

THE POLITICS OF WARTIME HUMANITARIAN ACTION

Thomas G. Weiss
Tuesday, 2:00 – 4:00 pm
Fall 2014, PSC 86401, Room 8202

Purpose

Over the last 150 years, and more particularly over the last quarter-century since the end of the Cold War, we have witnessed an impressive expansion of organized humanitarianism, or the institutionalization of the desire to reduce the suffering of others. Efforts in war zones, the focus here, are considerably more fraught than those where natural disasters strike. There is now a network of states, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) along with private military companies and transnational corporations that populate the international humanitarian marketplace. Their existence has helped to create and been nourished in turn by a complex array of norms and legal principles. This network and the normative fabric have resulted in something that resembles a “system” of global humanitarian governance—that is, humanitarian action is organized to help protect and assist distant strangers, and more recently to address the causes of suffering as well. The intertwining of compassion and governance, however, signals that humanitarianism is more complicated than merely helping those in need. After all, “isms” invariably are less pure in practice than in theory. Responding with the heart requires responding with the head as well.

Subject Matter

This course examines the history as well as the domestic and international politics that undergird the ideas, social movements, and organizations designed to regulate the conduct of war, to improve the welfare of those victimized by armed conflicts, and to prosecute war criminals. The big topics that many students will have heard about but perhaps not studied include just war theory, international humanitarian law, humanitarian action, and intervention.

Beginning with a look at the political, philosophical, and ethical underpinnings of humanitarian thought, the seminar concentrates on the emergence of the international humanitarian system, including specifically of international humanitarian law and even more especially of aid agencies. With these foundations in mind, the class examines the behavior of agencies and the outcomes of their actions in specific crises as well as the value of legal mechanisms in constraining the use of force and in holding violators of law accountable. We begin with the nineteenth century and continue to the present but emphasize the post-Cold War period. In particular, case-by-case analyses of crises since 1989 help inform the overall study of trends in the humanitarian sector and illustrate contemporary challenges. We also take up innovations such as the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P). Finally, the seminar evaluates the current system of protection and delivery as well as its future in light of “new wars” and “new humanitarianisms.”

Section One begins with “the basics” of humanitarianism: the foundations (political, philosophical, and ethical), logics, dilemmas, and consequences of humanitarian action. It continues with the history of responses during the first two formative periods (from 1864 to World War II, and during the Cold War).

Section Two focuses on the early post-Cold War period with analyses of early crises of “the tumultuous 1990s”—northern Iraq, Somalia, Rwanda, the former Yugoslavia, Haiti, Kosovo, East Timor—that help inform the overall study of trends in the humanitarian sector and illustrate contemporary challenges.

Section Three turns to “the twenty-first century” and generalizations about the nature of so-called new wars and new humanitarianisms; it also probes the “responsibility to protect” (R2P) and why it replaced “humanitarian intervention.” The recent cases of Libya and Syria are essential as well as the political economy of the contemporary international humanitarian system (and “business”) as backdrops to evaluate whether the pace of expansion over the last two decades will continue.

The seminar makes eclectic use of historical, administrative, political, and legal materials related to coming to the rescue of civilians caught in the cross-hairs of armed conflicts. Although in-depth knowledge of international organizations is not expected, I assume familiarity with the basic theories of international relations and with world history since 1945.

It is worth underlining that the seminar is not a platform for me to lecture but for you to interact and to gain basic skills (in oral presentations and writing). Students should be prepared to do a significant amount of reading and to discuss it seriously. Graduate courses only work when everyone, including those who have little background or whose mother tongue is not English, comes prepared for a critical and informed conversation.

Required and Other Texts

The “required” reading will be on reserve at The Graduate Center Library as will the “suggested reading.” All participants should be familiar with the required reading for each week. Virtually all of the articles can be found in the library’s online journal databases. Required reading is, well, compulsory for each session; it is not onerous because I prefer that students read what most interests them, but we need a common point of departure for each session. The works under “suggested” are intended for discussion leaders and others truly interested in a topic. I have listed “additional” sources that I have found most useful for those interested in pursuing a topic in this seminar or another. The endnotes in the readings provide additional hints.

Six paperback texts (reasonably priced when new, and available used as well) are to be read almost in their entirety and undoubtedly should be purchased from Amazon.com and be part of your library. I have tried to assign as much of the required reading from them as possible. I have emphasized my own recent books in the hopes that you may get to know me and my thinking better without my having to put you to sleep in class. They also provide the basis to question me when points are unclear or challenge me when they seem wrong. The mammoth royalties will go into a beer-and-wine account for the last class.

1. Thomas G. Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention: Ideas in Action*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012).
2. Thomas G. Weiss, *Humanitarian Business* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).
3. Peter J. Hoffman and Thomas G. Weiss, *Sword & Salve: Confronting New Wars and Humanitarian Crises* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).
4. Michael Barnett and Thomas G. Weiss, eds., *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

5. Peter Walker and Daniel Maxwell, *Shaping the Humanitarian World* (London: Routledge, 2009).
6. Michael Barnett and Thomas G. Weiss, *Humanitarianism Contested: Where Angels Fear To Tread* (London: Routledge, 2011).

The study of international organization and humanitarian action requires consulting primary documents. The world-wide web is an accessible source of primary documentation (including resolutions, documents, press releases, and speeches), for intergovernmental (IGOs) and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The United Nations is the center of gravity for much of contemporary humanitarian action and politics, and so you may wish to consult the following: Thomas G. Weiss, David P. Forsythe, Roger A. Coate, and Kelly-Kate Pease, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (Boulder: Westview, 2014), 7th edition; and Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws, eds., *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). The Routledge “Global Institutions Series,” which I edit with Rorden Wilkinson, contains short but authoritative treatment of most international organizations and issues, and copies of the 85 titles in print are in the library. Other sources of relevant data emanate from such NGOs as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, U.S. Committee for Refugees, Overseas Development Institute, Overseas Development Council, InterAction, and ActionAid. In addition, students who do not already have the habit should begin reading daily the *New York Times*.

Office Hours

The most convenient time to find me is Tuesday immediately before (1:00 to 2:00 p.m.) or after class (4:00 to 5:00 p.m.) in 5203 at The Graduate Center. I usually am available right after class in our classroom as well for short consultations. I am available at other times but by appointment only. Please do not simply show up at my office but rather email me at tweiss@gc.cuny.edu. I respond quickly, whether I am in New York or elsewhere (which is not infrequent).

Assignments and Grading

In addition to reading attentively and participating actively, all students enrolled or auditing are expected to arrive punctually for every session of the seminar. Professionalism and courtesy dictate that anyone unable to attend a particular session should notify me in advance. All students should come to class prepared to contribute through discussion—which requires you to have read *and* reflected on the materials assigned for a particular session. I do not give a specific grade for participation, but those who demonstrate a mastery of the materials and do not fall asleep will help their final grade.

I will lead the first three sessions of the seminar. Thereafter and following the scheduled break, every student enrolled or auditing will then be expected to lead three short discussions of the required readings for the following ten sessions (from #4 to #13). Kicking-off requires familiarity with required, suggested, and additional readings. The task, in a brief (10-12 minutes) presentation, will not be to regurgitate the readings but to launch our conversation about what was insightful or not in readings (referring back to relevant international relations or legal theory can be part of the effort); this exercise designates a “discussant” (as in a professional academic conference) to start what hopefully will be a good conversation. At the first two sessions, students can sign up on a first-come-first-served basis for time slots that should be spread out throughout the course; if you do not opt for particular choices, I will “volunteer” you. Your first and perhaps second choices will be honored, but I will probably have to juggle in order to ensure

coverage for all sessions—ideally, three presenters for each. These “discussant” presentations are serious and will constitute about one-half of your final grade. For planning purposes, those who are responsible for a specific session typically will meet with me and the others for a few minutes after the class preceding the scheduled presentation. This permits the “team” to divide up responsibilities, avoid overlap, and foster coherence. I will fill in what I see as important conceptual or factual lacunae.

The other half of your grade will result from your answering two “reaction essays,” or short papers that require using your accumulated knowledge but not additional research. These should be not more than 1,500 words (excluding notes) and could be shorter; they are a take-home essay in the form of a double op-ed (albeit an academic one). You should thus set aside in your planning for the semester a quiet and concentrated period of 3-4 hours on 28-29 October and 2-3 December. **Your essays should be emailed to me as soon as you can but not later than 18 hours after you receive them**—that is, no later than 10:00 am on the Wednesday following the handout after class on the day before. I will provide several provocative questions, and you will select only one. There are no “correct” answers (although obviously the factual information and theoretical framing should be accurate). The challenge is to synthesize course material in an original manner and make a persuasive, well-written argument. At the session following the assignment, we will set aside a bit of time to discuss my reactions to the writing.

Along with your knowledge of humanitarian action, my intention is that your oral presentation and writing skills also should improve over the course of the semester. Please note that there are **NO ACCEPTABLE EXCUSES** for an inability to make presentations or to hand in the essays on the date prescribed. Should for any reason (e.g., illness, jitters, your dog dies, etc.) you do not do comply, you will be automatically penalized one full grade. Deadlines are part of a professional ethos. No exceptions. In case that is not clear, let me repeat, no exceptions.

SEMINAR OUTLINE, WEEK-BY-WEEK SCHEDULE

Session 1 (2 September): Participant Introductions, Overview, Getting Organized

SECTION ONE: THE BASICS

Session 2 (7 September): The big concepts

- Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, 6-33
- Weiss, *Humanitarian Business*, 1-17
- Stephen M. Walt, “International Relations: One World, Many Theories,” *Foreign Policy* no. 110 (1998): 29-46.
- Barnett and Weiss, eds., *Humanitarianism in Question*, Chapter 1

Suggested reading:

1. Jack Snyder, “One World, Rival Theories,” *Foreign Policy* no. 145 (2004): 53-62.
2. Andrew Hurrell, “Forward to the Third Edition: *The Anarchical Society* 25 Years On,” in Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), vii-xxiii.
3. Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), Chapter 1.

Additional reading:

1. John Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19, no. 3 (1994/95): 5-49.
2. Craig N. Murphy, *International Organization and Industrial Change* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1994).
3. Thomas G. Weiss and Don Hubert, *The Responsibility To Protect: Research, Bibliography, Background* (Ottawa: ICISS, 2001), available at www.iciss-ciise.gc.ca, Chapters 1, 2.
4. Daniel Philpott, *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).
5. K. J. Holsti, *Taming the Sovereigns: Institutional Change in International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
6. Robert Jackson, *The Global Covenant: Human Conduct in a World of States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Session 3 (16 September): Why Care? Humanitarian Goals and Principles

- Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, 80-88
- Weiss, *Humanitarian Business*, 33-34, 18-29
- Barnett and Weiss, eds., *Humanitarianism in Question*, Chapter 3 (Calhoun).

Suggested reading:

1. Barnett and Weiss, *Humanitarianism Contested*, Introduction and Chapter 1.
2. Hoffman and Weiss, *Sword & Salve*, Introduction and Chapter 1.
3. Michael Walzer, "On Humanitarianism," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no 4 (2011): 69-80.
4. Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws, "World Politics: Continuity and Change since 1945," in Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws, eds., *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, 3-38.
5. Antonio Donini, "The Far Side: The Meta Functions of Humanitarianism in a Globalised World," *Disasters* 34, no. 2 (2010): 220-237.

Additional reading:

1. Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011).
2. David Held, *Cosmopolitanism: Ideals and Realities* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), 1-92.
3. Tony Vaux, *The Selfish Altruist* (London: Earthscan, 2001).

NB! 23 September: NO CLASS PER GRADUATE CENTER CALENDAR.

Session 4 (30 September): The Origins of Organized Humanitarianism: From Solferino to the Holocaust

- Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, 34-43
- Weiss, *Humanitarian Business*, 18-29 (reread)
- Walker and Maxwell, *Shaping the Humanitarian World*, Introduction and chapter 1.
- Barnett and Weiss, *Humanitarianism Contested*, Chapter 2.

Suggested reading:

1. Weiss, *Military-Civilian Interactions*, Chapter 1.

2. Barnett and Weiss, eds., *Humanitarianism in Question*, chapter 1 (Barnett and Weiss).
3. Hoffman and Weiss, *Sword & Salve*, Chapter 2.

Additional reading:

1. Stephen Hopgood, *Keepers of the Flame: Understanding Amnesty International* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).
2. David P. Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), “The ICRC during its early years,” 1-50.

Session 5 (7 October): The Cold War Experience: From the Berlin Airlift to Biafra, and the Shape of the Contemporary “System”

- Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, 34-43 (reread)
- Weiss, *Humanitarian Business*, 18-29 (reread), 29-55, 96-122
- Barnett and Weiss, *Humanitarianism Contested*, Chapter 3.
- Walker and Maxwell, *Shaping the Humanitarian World*, Chapter 2.

Suggested reading:

1. Alan J. Kuperman, “Mitigating the Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from Economics” *Global Governance* 14, no. 2 (2008): 219-240.

Additional reading:

1. Alex de Waal, *Famine Crimes: Politics & the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), chapters 1-6.
2. Larry Minear, *The Humanitarian Enterprise: Dilemmas & Discoveries* (Bloomfield, Conn.: Kumarian, 2002).
3. Thomas G. Weiss and Don Hubert, *The Responsibility to Protect: Research, Bibliography, Background* (Ottawa: IDRC, 2001), chapters 4-5.

PART TWO: THE TUMULTUOUS 1990s

Session 6 (14 October): Some Key Early Post-Cold War Crises: Northern Iraq, Somalia, and Bosnia

- Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, 43-56
- Thomas G. Weiss, David P. Forsythe, Roger A. Coate, and Kelly-Kate Pease, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (Boulder: Westview, 2013), 7th edition, 65-92.
- Barnett and Weiss, eds., *Humanitarianism in Question*, Chapters 4 (Hopgood), 5 (Stein).

Suggested reading:

1. Weiss, *Military-Civilian Interactions*, Chapters 3, 4, 5.

Additional reading: Case material is abundant.

Session 7 (21 October): Some Key Later Post-Cold War Crises: Rwanda, Haiti, and Kosovo

- Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, 43-56 (reread)
- Thomas G. Weiss, David P. Forsythe, Roger A. Coate, and Kelly-Kate Pease, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (Boulder: Westview, 2013), 7th edition, 93-127.

- Barnett and Weiss, *Humanitarianism Contested*, Chapter 5.

Suggested reading:

1. Weiss, *Military-Civilian Interactions*, Chapters 6, 7, 8.

Additional reading: Case material is abundant.

Session 8 (28 October): International Judicial Pursuit and Peacebuilding

- Weiss, *Humanitarian Business*, 33-34 (reread)
- Richard Goldstone, “International Criminal Court and Ad Hoc Tribunals,” and Roland Paris, “Post-Conflict Peacebuilding,” in Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws, eds., *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 463-478 and 404-426.
- Edwin M. Smith, “The Law of War and Humanitarian War: A Turbulent Vista,” *Global Governance* 9, no. 1 (2003): 115-134.

Suggested reading:

1. Richard J. Goldstone and Adam Smith, *International Judicial Institutions* (London: Routledge, 2009).
2. Rob Jenkins, *Peacebuilding: From Concept to Commission* (London: Routledge, 2013).
3. Tim Fisk, *Statebuilding* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).
4. Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*, 3rd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2000), “Against ‘Realism,’” “The Crime of War,” “The Rules of War,” 3-47.
5. Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions*, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 2011).

Additional reading:

1. Adam Roberts and Richard Guelff, eds., *Documents on the Laws of War*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1-34.
2. Michael Byers, *War Law* (New York: Grove, 2005).
3. Françoise Bouchet-Saulnier, *The Practical Guide to Humanitarian Law* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002).
4. Roland Paris, *At War’s End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

NB! REACTION QUESTIONS FOR SECTIONS ONE AND TWO: Handed out on Tuesday, 28 October, after class and due in my email no later than Wednesday, 29 October, at 10 am.

SECTION THREE: THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Session 9 (4 November): Halting Mass Atrocities? The Responsibility to Protect

- Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, 97-132
- Weiss, *Humanitarian Business*, 148-154
- Barnett and Weiss, eds., *Humanitarianism in Question*, chapter 6.

Suggested reading:

1. International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: ICISS, 2001).
2. Weiss, *Military-Civilian Interactions*, Chapter 10, Introduction and chapters 1, 2.
3. Ramesh Thakur and Thomas G. Weiss, “R2P: From Idea to Norm—and Action?” *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 1, 1 (2009): 22-53.
4. Ramesh Thakur, *The Responsibility to Protect: Norms, Laws and the Use of Force in International Politics* (London: Routledge, 2011), 144-160.
5. David Rieff, “Saints Go Marching In,” *The National Interest*, July/August 2011: 6-15.
6. Kuperman, “Mitigating the Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention.”

Additional reading:

1. James Pattison, *Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Who Should Intervene?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
2. Ann Orford, *International Authority and the Responsibility to Protect* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
3. Alex Bellamy, *The Responsibility to Protect* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009).
4. Ramesh Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) and *The Responsibility to Protect: Norms, Laws and the Use of Force in International Politics* (London: Routledge, 2011).
5. Gareth Evans, *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and for All* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2008).
6. Cristina Badescu, *The Responsibility to Protect: Solving the Humanitarian Intervention Dilemma* (London: Routledge, 2011).
7. Charles Krauthammer, “The Short, Unhappy Life of Humanitarian War,” *The National Interest*, no. 57 (Fall 1999): 5-8.
8. Mark Duffield, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).
9. Nicholas J. Wheeler, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in a World of States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
10. Simon Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace? Humanitarian Intervention in International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
11. Thomas G. Weiss and Peter J. Hoffman, “Making Humanitarianism Work,” in Michael Ignatieff, Ramesh Thakur, and Simon Chesterman, eds., *Making States Work: State Failure and the Crisis of Governance* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2004), 296-317.

Session 10 (11 November): Today’s Landscape of “New” Wars: What’s New?

- Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, 66-96
- Weiss, *Humanitarian Business*, 56-95

Suggested reading:

1. Hoffman and Weiss, *Sword & Salve*, Chapter 3.
2. Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, Chapter 3.
3. Adam Roberts, “Lives and Statistics: Are 90% of War Victims Civilians?” *Survival* 52, no. 3 (2010): 115-136.

4. Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

Additional reading:

1. Jarat Chopra and Thomas G. Weiss, "Sovereignty Is No Longer Sacrosanct: Codifying Humanitarian Intervention," *Ethics & International Affairs* 6 (1992): 95-118.
2. Thomas G. Weiss, "The Politics of Humanitarian Ideas," *Security Dialogue* 31, no. 1 (2000): 11-23.
3. David Keen, *Complex Emergencies* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008).
4. Alex de Waal, *Famine Crimes: Politics & the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa* (Oxford: Currey, 1997).
5. Michael Maren, *The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity* (New York: Free Press, 1997).
6. Articles by Thomas G. Weiss, Cornelio Sommaruga, Joelle Tanguy and Fiona Terry, and David Rieff in *Ethics & International Affairs* 13 (1999): 1-42.
7. Mats Berdal and David M. Malone, eds., *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2000).

Session 11 (18 November): The Current Landscape of "New" Humanitarianisms: What's New?

- Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, 66-96
- Weiss, *Humanitarian Business*, 56-95
- Alexander Cooley and James Ron, "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action," *International Security* 27, no. 1 (2002): 5-39.
- Barnett and Weiss, eds., *Humanitarianism in Question*, chapter 2 (Fearon).

Suggested reading:

1. Michael Barnett, "Humanitarianism Transformed," and Janice Stein, "Humanitarianism as Political Fusion," *Perspectives on Politics* 3, no. 4 (2005): 723-744.
2. Hoffman and Weiss, *Sword & Salve*, Chapters 4, 5.
3. Peter Walker and Catherine Ross, *Professionalizing the Humanitarian Sector: A Scoping Study*, Report Commissioned by the Enhancing Learning and Research for Humanitarian Assistance, April 2010.
4. Sreeram Chaulia, *International Organizations and Civilian Protection: Power, Ideas and Humanitarian Aid in Conflict Zones* (London: Tauris, 2011), 1-33.

Additional reading:

1. Rachel M. McCleary, *Global Compassion: Private Voluntary Organizations and U.S. Foreign Policy since 1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
2. Kersten Martens, *NGOs and the United Nations: Institutionalization, Professionalization and Adaptation* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 1-44.
3. David Rieff, *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002).
4. Fiona Terry, *Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 1-16.
5. David Kennedy, *The Dark Sides of Virtue: Reassessing International Humanitarianism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

6. Larry Minear, *The Humanitarian Enterprise: Dilemmas & Discoveries* (Bloomfield, Conn.: Kumarian, 2002).

Session 12 (25 November): Humanitarian Business Continued: After Afghanistan and Iraq, What about Kenya, Côte d'Ivoire, Libya, and Syria

- Thomas G. Weiss, "Humanitarian Intervention and US Policy," *Great Decisions 2012* (New York: Foreign Policy Association), 59-70.
- "Libya, RtoP, and Humanitarian Intervention" (Weiss, Welsh, Chesterman, Bellamy, Pattison), *Ethics & International Affairs* 25, no. 3 (2011).
- Barnett and Weiss, eds., *Humanitarianism in Question*, chapter 6 (Barnett and Snyder), 7 (Hammond), 8 (Redfield), 9 (Rubenstein).
- Walker and Maxwell, *Shaping the Humanitarian World*, Chapter 3.

Suggested reading:

1. Barnett and Weiss, *Humanitarianism Contested*, chapter 5.
2. Hoffman and Weiss, *Sword & Salve*, Chapter 6.
3. Weiss, *Military-Civilian Interactions*, Chapter 9.

Additional Reading:

1. Jonathan Moore, ed., *Hard Choices: Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998).
2. *Global Humanitarian Assistance 2013* (Somerset, UK: Development Initiatives, 2013), available at: <http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/report/gha-report-2013>.
3. Linda Polman, *The Crisis Caravan: What's Wrong with Humanitarian Aid?* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2010).
4. Ian Smillie and Larry Minear, *The Charity of Nations: Humanitarian Action in a Calculating World* (Bloomfield, Conn.: Kumarian, 2004).

Session 13 (2 December): The Future of Humanitarian Action: What Next?

- Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, 133-173.
- Weiss, *Humanitarian Business*, 96-122 (reread), 123-180.
- Barnett and Weiss, eds., *Humanitarianism in Question*, chapter 10 (Barnett), 11 (Hoffman and Weiss).
- Dennis Dijkzeul, Dorothea Hilhorst, and Peter Walker, "Introduction: Evidence-based Action in Humanitarian Crises," *Disasters* 37, no S1 (July 2013): s1-s19

Suggested reading:

1. Barnett and Weiss, *Humanitarianism Contested*, Chapter 6.
2. Hoffman and Weiss, *Sword & Salve*, Chapter 7.
3. Walker and Maxwell, *Shaping the Humanitarian World*, Chapter 7.
4. Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, Chapter 5.

NB! REACTION ESSAY FOR SECTION THREE: Handed out on Tuesday, 2 December, and due in my email no later than Wednesday, 3 December, at 10 am.

Session 14 (7 December): Topic and Location TBA