

Draft syllabus – to be finalized in the first week of class

Intervention in World Politics: Theory and Practice
Political Science 443
Winter 2022

Instructor: Professor Jennifer Welsh

Classroom: ENGMD 279

Professor's Office Hours Leacock 422: Wednesdays, 2:30 to 4:30 p.m., or by special appointment

Email: jennifer.welsh@mcgill.ca

*Please note that I generally only answer student emails on weekdays. Email communication is *only for important course administrative issues*. If you have a substantive, intellectual question, or personal issue to discuss, please come to see the Professor in person

Teaching Assistant: TBD

Important course schedule information

Course lecture schedule: Wednesdays and Fridays, 1:05-2:25 p.m.

(Any changes to this schedule will be posted on MyCourses)

Course conferences: **Mandatory** one-hour conferences will be held the weeks of January 17th and March 28th. Registration on Minerva.

Course description and learning outcomes

The last two decades have witnessed a resurgence of interest in the law, morality, and politics of military intervention, particularly when undertaken for what are declared to be humanitarian purposes. Nonetheless, the question of when, if ever, outside parties can legitimately intervene with force in another sovereign state is a highly contentious one. It is also a question which is almost as old as the modern state system itself, and which has generated varying answers from philosophers, lawyers, and policy-makers.

This course examines the history, theory, and politics of intervention. While it focuses primarily on the period from the 19th century onward, it begins with a discussion of the origins of the state system and some of the earliest writings on sovereignty, in order to establish why intervention might be considered a contentious practice. It then examines two forms of intervention that were pursued by European powers in the 19th century - interventions for humanitarian purposes and interventions in civil wars – in order to identify key legal, moral and political issues at the heart of modern intervention. We then examine two critical cases of non-intervention from the first half of the 20th century – the genocide in Armenia and the Spanish Civil War – before turning to the legal framework for the non-use of force that was codified in the United Nations Charter. The next section of the course addresses high-profile instances of intervention that marked the Cold War and decolonization periods (including interventions by the

Superpowers in countries such as Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua). The latter weeks focus on the period since the end of the Cold War, which has seen interventions 'by invitation' to assist one side in a civil war, humanitarian interventions to prevent or respond to atrocity crimes, and interventions to address alleged threats to international peace and security. The analysis of cases in this final section is guided by the overarching question of whether there are any legitimate exceptions to the Charter's prohibition on the use of force, and – if so - how we should judge the legitimacy of intervention as a contemporary practice. We also discuss how intervention is framed within the 'responsibility to protect' and debate the merits of the policy framework developed alongside this principle. The class concludes with a discussion of the impact of intervention(s) in Afghanistan and how they have shaped, and will continue to shape, the politics and practice of intervention.

By the end of this course, students should be able to:

1. Knowledgeably discuss the concepts of sovereignty and (non)intervention, as well as their inter-relationship
2. Identify the issues and dilemmas that arose from intervention and non-intervention in the 19th, 20th and early 21st centuries
3. Identify key legal sources and cases for judging the legitimacy of different forms of intervention in the post-1945 period
4. Present and analyze the main normative arguments in favour of, or against, intervention
5. Identify the different ways in which power and political interests shape the practice of intervention
6. Illustrate theoretical and normative arguments with empirical cases of intervention (or non-intervention)

Course prerequisites

Completion of Introduction to International Relations (Pol 244) **is required** or explicit permission from the Course Professor. Completion of other 300-level courses in IR or modern history is also recommended.

Course Materials

Most of the course materials listed below are accessible through the McGill Library system. Some of the harder-to-reach course materials will be accessible on MyCourses. **It is your responsibility as a student to obtain the required readings for the course**, which may require you to consult relevant articles or book chapters online through the McGill Library system.

Required assignments

- Midterm – **Friday, February 18th**
- Paper (2500 words maximum), due **Friday, March 11th** – further instructions and paper topics will be provided.
- Final exam – Exam scheduled in the final exam period.

- Two conferences are **mandatory** for all students on **January 21st** and on **April 1st**. (See attendance and participation instructions below.)

Grade distribution

Midterm - February 18th	25%
Paper - March 11 th	35%
Conference attendance and participation	10%
Final exam, TBA	30%

You must pass each of the graded portions of the class (Midterm Exam, Paper, and Final Exam) in order to receive a grade higher than D in this course.

In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change.

Requirements

Please **ensure that you have done the readings by the time of the first lecture in the week** in which they will be discussed and attend and contribute to discussions in the two Conferences.

Paper Assignment

Paper topics and further instructions will be posted on MyCourses. Please note that only the Course Professor can approve deadline extensions. **The deadline is March 11th**. (There is no lecture on this date, but papers are due at the time of our normal class – 1:00 p.m. Late papers will be penalized, as specified below.)

The paper should be a maximum of 2500 words (using 12-point Times New Roman font, double spacing and standard margins), excluding the bibliography. Citations should be in-text, following a standard academic format, e.g. Chicago Style. The pages must be numbered. The paper should have a clear title and should address **one** of the assigned questions/topics. It should develop a clear argument based on the readings and, where deemed necessary, other empirical research and/or theoretical analysis (both the argument and the structure of the paper must be explicitly articulated in the introduction to the paper).

The break-down of marks (out of 30) is as follows:

10 points: Clear and logical organization of ideas, style/grammar/spelling, and standardized referencing.

25 points: Quality of analysis and argument, understanding and application of relevant concepts, theories and literature, effective support provided for arguments.

In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the **right to submit in English or in French any written work** that is to be graded. Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque

étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté (sauf dans le cas des cours dont l'un des objets est la maîtrise d'une langue).

Late paper policy

Late submissions will be subject to a 2/3 grade penalty per day, starting with the due date. As an example, this means that a paper which is awarded an A, but was submitted a day late, will receive a B+. Extensions will only be granted in cases of medical or family emergency, accompanied by appropriate documentation. In the event of an emergency, students must contact the professor as soon as possible to provide the necessary documentation and confirm arrangements for submission of the work. If the professor is not contacted with reasonable promptness, normal late penalties will apply.

Conferences

Conference attendance is mandatory and is worth 10% of the total class mark. Conferences will be structured to permit a high level of discussion and the close analysis of readings. **It is essential that readings be done before your conference in order to make an effective discussion possible.** You are expected to come to conferences prepared to discuss the assigned readings (for example, through the preparation of talking points for yourself). In exceptional circumstances, with the submission of a medical certificate or dispensation from the Professor, a reflection essay of 500 words can be submitted in lieu of conference attendance.

Indigenous Land Statement

McGill University is on land which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst Indigenous peoples, including the Haudenosaunee and Anishinabeg nations. We acknowledge and thank the diverse Indigenous people whose footsteps have marked this territory on which peoples of the world now gather.

L'Université McGill est sur un emplacement qui a longtemps servi de lieu de rencontre et d'échange entre les peuples autochtones, y compris les nations Haudenosaunee et Anishinabeg.

Other Course Policies

Academic Integrity: **McGill University values academic integrity.** Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/ for more information).

Special needs: As the instructor of this course, I endeavour to provide an inclusive learning environment. If you experience barriers to learning in this course, do not hesitate to discuss them at the start of the course with me and the Office for Students with Disabilities (OSD). The OSD can be reached at 514 398 6009 (<http://www.mcgill.ca/osd/>) to access information on accommodating your needs before meeting with the Course Professor. However, ***please remember that the OSD***

has no authority to approve changes to course assignment due dates or exam dates, to devise alternative assignments or waive course requirements.

Policy on technology use during lectures and conferences

This course works most effectively with manual note-taking. Nevertheless, laptops are permitted for those who need to use a computer for notes. The use or display of any mobile phones, however, is **strictly banned** during class.

MyCourses

You are responsible for checking class announcements made via this course's MyCourses page, and for any course content made available to you via MyCourses.

© Instructor-generated course materials (e.g., slides, summaries, essay topics and exam questions, etc.) are protected by law and may not be copied or distributed in any form or in any medium without explicit permission of the instructor. Note that infringements of copyright can be subject to follow up by the University under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures.

Communication with the Professor and Teaching Assistant

The Teaching Assistant will do most of the grading of your assignments and exams. They will hold office hours to discuss results **twice during the term** (after the mid-term and the term paper) to be announced on MyCourses. The Professor will hold regular office hours every week for substantive questions about the course. Email is not an appropriate way to ask substantive questions, so please take advantage of office hours.

Course Lecture, Reading, and Conference Schedule

(*indicates required reading; other readings are suggested as further background.)

Week 1: Sovereignty and non-intervention

This week will provide an overview to the course, set out key definitions of the topic under study, and analyze the emergence of the sovereign state as a form of organizing political authority.

January 5: Course Introduction

Reading:

*R. J. Vincent, *Non-intervention and International Order* (Princeton University Press, 1974, paperback 2016), Chapter 1 (pp. 3-16)

URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt13x0v99>

McGill library URL: <https://muse-jhu-edu.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/book/39202>

*M. Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing beliefs about the use of force* (Cornell University Press, 2003), Chapter 1 (pp. 1-24).

URL: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mcgill/detail.action?docID=3138420>

McGill library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/606976690>

C. Reus-Smit, "The Concept of Intervention", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 5 (2013), 1057-1076

URL: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/review-of-international-studies/article/concept-of-intervention/825D61BF0E7935BB4425DA9BCAA177F1>

McGill library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/7973813180>

January 7: The standing and purpose of the sovereign state

*C. Reus-Smit, *The Moral Purpose of the State: Culture, social identity, and institutional rationality in international relations* (Princeton University Press, 1999), Chapters 5 and 6 (pp. 89-120; pp. 123-152)

URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/700688675>

McGill Library URL: <http://muse.jhu.edu.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/book/29744>

*D. Philpott, *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations* (Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 1-10

URL: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mcgill/detail.action?docID=713813>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/730151782>

For further background, see Philpott, Chapters 5 and 6 (pp. 73-96; pp. 97-122).

A. Osiander, "Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth", *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (2001), 251-287

URL: https://www-istor-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/stable/3078632?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents

McGill URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/7831240597>

Week 2: Classical thinkers on intervention/non-intervention

This week will examine how theorists in the 17th and 18th centuries conceptualized and justified the importance of non-intervention – but also why and how they advocated exceptions.

January 12: Defending the principle of non-intervention

Reading:

*S. Recchia and J. Welsh (eds.), *Just and Unjust Military Intervention: European Thinkers from Vitoria to Mill*, Chapters by Trim (pp. 21-47) and Tuck (pp. 96-112).

URL: <https://doi-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.1017/CBO9781107323681>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/859536925>

For further background, see chapter by Pitts (pp. 132-153)

*L. Glanville, *Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect: A New History* (University of Chicago Press, 2014), Chapter 2 – pp. 44-59 only.

<https://chicago.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.7208/chicago/9780226077086.001.0001/upso-9780226076898-chapter-3>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/865499060>

January 14: Intervention in the French Revolutionary Wars

Reading:

*Edmund Burke, *Remarks on the Policy of the Allies* (1793)

URL: <https://www-oxfordscholarlyeditions-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/10.1093/actrade/9780198224228.book.1/actrade-9780198224228-work-7>

McGill Library URL: See *Vol. 8 The French Revolution: 1790-1794*
<https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/5889781>

*S. Recchia and J. Welsh (eds.), *Just and Unjust Military Intervention*, Chapter by Welsh (pp. 219-236)

URL: <https://doi-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.1017/CBO9781107323681>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/859536925>

For further writings by Burke, see:

First Letter on a Regicide Peace

URL: <https://www-oxfordscholarlyeditions-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/10.1093/acrade/9780198217879.book.1/acrade-9780198217879-div1-5>

McGill Library URL: See *Vol. 9 I: The Revolutionary War, 1794-1797*
<https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/5889781>

Week 3: Intervention in the 19th century

This week will examine how intervention as a modern practice developed in the 19th century and was related to particular hierarchies and configurations of power. In the first Conference, you will engage with John Stuart Mill's classic treatise on non-intervention, and the exceptions he believed justified European military action.

January 19: Hierarchy, modernity, and intervention

Reading:

*E. Keene, "International Hierarchy and the Origins of the Modern Practice of Intervention", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 5 (2013), 1077-1090

URL: <https://doi-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.1017/S0260210513000193>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/7973293600>

*L. Glanville, *Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect: A New History* (University of Chicago Press, 2014), Chapter 4 (pp. 100–119 only).

URL:

<https://chicago.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.7208/chicago/9780226077086.001.0001/upso-9780226076898-chapter-5>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/865499060>

January 21: Conference - Debating with John Stuart Mill

Reading:

*John Stuart Mill, "[A Few Words on Non-Intervention](#)," *Fraser's Magazine*, 1859.

S. Recchia and J. Welsh, (eds.), *Just and Unjust Intervention*, Chapter by Doyle (pp. 263-287)

URL: <https://www-cambridge-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/core/books/just-and-unjust-military-intervention/j-s-mill-on-nonintervention-and-intervention/1E3CB430BE493BAF0DD0AE1FD9E3E778>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/859536925>

Week 4: The practice of humanitarian intervention

In this week we analyze the role of emerging humanitarian norms in shaping practices of military intervention in the 19th century. We examine how European powers sought to justify their coercive interference to rescue minorities (particularly in the Ottoman Empire), often through a discourse of 'civilization' vs. 'barbarism', and how this practice clashed with the developing positive law on the use of force.

January 26: The political, legal, and ethical framework

Reading:

*D. Rodogno, *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815–1915* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), Introduction and Chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 1-62)

URL: <https://princeton-universitypressscholarship-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/10.23943/princeton/9780691151335.001.0001/upso-9780691151335>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/761319674>

*S. Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace? Humanitarian Intervention and International Law* (Oxford University Press, 2002), Chapter 1 (pp. 22-42 only)

URL: <https://www-oxfordscholarship-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199257997.001.0001/acprof-9780199257997-chapter-2>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/588491785>

Richard Drayton, "Beyond Humanitarian Imperialism: The Dubious Origins of 'Humanitarian Intervention' and Some Rules for its Future", in Bronwen Everill and

Josiah Kaplan (eds.), *The History and Practice of Humanitarian Intervention and Aid in Africa* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 217–31.

URL: [https://link-springer-](https://link-springer-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/chapter/10.1057/9781137270023_11)

[com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/chapter/10.1057/9781137270023_11](https://link-springer-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/chapter/10.1057/9781137270023_11)

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/854566984>

January 28: Cases of intervention (Ottoman Empire and the Slave Trade)

Reading:

*D. Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, Chapter 3 (pp. 63-90) and Chapter 4 (pp. 91-117)

URL: [https://princeton-universitypressscholarship-](https://princeton-universitypressscholarship-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/10.23943/princeton/9780691151335.001.0001/upso-9780691151335-chapter-4)

[com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/10.23943/princeton/9780691151335.001.0001/upso-9780691151335-chapter-4](https://princeton-universitypressscholarship-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/10.23943/princeton/9780691151335.001.0001/upso-9780691151335-chapter-4)

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/761319674>

*M. Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention*, Chapter 3 (pp. 58-69 only)

URL: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mcgill/detail.action?docID=3138420>

McGill library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/606976690>

M. Ryan, “The Price of Legitimacy in Humanitarian Intervention: Britain, the Right to Search, and the Abolition of the West African Slave Trade, 1807–1867,” in B. Simms and D.J.B. Trim (eds.), *Humanitarian Intervention: A History* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 231–256.

URL: [https://www-cambridge-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/core/books/humanitarian-intervention/price-of-legitimacy-in-humanitarian-intervention-britain-the-right-of-search-and-the-abolition-of-the-west-african-slave-trade-](https://www-cambridge-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/core/books/humanitarian-intervention/price-of-legitimacy-in-humanitarian-intervention-britain-the-right-of-search-and-the-abolition-of-the-west-african-slave-trade-18071867/7B30EECCA895733D133B193F9F347AE5)

[18071867/7B30EECCA895733D133B193F9F347AE5](https://www-cambridge-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/core/books/humanitarian-intervention/price-of-legitimacy-in-humanitarian-intervention-britain-the-right-of-search-and-the-abolition-of-the-west-african-slave-trade-18071867/7B30EECCA895733D133B193F9F347AE5)

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/726734779>

Week 5: Intervention and non-intervention in the early 20th century

This week considers two cases from the early 20th century in which the political and ethical arguments against intervention triumphed, even in the face of widespread suffering of populations.

February 2nd: The massacre in Armenia

Reading:

*D. Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, Chapter 8 (pp. 185–211).

URL: <https://princeton-universitypressscholarship-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/10.23943/princeton/9780691151335.001.0001/upso-9780691151335-chapter-9>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/761319674>

*R.P. Adalian, "American Diplomatic Correspondence in the Age of Mass Murder: The Armenian Genocide in the U.S. Archives", in J. Winter (ed.), *America and the Armenian Genocide* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 145–159.

URL:

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mcgill/reader.action?docID=255197&ppg=160>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/80244663>

D. Bloxham, "Three Imperialisms and a Turkish Nationalism: International Stresses, Imperial Disintegration and the Armenian Genocide", *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (2002), 37–58.

URL: <https://doi-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.1080/003132202128811547>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/366482066>

February 4: The Spanish Civil War

Reading:

*P. Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge* (W.W. Norton, 2007), Introduction and Chapter 5 (pp. 135-162)

Available on MyCourses

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/85830725>

*R. Little, "Intervention and Non-Intervention in International Society: Britain's Responses to the American and Spanish Civil Wars", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 39 (No. 5), 1111-1129.

URL: <https://doi-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.1017/S0260210513000211>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/7973292348>

A. Beevor, *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939*, 2nd edition (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2006), chapter 13.

Available on MyCourses

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/64312268>

Week 6: Post-1945 developments in the law of intervention

In this week we discuss two of the key consequences of the Second World War for the legal and political framework governing intervention: the move to prohibit the use of force in the UN Charter (which made military intervention more difficult to legitimate) and the development of a human rights regime and a new international crime of genocide.

February 9: The prohibition on the use of force and non-intervention at the UN

Reading:

*M. Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (Basic Books, 2015), Chapter 4, pp. 51-73
Available on MyCourses.

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/972072859>

*N. Shrijver, "The Ban on the Use of Force in the UN Charter", in *The Oxford Handbook on the Use of Force*, edited by Marc Weller (Oxford University Press, 2015)
<https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/law/9780199673049.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199673049-e-22>

See also United Nations Charter:

<https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/ctc/uncharter.pdf>

R.J. Vincent, *Non-intervention and International Order*, pp. 233-278

URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt13x0v99>

McGill library URL: <https://muse-jhu-edu.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/book/39202>

February 11: The human rights regime and the crime of genocide

Reading:

*L. Glanville, *Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect: A New History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), Chapter 5 (pp. 132-159).

URL:

<https://chicago.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.7208/chicago/9780226077086.001.0001/upso-9780226076898-chapter-6>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/865499060>

*Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide:

<https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%2078/volume-78-I-1021-English.pdf>

R. Lemkin, "Genocide as a Crime under International Law", *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (1947), 145-151.

URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2193871?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/5545899983>

Week 7: Superpower practices of intervention

This week we begin our discussion of possible exceptions to the prohibition on the use of force, by examining the rationale for and practice of interventions 'by invitation' and considering Superpower interventions in their 'sphere of influence'.

February 16: Intervention by 'invitation'

Reading:

*G.H. Fox, "Intervention by Invitation", *The Oxford Handbook on the Use of Force*, edited by Marc Weller (Oxford University Press, 2015)

URL:

<https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/law/9780199673049.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199673049-e-38>

*T. Franck and E. Weisband, *Word Politics: Verbal Strategy Among the Superpowers* (Oxford University Press, 1972)

Available on MyCourses (pages to be specified)

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/14231316>

*H. Morgenthau, "To Intervene or Not to Intervene", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (1967), pp. 425-436.

URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20039247?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/5547492013>

For reference:

Nicaragua vs. the United States of America, 1986, The International Court of Justice ('The Nicaragua Case').

URL: <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/70/070-19860627-JUD-01-00-EN.pdf>

E.de Wet, "The Modern Practice of Intervention by Invitation in Africa and its Implications for the Prohibition of the Use of Force", *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 26 (No. 4), pp. 979-998.

URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/chv055>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/6007835594>

February 18th: NO CLASS – Mid Term Exam

Week 8: Intervention to support self-determination

In this week we discuss how debates about intervention are shaped by the imperative to support the norm of self-determination and by secessionists' claims that oppression by their 'parent' state warrants external protection.

February 23: The Crises in the Congo and Biafra

Reading:

*H.L. Weisberg, "The Congo Crisis of 1964: A Case Study in Humanitarian Intervention", *Virginia Journal of International Law*, Vol. 12 (1971–2), 267–276.

URL:

https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/vajint12&div=16&g_sent=1&cas_token=&collection=journals

* K.E. Smith, "The UK and 'Genocide' in Biafra," *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 16, Nos. 2–3 (2014), 247–262.

URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2014.936703>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/6895901115>

*L. Heerten, *The Biafran War and Postcolonial Humanitarianism: Spectacles of Suffering* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), Chapter 2 (pp. 51-82)

URL: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/biafran-war-and-postcolonial-humanitarianism/611ADFBD820457656F261CD306DC4FF9>

For further background, see also Chapter 4 (pp. 107-139)

S. Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace?*, Chapter 2 (pp. 65-75 only)

URL: <https://www-oxfordscholarship-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199257997.001.0001/acprof-9780199257997-chapter-3>

February 25: Legitimizing Indian intervention in East Pakistan

Reading:

*N. Wheeler, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention and International Society* (Oxford University Press, 2000), Chapter 2

URL: <https://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/0199253102.001.0001/acprof-9780199253104-chapter-3>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/43885035>

*T. M. Franck and N. S. Rodley, "After Bangladesh: The Law of Humanitarian Intervention by Force", *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 67 (1973), 275–305.

URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2199432>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/7376989131>

Sonia Cordera, "India's Response to the 1971 East Pakistan Crisis: Hidden and Open Reasons for Intervention", *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (2015), 45–62.

URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2015.991207>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/5713864075>

Week 9: The post-cold period and the 'new interventionism'

This week and next week focus on what is commonly referred to as the period of 'new interventionism', which was partially facilitated by the thawing of Superpower tensions and greater activism by the UN Security Council in the first half of the 1990s.

March 9: The use of force for humanitarian purposes

Reading:

*N. Wheeler, *Saving Strangers*, Chapters 5 and 6

URL: <https://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/0199253102.001.0001/acprof-9780199253104-chapter-6>

<https://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/0199253102.001.0001/acprof-9780199253104-chapter-7>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/43885035>

S. Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace?*, Chapter 4 (pp. 112-144 only).

URL: <https://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199257997.001.0001/acprof-9780199257997-chapter-5>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/45270483>

A. Roberts, "The United Nations and Humanitarian Intervention", in J.M. Welsh (ed), *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 71-97.

URL: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mcgill/reader.action?docID=3052222&ppg=82>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/860370167>

March 11th: NO CLASS – PAPER DUE

Week 10: Case studies of intervention and non-intervention in the 1990s

This week continues the theme of humanitarian intervention, by examining the impact of the genocide in Rwanda and the critique of how both the United Nations and key Member States responded. It also examines the practices of intervention that accompanied the break-up of the former Yugoslavia.

March 16: Rwanda and the consequences of non-intervention

Reading:

*N. Wheeler, *Saving Strangers*, Chapter 7.

URL: <https://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/0199253102.001.0001/acprof-9780199253104-chapter-8>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/43885035>

*S. Power, *'A Problem from Hell': America and the Age of Genocide* (Basic Books, 2002), pp. 329-390.

URL: [https://www.fulcrum.org/epubs/2227mp81t#/6/706\[xhtml00000353\]!/4/1:0](https://www.fulcrum.org/epubs/2227mp81t#/6/706[xhtml00000353]!/4/1:0)

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/51511339>

M. Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (Cornell University Press, 2002), Introduction, pp. 49-129.

URL: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mcgill/detail.action?docID=3138335>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/797829082>

S. Wertheim, "A Solution from hell: the United States and the rise of humanitarian interventionism, 1991-2003", *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 12 (2010), 149-172.

URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2010.522053>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/704828146>

March 18: Intervention in the former Yugoslavia

Reading:

*N. Wheeler, *Saving Strangers*, Chapter 8.

URL: <https://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/0199253102.001.0001/acprof-9780199253104-chapter-9>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/43885035>

*A.J. Kuperman, "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 52 (2008), 49-80.

URL: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2007.00491.x>
McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/7831289981>

A.J. Bellamy and P.D. Williams, "On the Limits of Moral Hazard: The Responsibility to Protect, Armed Conflict, and Mass Atrocities", *European Journal of International Relations*, EJIR online, 2011. Available at:
<http://ejt.sagepub.com/content/early/2011/05/12/1354066110393366.full.pdf+html>
McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/810214759>

S.L. Woodward, "The Security Council and the Wars in the Former Yugoslavia", in V. Lowe, A. Roberts, D. Zaum and J. Welsh (eds.), *The United Nations Security Council and War: The Evolution of Thought and Practice since 1945* (Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 406-441.
URL:
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mcgill/reader.action?docID=415982&ppg=429>
McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/263493446>

Week 11: The development and evolution of the 'responsibility to protect'

This week examines the development of an alternative normative framework advanced in the late 1990s to address tensions between sovereignty and human rights: the principle of the responsibility to protect. We examine how this principle was informed, but also affected by, practices of intervention and assess the central debates about its legitimacy and impact in international society.

March 23: The origins of the 'responsibility to protect'

Reading:

**The Responsibility to Protect*, Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (Ottawa: IDRC, 2001). Available at: <http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/18432/6/IDL-18432.pdf>

*Gareth Evans, 'The Responsibility to Protect: An Idea Whose Time Has Come ... And Gone?', *International Relations*, Vol. 22 (2008), 283-298.
URL: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0047117808094173>
McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/5723835407>

Thomas G. Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, 3rd ed. (Polity Press, 2016), Chapter 4 (pp. 123-160.)
Available on MyCourses

J. M. Welsh, "The Responsibility to Protect: Securing the Individual in International Society?" in B. Goold and L. Lazarus (eds.), *Security and Human Rights* (Hart, 2007), pp. 363-381.

Available on MyCourses

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/74525024>

For reference:

United Nations, *World Summit Outcome*, September 16, 2005, paras. 138-140. Available at: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ods/A-RES-60-1-E.pdf>

March 25: Defending and contesting the 'responsibility to protect'

Reading:

*A. Hehir, "The Responsibility to Protect: 'Sound and Fury Signifying Nothing'?", *International Relations*, Vol. 24 (2010), 218-239.

URL: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0047117809366205>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/5723844497>

*A. Bellamy, *Responsibility Protect: A Defense* (Oxford University Press, 2016), Chapters 4, 5 and 7

URL: <https://www-oxfordscholarship-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198704119.001.0001/acprof-9780198704119>

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/894127343>

J. Welsh, "The Responsibility to Protect after Libya and Syria", *Daedalus*, Vol. 145, No. 4 (2016), pp. 75-87.

URL: https://doi.org/10.1162/DAED_a_00413

McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/6841922806>

Week 12: The cases of Libya and Syria

In this week, we examine the impact of two prominent cases from the last decade that have profoundly shaped normative and legal debates about intervention, and the decision-making of international actors.

March 28: The impact of Libya and Syria on debates about intervention

Reading:

*R. Paris, "'The Responsibility to Protect' and the Structural Problems of Preventive Humanitarian Intervention", *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 21, No. 5 (2014), 569-603.
URL: <https://doi-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.1080/13533312.2014.963322>
McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/6896038994>

*R. Thakur, "R2P's 'Structural Problems': A Reply to Roland Paris", *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (2015), 11-25.
URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2014.992575>

*R. Menon, *The Conceit of Humanitarian Intervention*, (Oxford University Press, 2016), Chapter 7 (pp. 130-150)
Available on MyCourses

A.Kuperman, "A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO's Libya Campaign", *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2013), 105-136
URL: https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00126
McGill Library URL: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/5183555099>

April 1 – Conference debating the 'responsibility to protect'

Week 13: Revisiting intervention(s) in Afghanistan

This week brings the class to a conclusion by discussing the intervention in Afghanistan, beginning with the initial Soviet intervention in 1979, through to the post-9/11 intervention by NATO countries and the recent withdrawal.

April 6: Interventions in Afghanistan

Reading: *TBD

April 8: Guest Speaker and Review for Final Exam