

2011 Summer School in Comparative Conflict Studies

International Intervention in Globalised World

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July 11-18, 2011

Course Description:

The fundamental organising principle in the international system has long been one of state sovereignty. Thus, states are considered to have authority over a defined and internationally recognised territory, protected from external intervening forces. The associated principle of non-intervention has been challenged in more recent times by successive interventions into the sovereign affairs of states by international organisations, notably the United Nations and NATO, as well as other states. In the early 2000s the international “community” adopted the principle of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), widely debated by reason of the obligations it places on states to protect the wellbeing of their citizens and the vulnerability of states to outside interventions when they fail to protect those citizens. As a result, it is reasonable to ask whether the principle of sovereignty has been superseded by the principle of human rights protection.

In this course, students will be introduced to the underpinning concepts and competing understandings of intervention in situations of conflict, state collapse, humanitarian and human rights emergencies. Students will learn to identify and deliver a critical analysis of those factors that shape international intervention and will apply this knowledge to a few of the case studies that have been particularly significant in respect of developing international-level responses to crises.

Course themes:

The course will revolve around four core themes in the study of Intervention: Sovereignty, Legitimacy, Legality, Human Rights. The aim of the course is to help students understand the arguments for and against intervention: what motivates actors to intervene, what constrains them, the inherent costs and dangers of their choices. Through study of a number of interventions, students will debate the choices available to actors in order to achieve an understanding of the context in which difficult decisions are made and the consequences of those decisions.

- Course Outline by Day -

Tuesday July 12 (Day 1)

Understanding International Intervention

Morning class:

10:00-12:30 Introduction to Course & Key Concepts

Afternoon class:

14:00-16:00 Identifying Key Actors

Recommended reading:

- Ayoub, Mohammed (2002) 'Humanitarian Intervention and State Sovereignty' *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 6,1: 81-102
- Coady, C. (2002) 'The Ethics of Armed Humanitarian Intervention', United States Institute for Peace: 'Peaceworks No 45' available at: <http://www.usip.org/resources/ethics-armed-humanitarian-intervention>

Additional Reading:

- Evans, Gareth, (2008) 'The Responsibility to Protect: An Idea Whose Time Has Come...and Gone?' *International Relations*, 22, 3: 283-298
- Welsh, Jennifer, (2009) *Implementing the 'Responsibility to Protect'* Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law, and Armed Conflict Policy Brief 1/2009, available at: http://www.elac.ox.ac.uk/downloads/r2p_policybrief_180209.pdf

Wednesday July 13 (Day 2)

Northern Iraq 1999-2001 & Theorising International Relations

Morning class:

10:00-12:30 Sovereign Rights vs International Morals: Why Defend the Kurds?

Afternoon class:

14:00-16:00 Theories and International Intervention

Recommended reading:

- Mayall, James (1991) 'Non-Intervention, Self-Determination and the "New World Order"' *International Affairs*, 67, 3: 421-429
- Orford, Anne (2009) 'What Can We Do To Stop People Harming Others?', in Edkins, J & Zehfuss, M (Eds.) *Global Politics. A New Introduction*, London: Routledge, 427-53.

Additional Reading

- Snyder, J. (2008) 'Realism, Refugees, and Strategies of Humanitarianism' available at: www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/PDFs/snyder%20realism%20refugees-1.pdf
- White, Nigel D. (1999) 'The Legality of the Threat of Force against Iraq' *Security Dialogue*, 30, 1: 75-86

Thursday July 14 (Day 3)

Failings and Consequences: Yugoslavia in the 1990s

Morning class:

10:00-12:30 Crimes against Humanity

- The Reality of War – Bosnian Conflict

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MNnOj088nrc&feature=related>

- The Weight of Chains:

<http://www.beldocs.rs/en/filmovi.php?selection=view&id=78>

Afternoon class:

14:00-16:00 The Kosovo Crisis 1998-1999: Overruling Sovereignty

- 1999 - A Documentary about Kosovo War and Ethnic Cleansing
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ulPsNrMMZ3E>

Recommended Reading:

- Chinkin, Christine M. (1999) 'Kosovo: A 'Good' or 'Bad' War' *American Journal of International Law*, 3, 4: 841-847
- Kerr, Rachel (2005) 'The Road from Dayton to Brussels? The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and the Politics of War Crimes in Bosnia', *European Security*, 14:3, 319-337.
- Solana, Javier (1999) 'NATO's Success in Kosovo' *Foreign Affairs*, 78, 6: 114-120.

Additional Reading:

- Freedman, Lawrence (2000) 'Victims and Victors: Reflections on the Kosovo War', *Review of International Studies*, 26: 335-58.

Friday July 15 (Day 4)

The Responsibility to Protect

Morning class:

10:00-12:30 Darfur 2005-9: Failing to Prevent and Protect

Afternoon class:

14:00-16:00 Burma & Cyclone Nargis 2008: The Limits of International Responsibility

Recommended Reading:

- Albright, Madeleine (2008) 'The End of Intervention' *The Washington Post/New York Times*, available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/11/opinion/11albright.html>
- De Waal, Alex (2007) 'Darfur and the Failure of the Responsibility to Protect' *International Affairs*, 83, 6: 1039-1054.
- Ford, Stuart (2009) 'Is the Failure to Respond Appropriately to a Natural Disaster a Crime Against Humanity? The Responsibility to Protect and Individual Criminal Responsibility in the Aftermath of Cyclone Nargis' available at: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1437785

Additional Reading:

- Barber, Rebecca (2009) 'The Responsibility to Protect the Survivors of Natural Disaster: Cyclone Nargis, a Case Study', *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 14 (3)
- Williams, P. and Bellamy, A. (2005) 'The Responsibility to Protect and the Crisis in Darfur' *Security Dialogue*, 36, 1: 27-47.

Saturday July 16 (Day 5)

That Was Then, This Is Now: *Intervention in Libya, 2011*

Morning class:

10:00-12:30 Motivations and Perceptions

- "Security Council takes 'historic' decision to protect civilians in Libya - 18 Mar '11"

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocusRel.asp?infocusID=129&Body=North+Africa&Body1=change>

Afternoon class:

14:00-16:00 Evaluating Intervention - Where Are We Now?

Recommended Reading:

- Aaronson, Michael (2011) Why “Humanitarian Intervention” in Libya is not Humanitarian
<http://www.uniofsurreyblogs.org.uk/cii/>
- Aaronson, Michael (2011) Libya: Did We Have a Choice? PSA Plenary Lecture 21 April 2011
<http://www.uniofsurreyblogs.org.uk/cii/>
- Aaronson, Michael (2011) Are we at war in Libya? <http://www.uniofsurreyblogs.org.uk/cii/>

Additional Reading:

- UK and US claim humanitarian reasons for intervention

http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xhcqn2_us-and-uk-claim-humanitarian-reasons-for-presence-in-libya_news

- Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon - Geneva (Switzerland), 11 May 2011, Address to the press re north African revolts

http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocus/speeches/statments_full.asp?statID=1181

- Resolutions by: UN Security Council

S/RES/1973 (2011) | 17 Mar 2011 – Security Council approves 'No-Fly Zone' over Libya, authorizing 'All Necessary Measures' to protect civilians, by vote of 10 in favour with 5 abstentions

S/RES/1970 (2011) | 26 Feb 2011 – Security Council imposes tough measures on Libyan regime in wake of crackdown on protesters

Sunday July 17 (Day 6)

Course Conclusions

Morning class:

10:00-12:30 Class Discussion: What Predominates? Rights or Sovereignty?

Recommended Reading:

- Bellamy, A. (2002) ‘What’s so wrong with human rights?’ *International Journal of Human Rights*, 6, 4: 121-133
- Chandler, D. (2003) ‘Expanding the Research Agenda of Human Rights: Reply to Bellamy’ *International Journal of Human Rights*, 7, 1: 128-140