



PLIR 4350: Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations
Spring 2013
Tuesdays and Thursdays, 14:00 - 15:15
Monroe Hall 114

“All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.”

— *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 1*

“To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.”

— *The Charter of the United Nations Article 1*

“Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter”

— *The Charter of the United Nations Article 2 (7)*

Instructor:

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Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 12:30 - 13:30 and 15:30 - 16:30

Textbook:

Crocker, Chester, Fen Olser Hampson, and Pamela Aall (editors), “Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World, United States Institute of Peace,” Washington, 2007.

Holzgrefe, J.L., and Robert Keohane (editors), “Humanitarian Intervention,” Ethical, Legal, and Political Dilemmas, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2003.

ICISS (editor), "The Responsibility to Protect: The Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty," IDRC Books, 2002. Readily available online as a pdf.

Sewall, Sarah, Dwight Raymond and Sally Chin, MARO: Mass Atrocity Response Operations: A Military Handbook, The Carr Center for Human Rights, Harvard Kennedy School, and US Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 2011 available as a book (not in the bookstore) or readily available online as a pdf.

Course Description:

Since the fall of the Berlin wall, humanitarian intervention has been an important talking point and policy decision for governments and intergovernmental institutions globally. In recent months, the United Nations, NATO, the EU and powerful states with the capacity to act unilaterally have debated the merits of intervening in numerous locations including but not limited to Libya, Somalia, and Sudan. The course examines important questions and processes behind humanitarian intervention. For example, what is humanitarian intervention? How does an intervention occur? Who decides when and where to intervene and on whose behalf? When and how does an intervention end? Are interventions ethical? And, what is the difference between humanitarianism, intervention, and war?

Course Objectives:

The objectives of HI and IR are to help students understand fully the different aspects of humanitarian intervention, including the political, legal, and ethical aspects of intervening in other state. Additionally, the course will help students understand the "what now?" after an intervention. Finally, the course will help students gain a wide understanding of places where interventions have occurred and to identify places where interventions may occur in the future. The course is both theoretically and practically oriented.

Prerequisites

There are no prerequisites. Although an understanding of international relations and human rights will be helpful. In order to best prepare for this course (and life), students should read international newspapers daily along with reading required class materials.

Graphic Nature of the Material

This course covers material of a very graphic nature. Discussions and audio / video presentations may contain graphic nature. Students who feel uncomfortable with this material may be excused during the duration of the presentation of such material. Yet, I do suggest students pay attention to such material. It is disturbing. However, the issues that lead up to any type of intervention are by their very nature graphic. The material is not used to shock students but is intended to educate.

Grading:

This is a seminar course. Therefore, class participation is very important. Please come to class prepared to critically address the materials assigned. If you do not come prepared, it will be obvious to both the professor and your peers and you will fail to make the most of this opportunity. Since this is a summer course, the readings have been reduced. You will be assigned roughly 60 pages per night, sometimes more, sometimes less. You do not have to read every page, the point is get

the general ideas.

Your grade will be based on the following:

Midterm	25%
— The midterm will be a written, take-home exam, consisting of three questions.	
Group Project Presentation	10%
— Class participants will be asked to create a group during the year and discuss the merits and processes of a possible future intervention.	
Group Project Written Assignment	10%
— A written document consisting of the research for your group presentation must accompany the presentation.	
Research Paper	40%
— A comprehensive research paper is due on 30 April. The paper should be a substantive research paper. The focus is up to the writer but it has to be related to humanitarian intervention. The length is 5000 words.	
Participation and Attendance	15%
— a. Attendance is required. Each student is given one free absence. Any absences after two will result in a harsh penalty to your participation grade (half a letter grade on participation per absence).	
— b. In order to receive a good grade on participation, students are expected to participate in each discussion.	

Academic Honesty:

Students must sign the Honor Pledge on each assignment. Cheating of any kind will be punished according to the dictates of the Honor Code of the University of Virginia.

Course Outline:

Week 1: Introduction to the Course

15 January: Introduction to the course

- General expectations
- Overview of the syllabus
- On the importance of reading newspapers (or how to pass the foreign service exam)
- On how to read for this class and graduate school.
- Initial conversations on human rights, international relations, and humanitarian intervention how the three are related and a discussion of the object and purpose of the course.

17 January: An IR theory refresher

- Posen, B., *Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategies*, *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Winter 1996/1997), pp. 5-53.
- Mearsheimer, J.J., *The False Promise of International Institutions*, *IO* Vol. 19, No. 2, 1994 (Skip the second part)
- Moravcsik, Andrew, *Liberal Theories of International Relations: A Primer* unpublished manuscript, 2010

Week 2: On Understanding Sources of Conflict and Destabilization

22 and 24 January

This week will review some major theories surrounding the sources of both interstate and intrastate conflict and the role of conflict in humanitarian intervention.

- Levy, International Sources of Interstate and Intrastate War, in Leashing, p. 17-39 (skim).
- Kemp, Arms Acquisitions and Violence: Are Weapons or People the Cause of Conflict? in Leashing, p. 53-69.
- Rotberg, The Challenge of Weak, Failing, and Collapsed States, in Leashing, p. 83-95.
- King, Power, Social Violence, and Civil Wars, in Leashing, p. 115-130.

Week 3: On Solving Sources of Conflict and Destabilization

This week will examine some of the primary ways in which policymakers and theorists suggest are best for solving problems with stability and conflict, including democratization, development, and the use of soft power.

29 January: Democratization

- Barnett, B., Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States after Civil War, *International Security* (Spring 2006), pp. 87-112.
- Kaufman, C., Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars, *International Security*, Spring 1996, pp. 136-175.
- Zahar, M.-J., Norm Transmission in Peace- and Statebuilding: Lessons from Democracy Promotion in Sudan and Lebanon. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* January- March 2012, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 73-88.

31 January: Mediation and Soft Power

- Serwer and Thomson, A Framework for Success: International Intervention in Societies Emerging from Conflict, in Leashing, p. 369-388.
- Zartman and Touval, International Mediation, in Leashing, p. 437-454
- Kriesberg, Contemporary Conflict Resolution Applications, in Leashing, p. 477-496.
- The Mediation Game

Week 4: On Understanding actors in humanitarian situations

5 and 7 February

This week will focus primarily on the United Nations, but also on regional organizations, to help better understand their roles in conflict resolution and intervention.

- Mingst, and Karns "The United Nations and Conflict Management: Relevant or Irrelevant? in Leashing, p. 497-520.
- Diehl, New Roles for Regional Organizations, in Leashing, p. 535 554.
- Chigas, Capacities and Limits of NGOs as Conflict Managers in Leashing, p. 553-582.
- Chandler, D., The Road to Military Humanitarianism: How the Human Rights NGOs Shaped a New Humanitarian Agenda, *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 3, August 2001

Week 5: On Humanitarianism Week 5 will help students understand the concept and history of humanitarianism and also look at important questions such as, who can be a humanitarian?

12 February: *TBD, Im waiting on a desk copy to arrive*

14 February:

— Hopgood, Saying No to Wal-Mart? Money and Morality in Professional Humanitarianism, in *Humanitarianism in Question*, p. 98-124.

— Walzer, M., *On Humanitarianism: Is Helping Others Charity or Duty or Both?* Foreign Affairs, 2011.

— Moore, T., Saving Friends or Saving Strangers? A Critical Humanitarianism and the Geopolitics of International Law, *Review of International Studies*, December 2012.

Week 6: On Understanding the Big Questions

19 February: Ethics

This class focuses on different ethical arguments that have been posited in favor of and in opposition of humanitarian intervention. Ethics are part of the triangle of understanding why and how interventions occur.

— Holzgrefe, Ch. 1, The Humanitarian Intervention Debate, in Holzgrefe and Keohane, p. 15 52

— Teson, ch.3, The Liberal Case for Humanitarian Intervention, in Holzgrefe and Keohane, 93 130.

— Smith, Michael, Humanitarian Intervention: An Overview of the Ethical Issues, *Ethics and International Affairs*, Volume 12, Spring 1998. (SKIM)

21 February: Law

Law is another part of the triangle. This class focuses on the legal arguments (predominately international) that justify interventions. This class will also debate the role of law in international relations generally.

— Byers and Chesterman, Ch. 5, Changing the Rules about Rules? Unilateral Humanitarian Intervention and the Future of International Law, in Holzgrefe and Keohane, p. 177-204.

— Franck, Ch. 6 Interpretation and Change in the Law of Humanitarian Intervention, in Holzgrefe and Keohane, p. 204 232.

— Wedgwood, War and Law: The Dilemmas of International Law and Coercive Enforcement, in Leashing, p. 583-602.

— Reading TBD on War Powers Act

Week 7: On Understanding the Big Questions II

26 February: Politics

This class will focus on preference formation and interventions or how politics affects intervention probabilities.

— Miller, B., The Logic of U.S. Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War Era, *Contemporary Security Policy*, vol. 19, no. 3, December 1998, pp. 72-109.

— Kritsiotis, D., Reappraising Policy Objections to Humanitarian Intervention, 19 *Mich. J Intl L*. 1005 (1997-1998).

28 February: Military

This class will focus on the role of the use of force in bringing peace and stability to regions affected by conflict.

— Freedman, Using Force for Peace in an Age of Terror, in Leashing p. 245-264.

— Uquhart, Limits on the Use of Force, in Leashing, p. 265 276.

- O'Hanlen, Expanding Global Military Capacity to Save Lives with Force, in *Leashing*, p. 319-334.
- MIDTERM IS OUT

Week 8: On Understanding Frameworks for Intervening

Week 8 will look at the primary frameworks for humanitarian intervention up to and including the responsibility to protect.

5 March: Introducing Frameworks

- Finnemore, M., Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention, in *The Culture of National Security*, Katzenstein (ed).
- Walzer, M., The Triumph of Just War Theory (and Dangers of Success), *Social Research*, Vol. 69, No. 4, 2002.

7 March: The Responsibility to Protect

- Western, J., and Joshua Goldstein, Humanitarian Intervention Comes of Age, *Foreign Affairs*, 90, 48, 2011.
- ICISS (editor), *The Responsibility to Protect: The Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*, IDRC Books, 2002
- MIDTERM IS DUE

Week 9: Spring Break

Week 10: On Understanding Cases in Africa

Week 10 will examine key case studies in Africa including Rwanda 1994 and Sudan and the Congo currently.

19 March: Past

- Power, S., Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen, *The Atlantic Monthly*, September 2001, pp. 84-108.
- Feil, S., Preventing Genocide: How the Early Use of Force Might Have Succeeded in Rwanda, a report to the Carnegie Commission on the Prevention of Deadly Conflict, 1998. (SKIM)
- Gourevitch, P., *After the Genocide*, *The New Yorker*, 1995.

21 March: Current (Sudan, the Congo, and Mali)

NB! The UN documents are long. You should skim for relevant information. You should also look at recent news articles on each situation. All three are in flux.

- Badescu, C., and Bergholm, L., The Responsibility To Protect and the Conflict in Darfur: The Big Let-Down, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 40, No.3, June 2009.
- Othman, M., Report of the independent expert on the situation of human rights in the Sudan, United Nations Human Rights Council, A/HRC/18/40 of 22 August 2011 for background information
- Pillay, N., Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the situation of human rights in Mali, OHCHR, A/HRC/22/33 of 7 January 2013 (the date on the draft report is wrong, ignore it advanced unedited version).
- UN HRC, Third joint report of seven United Nations experts on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo A/HRC/16/68 of 9 March 2011

Week 11: On Understanding the Arab Spring

Week 11 will look at the Arab Spring, which started in 2010. This week will focus mainly on Libya, Egypt, and Syria. However, other states like Bahrain will also be included.

26 March: Libya and Egypt

—UN HRC Commission of Inquiry, Report of the International Commission of Inquiry on Libya, A/HRC/19/68 of 2 March 2012

—Moaddel, M., The Arab Spring and Egyptian Revolution Makers: Predictors of Participation, PSC Research Reports, September 2012.

—Anderson, L., Demstyfing the Arab Spring: Parsing the Differences Between Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, Foreign Affairs, May/June 2011

—Naim, M., Why Libya, but why not Syria? The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 18 May 2011, located online at: <http://carnegieendowment.org/2011/05/18/why-libya-but-not-syria/1gr>

28 March: Syria

—OHCHR, Situation of human rights in the Syrian Arab Republic: implementation of Human Rights Council resolution 19/22, A/HRC/21/32 of 25 September 2013.

—Weiss, M., What will it take to intervene in Syria, Foreign Affairs, 6 January 2012.

—Charap, S., Russia, Syria, and the Doctrine of Intervention, Survival: Global Politics and Strategy, Vol. 55, No. 1, 2013.

Week 12: Film

2 April: Film, TBD

I will be away at ISA. Participation is mandatory.

4 April:

Finish Film, TBD.

I will be away at ISA. Participation is mandatory.

Week 13: Critiques of Interventions

This week will focus on classic critiques of humanitarian intervention and of the UN and its role in interventions.

— Welsh, Ch. 4, Taking Consequences Seriously: Objections to Humanitarian Intervention, in Welsh, p. 52-70.

— Jentleson, Yet Again: Humanitarian Intervention and the Challenges of Never Again, in Leashing, p. 277-298.

— Walzer, The Argument About Humanitarian Intervention, 2002, <http://dissentmagazine.org/article/?article=>

— Atack, I., Ethical Objections to Humanitarian Intervention, Security Dialogue, Vol. 33, No.3, pp. 279- 292.

Week 14: Group Presentations

16 April: Group Presentations

18 April: Group Presentations

Week 15: Finish Presentations / Begin Wrapping Up

23 April: Group Presentations

25 April: On using Technology to Protect and End Emerging Conflict Situations

Week 16: On the Future of Humanitarian Intervention

— GIS mapping and Human Rights Violations in class exercise.

— Examine Amnesty Internationals Eye on Syria website. Online

— Examine Amnesty Internationals Science for Human Rights website. Online

— Examine AAASs Program on Geospatial Technologies and Human Rights. Online

— Levinger, M., GIS Technologies and Genocide Prevention. USIP Press. (2008) Collab

30 April:

As a way of wrapping up, this class examines the future of humanitarian intervention, from both political / legal / ethical means, but also through military tactics.

— Sewall, Sarah, Dwight Raymond and Sally Chin, MARO: Mass Atrocity Response Operations: A Military Handbook, The Carr Center for Human Rights, Harvard Kennedy School, and US Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 2011

— Pape, RA., When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Approach to Humanitarian Intervention, International Security, Vol. 37, N. 1, 2012.