenarios, examining a combination of historical and ongoing cases that offer insights for us as analysts.

#### **COURSE THEMES AND CASE STUDIES**

Throughout the course, students will be asked to consider the origins of conflict as well as the conditions under and means through which it can be ended, focusing particularly on the role of the so-called

international community. By examining at least four different cases, the course aims to help students understand the arguments for and against a military intervention, the debate about who should undertake such an intervention and the authority and legitimacy under which it should be done. Four core themes in the study of intervention will therefore sit at the heart of our studies: sovereignty, legitimacy, legality, human rights. The case studies will comprise: Uganda-Tanzania War 1978-79; the former Yugoslavia 1991-99; Darfur 2003-?; Syria: 2011-?

## INTRODUCTORY / BACKGROUND READING - TO BE READ BEFORE CLASSES BEGIN!

- Alexander, Amanda (2015) A Short History of International Humanitarian Law, *European Journal of International Law*, 26(1): 109-138.
- Annan, Kofi (2004) Secretary-General Kofi Annan's Tip O'Neill Lecture, "Learning the lessons of peace-building", delivered at Magee Campus, University of Ulster, United Kingdom, on 18 October. United Nations. [accessed 24 May 2020].
- Bello, Walden (2013). The Checkered History of Humanitarian Intervention. [accessed 24 May 2020].
- Schimmelfennig, Frank (2002) Goffman meets IR: dramaturgical action in international community, *International Review of Sociology*, 12(3): 417-437.

## COURSE OUTLINE

### DAY 1 - MONDAY, JUNE 22 - Are There Any "Good Guys"?

#### Synchronous Session 1

1. Introductions
2. Course Introduction
3. Is there such a thing as an "international community"
4. Why does it matter?

#### Required Readings

- Ahmad, Idrees (2018) 'Are there really "no good guys" in Syria?' *Pulse Media*. [accessed 24 May 2020].
- Armstrong, David (1999) 'Law, Justice and the idea of a world society.' *International Affairs*. 75 (3): 547-561.
- Entire issue of: Snippe, Marjolijn, Mehta, Vijay and Melber, Henning (eds.) (2011) 'Erskine Barton Childers – For a democratic United Nations and the Rule of Law'. *Development Dialogue*, 56 (June). [accessed 24 May 2020].

## Synchronous Session 2

1. Group 1: lead discussion of Frost
2. Group 2: lead discussion of Pingeot and Obenland

## Required Readings

- Frost, Mervyn (1998) A turn not taken: Ethics in IR at the Millennium, *Review of International Studies* 24(5): 119-132.
- Pingeot, Lo, Wolfgang Obenland (2014) In whose name? A critical view on the Responsibility to Protect. *Global Policy Forum*.

## Asynchronous Session

- Watch: Robert Fisk – Bosnian war documentary 1993 [part 1](#) & [part 2](#). Online and accessed 24 May 2020.

## Contribute to discussion forum on Moodle: Fisk Documentary

1. What are your thoughts on Fisk's expression of his belief the West betrayed Bosnian Muslims?
2. Might this perspective apply to other conflicts? Which?

## DAY 2 - TUESDAY, JUNE 23 - Who Does the International Community Protect?

### Synchronous Session 1

1. Online lecture: The Bosnian War
2. Q and A

### Required Reading/Viewing

- Andreatta, Filippo (1997) The Bosnian War and the New World Order. Failure and Success of International Intervention Occasional Paper I. [Accessed 24 May 2020].
- Robert Fisk – Bosnian war documentary 1993 part 3

### Synchronous Session 2

- Who Is Protected and Why?
- What is Remembered?

### Required Reading/Viewing

- Hansen, Lene (2000) Gender, Nation, Rape: Bosnia and the Construction of Security, *International Journal of Feminist Politics* 3(1): 55-75.
- Amnesty International (2012) *Still on the Frontline*. [Accessed 24 May 2020].
- Fridman, Orli (2016) Memories of the 1999 Bombing in Belgrade, Serbia, *Südosteuropa*, 64(4): 438-59.

### Asynchronous Session

Watch: Srebrenica – A Cry from the Grave.

**“Your 30 soldiers are even more valuable than the 30,000 Muslims.”**

**Write 500 (approx) word blog on Moodle that covers the following points and whatever else you would like to:**

“Your 30 soldiers are even more valuable than the 30,000 Muslims.”

1. Do you think this analysis is right?
2. What does this say about the international community?
  - a. Have you considered what the consequences of the killing of 30 UN peacekeepers might have been?

## **DAY 3 - WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24 - The UN; Syria, Theory and the Law: Constraining and Permitting**

### **Synchronous Session 1**

- Navigating the UN website together
- UN Charter

### **Asynchronous Session 1**

Watch voiced-over Powerpoint lectures - available via Moodle

- Intervention, International Law and the Responsibility to Protect

### **Synchronous Session 2**

- Discussion - international law and R2P.
- How do you explain the failure to intervene in Syria?

### **Asynchronous Session 2**

For this session, you will be watching a PBS documentary "The Trial of Ratko Mladic" [2018] which will be made available on Wednesday, June 24.

### **Required Reading**

- Evans, Gareth (2014) 'The Consequences of Non-Intervention in Syria: Does the Responsibility to Protect Have a Future?'. In Murray, Robert W. (ed.) edited collection of *e-IR: Into the Eleventh Hour: R2P, Syria and Humanitarianism in Crisis*: 18-25. [Accessed 24 May 2020].
- Documentary: The Trial of Ratko Mladic [2018]

## **DAY 4 - THURSDAY, JUNE 25 - Causes of Conflict and Reasons Not to Intervene**

### **Asynchronous Session - small groups**

Work in groups of 3-4 only.

Group 1 - determine causes of conflict in Darfur - upload short presentation to Moodle

Read:

- De Waal, Alex (2007) 'Darfur and the Failure of the Responsibility to Protect', *International Affairs*, 83, 6: 1039-1054.
- Verhoeven, Harry, Ricardo Soares de Oliveira & Madhan Mohan Jaganathan (2016) 'To Intervene in Darfur, or Not: Re-examining the R2P Debate and Its Impact'. *Global Society*, 30(1): 21-37.

Group 2 - determine causes of conflict in Mali - upload short presentation to Moodle

Read:

- Bratton, Michael (2016). Violence, displacement and democracy in post-conflict societies: evidence from Mali. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 34(4): 437-458.
- Stigall, Dan E. (2015) The French Military Intervention in Mali, Counter-Terrorism, and the Law of Armed Conflict, 223 *Military Law Review*, 223(1): 1-40.

Group 3 - prepare a summary and critique of the article below (you will need to read this in detail!) - upload short presentation to Moodle

Read:

- Udombana, Nsongurua J. (2005) When Neutrality is a Sin: The Darfur Crisis and the Crisis of Humanitarian Intervention in Sudan. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 27(4): 1149-1199.

(Dr David will be online for 2 x 30 minute sessions to answer questions)

## **Synchronous Sessions 1 and 2**

- Groups 1 and 2 to lead session for 45 minutes each on the above material
  - Break - 30 minutes
- Group 3 to lead session for 45 minutes on the above material.

## **DAY 5 - FRIDAY, JUNE 26 - Tanzania and Uganda 1978-79 – Lessons Learned?**

### **Synchronous Session 1**

- Discussion of UNSC discourse as identified yesterday
- What do we think of it so far?
  - My questions and your questions answered

### **Asynchronous Session 1**

- Watch voiced-over PowerPoint lecture - available via Moodle
- Case Study Tanzania and Uganda 1978-79

### **Synchronous Session 2**

- Discussion: lessons from the Tanzania-Ugandan conflict - has the “international community” learned anything?

### **Required Reading**

- Burrows, Noreen (1979). Tanzania's intervention in Uganda: some legal aspects. *World Today*, Jul 1, 1979, 35(7).
- Roberts, George (2014) The Uganda-Tanzania War, the fall of Idi Amin, and the failure of African diplomacy, 1978-79. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8(4): 692-709.

- Tankink, Marian (2004). Not talking about traumatic experiences: harmful or healing? Coping with war memories in southwest Uganda. *Intervention*, 2(1): 3-17. [accessed 24 May 2020].

## **DAY 6 - SATURDAY, JUNE 27 - Rising Powers and Old Powers - the Return of the State?; Course**

### **Conclusions**

#### **Synchronous Session 1**

- Discussion of implications from the readings.
- Be prepared to deliver brief summary of key learning points for you

#### **Required Reading**

- Lee, Pak K. & Chan, Kai-Ha (2016). 'China's and India's perspectives on military intervention: why Africa but not Syria?' *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 70(2): 179-214.
- Sabrow, Sophia (2017). Local perceptions of the legitimacy of peace operations by the UN, regional organizations and individual states – a case study of the Mali conflict. *International Peacekeeping*, 24(1): 159-186.

**Course ends.**