COURSE STATEMENT

Recent military interventions in Kosovo, Libya, Mali and elsewhere have been justified on the basis they are ‘humanitarian’ – that violent military action by international parties is sometimes necessary in order to prevent great human loss. Efforts by politicians, academics, and the United Nations have pushed this reasoning further, arguing that if sovereign states neglect the responsibility to protect their citizens, the international community is obligated to step in. This ‘Responsibility to Protect’ agenda has generated controversy: some critics say it is a cover for amoral national interest or worse, immoral imperialism, while others argue that it does not go far enough in guaranteeing human beings everywhere freedom from need, want, and fear.

Where did the intervention debate come from, and where is it going? Justifications for intervening with force in the politics of others are not new; indeed, they are as old as politics. But the question of when and how to intervene, and what justifies intervention, has recently come into relief in the wake of interventions in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, and Crimea -- interventions that have raised questions about the nature and justice of a world order based on the sanctity of territorial borders, political self-determination, and sovereign non-interference.

This course seeks to shed light on these debates by critically exploring the history and thinking behind military intervention and its dialectic with sovereignty. We begin the course in the 19th century, where the issue of intervention gained powerful expression (and criticism) in the pens of J.S. Mill, Edmund Burke, and others. We then move to more recent times, examining changes in the purpose of military intervention, especially its post-Cold War humanitarian turn. The last third of the course examines recent cases of interventions, grouped in thematic categories, in an effort to understand the theoretical and moral debates explored in the first part of the course in light of real interventions.
# Course Evaluation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reflection paper</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>5 pages maximum rolling due date</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research paper proposal</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2 pages maximum due June 4, 9:00 am</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research paper</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20 pages maximum due June 20, noon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mid-term quiz</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>20 minutes, class 8 date June 9, 10 am</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final Exam</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>2 hours, cumulative date final exam period, TBD</td>
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**Reflection paper:**
Each student is required to submit one reflection paper of no more than 1,000 words addressing a particular week’s topic, *due at noon the day before we discuss that topic*. Reflection papers should provide a critical analysis of important arguments drawn from the assigned readings. I expect students to consult *at least one of the additional readings* indicated in the syllabus for incorporation into their analyses. Students writing in a given week should come prepared to discuss their ideas. Reflection papers signup will take place in May 12.

**Research paper:**
This class requires that you write one paper of no more than 20 pages, *due by noon on Friday, June 20*, which assesses one of our interventions from the standpoint of the debates explored in theoretical sections of the course. Students must submit a paper proposal of no more than one page to the course instructor by 9:00 am, *June 4*. Students are strongly recommended to consult the instructor well in advance of the final due date to discuss their ideas.

**Written Tests:**
There will be two written tests in this course. A 20-minute mid-term quiz will cover some of the theoretical material in the first half of the course. The two-hour final exam will cover all course material cumulatively, but with emphasis on applying the theoretical content of the first half to the cases featured in the second half.
# Required Readings

All the required readings will be made available through blackboard, photocopies, or course reserve (marked with a *), with the exceptions of David Rieff’s *A Bed For the Night*, and Luke Glanville’s *Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect*, which are available for purchase at the University of Toronto bookstore. Paper copies of Samantha Power’s *A Problem From Hell*, Luc Boltanski’s *Distant Suffering* and Michael Ignatieff’s *Virtual War* are also available. Additional readings are listed below the required readings; in addition to the reflection paper requirement, they are intended as aids for students’ research papers.

## Course Plan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Introduction</th>
<th>May 12</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J.S. Mill</td>
<td>“A Few Words on Non-Intervention”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michael Walzer</td>
<td><em>Just and Unjust Wars</em>, Chapter 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gary J. Bass</td>
<td><em>Freedom’s Battle</em>, Preface and Chapter 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Arquilla</td>
<td>“Would Captain Kirk Intervene in Syria?”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ian Hurd</td>
<td>“Bomb Syria, Even if it is Illegal”</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>II. The Modern Origins of Sovereign Intervention</th>
<th>May 14</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luke Glanville</td>
<td><em>Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect</em>, Chapters 2, 3 &amp; 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martha Finnemore</td>
<td>“Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Rieff</td>
<td><em>A Bed for the Night</em>, Chapter 3</td>
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</tbody>
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*Additional:*

- *Martha Finnemore, The Purpose of Intervention*, Chapters 1 & 4
- *Cynthia Weber, Simulating Sovereignty*, Chapters 2, 4 & 5
- *Brendan Simms and D.J.B. Trim, Humanitarian Intervention: A History*
- Helle Malmvig, *State Sovereignty and Intervention*, Chapter 1
- Neil Macfarlane, *Intervention in Contemporary World Politics*
- James Rosenau, “Intervention as a Scientific Concept”
- Henry Shue, “Limiting Sovereignty”
- Pierre Hassner, “From War and Peace to Violence and Intervention”
- Ian Clark, *Legitimacy in International Society*, Part 1
- Francis Kofi Abiew, *The Evolution of the Doctrine and Practice of Humanitarian Intervention*
- Stuart Elden, *The Birth of Territory*
- Anne Orford, “Jurisdiction without Territory: From the Holy Roman Empire to the Responsibility to Protect”
III. Authority, Humanity, and Post-Cold War Intervention  

Pierre Hassner  
ICISS  
Violence and Peace, “Beyond Nationalism and Internationalism”  
The Responsibility to Protect

1 – Intervention as Humanitarian: Human Rights and International Law

Michael Walzer  
Just and Unjust Wars, Preface to the 3rd edition

Terry Nardin  
“The Moral Basis for Humanitarian Intervention”

Ian Hurd  
“Is Humanitarian Intervention Legal?”

2 – Intervention as Protection: Sovereignty as Responsibility

Alex J. Bellamy  
Responsibility to Protect, Chapter 1

Luke Glanville  
Sovereignty & the Responsibility to Protect, Chapter 6

Anne Orford  
“Lawful Authority and the Responsibility to Protect”

3 – Intervention as Human Inclination: Compassion, Suffering, Action

David Rieff  
A Bed for the Night, Chapter 1

Luc Boltanski  
Distant Suffering, Chapter 1

Clifford Orwin  
“Distant Compassion: CNN and Borrioboola-Gha”

Michael Ignatieff  
The Warrior’s Honour, Chapter 1

Additional:

*Martha Finnemore, The Purpose of Intervention, Chapter 5
*Anne Orford, International Authority and the Responsibility to Protect
*Nicholas J. Wheeler, Saving Strangers, Chapter 1
*Hedley Bull (ed.), Intervention in World Politics
*Michael Ignatieff, The Warrior’s Honour, Chapter 1

Luc Boltanski, “The Legitimacy of Humanitarian Actions and their Media Representation”
Anne Orford, “The Passions of Protection: Sovereign Authority and Humanitarian War”
Fiona Terry, Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action

Eric A. Heinze, Waging Humanitarian War
Ian Hurd, “Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics”
Jon Western & Joshua S. Goldstein, “Humanitarian Intervention Comes of Age”
Michael Doyle, “Sovereignty and Humanitarian Intervention”
Michael Doyle, “A Few Words on Mill, Walzer, and Nonintervention”
Thomas G. Weiss, “The Responsibility to Protect in a Unipolar Era”
Robert O. Keohane, “Political Authority in Interventions: Gradations in Sovereignty”
Nicholas J. Wheeler, “The Humanitarian Responsibilities of Sovereignty”
Alex J. Bellamy, Global Politics and the Responsibility to Protect: From Words to Deeds
Christina Badescu, Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect
James Pattinson, Humanitarian Intervention and R2P: Who Should Intervene?

Intervention and Morality:
Alex J. Bellamy, “Motives, outcomes, intent, and the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention”
Fernando R. Tesón, “The liberal case for humanitarian intervention”
*Stanley Hoffman, The Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention
*Jonathan Moore (ed.), Hard Choices: Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention
Joseph Boyle, “Traditional Just War Theory and Humanitarian Intervention”
Kok-Chor Tan, “Military Intervention as Moral Duty”
Thomas G. Weiss & Michael Barnett (eds.), Humanitarianism Contested: Where Angels Fear to Tread
Richard Ashby Wilson & Richard D. Brown (eds.), Humanitarianism and Suffering
Didier Fassin, Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present
Robert A. Pape, “When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic standard of Humanitarian Intervention”
Lilie Chouliaraki, “Post-humanitarianism: Humanitarian communication beyond a politics of pity”
Joao Marques de Almeida, “International Political Theory and the Issue of Legitimate Intervention”
Didier Fassin, “Heart of Humaneness: The Moral Economy of Humanitarian Intervention”
Michael Walzer, “On Humanitarianism”
Michael Barnett, Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism
Terry Nardin, “Humanitarian Intervention”

Intervention and International Law:
Louise Arbour, “The Responsibility to Protect as Duty of Care in International Law and Practice”
S.D. Murphy, Humanitarian Intervention: the United Nations in an Evolving World Order
S.D. Murphy, “Criminalizing Humanitarian Intervention”
Ryan Goodman, “Humanitarian Intervention and the Pretexts for War”
*Simon Chesterman, Just War or Just Peace? Humanitarian Intervention and International Law
Fernando R. Teson, Humanitarian Intervention: An Inquiry into Law and Morality
Thomas Franck, “The Legality and Legitimacy of Humanitarian Intervention”
Tom J. Farer, “Humanitarian Intervention before and after 9/11: Legality and Legitimacy”

French language sources:
Bernard Kouchner, Ce que je crois
Pierre Hassner, La Violence et la Paix: De la bombe atomique au nettoyage ethnique
Alain Finkielkraut, L’humanité perdue: Essai sur le XXe siècle
Luc Boltanski, La souffrance à distance
Rony Braumann, Humanitaire: le dilemna
Bernard Hours, Idéologie humanitaire: le spectacle de l’altérité perdue
Jean Baudrillard, La Guerre du golfe n’a pas eu lieu
Fabrice Weissman, À L’ombre des guerres justes
IV. Criticisms of Sovereign Intervention

I – Criticisms from the Centre

Clifford Orwin  “Humanitarian Military Intervention: Wars for the ‘End of History’?”
Jean-Baptiste Vilmer “Humanitarian Intervention and Disinterestedness”
Tara McCormack “The Responsibility to Protect and the End of the Western Century”
David Chandler “The Responsibility to Protect? Imposing the ‘Liberal Peace’”

II – Criticisms from the Periphery

Alex de Waal  “No Such Thing As Humanitarian Intervention”
Richard Drayton “Beyond Humanitarian Imperialism”
Pierre Manent  A World Beyond Politics? A Defence of the Nation-State, Chapters 16 & 18
Carl Schmitt  The Concept of the Political, Chapters 5 & 6
                  “The Großraum Order with a Ban on Intervention for Spatially Foreign Powers” (selection)

Additional:
Alain Finkielkraut, In the Name of Humanity, Chapters 5 & 6
Thomas Weiss, Humanitarian Intervention, Chapter 5
David Chandler, “Rhetoric without responsibility: the attraction of ‘ethical’ foreign policy”
Richard Falk, “Can Humanitarian Intervention ever be ‘Humanitarian’?”
David Rieff, A Bed For the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis
Pascal Bruckner, The Temptation of Innocence, Chapters 6 & 7
Pascal Bruckner, The Tyranny of Guilt, Chapter 8
Terry Nardin and Melissa S. Williams, Humanitarian Intervention
Peter Gowan, “Neoliberal Cosmopolitanism”
Bronwyn Leebaw, “The Politics of Impartial Activism: Humanitarianism and Human Rights”
Robert Luttwak, “Give War a Chance”
Richard K. Betts, “The Delusion of Impartial Intervention”
Jean Baptiste Vilmer, “Does the ‘CNN effect’ exist? Military intervention and the media”
Michael Ignatieff, “The Stories we Tell: Television & Humanitarian Aid”
Jennifer Welsh, “Taking Consequences Seriously: Objections to Humanitarian Intervention”
Jeremy Moses, “Sovereignty as irresponsibility? A Realist critique of the Responsibility to Protect”
Marxist, post-modern, postcolonial and other critical approaches:
*John Bricmont, Humanitarian Imperialism: Using Human Rights to Sell War
Philip Seymour, The Liberal Defence of Murder
Tariq Barkawi & Mark Laffey, “The Post-Colonial Moment in Security Studies”
Tariq Barkawi & Mark Laffey, “The Imperial Peace: Democracy, Force and Globalization”
Neta C. Crawford, Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention
Peter Gowan, “Neoliberal Cosmopolitanism”
Mahmood Mamdani, “Responsibility to Protect or Right to Punish?”
Noam Chomsy, “Humanitarian Imperialism: the New Doctrine of the Imperial Right”
Saadia Toor, “Imperialist Feminism Redux”
Michael Mann, Incoherent Empire
Jean Baudrillard, “The Violence of the Global”
Jean Baudrillard, The Gulf War Did Not Take Place
Philip Hammond, Media, War, and Postmodernity
Philip Hammond, Framing Post-Cold War Conflicts: The Media and International Intervention
Chris Hables Gray, Postmodern War: The New Politics of Conflict
Anne Orford, Reading Humanitarian Intervention: Human Rights and the Use of Force in International Law

Spatial, “Schmittian” & geopolitical approaches:
Carl Schmitt, Nomos of the Earth
Richard Falk, “Humanitarian Wars’, realist geopolitics and genocidal practices”
Yang Kassim, The Geopolitics of Intervention: Asia and the Responsibility to Protect
Sean Carter, Derek P. McCormack, “Film, geopolitics, and the affective logics of intervention”
William Hooker, Carl Schmitt’s International Thought: Order and Orientation
Stephen Legg (ed), Spatiality, Sovereignty, and Carl Schmitt
Alain de Benoist, Carl Schmitt Today: Terrorism, ‘Just War,’ and the State of Emergency
Giorgio Agamben, Homo Sacer
Giorgio Agamben, State of Exception
Stuart Elden, “Contingent sovereignty, territorial integrity and the sanctity of borders”

Mid-Term Quiz (beginning of class) June 9
V. Intervention and the Crisis in Europe: Bosnia and Kosovo

Samantha Power A Problem From Hell, Preface and Chapters 9, 11 & 12
David Rieff A Bed for the Night, Chapters 4 & 6
Michael Ignatieff Virtual War, “Virtual War”
Nicholas J. Wheeler Saving Strangers, Chapter 8

Additional:
*Michael Ignatieff, Virtual War, “Balkan Physics,” “The War of Words”
*Michael Ignatieff, The Warrior’s Honour, Chapter 1
David Reiff, Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West
Nicholas Morris, “Humanitarian Intervention in the Balkans”
S.D. Murphy, “Intervention in Kosovo: A Law-Shaping Incident?”
Helle Malmvig, State Sovereignty and Intervention, Chapters 3 & 4
Kimberly A. Hudson, Justice, Intervention and Force in International Relations, Chapter 6
Frank Harvey, “Getting NATO’s Success in Kosovo Right”
John Williams, “The Ethical Basis of Humanitarian Intervention, the Security Council, and Yugoslavia”
Jon Western, “Beliefs, Information, and Advocacy in the U.S. Decisions on Somalia and Bosnia”
David N. Gibbs, First Do No Harm: Humanitarian Intervention and the Destruction of Yugoslavia, Chapters 3-7
Edward S. Herman & David Peterson, “The Dismantling on Yugoslavia: A Study in Humanitarian Intervention (and a Western Liberal-Left Intellectual and Moral Collapse)”
Jan Pieterse, “Sociology of Humanitarian Intervention: Bosnia, Rwanda and Somalia Compared”
Philip Hammond and Edward S. Herman (eds.), Degraded Capability: The Media and the Kosovo Crisis
Michael Ignatieff, Empire Lite: Nation-Building in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan
Diana Johnstone, Fool’s Crusade: Yugoslavia, NATO, and Western Delusions
John Janzekovic, The Use of Force in Humanitarian Intervention, Chapter 5
Robert C. DiPrizio, Armed Humanitarians: U.S. Interventions from Northern Iraq to Kosovo
Michael Butler, Selling a ‘Just’ War: Framing, Legitimacy, and U.S. Military Intervention
Stjepan Mestrovic, Genocide after Emotion: The Post-Emotional Balkan War
Thomas Cushman and Stjepan Mestrovic (eds.), This Time We Knew: Western Responses to Genocide in Bosnia
Tariq Ali (ed.), Masters of the Universe? NATO’s Balkan Crusade
IICK, The Report of the International Commission on Kosovo
VI. Intervention and the Post-Colony: Somalia, Rwanda, and Darfur

**Luke Glanville**  
*Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect*, Chapter 4

**Samantha Power**  
*A Problem From Hell*, Chapter 10

**David Rieff**  
*A Bed for the Night*, Chapter 5

**Mahmoud Mamdani**  
“The Politics of Naming: Genocide, Civil War, Insurgency”

*Additional:*
*Nicholas Wheeler, Saving Strangers, Chapters 6 & 7*

James Mayall, “Humanitarian Intervention and International Society: Lessons from Africa”

Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Hebert, “Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention”

Alex J. Bellamy, “Responsibility to Protect or Trojan Horse? The crisis in Darfur and humanitarian Intervention After Iraq”

Alex J. Bellamy & Paul D. Williams, “The UN Security Council and the Question of Humanitarian Intervention in Darfur”

Paul D. Williams & Alex J. Bellamy, “The Responsibility to Protect and the Crisis in Darfur”


Bruce D. Jones, “‘Intervention without Borders’: Humanitarian Intervention in Rwanda, 1990-1994”

Max W. Matthews, “Tracking the Emergence of a New International Norm: The Responsibility to Protect and the Crisis in Darfur”


Alex de Waal, “Darfur and the Failure of the Responsibility to Protect”

Romeo Dallaire, “Looking at Darfur, Seeing Rwanda”

Cristina G. Badescu & Linnea Bergholm, “The Reponsibility to Protect and the Conflict in Darfur: The Big Let-Down”

Nsongurua J. Udombana, “When Neutrality is a Sin: The Darfur Crisis and the Crisis of Humanitarian Intervention in Sudan”


Nicola P. Contessi, “Multilateralism, Intervention and Norm Contestation: China’s Stance on Darfur in the UN Security Council”

Jonathan Holslag, “China’s Diplomatic Maneuvering on the Question of Darfur”

David Luban, “Calling Genocide by Its Rightful Name: Lemkin’s Word, Darfur, and the UN Report”

J.J. Welling, “Intergovernmental Organizations, Prevention, and Intervention in Internal Conflict: Through the Lens of Darfur”

David Lanz, “Save Darfur: A Movement and Its Discontents”

Nadia A. Deans, “Tragedy of Humanity: The Issue of Intervention in the Darfur Crisis”

Klinton W. Alexander, “Ignoring the Lessons of the Past: The Crisis in Darfur and the Case for Humanitarian Intervention”


Samuel Vincent Jones, “Darfur, the Authority of Law, and Unilateral Humanitarian Intervention”
Lansana Gberie, “The Darfur Crisis: A Test Case for Humanitarian Intervention”
Shedrack C. Agbakwa, “Genocidal Politics and Racialization of Intervention: From Rwanda to Darfur and Beyond”
Ben Kioko, “The Right of Intervention Under the African Union’s Constitutive Act”
Jan Pieterse, “Sociology of Humanitarian Intervention: Bosnia, Rwanda and Somalia Compared”
Ibrahim Seaga Shaw, “Historical Frames and the politics of humanitarian intervention: from Ethiopia, Somalia to Rwanda”
Walter S. Clarke, “Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention”
J Cilliers, “The Right Intervention: Enforcement Challenges for the African Union”
Paul D. Williams, “From non-intervention to non-indifference: the origins and development of the African Union security culture”
Alex J. Kuperman, “Rwanda in retrospect”
Mel McNulty, “France’s role in Rwanda and external military intervention: A double discrediting”
P.J. O’Halloran, “Humanitarian Intervention and the Genocide in Rwanda”
Steven Livingston & Todd Eachus, “Humanitarian Crises and U.S. Foreign Policy: Somalia and the CNN effect reconsidered”
Allan Thompson, The Media and the Rwandan Genocide
Edward Giradet (ed.), Somalia, Rwanda, and Beyond: The Role of International Media in Wars and Humanitarian Crises
Walter S. Clarke & Jeffrey Herbst (eds.), Learning from Somalia: The Lessons of Armed Humanitarian Intervention
Michael Barnett, Eyewitness to Genocide: the United Nations and Rwanda
Allan Thompson (ed.), The Media and the Rwanda Genocide
Aidan Hehir, Humanitarian Intervention after Kosovo; Iraq, Darfur and the record of Global Civil Society
Mark Bowden, Black Hawk Down: A Story of Modern War
Hellen Malmvig, State Sovereignty and Intervention, Chapters 5 & 6
John M. Kabilia, Humanitarian Intervention and Conflict Resolution in West Africa
Romeo Dallaire, Shake Hands With the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda
Alan J. Kuperman, The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda
Joshua Kassner, Rwanda and the Moral Obligation of Humanitarian Intervention
Mahmoud Mamdani, Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics, and the War on Terror
Samuel M. Makinda, Seeking Peace from Chaos: Humanitarian Intervention in Somalia
**VII. Intervention and the ‘Criminal Regime’: Panama, Afghanistan, and Iraq**

Fernando Tesón, “Ending Tyranny in Iraq”
Terry Nardin, “Humanitarian Imperialism”

*Additional:*
*Jean Baudrillard, The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*
*Cynthia Weber, Simulating Sovereignty, Chapter 6*
*Samantha Power, A Problem from Hell, Chapter 8*
Fatima Ayub & Sari Kouvo, “Righting the Course? Humanitarian Intervention, the War on Terror, and the Future of Afghanistan”
Alex J. Bellamy, “Ethics and Intervention: The ‘Humanitarian Exception’ and the Problem of Abuse in the Case of Iraq”
Simon Chesterman, “Humanitarian Intervention and Afghanistan”
Corneliu Bjola, *Legitimizing the Use of Force in International Politics*, Chapter 6
Robert S. Litwak, *Regime Change*, Chapter 4
Janice Gross Stein and Eugene Lang, *The Unexpected War*
Sarah E. Kreps, *Coalitions of Convenience*, Chapters 4, 6 & 7
James Kurth, “Humanitarian Intervention After Iraq: Legal Ideals vs. Military Realities”
Michael Walzer, “Justice and Injustice in the Gulf War”
Stuart Elden and Alison J. Williams, “The Territorial Integrity of Iraq, 2003-2007”
Barbie Zeilzer, “CNN, the Gulf War, and Journalistic Practice”
Christopher Norris, *Uncritical Theory: Post-Modernism, Intellectuals, and the Gulf War*
Philip Hammond, *Media, War, and Postmodernity*
John R. Macarthur, *Second Front: Censorship and Propaganda in the 1991 Gulf War*
W. Lance Bennett, *Taken By Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*

Ronald E. Denton, *The Media and the Persian Gulf War*
Piers Robinson, *The CNN Effect: The Myth of News, Foreign Policy, and Intervention*
Steven Livingstone, *Clarifying the CNN effect*
Piers Robinson, “The CNN Effect Reconsidered”
Susan Carruthers, *The Media at War: Communication and Conflict in the Twentieth Century*
Eytan Gilboa, “Global Television News and Foreign Policy: Debating the CNN Effect”
Karen von Hippell, *Democracy by Force: US Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War World*
David Campbell, *Politics without Principle: Sovereignty, Ethics and the Narratives of the Gulf War*
Michael Doyle, *Striking First: Preemption and Prevention in International Conflict*
S.D. Murphy, “Assessing the legality of invading Iraq”
S.D. Murphy, “The Doctrine of Preemptive Self-Defence”
VIII. The Future of Intervention: Libya, Syria, and Beyond

Jennifer Welsh
“The Evolution of Humanitarian Intervention in International Society”

Simon Chesterman
“‘Leading from Behind’: The Responsibility to Protect, the Obama Doctrine, and Humanitarian Intervention After Libya”

Mary Kaldor
“Libya: War or Humanitarian Intervention?”

Bernard Kouchner
“Libya: The Morality of Intervention”

Additional:
Amitav Acharya, “Redefining the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Intervention”
Luke Glanville, “Intervention in Libya: From Sovereign Consent to Regional Consent”
Nicholas J. Wheeler, “The Humanitarian Responsibilities of Sovereignty”
Jarat Chopra & Thomas Weiss, “Sovereignty is No Longer Sacrosanct”
James Pattison, “The Ethics of Humanitarian Intervention in Libya”
Mary Kaldor, “A Decade of the ‘War on Terror’ and ‘Responsibility to Protect’”
Aidan Heir, “The Permanence of Inconsistency: Libya, the Security Council, and the Responsibility to Protect”
Derek Burney & Fen Osler Hampson, “R2P in Disarray”
James P. Rudolph, “How Putin Distorts R2P in Ukraine”
Stewart Patrick, “Libya and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention”
Mika Zenko, “The Mythology of Intervention: Debating the Lessons of History in Libya”
Robert Murray & Alasdair McKay (des.), “Into the Eleventh Hour: R2P, Syria, and Humanitarianism in Crisis”
Conditions Participation

By registering for this course, you are agreeing to abide by the following conditions. These conditions are meant to ensure that this course fulfills its goals. If this seems to be very contractual, that is intentional. Following the wisdom of Thomas Hobbs of Malmsbury, whereby justice lies in the keeping of covenants and those who make covenants promise to obey them, this syllabus constitutes a covenant made between the instructor and the students about their respective rights and responsibilities pertaining to the course. Further, our course motto (also from Hobbes) will be “auctoritas, non veritas, facit legem.” While the instructor-student relationship is constituted in mutual respect, the instructor retains authority, within the boundaries of the University of Toronto rules and guidelines, on all class matters.

* Seminar attendance is mandatory. The only way that you can be excused is by reason of documented religious holiday, health problem, or personal emergency. Documentation of religious holidays must be submitted to the instructor within two weeks of the holiday. Documentation of health problems or personal emergencies must be submitted to the instructor within one week of the missed seminar.

* Classes begin promptly at ten minutes after. Breaks will occur at the discretion of the instructor.

* Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before handing in to the instructor. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned and the grades posted on ROSI.

* To ensure academic freedom of expression and the limitation of content to intended audiences, audio or video recording is not permitted without the express written permission of the instructor. If you have reason to need audio recording, you must discuss this with me.

* Use of cell phones, gaming devices, or computers for non-related web-surfing or chatting during class is not permitted.

* Readings are required and expected to be completed by the time of the seminar. The instructor reserves the right to change readings during the course.

* The late policy in this course for all assignments is a deduction of 5% per day off the total worth of the assignment in question. If you require an extension on an assignment because of personal emergency or illness, please consult the instructor well before the assignment is due.

* You are also welcome to email me regarding questions or issues pertaining to the course. I will attempt to answer emails sent on weekdays within 24 hours. Emails sent after business hours on Fridays will be treated as having arrived on Monday at 8:00 a.m. (0800h). Email sent to my utoronto

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1 Leviathan Book I, Chapters XIV & XV.

2 Leviathan Book II, Chapter XXVI (Latin edition).
address becomes property of the university and can be made public should the university deem this necessary or appropriate.

*I will hold informal office hours for one hour after each course session; I can also be reached for additional meeting by appointment. I reserve the right to cancel scheduled office hours in any given week.

*THE FINAL GRADES IN THIS COURSE ARE FINAL. The grades are not arbitrary; they reflect our assessment of your work as a demonstration of your progress towards the goals of this class. If you need to maintain a certain average, or get a specific minimum grade in this class, make sure that the quality of your work warrants this grade.

*Accessibility Needs: The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or the course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: disability.services@utoronto.ca or http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility

ACADEMIC HONESTY
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