

# Humanitarian Intervention

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# What is Humanitarian Intervention?

- “State's use of "military force against another state when the chief publicly declared aim of that military action is ending human-rights violations being perpetrated by the state against which it is directed." (Marjanovik)



# Three Characteristics

- It almost always involves the threat and use of military force.
- It interferes in internal affairs through military force.
- It is in response to a humanitarian crisis which does not necessarily affect the interfering states' security.



# Research Question

- *Is “humanitarian intervention” being used in a way that ends human rights violations?*



# Methods

- **Qualitative Method:**
  - i. Six Factors of R2P
  - ii. Consequences (death toll, war crimes, refugees, economic impact, political impact, stability...etc.)

## R2P-Six Factors

- **Just Cause** - *Is the threat a "serious and irreparable harm occurring to human beings"?*
- **Right Intention** - *Is the main intention of the military action to prevent human suffering or are there other motives?*
- **Final Resort** - *Has every other measure besides military intervention been taken into account?*
- **Right Authority**-*Who should make the decision?*
- **Proportional Means** - *Are the minimum necessary military means applied to secure human protection?*
- **Reasonable Prospect** - *Is it likely that military action will succeed in protecting human life, and are the consequences of this action sure not to be worse than no action at all?*

# Do countries want to intervene?

- Military intervention is risky and without the incentive of benefit to the intervening states, most would prefer to stay away from it. Reasons are:
  - It's costly and requires large amounts of money to be spent for military intervention
  - Intervening states do not want to intervene in ally or friendly state
  - There might be opposition from the public
  - It may create political tension with other states.
  - Intervention may fuel a conflict and intervening countries may be blamed



# When do they intervene?

- Worry that a humanitarian crisis might spillover to other strategic states or area
- Intervention motivated for political regime change
- Intervention motivated by economic gains and access to resources through intervention
- Intervention for other political reasons such as distracting from problems at home, showing strength and ability to control the international arena





## Case Study: Libya

- Civil war in 2011 between Gaddafi and his loyalists and rebel forces
- NATO intervention
- Motivations include ending human rights abuses, regime change or access to resources
- Gaddafi partly nationalized oil wealth. “Western oil companies operating in Libya have privately warned that their operations in the country may be nationalized if Colonel Gaddafi’s regime prevails.”



## Death Toll & Credibility

- NTC estimated tens of thousands killed by Gaddafi's forces (some 50,000 people killed)
- Figure was revised down to 25,000 dead
- Jan 2013, figure was around 4,700 from rebels' side
- Similar figure for the old regime



# Rebels-Terrorism & War Crimes

- Many rebels are part of Al Qaeda
- Killings of black Africans, torture, prisoners without charges...etc.
- Sectarianism-burning of Sufi mosques...etc.
- Funding of Al-Qaeda which commits atrocities of its own




# Military Force-Last Resort?

- Military force should be used as a last resort, and international community should assist in non-military means to achieve peace
- However, international community was undermining peace
- France, Qatar, US...etc armed the rebels, adding to the violence
- France violated UNSCR 1970

- **Just Cause** – *Death toll cited in the beginning was inaccurate – 4,700 were killed, not 50,000.*
- **Right Intention** – *It can be said that the main intention is regime change and access to resources*
- **Final Resort** – *No, it has not. International community funded the rebels and fuelled conflict*
- **Right Authority**–*Select powerful states voted for intervention. Others abstained or said they were against it*
- **Proportional Means** –*Non-military means have not been exhausted*
- **Reasonable Prospect** – *No, because the situation was complex – rebels were Al-Qaeda linked, death toll was unclear, violations committed by both sides...etc.*

# Case Study: Kosovo

- Conflict between Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and NATO.
- In March 1999, the US Defense Secretary stated that 100,000 “may have been murdered” (Dogget). The number went down to less than 3,000 people killed (Steele). It turned out that 2,500 people were killed before the intervention, and 10,000 after.
- Serbian president tried for war crimes at ICT. Bill Clinton and NATO leaders at top of the list.

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- During the five months before the intervention there were **no** international refugees. Three days after the bombing started, there were only 4,000 refugees, but one week after the refugees amounted to 350,000
  - “Reverse ethnic cleansing” - 70,000 Serbs fleeing from Kosovo since the beginning of the NATO bombing campaign (Becker).

# Rambouillet

- Serbia agreed to: *“An immediate end to all hostilities, broad autonomy for Kosovo, an executive legislative assembly headed by a president, a Kosovar judicial system, a democratic system, elections under the auspices of the OSCE within nine months of the signing of the agreement, respect of the rights of all persons and ethnic groups, and the territorial integrity of the FRY, with Kosovo remaining within the country.”*
- Serbia opposed: ***“NATO personnel shall enjoy, together with their vehicles, vessels, aircraft, and equipment, free and unrestricted passage and unimpeded access throughout the FRY including associated airspace and territorial waters. This shall include, but not be limited to, the right of bivouac, maneuver, billet, and utilization of any areas or facilities as required for support, training, and operations.”***



# Unacceptable agreement

- Ex-secretary of state Henry Kissinger said: "the Rambouillet text, which called on Serbia to admit NATO troops throughout Yugoslavia, was a provocation, an excuse to start bombing" (Bancroft).
- Former Canadian Ambassador to Yugoslavia said: "it is now generally accepted by those who have seen the Rambouillet agreement that no sovereign state could have agreed to its conditions. The...demand that a referendum on autonomy be held within three years guaranteed a Serbian rejection"

- **Just Cause** -The death toll was 2,500 before intervention. This may have warranted an intervention, but the toll after intervention was much higher
- **Right Intention** -The intent for intervention as cited above were reasons such as credibility and distracting from problems at home.
- **Final Resort** –Peace deal efforts were sabotaged. The deals made would not be accepted by a sovereign state
- **Right Authority**-The UNSC was not even given consideration in this intervention. The international community was split
- **Proportional Means** -NATO's use of force was disproportionate to the situation at hand. The issue could have been possibly solved through respectable negotiations for both sides, yet that was never tried.
- **Reasonable Prospect** -There was reason to see this intervention as causing more damage, because the damages before the intervention was not great. Damages to the environment and infrastructure ensued after the bombing, along with economic damage. That is not including the death toll and refugee crisis that occurred after intervention



# East Timor

- Birth of indigenous political parties in East Timor after colonies left. The most popular: UDT and the Fretilin.
- Both parties entered a coalition by January 1975 and ended it on August because of internal conflicts.
- Three week civil war, Fretilin won, and Indonesia invaded.



## Indonesian Invasion Supported by US, UK and Australia

- Australia's military aid doubled between 1975 and 1981, continuing through to 1999.
- 90% of the arms supplied by the US.
- Weapons significant to Indonesia's saturation bombing supplied by Britain.
- "It is in Britain's interests that Indonesia should absorb the territory as soon...as possible ..we should...avoid taking sides against the Indonesian government."



# Humanitarian Intervention

- Took place after genocide and after hundreds of thousands killed.
- Same countries which supplied weapons and gave military aid were part of the intervention
- Public pressure, fear of instability and loss of economic gain main reasons for intervention

# Benefits for Australia

- “The Howard government pressured East Timor into agreeing a series of dodgy resource sharing deals allowing it to take billions of dollars that rightfully belongs to the East Timorese” (Lachicas).
- A new agreement in 2002: managing the “Greater Sunrise” was 80% up to Australians. Largest oil field in the area, expected to bring \$40 billion. Contains 9.5 trillion cubic feet of gas reserves and 300 million barrels of oil. East Timor would only be allowed to get 18% of the revenues from this project (Lachicas).

- 1- **Just Cause** -There were around 200,000 East Timorese killed during the decades of Indonesian invasion,
- 2- **Right Intention** –It was not to end human suffering as human suffering has been present in East Timor for the past 25 years with the military, economic and diplomatic support of the intervening forces. The reasons for intervention was a mix of public pressure and the prevention of political and economic losses
- 3- **Final Resort** -No, they have not. The intervening forces, namely the US, UK and Australia had 25 years to cut military, economic and diplomatic relations with Indonesia
- 4- **Right Authority**- The East Timorese people did want UN intervention
- 5-**Proportional Means** -Use of force was disproportionate. There was no need for military intervention in 1999, had there been a cut in military and economic assistance by intervening countries. But when it was too late to fix everything diplomatically, the UN was unable to disarm or disband the militias, and was unable to try them for their crimes
- 6- **Reasonable Prospect** -There was reason to see this intervention as helping the situation after 25 years of occupation. However, there were other means to have ended it without military force and without ending so many human lives.



## Case Study: Rwanda

- War between Tutsis and Hutus.
- Estimated 80,000 dead in almost 3 months
- No intervention cited as reason for the genocide
- Example of how “humanitarian intervention” has failed





# Iraq: Kurdish Massacre

- 50,000 to 100,000 non-combatant civilians including women and children killed
- 4,000 villages (out of 4,655) in Iraqi Kurdistan destroyed. 250 towns and villages were exposed to chemical weapons
- Wiped out around 90% of Kurdish villages in targeted areas



# No Intervention

- Usual intervener (West) friends with Saddam during that time
- Saddam's regime sustained by military aid it from UK and US administration at that time
- Thatcher increased arms sale to Saddam in 1988



# Conclusion

- Intervention needs to be motivated by humanitarian reasons, situation on the ground should be clear, credible facts should be clear, consequences should be anticipated for the success of intervention

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