

## **2012 Summer School in Comparative Conflict Studies**

### **International Intervention in Globalised World**

**Dr. Maxine David**

July 9-16, 2012

#### **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 As a result, it is reasonable to ask whether the principle of sovereignty has been superseded by the principle of human rights protection.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. Emphasis is then placed on the application of concepts and theories to real-life scenarios, examining a few of the case studies that have been particularly significant in respect of developing international-level responses to crises.

#### **Course Themes:**

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 10 (Day 1)**

**Understanding International Intervention**

**Morning class:**

10:00-12:30 Introduction and Course Outline

**Afternoon class:**

14:00-16:00 Identifying Key Concepts & Actors

**Recommended Reading:**

- Ayoob, 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>
- Mertus, Julie A (2009, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) *The United Nations and Human Rights. A Guide for a New Era*, London and New York, Routledge: Ch. 3

**Additional Reading:**

- De Waal, Alex., and Omaar, Rakiya (1994) 'Can Military Intervention be "Humanitarian"?' *Middle East Report*, 187/188 (March-June): 2-8
- 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](http://www.elac.ox.ac.uk/downloads/r2p_policybrief_180209.pdf)

**Wednesday July 11 (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**

- Hurd, Ian (1999) 'Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics', *International Organization*, 53, 2: 379-408.
- 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**

- Adelman, Howard (1992) 'Humanitarian Intervention: The Case of the Kurds' *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 4, 1: 4-38
- Snyder, J. (2008) 'Realism, Refugees, and Strategies of Humanitarianism' available at: <http://asrudiancenter.wordpress.com/2008/10/15/realism-refugees-and-strategies-of-humanitarianism/>
- White, Nigel D. (1999) 'The Legality of the Threat of Force against Iraq' *Security Dialogue*, 30, 1: 75-86

**Thursday July 12 (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.youtubr.com/watch?v=MNnOj088nrc&feature=related>
- The Weight of Chains: <http://www.beldocs.rs/en/filmovi.php?selection=view&id=78>
- Robert Fisk about the Bosnian War  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?NR=1&feature=endscreen&v=hziMSPp9bcM>

**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.
- Parish, Matthew (2007) 'The Demise of the Dayton Protectorate', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, Volume 1, Special Supplement: 11-23
- 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 13 (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>
- Arbour, Louise, "The Responsibility to Protect as a Duty of Care in International Law and Practice," *Review of International Studies* 34, no. 3 (July 2008), pp. 445–58.
- 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](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1437785)
- Walker, Peter (1998) "Victims of natural disaster and the right to humanitarian assistance: a practitioner's view", available at: <http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/misc/57jpje.htm>

**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)
- Cohen, Roberta (2009) 'The Burma Cyclone and the Responsibility to Protect', *Global Responsibility to Protect* 1 pp. 253-257
- Luck, Edward (2010) "The Responsibility to Protect: Growing Pains or Early Promise?" *Ethics & International Affairs*, Volume 24.4, also available at:[http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/resources/journal/24\\_4/response/001.html](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/resources/journal/24_4/response/001.html)
- Massingham, Eve (2009) "Military intervention for humanitarian purposes: does the Responsibility to Protect doctrine advance the legality of the use of force for humanitarian ends?" *International Review of the Red Cross* Volume 91, Number 876, available at:<http://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/other/irrc-876-massingham.pdf>
- Rosenberg, Sheri P, (2009) "Responsibility to Protect: a Framework for Prevention" *Global Responsibility to Protect* v1, 442-477
- Williams, P. and Bellamy, A. (2005) 'The Responsibility to Protect and the Crisis in Darfur' *Security Dialogue*, 36, 1: 27-47.

**Saturday July 14 (Day 5)**

**Plus Ça Change? Failing to Protect in Syria 2011, 2012 ...**

**Morning class:**

10:00-12:30 To Intervene or Not in Syria

**Afternoon class:**

14:00-16:00 The Dis-United Nations: Attaching Worth to the UN Charter

**Recommended Reading**

- See all Syria-related blogs at: <http://www.uniofsurreyblogs.org.uk/cii/>
- Mohamed, Saira (2012) The UN Security Council and the Crisis in Syria, Insights, American Society of International Law, 16, 11. Available online at: <http://www.asil.org/pdfs/insights/insight120326.pdf>
- United Nations, Charter of the United Nations Available online at <<<http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/>>>
- United Nations, General Assembly resolution A/RES/66/176 of 19 December 2011, Available online at <<http://www.un.org/en/ga/66/resolutions.shtml>>
- United Nations, General Assembly resolution A/RES/S-16/1 of 29 April 2011, *The Current Human Rights Situation in the Syrian Arab Republic in the Context of Recent Events*. Available online at <<http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/Syria%20AHRC%20RES%20S-16%201.pdf>>

**Additional Reading**

- Harris, Paul, Martin Chulov, David Batty and Damien Pearse (2012) 'Syria resolution vetoed by Russia and China at United Nations, Guardian Online. Available online at <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/feb/04/assad-obama-resign-un-resolution>>
- Troyansky, Vladimir (2012) Russia's Support for al-Asad's Syria: Reasons Old and New Syrian Studies Association Newsletter, Vol 17, No 1. Available online at: <https://ojcs.siue.edu/ojs/index.php/ssa/article/viewFile/2710/674>

**Sunday July 15 (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