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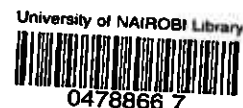
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION AND THE MEDIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SOMALIA AND RWANDA.

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DECLARATION

I Risper Evert Oleng' declare that this is my original work and that it has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any other university.
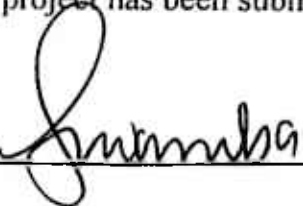
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Working on this project has opened my eyes to the happenings around the world. It has also helped me to learn to appreciate certain things.

ABSTRACT

The central problem of this study is that despite many years of experience and evolution of humanitarian intervention, it has not yielded a desirable pattern globally. It continues to attract much criticism. This is because of the way humanitarian intervention of each state has been handled differently and has not been carried out in some states like Rwanda and Srebrenica. This study however narrows down to Rwanda where hundreds of thousands of people were massacred. It draws a comparative analysis of Rwanda and Somalia.

The study did a random sampling of seven internal conflicts from the 1980s to the present year. The data was collected on the justifications for intervention was tabulated and analyzed. The major finding was that each internal conflict is handled differently depending on the prevailing circumstances. Humanitarian reasons were found to be dominant in each case.

This was closely followed by other reasons which included security and success of previous interventions. Media alert featured least and thus is not a determinant of humanitarian intervention. it also seeks to find out if media is an important actor in making the interventionists to act and finally the role of the humanitarian intervention. Various humanitarian interventions are examined for comparison.

List of acronyms

AAMM	Anglo American Mass Media
CNN	Cable News Network
US	United States of America
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
ECOWAS	Economic Committee of West African States
NGO	Non Governmental Organizations
RPF	Rwanda Patriotic Front
UN	United Nations
UK	United Kingdom
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council resolution
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WTC	World Trade Centre

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction & background of the study

Wars and conflicts have been taking place throughout history. The nature of conflict has changed and now interstate wars have been replaced by internal wars. Humanitarian intervention has been of great help to these situations. Whenever there is conflict in a state in which the state itself cannot intervene, the international community comes in to intervene through individual states or through the UN.

Humanitarian intervention has evolved rapidly over the years. Many theories and approaches have been made to explain how it should be carried out and they have also been used to examine humanitarian interventions in states. Humanitarian interventions has also had various criticisms. There has been an attempt to officially adopt the principles of some theories which were coined by early scholars. The principles are used to analyze humanitarian interventions.

This is a comparative study of how humanitarian intervention is carried out in states. The study explores humanitarian intervention, its theories and how they are applied in conflicts. It examines literature on the media and humanitarian interventions. It does an indepth study of theories, approaches and arguments in humanitarian intervention, a study which help in understanding humanitarian intervention. It analyzes various conflicts from the 1980s to date, examining how humanitarian intervention was carried out in those states. It specifically narrows down to Somalia and Rwanda which are the main subjects of study to compare humanitarian interventions in those states during the period when they had conflict. Just war theory is used to compare humanitarian intervention in the two countries.

Somalia and Rwanda have been chosen because the conflicts that took place in those countries closely followed each other yet they were handled in different ways and had very different effects. The inaction in the Rwanda genocide was greatly condemned around the world. Media is studied because it helps the public to be aware of what is happening and thus answer to the quests for help. Humanitarian intervention is crucial in helping to save lives and giving aid or creating an environment where medical aid and food can be given to the victims in war.

There has been an increase in conflicts and it would be important to find out how future interventions will be carried out. It is also a study of the evolution of the humanitarian intervention which has been very dynamic throughout history. The study will help us understand humanitarian intervention more.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Humanitarian Intervention plays a pivotal role during conflicts. Over the years there have been many conflicts and they have each had intervention in a different way. Humanitarian Intervention helps reduce the loss of lives during conflicts. It also helps in alleviating suffering. The media coverage during conflicts has been considered to be a principle element in influencing the humanitarian agencies to respond to crises situations during conflicts thus the subject of the CNN effect. This is because the media plays the role of informing the public and the concerned organizations and indeed even the whole world of what is happening in a particular place.

This study seeks to find out whether International Humanitarian Intervention is a concept of the media. That is, do the interveners respond to conflicts because the media alerts them and thus the need to impress the public or do they have their own reasons on how to react to crises situations? If they act independently, what makes them respond in specific ways to various

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situations? Why did they react differently in the two countries? It further seeks to find out the motive behind humanitarian intervention.

This study was prompted by a quest to find out the link between the role played by the international community and the media during conflicts. The conflicts took place around the same time frame but the response was different.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study analyzes International Humanitarian and media response to conflict crises. It is inspired by the popular debate on the effect of media on humanitarian response popularly known as the CNN effect. Emergencies during conflicts have been characterized by a great deal of complex issues. Major players in these include a rapidly growing global network of international community and a rapidly growing global media system dominated by television, policy makers, diplomats, and military forces.[1]

This study seeks to establish what prompts humanitarian intervention during conflicts. In other words the intentions of interventions during conflicts. It assesses the motives of the intervener and if they are in line with the principles of Just war. Media has been used as a highly possible influence on the interveners.

The objectives of this study are thus:

(i) To find out why the International Community intervenes differently in different conflict situations, in this case in the Rwanda genocide in 1994 and in the Somalia conflict during the civil war from 1991 to 1993 ,

[1] Robert L. Rotberg & Thomas G. Weiss, "From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Public Policy and Humanitarian Crises," *Development in Practice*,(1996), pp203-204:203
2. Edward Giradet, Focus : Humanitarian Agencies and Media duties, www.inwent.org

(ii) To determine if media alert prompts intervention. That is, if the media coverage and airing of conflicts are what makes the interveners to intervene.

(iii)To examine the role of the international humanitarian intervention and their intentions during crises.

1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.4.1 Introduction

The literature review is based on a study of the Humanitarian Intervention. This is to find out the meaning, its evolution , what it entails and the reason why it takes place. The literature on Media is also helpful in the understanding of its role in conflict and in intervention as well as the process it follows. This is followed by a background of the war in both Somalia and Rwanda. These will help in the study and in the understanding of the intervention by the two main actors in this study, the International Humanitarian community and the Media.

The literature on humanitarian intervention gives us an in-depth understanding on the circumstances under which intervention takes place and the issues emerging from it. It also seeks to establish if there is a link between humanitarian intervention and the media coverage during conflicts. The literature on media analyzes the roles and goals of the media. This guides in the understanding of its role and the intention of the media during conflicts. The literature on humanitarian intervention and the Media will seek to establish whether humanitarian intervention is a creation of the media. That is, if international humanitarian intervention is prompted by the media. The literature review on Rwanda and on Somalia gives the background of the two conflicts and studies the reaction of the media and of the international humanitarian parties to the crises.

1.4.2 Humanitarian Intervention

Introduction

In a world where conflicts are on the increase especially internal conflicts, the word humanitarian intervention has become common. The act of it, even more inevitable during conflicts. Moreover, the nature of conflicts is changing. Interstate conflicts were very common in the past and countries had many conflicts with neighboring countries in a bid to protect their territory. However with a firm establishment of sovereignty, interstate conflicts are uncommon while internal conflicts are on the increase. The public is increasingly more aware of its rights. Individuals are now less fearful of authority and lead rebellions when they are not satisfied with the leadership.

Other actors in the international society thus come in as interveners to save the situation which is usually characterized by the loss of lives.

1.4.3 Conceptual definitions of humanitarian intervention

Humanitarian intervention has been defined in various ways. Humanitarian Intervention according to Holzgrefe[2] is the threat or use of force across state borders by a state or group of states aimed at preventing or ending widespread and grave violations of the fundamental human rights of individuals rather than its own citizens, without the permission of the state within whose territory force is applied. It is the interference which occurs when an external actor violates a state's territorial integrity by use of force. [3]It is also defined as intervention in the internal affairs of a state with the view of eliminating suffering caused by misuse of authority and

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[2]Robert Keohane &Holzgrefe , " Humanitarian intervention: Ethical, Legal & Political Dilemmas", Vol. 13, No. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
[3] Bhikhu Parekh, "Rethinking Humanitarian Intervention," *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 18 No 1 (1997)p 49-69:53

disintegration.[4] Thomas Weiss defines humanitarian intervention as efforts by governments to influence the behavior of other states.[5] The intervening states offer humanitarian intervention with the aim that the recipient states will make good use of the calm environment to resolve the conflict. Vincent notes that humanitarian intervention is an activity by a state, a group of states or an international organization which interferes coercively with the domestic affairs of another state.[6]. Humanitarian intervention is often criticized whether it takes place or not. The subject of non-intervention thus comes in. That is in a case where there is a conflict and in which the state needs intervention yet no party intervenes or is slow to intervene like in the case of Rwanda where hundreds of thousands of people died because of non-interention.[7]

The United Nations considers the following factors before undertaking an intervention: National interest of the member states, security concerns, economic independence and moral considerations. It also has to act where the affected state lacks strength.[8]

1.4.4 Conditions humanitarian intervention

Humanitarian intervention is an activity which takes place during a conflict outbreak aimed at saving lives. It usually takes a short time and is meant to have limited political objectives.[9] An intervention which takes a political turn is usually subject to much criticism. Its

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[3] ibid

[4] Thomas G Weiss, Triage-Humanitarian Intervention in a New Era, *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 11 No.1 (1994)p.59-68: 59

[5] Alex Bellamy, Humanitarian Responsibilities and Interventionist claims in the International Society, *Review of International Studies*, Vol.29, No. 3, (2003) 321-340: 329

[7] "The Responsibility to protect Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty" ciss report 2April 25 2011

[8] Bianca Sarbu, "Drivers of the humanitarian Interventions-Going beyond Human Rights violation", The Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, 2009

[9] Taylor Seybolt, « Humanitarian Military intervention : the Conditions for Success and Failure », (New York : Oxford University Press, 2007), p.6

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intentions are usually to stop the worst sufferings. It is also not intended to establish peace or change the political system. However it usually creates an environment in which people can think of lasting solutions. Political objectives usually follow this, but are often considered as not part of the humanitarian intervention. The difference is however not always clear. Sometimes policy makers have the intention of having both the intervention and promoting a political resolution. The UN interventions in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Somalia for instance were intended both for intervention and political resolution. The difference between humanitarian intervention and political resolution was not evident in the interventions in those states, however in Kosovo and East Timor, the difference was evident because upon the completion of the intervention, the operations were handed over to long term political operations. [10]

1.4.5 Actors in Humanitarian intervention

As stated earlier, humanitarian intervention is carried out by individual states or groups of states. The United Nations is one such group which has dominated all interventions and is considered an actor in the international community. It has principles on how it carries out intervention. Article 2(4) calls for non intervention and Under Chapter V11, it indicates that it can only use force where peaceful measures such as partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication fail and the severance of diplomatic relations fail. [11]

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[10] ibid

[11] "Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice" (New York: UN Department of Public Information, 2006) Chapter VII, Article 42

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1.4.6 Principles of humanitarian intervention

Humanitarian intervention is guided by Just war principles[12] which are: Just cause which means the interveners should only intervene in a case of extreme oppression, right authority which requires the intervention to be carried out by a supreme body in the international society who represents the norms and values of the international society like the United Nations, right intention which requires the intervener to have goals in line with societal norms which are to bring peace,the principle of proportionality which dictates that the intervention does not do more harm than prevention or correction, last resort which refers to carrying out humanitarian intervention when all other non-military alternatives to non violence have been tried and if the humanitarian intervention will prevent greater evil than the other alternatives and prospects for success which requires that the intervention be carried out only if there is a possibility of success. Success depends on the goals of intervention and the goals can either be short term or long term.[13]

Intervention in extreme oppression which explains just cause often poses the question of the permissibility of intervention. That is, the duty and right to intervention. In cases of extreme disasters, there is a duty to intervene to save the suffering nation. For example, the Chechnya intervention. It is however questionable why there can be extreme disaster in two states but intervention takes place in one and not in the other. Lack of intervention in Rwanda is one such example where intervention did not take place despite the fact that many lives were lost.

UN intervention is dominant in all cases of intervention because it is the only such superior authority capable of intervening in the international society. It however has some flaws.

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[12] C.A. Coady, " The Ethics of Armed Humanitarian Intervention", (Washington: United States Institute of Peace,2002) Peace works No.45 p.24
[13] ibid

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The UN security council is held by powerful bodies thus the possibility of it blocking humanitarian interventions which do not serve their interests. Besides the UN, there are few states which are capable of providing the required force. The main ones are the United States and Great Britain.[14] The principles of humanitarian intervention have been regarded highly and are used for analyzing interventions.

1.4.7 The evolution of Humanitarian Intervention

Humanitarian Intervention is a principle which evolved from Statism and is based on sovereignty of individual states. It uses Just war principles as guide to intervention. It is also believes on the duty of the state to protect its interests.[15] Humanitarian intervention is linked closely with universality. Some scholars in international relations, pluralists also support the position of the statists. They believe that state sovereignty and the principle of non –interventions are sacrosanct. They believe that humanitarian intervention has no clear definition. They further argue that Human Rights are not universal because they vary from culture to culture[16]

Humanitarian intervention is viewed as pragmatic. It uses many approaches depending on a particular crisis. Though the treaty of Westphalia in 1648 gave a right to states to be sovereign, continuous conflicts in various states have brought about the inevitability of humanitarian intervention. For about the last 60 years, the development of the international relation, international law, state practice and the evolution of the civil society have slowly shifted balance

[14] James Kurth, " Humanitarian Intervention after Iraq:Legal ideals Vs Military Realities", Orbis, Vol. 50, No.1pp 87-100: 87

[15] Bhikhu Parekh, "Rethinking Humanitarian Intervention ," *International Political Science Review"*, Vol 18 No 1 (1997)p 49-69: 50

[16] Alex Bellamy, Humanitarian Responsibilities and Interventionist claims in the International Society, *Review of International Studies*, (2003)pp. 321-340:340

between state sovereignty and human security with the human security gaining more prominence. [17]

Humanitarian Intervention has proved indispensable due to an increase in the occurrence of conflicts. The United Nations was founded with the intention of maintaining peace and order. One of the main principles it adopted was that of humanitarian intervention This was because of the recognition of human rights which was becoming important. Humanitarian intervention was an evolution from Just war and Just intervention[18]. Thus the UN charter advocates for non-intervention except in a case where there is threat to security.[19]

In contrast to Pluralists, Solidarists [20]support humanitarian intervention. They believe that it gives people the right to humanity. It ensures that human Rights principles are adhered to by governments & civilians. [21] Humanitarian intervention is motivated by a desire to help and not to black mail. It is also associated with some altruistic behaviors such as social responsibility, pro-criminal factors and helping. [22]The interveners usually don't have much to gain from and the organizations and states concerned fund the operation. It is also an act carried out on voluntary basis.

The goals of humanitarian intervention include creating peace and order, helping create structure of the civil authority, introducing peace and civility and helping the concerned

[17] Richard H Cooper and Juliette Voinov kohler, " Responsibility to protect: The Global Moral Compact for the 21st Century (New York 2009)pp.3

[18] Bhikhu Parekh, Rethinking Humanitarian Intervention , "International Political Science Review", Vol. 18 No 1 (1997)p 49-69: 53

[19] Charter of the United Nations, Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression, (2006), p 27

[20] Alex Bellamy, « Power, rules and arguments : New approaches to humanitarian intervention », Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 57, No.3 pp 499-512:501

[21] Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Sociology of Humanitarian Intervention: Bosnia, Rwanda and Somalia compared," "International Political Science Review, Vol. 18, No.1(1997) pp 71-93:71

[22] Edward Fischer, " Consistency among Humanitarian and Helping Attitudes," Social Forces", Vol. 52 No.2(1973)pp 157-168: 157

people.[23]Humanitarian intervention has had various challenges and criticisms. Some intervention acts are imperialistic in nature with the intervening state using its powers to influence the recipient state. For instance during the Cold war period the US and the Soviet Union tried to get states rallying behind them by intervening in their state. In some cases, the interveners intervene in states which would be more beneficial to them economically. For example, the US intervention in Iraq as opposed to its reluctance to intervene in Rwanda.[24]Bellamy argues that humanitarian intervention sometimes uses methods which make people insecure thus contradicting its goals.[25]. Humanitarian Intervention is used by manipulators who take advantage of weak states who aren't able to resist external interference.[26] In Nederveen's view, humanitarian intervention: reinforces authoritarianism, hard sovereignty and militarization, is used to justify sanctions, is selective in its response, lacks a general doctrine, lacks consistency in humanitarian response and it comes with global politics thus leading it to choose a country of its own interest. This is probably because Humanitarian intervention is carried out in most cases by great powers. The great powers also often have great influence over the states in which they intervene. Some of these influences are not welcome by the states or are perceived to bring negative implications. They also conduct their interventions in different ways. Parekh posits that it denies liberty to the state .Liberty is denied because intervention takes place when the state can no longer take charge of the conflict. The state is thus in some way under the control of

[23] Bhikhu Parekh, "Rethinking Humanitarian Intervention ,"*International Political Science Review*", Vol. 18 No 1 (1997)pp 49-69: 53

[24]Richard Miller, Humanitarian Intervention, Altruism and The Limits of Casuistry, *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, Vol. 28 No 1, (2000)pp3-35: 6

[25] Alex Bellamy, "Humanitarian Responsibilities and Interventionist claims in the International Society," *Review of International Studies*, (2003)pp 321-340: 328

[26]Thomas G Weiss, "Triage-Humanitarian Intervention in a New Era, *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 11 No.1 (1994)pp.59-68: 60

the intervener. Humanitarian Intervention is thus justifiable but not just. He proposes ways in which humanitarian intervention should be done. It should be done to help in a protracted conflict because such a conflict usually has the probability of escalating. This would help to prevent international disorder.[27]

Humanitarian Intervention does not provide remedy for structural problems. Kimberly Stanton [28]suggests that the International community should provide institutions which are sustainable to the local level. Furthermore, it lacks a serious long term policy in respect to target country. Its policy objectives are also at times vague. In addition to this, some decisions are rush. Humanitarian intervention groups often come together during a conflict and thus have no clear policies. The policies it uses are based on the moment.[29]Humanitarian Intervention is grounded on the principle of Statism. Statism serves as a basis of Humanitarian Intervention. This is because the interveners are part of sovereign states which come together for the common goal of intervention.

Humanitarian Intervention requires autonomy of states to prevent the problem of porous borders. In other words it should be carried out in a way that it does not spill to the neighboring states.[30] Most Humanitarian Intervention use coercive means or military intervention. Military intervention is detested by many because in the course of it many innocent civilians are killed.[31]The English school of thought observes that states do not consider past interventions in order to legitimize interventionist acts. They just consider legal and normative factors. Each

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[27]Bhikhu Parekh, "Rethinking Humanitarian Intervention," *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 18, No 1 (1997)pp 49-69: 52,53
[28] Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Sociology of Humanitarian Intervention: Bosnia, Rwanda and Somalia compared," *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 18, No.1(1997): 85

[29] Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Sociology of Humanitarian Intervention: Bosnia, Rwanda and Somalia compared," *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 18, No.1(1997): 85
[30]*Op cit*, Bhikhu Parekh, "Rethinking Humanitarian Intervention," *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 18, No 1, (1997)p 49-69:p 56
[31]*Op cit* ,Jan Nederveen Pieterse, p 72

intervention is thus different from the other because the circumstances of each conflict are different. [32]

The past few decades have been characterized by many humanitarian intervention operations due to frequent conflicts crises like in Somalia, Rwanda, Sudan, Liberia and many other states. Many of the challenges befall the United Nations since it is the main International Humanitarian agency which acts on behalf of states. Some of the challenges the United Nations has met are: Deficiencies in its command and control due to its heterogeneous nature considering that it unites states from all over the world, difficulties in communication due to the fact that its members speak many different languages, lack of common training for the staff meaning that each state relies on the training its military troop gets from the state, Operations suffer from multiple chains of command from home country and from the UN, tendency to seek guidance from one's own country or to use its policies, reluctance of the West to tackle military emergencies either due to past experiences like after what they would consider as failure or fear of the possible consequences, lack of an independent UN military and monopoly of the interventions by certain states like the US. It can also cause authoritarianism which is a likely effect of monopoly. [33]

There are other general challenges. The attempt to incorporate regional organizations in conducting the interventions is not successful since they are not a perfect option for the UN. Their perceived advantages of proximity and familiarity with the conflict are criticized. Critics however question the practicability of the advantages claiming that regional organizations have

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[32] Alex Bellamy, Humanitarian Responsibilities and Interventionist claims in the International Society, "Review of International Studies", (22003) 321-340:p 331
[33] Thomas G Weiss, Triage-Humanitarian Intervention in a New Era, World Policy Journal, Vol. 11 No.1 (1994)p.59-68;p 65

no collective military experience and resources, they have dominant states and thus they do not have legitimate intervention.[34]

The international community should find new standards of intervention which are more transparent and accountable than the Security Council's decisions. It should practice impartiality in relation to its goals of intervention. Military intervention should be reduced or substituted where possible because it lacks popularity and promotes a hostile attitude towards the civilians. It should play a role in both preventive conflict and post conflict rebuilding. Decisions of intervention should be legitimized by the civilians through the International Commission on International Sovereignty.[35] For Humanitarian Intervention to contribute to conflict resolution, there is need for conventional political options like new types of states, partial forms of sovereignty and democratization. Attention should also be given to conditions which affect the viability of states.[36]Humanitarian intervention principle was adopted in the UN in 2005 during the Global Summit.

Thus in conclusion, Humanitarian Intervention is inevitable in this new era. There is however a need to assess its effects on the recipient states and the interveners, risks and benefits should also be developed.[37]

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[34] Thomas G Weiss, "Triage-Humanitarian Intervention in a New Era," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 11 No.1 (1994)p 65

[35] Alex Bellamy, " Humanitarian Responsibilities and Interventionist claims in the International Society, "*Review of International Studies*", (22003) 321-340: p 326,330,331

[36] Ian Nederveen Pieterse, "Sociology of Humanitarian Intervention: Bosnia, Rwanda and Somalia compared," *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 18, No.1(1997) 71-93: p 71

[37] Richard Miller, "Humanitarian Intervention, Altruism and The Limits of Casuistry," *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, Vol. 28, No 1, (2000)pp3-35: 7

1.4.8 Emerging issues from humanitarian intervention

Humanitarian intervention is evidently one of the benefits of the international community and a sign that international and customary international norms are adhered to. The international community cannot afford to watch a state suffer.

It is however notable that it is undergoing many changes in a world that is greatly dynamic. It should thus adapt to changes cautiously while maintaining its principles which are relevant even with the many changes which have taken place. It also has gaps which it should fill in order to be efficient and of equal benefit to the entire community.Emerging issues which are dominant include lack of consistency in intervention. Intervention in some states is carried out more promptly or not at all.

1.4.9 The Media

Media are the different ways which are used for communicating information and entertainment. There are various forms of media. The ones which are referred to in this study, include television, newspaper and radio. Special attention is given to television because of the effect of live broadcast which in this case is important during crises.

One of the most socially significant events of the 20th century has been the introduction and rapid diffusion of television.[38] Mass media serves the public in various ways: advocacy both for business and social concerns, entertainment, public service announcements and current affairs including coverage of crises. They also hold government officials and institutions accountable to the public.[39]The common belief is that news stories are supposedly simply

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[38]Thomas G Weiss, " Triage-Humanitarian Intervention in a New Era," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 11 No.1 (1994)p 61
[39]Lewis H Lapham, "Understanding Media" The Extensions of Man (2003) Vol. 4, No. 3p. 74

objective statements about the world. An analysis of the media news reveals that the media is highly selective in what it reports and necessarily so.

News shape people's thoughts and what they get from the media is what they believe. It is usually programmed in specific ways which provide the agenda and thus draws people's attention.[40] Television affects the way certain things are done. By informing people of crisis in certain countries, they initiate programs to help those affected. An example is Haiti. People sent their donations and some volunteered to physically help the victims of the earthquake which occurred in 2010. It has also had a great impact on people's culture and socialization. Moreover, it is a great agent of globalization. In Bernard Cohen's view[41], news coverage of humanitarian crises and other events has demonstrated television's power to move governments.[42]According to the media, access to information is important because: It ensures that citizens are aware of what is happening around them. The media serves the role of disseminating information as a way of mediating between the state and all facets of civil society.

The media thus plays an important role in the state. There are consequently organizations which support and ensure that the media serves the right purposes. United States Agency for International Development (USAID) agency is one of them and its goals for the media are: increased development of a politically active civil society and enhancement of free flow of information[43] The media industry has undergone many revolutions over the past century due to revolution in technology. The media now has the capacity to broadcast live events. This has contributed to rapid globalization, different perceptions of nations and leaders based on the

[40]E. L Quarantelli, "The Role of the Mass Communication System in Natural and Technological Disasters and Possible Extrapolation to Terrorism Situations," *Risk Management*, Vol. 4, No. 4,(2002)pp 7-21:10

[41] Thomas O Guinn & L. J. Shrum, "The Role of Television in the Construction of Consumer Reality," *The Journal of Consumer Research'*, Vol. 23, No.4(1997)pp 26-29: 28

[42]Elizabeth J. Hanson, "The Media, Foreign Policy Making & Political Conflict," *Mershon International studies Review*, (1998), pp 157-163: 157

[43]Peter Graves, "The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach," (1999)pp 1-36: p.3

images broadcast by the media which reveal their power and even their positions in the International community.

This has created an era where the media is dominating. The media power influences decision makers.[44]The effect of the media in the political world has led to the coining of many related terms of the media such as tele-democracy, media-democracy, media-politik, mediacracy and many others.[45]The media has faced several criticisms. It has faced opposition from scholars and policymakers and much less from the public who are usually recipients and oblivious of the intentions of both policymakers and the media.

There is a strong tendency by the media to frame stories in a conflict framework thus making the information combative. The media lacks objectivity. In the 19th century for instance, populists[46] (politicians in support of social system in favor of the people rather than the elites), intellectuals in the 20th century and post modernists all argued against a possibility of objective reporting. The reporter may find himself or herself taking sides or writing a story in a way that it can sell more. Though diversity is good, it turns to be negative. Diversity in news coverage leads to specialized audiences and thus divisions indicated by ethnic and minority differences. This is indicative of an ever growing division and an indicator of a heterogeneous population. This division results in conflict and thus depicts the media as agent of societal problems rather than as an agent of peace.[47]Information on risks in the society may be important but can turn negative.

[44]Eytan Gilboa, "Media Coverage of International Negotiation : A Taxonomy of Levels and Effects," *International Negotiation 5,* (2001)pp 543-568: p.545

[45] Eytan Gilboa, "The Global News Networks and US Policymaking in defense and foreign Affairs," *Politics and Public Policy,*(2002)pp 1-33: p.5

[46]E. L Quarantelli, "The Role of the Mass Communication System in Natural and Technological Disasters and Possible Extrapolation to Terrorism Situations," *Risk Management,* Vol. 4, No. 4(2002)pp 7-21: 11

[47]ibid

The media does not dwell on the risk as they ought to; instead, they dwell on disaster and human tragedy. As Eleonor & Phyllis[48] put it, "media does not report on risks. It reports on harms."[49]

News personnel and organizations are viewed as biased and inaccurate about everything in life. Sometimes the media has gross inaccuracies. During the September 11th bomb attack in America, the World Trade Centre (WTC) was reported as having the highest number of persons killed in a single incident in American history. This was inaccurate because prior to that, 6,000 people died in the Galveston hurricane of 1990.[50] Perhaps the media's way of reporting may cause them to depict negative aspects of an event.

The media have a particular way of reporting disastrous events. It follows a similar plot which includes scenes of death, destruction, personal injury and loss, coverage of survivors, grief of families, the news of rescue services, a search for causes and allocation of blame. Some news only focus on the negative aspect at the expense of the positive aspect while others o the vice versa. It is indicated that nuclear power was positively aired at the beginning as symbols for progress and atoms of peace but now they are dominated by images of disaster. This, they argue, encourages the public to perceive the nuclear industry as the devil's bargain for progress. There is thus need for factual accuracy[51]. Disaster news are said to focus more on the political aspect. They are sometimes used to target politicians. [52] Alterations occur in the process of news gathering especially by radio or television outlets. This results in soft news.[53]   Despite all the

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[48] Lain Wilkinson, News Media Discourse and the State of Public Opinion on risk, *Risk Management*, Vol. 1,No.4(1999)p.21-31: 22,23

[50]E. L Quarantelli, "The Role of the Mass Communication System in Natural and Technological Disasters and Possible Extrapolation to Terrorism Situations," *Risk Management*, Vol. 4, No. 4(2002)pp 7-21: 11
[51]Lain Wilkinson, News Media Discourse and the State of Public Opinion on risk, *Risk Management*, Vol. 1,No.4(1999)p.21-31: p.22

[52] *Op cit*, Lain Wilkinson, "p.27
[53] *OP cit*, E. L Quarantelli, p.12&13

negative aspects of the media, some remain misinterpretations while others are tailored for certain justifiable reasons.

The Anglo-American Mass Media (AAMM) and its counterparts are controlled by their governments during crises. ; integrated with the military and are under strict surveillance. Freelance journalists are usually secluded from the group. In the Iraq crisis, there was only one media company, "The Daily Mirror of London" which aired images of two Iraqi people who had been beheaded.[54]Practitioners usually control news and vet them before they are aired or distributed. They believe that this may bring consensus to the realities faced. Many criticisms coming from researchers may be mere assumptions which if put to test may prove contrary to the researchers' basis of argument. According to Ethnographic researchers, the meaning which people make is different from those of academic researchers. The critics also forget context. People interpret media messages depending on the context.[55]

Contrary to expectations that news content may make us anxious, the social activity of watching TV news is a daily activity which helps to sustain our sense of orderliness and routine and may also help find means of discharging and resolving anxieties. Bias is also said to exist in the eyes of the beholder. Many, for instance, politicians claim bias if they are reported negatively even if they are guilty. News reporters are also blamed for basing their conclusions on past beliefs and hypotheses which have not been proven. It is also true that perceptions of general risks are different from attitudes towards self risk. What people think about potential hazards is not necessarily a reflection of their feelings.[56] Some literature has been dedicated to media and

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[54] James Petras, Total war- Resistance, Humanitarian Aid and Media, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 38 No. 15(2003): 1461-1462

[55] Lain Wilkinson, News Media Discourse and the State of Public Opinion on risk, *Risk Management*, Vol. 1,No.4(1999)p.21-31: 21

[56] , Lain Wilkinson, *Op cit* Vol. 1,No.4(1999)p.25,26,28

its influence on foreign policy. There have been few generalized theories developed to prove the influence[57]

It is worth noting that all parties involved in news have various interests and goals. The media have a goal of selling news and creating public awareness, politicians, policy makers and other organizations have a duty of presenting their institutions positively and thus creating a positive image. The public are only witnesses to a media representation of the immediate interests of an institutionally privileged elite competing amongst themselves for political power and market share.[58]

The media is an important way of informing people of what is happening. It is thus important for it to be a good agent to the public and all the policy makers because the information they relay may make people to make informed decisions for instance, informing the world of the earthquake in Haiti prompted people to offer aid in various ways.

Some of the concerns that arise about the media are that it is sometimes biased in its reporting. It is thus necessary for it to be factual in its reporting in order to avoid being biased. In cases of conflict it should not take sides but report things as they are so that a solution may be produced. This is important because their information for instance about a state to the international community influences the foreign policy of a state.

The media should also be given considerate freedom in its reporting and it should not be influenced by self interests as is the habit of some policy makers.

[57] Elizabeth c Hanson , "The Media, Foreign Policymakers & Political Conflict, " *Mershon Institute Studies Review,* Vol.42(1997)p.157-163: 157

[58] Lain Wilkinson, "News Media Discourse and the State of Public Opinion on risk," *Palgrave Macmillan Journals'*, Vol. 1,No.4(1999)p.28

1.4.11 The Media and humanitarian intervention

The media is driven by its intent to inform the world of the events around the world. Humanitarian intervention on the other hand is driven by the norms and values which consists of the will to assist by relieving human suffering during crises situations. The two play important roles during crises situations. Proponents of the media effect believe that the media plays a key role during crises situations and is in fact a great agent in driving the humanitarian groups to intervention. On the other hand, proponents of humanitarian intervention believe that International humanitarian agencies are guided by their policies. Various arguments have been presented to defend the claims.

Gowing and Strobel [59]point out that the media has no power to influence humanitarian groups. On the other hand, Shaw argues that media impact is profound.[60]According to the CNN effect, the media influences humanitarianism intervention[61] Livingston on the other hand says that unraveling the CNN effect has been unsuccessful despite many articles and books written on it.[62] Other critics say that the effect is negligible and that other factors come into place.

Lisa Parks and Jo Ellen contend that the media determines response by the words they use and the way they cover various situations. They further argue that reporters personalize the recording of images by focusing on individual situations in order to make the situation appear serious. [63]On the other hand Piers Robinson in his model, "The Policy-Media Interaction Model"

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[59] Piers Robinson , " The Policy-Media Interaction Model: Measuring Media Power During Humanitarian Crisis," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol 37, No.5, (2000) pp 613-633: p 613

[60] ibid

[61] 47. Peter Viggo Jakobsen, "Focus on the CNN effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management Is Invisible," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.37, No. 2 (2000)pp.132

[62] Piers Robinson, "The Policy-Media Interaction Model: Measuring Media Power during Humanitarian Crisis," Journal *of Peace Research* Vol. 37, No.5, (2000) pp 613-633: pp613

[63] Jo Ellen Fair and Lisa Parks, " Africa on Camera: Television News Coverage and Aerial Imaging of Rwandan refugees," *Africa Today*, (2001)pp35-52: pp.39

proves that media can only influence the humanitarian response if there is uncertainty of policy. [64] Consensus among the policy makers of the interventionist group is important. If there is dissensus, the policy makers tend to disagree and thus leave a loop hole for the media to criticize them. [65]

According to Piers R, Media coverage may influence humanitarian intervention because responses to emergencies covered by the media are more popular. [66] . Forsythe on the other hand argues that interventionists do a cost benefit analysis in which they compare the costs and benefits of the intervention before they choose to act. [67]This explains the reluctance of some of the international humanitarian response groups. Another argument by Peter Jackobsen indicates that donor governments have great control over the use of funds.[68]They direct their funds to their areas of interest as has been indicated. They also use their strategies and policy guidelines.

Former UN Secretary General once said that "Television has changed the way the world reacts to crises."[69] In his view, humanitarian intervention is prompted by the media. On the contrary, acts of humanitarian intervention may attract the media. The International Community has its policies on intervention and these guide them on when and how to act. According to Jan Nederveen, "Humanitarian Intervention is informed by a mélange of motives-human rights

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[64] ibid

[65]Jo Ellen Fair and Lisa Parks, " Africa on Camera: Television News Coverage and Aerial Imaging of Rwandan refugees," *Africa Today*, (2001)pp35-52: pp.39

[66]Piers Robinson , "The Policy-Media Interaction Model: Measuring Media Power During Humanitarian Crisis", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 37, No.5, (2000) pp: 613-633: p613

[67] David Forsythe, Humanitarian Politics: The International Committee of the Red Cross,(London,1977)pp 2
[68] Peter Viggo Jakobsen , "Focus on the CNN effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management Is Invisible", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 37, No.2 (2000)pp.131-143p.139
[69] *Op cit* Peter Viggo Jakobsen , "131

concerns, recycling military apparatus, regional power politics, cold war dialectics....." [70].

Media is thus not a great cause for intervention.

According to CNN effect, media drives western conflict management by forcing western governments to intervene militarily in humanitarian crises against their will.[71]Piers Robinson's model shows a different opinion, demonstrating the western governments' consistency when they have a consensus in their policy as opposed to when they are in a dissensus situation.

The US intervened in Bosnia yet they had a policy of non interference. They succeeded and were not influenced by media because they had a consensus in their change of policy.[72]Benjamin Compaine opposes the claim that media coverage of international crisis can spark humanitarian response. He says that in some cases it is the humanitarian interventionists or other groups like government or administration officials who call the media to cover the crisis situations [73]

It is also important to cover all stages of the conflict.   According to the former UN Secretary General, Media also tends to cover situations at a time when successful intervention is unlikely. They cover situations when they are more costly and most dangerous. This is for instance in cases of genocide or where there is ruthless killing or torture.[74]This is aggravated by the fact that the media does not concentrate on covering the preventive and post-conflict stages which would result in effective humanitarian response. Gellert and Zwi also argue that

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[70] Jan Nederveen Pieterse , "Sociology of Humanitarian Intervention: Bosnia, Rwanda and Somalia compared," *International Political Science Review* , Vol.18, No. 1, (1997) , pp 71-93:p.88

[71] Peter Viggo Jakobsen, "Focus on the CNN effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management Is Invisible, and Indirect," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 37, No.2 (2000), pp.131-143:p.132

[72] Piers Robinson, "The Policy-Media Interaction Model: Measuring Media Power during Humanitarian Crisis", Journal *of Peace Research* Vol. 37no.5, (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi, 2000) pg 613-633: pp615

[73] Benjamine Compaine, "Global media," *Foreign Policy*, Vol. 28, No. 133, (2002)pp 20-28:28

[74] Peter Viggo Jakobsen," Focus on the CNN effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management Is Invisible, and Indirect," *Journal of Peace Research* , Vol. 37, No. 2 (2000) pp.131-143: 138

preventive humanitarian response can be helpful if consistency is maintained. [75]The media thus need to draw their focus on all stages of conflict in order for their work to be considered as wholesomely effective. While this may be true, the media sometimes has little option on what to cover. Some media networks are controlled and lack the freedom to cover what might be of public interest. This leads to different views of humanitarian response and also of the media.

1.4.12. Historical Background of the Rwandan Genocide

The Rwandan genocide took place in 1994. Many Tutsis and few moderate Hutus were murdered. An estimate of 800,000 people were massacred. The genocide was carried out under the aegis of the Rwandan government. The incident was labeled 'genocide' because it fitted under the definition which defines genocide as a form of one sided mass killing in which the state or other authority intends to destroy a group.[76]The international community however avoided using the term. The US for example used the term for the first time in 1998 when President Bill Clinton visited Rwanda.[77]The genocide is said to have resembled the Nazi Holocaust against the Jews. This is because of the manner in which the murders were conducted, the suffering involved then and the rate at which people were killed[78]

The causes of the genocide are varied. The definite cause of it has however not been established. According to Hellen Hintjens, the genocide was not caused by ethnic conflicts as

[75]. George A Gellert & Antony B Zwi, Humanitarian Response to Mass Violence Perpetrated Against Vulnerable Populations," *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 311,No. 7011 (Oct 1995)pp.995-1002 :998
[76] Helen Hintjens, "Explaining the 1994 genocide in Rwanda," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*,372(1999)p 241-286:241,246
[77] Jo Ellen Fair & Lisa Parks, "Africa on Camera: Television News Coverage and Aerial Imaging of Rwandan Refugees," *Africa Today*, (2001)35-52: 35
[78] Op cit Hintjens,: .241

alleged by many nor was it caused by external intervention. It was however caused by a series of

state responses to a deeper structural crisis related to state legitimacy. There are many other

explanations to the cause of the genocide. African Rights notes that ethnic violence could be seen

as a response to economic crisis. The country's economic growth was fast going down and the

government was due to receive funds from World Bank and IMF in order to implement the

structural Adjustment Program.

The civilians were also loosing patience on the government.[79]This coincided with the

invasion of the RPF thus worsening the political situation of the country. The government thus

resorted to the elimination of one group in order to destroy any form of cohesion among the

Rwandans.[80]

Discrimination was deliberately created before the massacre. Most people who carried

out the killings were Hutu. Hatred had been deliberately created. Ethnicity was thus a veil since

occupation and that much intermarriage had taken place thus it was not easy to distinguish

between the Hutu and Tutsi.[81]

In Hellen Hinjens's view, a conscious deliberate state strategy like the genocide cannot

be attributed to spontaneous outbursts of antagonism between ethnic groups. She further notes

that failing regimes easily use ethnicity to divide the people. Another common allegation was

that the Tutsi were being eliminated because of their historical background. Some myths

suggested that Tutsi people had migrated from Ethiopia and were thus aliens.   The

explanations to the cause of the Rwandan genocide can be summarized as: Historical legacy of

[79] Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Sociology of Humanitarian Intervention: Bosnia, Rwanda and Somalia compared,"
International Political Science Review, Vol. 18, No.1,(1997), 71-93: . 77
[80] Helen Hintjens, "Explaining the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 37,
No.2, (1999)p 241-286:.249
[81] *Op cit* Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "p.78

intergroup conflicts, Psychological manipulation, Patterns of social control by a highly authoritarian regime[82]

1.4.13 Media and humanitarian intervention in the Rwandan genocide

The Rwandan genocide took relatively long before it was aired to the world. Humanitarian intervention was also not prompt. The national media were not able to report the genocide because they were threatened. Some were even killed. The international media were late. Access to Rwanda was said to be hard. Some journalists had also gone to cover the South African elections which they thought would be news worthy and went to Rwanda later. The US deliberately avoided intervening possibly because of the experience they had in Somalia.

In Charles Becket's opinion, had journalists acted quickly there would have been an effect. The Heisenberg effect can be used to explain this. According to this theory, more comprehensive coverage would have changed the behavior of the perpetrators. The absence of the journalists thus contributed to the genocide. If there were many actors present during the conflict, the perpetrators of the genocide would not have been successful in executing the killings.[83]

The Rwandan genocide was eventually covered through Television News coverage and aerial imaging. The Television coverage was taken from close range and the images were more clear while aerial images gave an overall view of the movement of refugees across the border. It was even used for tracking and monitoring refugee movement. These coverages mainly cover the refugees and not the massacre scenes because most journalists went to cover the scene towards

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[82] Helen Hintjens, Explaining the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, '*The Journal of Modern African tudies*,372(1999)p 241-286:p. 245

[83] Charles Beckett, "The Media and The Rwanda Genocide-Transcript of Lecture delivered to the Crisis States Research Centre & polis," *Polis Journalism and Society*, (2007)p. 8

the end when Rwandans were now fleeing to seek refuge. The TV coverage evoked familiar images of famine and conflict in Africa. They aired it in a way that it looked like any common problem in Africa. The aerial images on the other hand gave distant images of the moving refugees. The problem was thus seen as a distant problem by the American viewers since the refugees simply looked like people who had been deteritorialised and were thus seeking alternative refuge.[84]

The question of what would have saved the Rwandans thus lies on the hands of the journalists who should have acted fast to prompt the media and the international community which should have equally reacted promptly regardless of the media's presence. Following the inaction of the international community, a new paradigm which was Canadian inspired emerges. It is known as "The Responsibility to Protect". This paradigm overrides the concept of absolute sovereignty and non-interference thus marking away forward for the international community. [85]

1.4.14 Historical background of the Somalia conflict

War in Somalia like many civil wars can be traced back to the end of the colonial regime. Somalia had experienced relative democracy after an independent state was formed by British and Italian colonies until General Mohammed Siad Barre seized power in[86]Siad Barre concerted efforts to erode the clan system and to replace it with scientific socialism. He was also a supporter of the Soviet Union. This gave his country an opening to an influx of weapons. Siad Barre's regime was faced with a lot of opposition because of his dictatorship way of ruling and

[84] Jo Ellen Fair & Lisa Parks, "Africa on Camera: Television News Coverage and Aerial Imaging of Rwandan Refugees," *Africa Today*, (2001),pp 35-57: p.47
[85] Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst, "Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No.2,(1996), pp 70-85:.70
[86] Jeffery Clark, "Debacle in Somalia- America & the World.' *Foreign Affairs,* " Vol. 72, No.1 ,(1993)pp 109-123: 110

also because of his ideologies. In addition to that, he got into war with Ethiopia over the Ogaden area occupied mostly by Somalis

In January 1991 Siad Barre fled Mogadishu. Troops commanded by General Farah Aideed pursued him while others under the control of Ali Mahdi Mohammed remained in the capital and declared themselves the new government. In the north Somaliland, which is not recognized to date was formed by the Isaaq clans. In retaliation to Ali Mahdi's acts Mengistu and Siad Barre's armies attacked Somalia and came with advanced weapons which hindered international relief operations. Ali Mahdi's control was not recognized and they thus remained with only the North to control. Clan militias then started fighting one another thus making the country to be divided into 12 zones of control. By November 1991 the fight between Ali Mahdi and Aideed turned into a civil war. The situation worsened causing hunger and starvation and other problems. The UN intervened through the US in 1992.[87]

1.4.15 Media and Humanitarian Intervention in Somalia

Media coverage of the Somalia crisis fluctuated from time to time. The main intervening international humanitarian body was the US which was authorized by the UN. According to Bernard Cohen, the daily focus by TV on the starving children in Somalia compelled the government to call for intervention for humanitarian reasons.

On the other hand Mermin believes that officials independently discussed issues on sending a UN force to Somali without the influence of the media and thus TV followed the policy action.[88]Press conferences and debates held by congress prior to media coverage indicate

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[87] Jeffery Clark, "Debacle in Somalia- America & the World," *Foreign Affairs,* " Vol. 72, No.1 ,(1993)pp 109-123: p 112

[88] Lyn S Gray Bill, "CNN Made Me Do(Not Do)It-Assessing the Media Influence on US Intervention In Somalia and Rwanda," *Sarai Reader*,(2004)pp 170-183: p. 171,172

an independence from media influence. The coverage of starving children however remains as evidence of influence at that stage. Ted Cobel's emotional introductory broadcast could have also influenced the US to act. Bestman however argues that media only acted to reinforce the decision.[89]

1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE LITERATURE

The world has experienced and continues to experience conflicts and Humanitarian Intervention often plays an important role of helping when the state cannot help itself. It is therefore an important subject in international relations and in conflict management.

Over the years, humanitarian intervention has evolved and has been the subject of criticism by many. The motives behind its actions has particularly been questioned. It would therefore be important to establish the motive and what guides each intervention.

Africa has been experiencing civil wars in the recent past. They have almost fully relied on the international humanitarian response. It is thus necessary to examine the course taken by international humanitarian response groups since their actions have a great impact in the conflict management process. The media also plays an important role during humanitarian crises. It would be thus necessary to examine the impact it has on humanitarian response. It is also important to know why the international community reacts differently in different war crises.

This study adds to the International Conflict Management international Humanitarian intervention which plays a great role in conflict management.

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[89] John R. Bolton, "Wrong Turn in Somalia," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 1 (1994),pp: 56-66:p 61-65

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework is based on the Just War theory. Just war theory has been used because of the principle of right intent. Just war theory is used to judge whether an intervention is just. This is also known as Jus ad Bellum. The principles of Just War are:

First, Just Cause-The reason for going to war must be to protect life and should not be merely based on punishment. This means that while intervening militarily, the intervener must try as much as possible to restore order and to reduce the number of deaths as much as possible.

Secondly Competent authority is also an important factor to consider. The intervener must have political theory in a given political system for example US intervenes in most cases because it is a Superpower and thus able to handle the intervention. It is also an important member in the UN.

Then, Right intention is also key. The intervener must have the right intention of waging war.

This theory has been chosen because it fits well with the subject of this study since it is a comparative study of how the Humanitarian intervention in Somalia was different from that in Rwanda. It will focus mostly on one of the principles which is, Right intention. Right intention will guide us on the reason as to why humanitarian Intervention was voluntarily carried out in Somalia but not in Rwanda.

1.7 HYPOTHESES

The hypothesis for this study are driven from the literature that has been studied. The questions which seem to arise are based on the intention of the humanitarian intervention. The study is thus guided by the following hypotheses:

(i) Humanitarian intervention is not self driven and thus does not truly occur on humanitarian basis thus causing a difference in reaction to different crises.

(ii) Humanitarian intervention is motivated by the public view through the media and thus the intervening party will intervene to impress the public or due to pressure from the public through the media.

(iii)Humanitarian intervention is not driven by the right intent which is one of the principles of Just war.

1.8 METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

My research design will be explorative since it seeks to analyze how the main humanitarian agencies and groups reacted to the humanitarian crises in Rwanda and Somalia, why they reacted as they did and their intent. The study will use primary data from articles such as the UN Blue Books Series as well as secondary data from journals such as the peace research, published articles and books. Quantitative and Qualitative analysis will be used to analyze the results obtained from the study.

A qualitative method is efficient in evaluating different cases of humanitarian intervention in different crises situations and in the comparative analysis of these studies is appropriate in this study. A quantitative analysis will help in the analysis of the variables.

Secondary sources will be used extensively. In view of the research questions, this research will review previous cases of intervention and analyze them. The research sample will be drawn from interviews, articles and cases in the 1980s to the present date. This time frame is considered in order to establish the trend of humanitarian intervention as affected by various factors. It also recognizes that humanitarian intervention principles have evolved over time.

These will involve a study of some the cases during that period in order to establish the common trend of the intervention in the different cases. The trend will then be compared to the Rwanda and Somali cases.

1.8.2 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE RESEARCH

This study will limit itself to humanitarian intervention from 1980 to the present because the international political system was fairly the same. The interveners have been the great powers mainly the US through the UN. Within that scope, a total of seven humanitarian interventions will be studied and analyzed.

1.9 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The layout of the research problem will be as follows: Chapter one will introduce us to the study by introducing the topic and giving us the historical perspective of the study. The statement of the problem will focus on the main issue we wish to examine. The objectives of the research tells us what we intend to achieve by the end of the study. Justification of the study highlights the importance of the study, its relevance and its contribution to the body of knowledge.

Literature review takes us through the literature on the subject of study by examining each aspect of the study. The theoretical framework gives us the theory on which the study is based on. The hypothesis will give statements to predict the outcome of the study. The methodology of the study describes the research methods and instruments which are used to obtain data for the study. The scope and limitation of the study tells us how much we are able to cover in the study.

Chapter two will focus on the analysis of theories and debates in international humanitarian intervention. This will also cover theories of non intervention.

Chapter three will examine cases of humanitarian intervention during conflicts. It will thus analyzes the way in which the crises were handled by interveners as well as people's opinions on the intervention.

Chapter four will be an analysis of Somalia and Rwanda in relation to the study. It analyses the theoretical framework, hypothesis and research questions vis a vis the case study of Rwanda and Somalia .It compares the actual response of the international community and what they should have done based on the conceptual framework.

Chapter 5 deals with the findings examining what the response of the international community and the media against the expectations based on the theory. It then draws up a hypothesis which can be studied by others who would wish to study the subject further based on the findings

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL ARGUMENTS OF HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses various approaches and models then the debates on humanitarian intervention. They are useful since they form the basis of humanitarian intervention. Theories such as the Natural law and Just war theories have lent much to the current humanitarian intervention.

2.2 The Natural law theory

The Natural law theory was used as a guide for Just War and its principles are still in use. Natural law was used because the world did not exist as a single sovereign entity which could create and enforce global laws. [1] One main principle of this approach is that human beings have natural rights. It recognizes the right of sovereign states to intervene in order to uphold the good of humanity in cases of conflict where innocent people suffer unjustly. The principles used in Natural law approach change over time because they are based on reason. The Natural law principles were officially used as a guide for just war until the treaty of Westphalia in 1648.Natural law is a principle which was advanced by Hugo Grotius who laid down the principles of international law. [2]

According to Natural law theory, human beings have certain moral duties towards each other as long as they exist. Humanitarian intervention is one of the duties. According to it, nations have a right to intervene on behalf of the oppressed. Many Natural theorists also believe

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[1] Alex J Bellamy, Journal of Peace Research "Ethics and Intervention: The 'Humanitarian Exception' and the problem of Abuse in the case of Iraq ". *The Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 41 No 2,(London, Sage Publications, 2004)pp 131-147:132

[2] Taylor B Seybolt, Humanitarian military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure (New York,2007)pp.8

that states also have a right of non-intervention. Christian Wolff, Emer de Vattel and Immanuel Kant [3]for example believe that states have a duty to refrain from interfering in each other's affairs just as the duty to respect each other's autonomy.

2.2.1 Utilitarianism

Utilitarianism is a natural law doctrine which states that an action is just if its consequences are more favorable than unfavorable to all the concerned parties. It therefore considers the consequences as very important. It further posits that a state is not morally justified if it intervenes in a case where the violations in the state are unintentional and in a case where consent to intervention by the state has not been granted. [4]Utalitarianism is a naturalist law because according to it human beings are very important. Its principles are based on individualism egalitarianism and universalism. It holds moral evaluation very highly or as important.

2.2.2 Act utilitarianism

According to Act-utilitarian, each human being is the proper object of moral evaluation. Rule-Utilitarianism argues that individuals should keep their promises if general adherence to rule individuals positively promotes human beings. On the promise keeping act, utilitarianism argue that the justice of any humanitarian intervention depends entirely on its consequences .

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[3] Robert Keohane & J. LHolzgrefe, " Humanitarian intervention: Ethical, Legal & Political Dillemmas", Vol. 13, No. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)p.27

[4] Erick Heinze, "The moral limits of humanitarian intervention reconciling human respect and utility ,"Vol. XXXVI No.4 ,2004)p.543-558:553

The humanitarian intervention is just if its intention is to increase wellbeing and unjust if it does not the well being of an individual. Tanzania's intervention in Uganda[5] was just because overthrowing Amin rule saved many lives. India's intervention in Bangladesh on the other hand was unjust because more people died when the Indian army intervened to liberate the country.

Act-utilitarianism is often criticized as being too altruistic because it is very demanding on the intervener.

2.3 Just War theory

The principles of just war (Bellum iu stum) are just cause-which means that the reason for going to war cannot just be for capturing the perpetrators of violence and recovering things, it has to have a good reason, right intention which states that war must be objective and with the right intentions, right authority-the terms of peace must be made by a legitimate authority, last resort and a reasonable prospect for success.[6]

Just war theory is used as a method of analyzing military actions. It has been used to judge whether it is right or wrong to go to war. It has been recognized by great scholars and thinkers such as Cicero, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, Grotius and Daniel Webster. [7]One of the sources of just war was religious sources. Many Just War thinkers have been religiously affiliated with the Christian faith , mostly the Catholics and the Protestants. It has also been accepted by theologians, philosophers, jurists as a method of judgment on conflicts. This gave

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[5] Robert Keohane & J. LHolzgrefe, " Humanitarian intervention: Ethical, Legal & Political Dilemmas", Vol. 13, No. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)p.27

[6] Taylor Seybolt, "Humanitarian Military Intervention-The Conditions For Success and Failure", (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.12
[7] Lynne Kinsela & Craig L Carr, " The Morality of War", (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007) p.55

rise to the secular Just War. The early approaches in Christianity were more pacific but later on took a new shape of Just war. The theory of Just war was derived from the views of Augustine and Aquinas.[8]

According to Augustine, the natural order related to peace required that the group undertaking the war should have a leader. According to him, war was a permissible act in a nation. The power of prosecution was part of the natural powers of a nation. He further believed that war was ordained by natural law.

Though he supported war, he had a good reason for it. He stated the reasons for which wars should be carried out and the procedures which should be followed in order to ensure that a war is just. He used principles like Right intention which is an important factor to consider in before waging war. He also thought that the war should be fought under the right authority. He further noted that the only reason to wage war was to create peace. According to him, "Peace is not sought to provide war but war is waged to attain peace" He criticized ill motives of waging war such as the desire for harming, the cruelty of revenge, the salvageness of revolting, the last for domination and other similar intentions. He believed that in war, the goal must be to do what is necessary to attain peace. He extended his regard for justice to the victims who are no longer a threat to peace. In addition to right intention he stated that war should be waged under the lawful authority. The leaders, he believed should use heir powers to ensure peace for the good of the society. St. Aquinas was also another thinker who based his views on St. Augustine's .He elaborated on the teaching of the bishop of Hippo. He focused on defining the right to make war and the importance of the intentions which come before the decision to go to war. He stated that

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[8] Mark Edward De Forrest, " Just war theory and the recent U.S air strikes against Iraq", (Washington: Gonzaga University, 1999) p.28

war was justified under the following three conditions: War should be by the lawful authority with the power to wage war, war was taken with just cause and war was undertaken with the right intention –to achieve some good or to avoid some evil.[9]

The meanings of the principles can thus be summarized by Bellamy[10] as: Right intention- Waging war for the common good and not for self motives or because of enmity, just cause which is limited to self defense ,defense of others, restoration of peace, defense of rights and for the punishment of wrong doers.Proportionality of ends which weighs the harm likely to be caused by the war against the wrongs in the victim state. Last resort- is a check on whether the use of force is the only most appropriate way, reasonable chance of success analyzes the overall likelihood of success and the cost of success and finally right authority which is currently accorded to the UN and the victim state. This authority is currently not clear since great powers like the US have been intervening without consent.

An application of the just War theory to the US intervention in Iraq. The US intervened in Iraq when war broke out. The Iraq government supported the attacks on Kurds war and thus the US intervened to protect the Kurdish victims. This made the Iraq to retaliate, attacking the US air force, an action which complicated the war. The US defended its actions based on a UN resolution which forbade the Iraq not to attack the Kurds.

An analysis of the US intervention against the Just war theory indicates that the attack by the US did not meet the Jus ad bellum or Just War conditions. They don't seem to have truly had the intentions of saving the Kurds since their attack was in the south rather than in the Northern part where they would have truly defended the Kurds. They also denounced their

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[9] Mark Edward De Forrest, " Just war theory and the recent U.S air strikes against Iraq", (Washington: Gonzaga University, 1999) p.29

[10] Alex Belamy, " Just wars from Cicero to Iraq",(Malden: Polity press, 2006)p.123

initial intentions to defend the Kurds .It is also argued that there was no international aggression in the Iraq war and thus they had no authority to intervene.

Concerning the second condition however, it was considered that they had the right authority since their leadership was lawful. Thus their authority was competent. Finally they seem to have had the wrong intentions which were to punish the Iraq rather than to restore peace in Iraq. This was judged from their manner of attack.

2.4 Communitarianism

This is a doctrine which posits that norms are morally binding as long as they fit the cultural beliefs and practices of specific communities. [11]These norms gradually build up after a period of common interest. The international community states have common interests and thus share some norms. An act of humanitarian intervention is thus just because it fits the norms of all cultures. It is justified if it is a response to an act that moves the moral conscience of people. It consequently translates to the intervention of states whenever one of them is suffering either through massacres, slavery, when a state expels a big number of its citizens or when it goes into an uncontrollable state of anarchy.

According to Waltzer, [12]a duty of humanitarian intervention is just because it fits the inherited cultures of the political communities at the time. [13]Nations are beginning to share more and more values and norms and they are willing to sacrifice for other nations. This is evident in things such as human rights which are now internationally shared, citizenship in which many states now accept dual citizenship, communication which has been made to connect people

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[11] J.L Holzgrefe & Robert O.Keohane, "Humanitarian Intervention-Ethical, Legal, and Political dilemmas", (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003)p.33

[12] ibid
[13] ibid

throughout the world, voluntary associations in which members are drawn from al over the world and social movements. The international community shows concern for all states for instance the concern shown for the inaction in the Rwanda genocide in 1994 and in the Sebrenica massacre. The concern led to the 1999 NATO intervention to stop ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.[14]

Another principle of Communitarianism which has undergone many criticisms is Consent. This is because in most cases there is division due to many differences in the masses such as religion, ethnicity, economy civil rights etc. It might thus be hard to have everyone giving consent to intervention.

2.5 The Positive law theory

Positive international law is another approach which for some time replaced the Natural law. Scholars who advanced positive law include Hart, Jeremy Bentham and John Austin. It is based on political reasoning. According to this law, a sovereign state had the rights over its own state and people without fear of outside intervention. It is thus based on non-intervention.[15] It has also been defined as man made or laws which are enacted by humanity in or society .It refers to laws which can be empirically tested . These laws exist within the legal institutions.[16]

Legal positivists concentrate on what the law is and not what it ought to be. Positivists argue against Natural law stating that Natural law may give room for justifying illegal wars. They cite the example of the US intervention in Iraq. They say that it may open space for justifying the intervention which would strictly be limited by Positive law. Positivists further believe that this may give way to abuse. The US intervention in Iraq thus indicates the danger of

[14] Menno R Kammingo, " Is Neorealism obsolete: Etzioni's Communitarian Confirmation of Neorealist theory", Vol. 9 No. 1 pp.5-39:8
[15] Taylor B Seybolt, Humanitarian military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure (New York,2007)pp.9
[16] Austin Surat, Speech and Silence in /American

the abuse of the Natural law. That is, arguments may be used to justify a war that is not motivated by moral concerns but rather is backed by the interests of the intervener. They further argue that the continual permissiveness to justification of intervention based on Natural law may lead to an international society full of disorder and higher incidents of war. Other examples of cases where the Natural law is said to have been misused are: The Holy war in the Venetian republic in 1202, the Holy war fought by the Catholics and protestants between 1618 to 1648 when each side claimed to be fighting for a just cause and the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Hitler who used humanitarian reasons as justification.[17]

Those against Positive law however argue that it does not cover all the moral reasoning on matters of war. It does not include rules on ethics of war. Another scholar, Teson[18] against Positive law argues that the use of force should be incorporated in the UN charter. According to him, the use of force should be considered as both moral and legal. Positive law has some limitations: There is no authoritative law maker in international relations so there are no firm international laws, there is no authoritative judge who can judge the laws, the customs are very important just as the treaties and it is difficult to interpret the customs objectively, positive law is said to be incomplete and is believed not to cover all aspects of war and Positive law is also not based in a community and thus is based on a varied source from the international community. Bellamy argues that both Positive law and Natural law should be used hand in hand since they both have limitations.[19]

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[17] Alex J Bellamy, Journal of Peace Research "Ethics and Intervention: The 'Humanitarian Exception' and the problem of Abuse in the case of Iraq", *The Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 41 No 2,(London, Sage Publications, 2004)pp 131-147:132

[18] ibid

[19] ibid

2.6.Approaches to Humanitarian intervention

First we have the developmentalist approach .Humanitarian intervention agencies try to work independently. In a move to transform, Red Cross published a few code in 1994.The code took a developmentalist approach. It focused on saving lives and emphasized on impartiality. The approach did not however work well as it was affected by other geopolitical factors, key among them, the Somali debacle and thus they failed again. [20]

Agencies have also come together to analyze their failures and they came up with recommendations. They came up with the sphere project 2000 in which they reasserted the humanitarian imperative and the spheres standards in which they intended to ensure that agencies could be held accountable against specified levels of good practice. This sphere method introduces one of two related approaches known as the maximalist approach.

This approach was greatly criticized for its Euro-American ethnocentricism.

Secondly, the maximalist approach.The maximalist approach is derived from the fact that factors which affect humanitarian aid have to be considered during the humanitarian intervention. It argues that no form of aid can simply be for saving lives. Maximalists argue that agencies have a responsibility to ensure that relief aid does not increase the likelihood of conflict. Further, humanitarianism should stem out violence and protect innocent civilians. [21]

It calls for the broadening of the humanitarian response in order to include peace building and sustainability or to make development components so that the overall act can have a big impact. This further involves a shift in work ethics from the routine attempt of doing good to considering the consequences of the intervention. More responsibility is taken up such as peace

[20] "Development in Practice, Humanitarian Trends and Dilemmas", Vol. 16, No.314(Jun 26) pp. 245

[21] Christine Mohoney," International studies Review", Vol 9.No2(2008)p286-289:287

building and development work. According to the Maximalists, good intentions are not sufficient enough.[22]

Next is the minimalist approach. The Minimalist approach works contrary to the beliefs of the maximalist approach. which is greatly associated with the western world. The two have a big influence on each other. This is mainly due to the fact that most humanitarian aid agencies are funded by the western countries. The Minimalist approach seeks to detach itself from influence from the western influence. They argue that it is impossible to reach a full understanding of conflict and so it may be better not to try. They thus believe in intervention which is not reliant on the western influence.[23] A Minimalist approach may not be sufficient to solve some crises e.g the conflict in Darfur and Congo and generally conflicts which are likely to leave the state impoverished.

According to the Minimalists, humanitarians should not extend their activities beyond the usual humanitarian goals and mandate but should rather retreat to the more neutral position. The Minimalists advocate for going back to the basics and reaffirming humanitarian values which are: Saving lives, maintaining neutrality, impartiality and international humanitarian law . In addition to this, it calls for the rejection of peace building as not being part of the mandate. In the minimalists' view, intervention should not be developmental. They state that development assistance depends on bilateral relations with a recognize and legitimate state. This is because the presence of humanitarian interventionists may not be appreciated if they aim at anything more political that goes beyond the humanitarian purposes.[24]

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[22] Julia Unger, "Humanitarian Aid and Peace Building. Can They Be combined?-A Critical Perspective on Humanitarian Organizations in the Field", (Austria, 2008) p 8

[23] .Development in Practice, Humanitarian Trends and Dilemmas, Vol 16, No.314(Jun 26) pp. 247

[24] [24] Julia Unger, "Humanitarian Aid and Peace Building. Can They Be combined?-A Critical Perspective on Humanitarian Organizations in the Field", (Austria, 2008) p 9

Neutral interventions are, as the name suggests, interventions which do not wish to support neither side of the conflict.Neutral interventions which do not take stands in conflict do not do much to improve conflict. They might even make the situation worse. For instance, helping the perpetrators may give them a chance to even go ahead with the killings.[25]This is because they may use the resources intended for the victims to strengthen themselves.

There are also other approaches of intervention.Mathew Krain has come up with models of intervention which help reduce the severity of the effects of conflicts. The challenging intervention model is one of the models which can help reduce killings. These are interventions that directly challenge the perpetrator or provide support to the victims or targets of the genocide or politicide. These thus reduce the severity of the conflict. In most cases the perpetrators usually plan their acts of violence knowing well the weaknesses of the interveners. The interveners should thus prepare themselves and challenge them so that they loose. This action would reduce the severity of the violence. Preparedness by the interveners thus shows their credibility and resolve to act more firmly. The challenging intervention is further useful because the perpetrators are often armed whether sponsored by the government or guerillas.

The challenging model makes the perpetrators to gear their weapons towards defense against external challenge. They also divert their time and resources thus reducing the severity of killings. This might lead to cessation of killings due to the high cost incurred. The expectation of the use of the model is that intervention should reduce severity of any politicide or genocide. Interventions that favor the perpetrator and impartial interventions should not have an effect on the severity of the genocide or politicide. This form of intervention indicates that the interveners have stopped being permissive and are active. It brings out the interveners as no longer the

[25] International Intervention and the severity of genocide and politicides Mathew Krain, Blackwell publiishing, Vol 49, no 3(sep 205)p.366

unchallenged. It ensures that resources are diverted towards defense against external forces thus reducing the killings. This model criticizes the impartial and neutral intervention stating that they may in fact make the situation even worse.[26]

Impartial intervention model like the name suggests, does notate any part. It is the one that guides most international organizations who opt for the peace building strategy. Some scholars think that it is an effective means for third parties. However the only means to ensure the reduction of the severity of the killings is for these interveners to make it clear that by persuading he perpetrators to stop the killings, they are not seeking to be the winners. The expectations of the model is that a perfect impartial intervention should reduce the severity of the killings. On the other hand biased interventions should have no positive effect in the conflict or cannot improve the situation.

The Witness model implies having the interveners on the ground but refraining from taking any side. It is argued that the presence of the interveners can put off the perpetrators or indicate that there is no permissiveness. In this case they are not just passive but are witnesses and active participants. This should lead to a reduction in the severity of the killings.

The expectation of the witness model is that the presence of the international community whether for the perpetrators or impartial should reduce the severity of any politicide or genocide. The challenging model however differs with the witness model arguing that presence alone is not sufficient and that something should be done to reduce the effects of the violence. They argue that it could even make the conflict worse.

[26] International Intervention and the severity of genocide and politicides Mathew Krain, Blackwell publishing, Vol. 49, no 3(sep 2) p 366

This is because a state in which people are losing life needs a force to stop them from the act and not just to comment. Many interveners were witnesses in the Rwandan crisis which left many dead.

The bystander model assumes that if neither the challenging model nor the impartial model turns out to be effective, then the by standers model can be effective. This basically means to do nothing. This is a choice most often made by the international community. This involves either opting out or choosing other non military options such as economic or political sanctions. The expectation is that no type of international intervention can have an effect on the severity of the genocide or the politicide. [27]

The fifth model is the balance of power model. This kind of intervention involves the intervener tipping the model towards his side by for instance equipping itself with resources or strengthening its capability. The intervening party can form alliances; it can provide resources such as arms and anything that can make it balance the power. This bias causes a balance of power thus hastening e end of he conflict. The expectations of the model are that, as the number of the parties supporting the perpetrators increases, the severity of the killings increases and as the number of the parties supporting the target group increases, the severity of the killings reduces. The number of impartial interventions however should have no effect on the conflict.

The sixth one is the threat based model. The Threat based model assumes that politicide and genocide are the results of threats by the perpetrators. It is assumed that interventions may alter the way threats are perceived. This is likely to be in the case of weak states. The governing body may be using threats to silence possible actions by the citizens. These may eventually turn to be murderous policies. The intervention by an external force may weaken the perpetrators and

[27] International Intervention and the severity of genocide and politicides Mathew Krain, Blackwell publishing, Vol. 49, no 3(sep 2005) p 368

even challenge their regime. The regime may view itself as weak and failing and thus withdraw from the conflict.

Another approach to intervention is Neo-humanitarianism. Humanitarian intervention has changed over time due to the changing nature of conflict, changes in international relations among other factors. This has given rise to a new kind of humanitarianism which Mills calls Neo-humanitarianism. This is characterized by concern for gains such as political gains or military gains, interests within the humanitarian group rather than a concern for the affected state. In this case humanitarian intervention is manipulated for gains such as political gains or military gains. Thus while International Humanitarian Organizations have helped many states, they have fallen prey to the influence of actors who have vetted interests in the conflict. [28]

It is also important to look at the position of the UN in intervention.According to article 2(4) member states should refrain from the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any state or in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the UN. Article 2(7) prohibits intervention of the UN members against matters which are within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. [29]That is why in many cases of conflict the UN sends peace keeping troops whose main concern is to ensure the region is peaceful and who do not intervene militarily unless very necessary.

2.7 Debates on humanitarian intervention

The debates and arguments on humanitarian interventions will be categorized into two: the restrictionists and the counter-restrictionists. The two main issues which make these categories are the nature of armed intervention and the question of pre-emption.

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[28] Kurl Mills "Neo-humanitarianism-The Role of International Humanitarian norms and Organizations in Contemporary Conflict", Vol. 11(2005)pp.162

[29] United Nations Charter Articles 2(4), 2(7)p.6-7

Restrictionists argue for the interpretation of armed intervention to be used only in certain conditions and the intervention to prevent conflict escalation. They interpret Article 2(4) of the UN as a prohibition on the use of force

2.8 Debate on neutrality of humanitarian intervention

There is also a debate on whether humanitarian action in times of war is politically neutral or politically fraught. This argument has been greatly disputed by humanitarian agencies who claim that they are not politically driven and that they are neutral. Red Cross has even changed its rules to clearly show their neutrality. They claim to deliver their helped strictly based on need thus a needs-based delivery. They further note that the two interests, political and humanitarian should be handled independently. Those who advocate for non-political humanitarian intervention do not like military intervention for humanitarian purposes. This is because military intervention is often political and causes humanitarian action to be politicized. The humanitarian aid workers can easily be confused for military workers. This can also cause another problem of making the humanitarian aid workers targets of the attackers. Consequently humanitarian aid workers may withdraw their help.[30]

Those in favor of intervention argue that humanitarian intervention is inherently political. To support their point they give a simple example of food distribution during a crisis. They argue that food and medicine can be diverted to sustain perpetrators of the violence instead of unarmed civilians. Humanitarian intervention can give legitimacy to the most violent leaders and undermine non-violent ones. It is further argued that humanitarian intervention is often used by

[ ] Alex Bellamy, « Power rules and argument : New approaches to humanitarian intervention , » *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, (Car fax Publishing: 2003)Vol. 57, no.3, pp 499-512:503

donor governments as substitute for political action. According to this school of thought[31], it is not right for humanitarian agencies to maintain pretence of neutrality. They further note that the decision to intervene is usually political and it is advisable for the intervener to state his interests in advance. Thus morality cannot according to this school of thought be the only cause for intervention. A second reason is political interest.

2.9 Realism and Humanitarian Intervention

According to realism states will not subordinate the pursuit of national interest for the sake of international order. This simply means that the humanitarian groups represented by various states will act according to their national interest as has been seen in the interventions by the humanitarian agencies represented by the US. They thus do not have the potential to transform situations as may be perceived.[32]Stats participating in humanitarian intervention do so for selfish gains like to assist an ally, bolster a state, block a regional hegemon counterbalance an internal power situation when another outside power has intervened. They may also intervene to prevent violence from erupting.

2.10 Sovereignty and Humanitarian and Intervention

Debates have come up in relation to how humanitarian intervention is carried out , its purposes effectiveness. The tension between state sovereignty and individual human rights found in the positive international law has given rise to a debate. On one hand state sovereignty grants a state the independence to deal with its conflicts and on the other hand it is recognized that the individual rights of member states have to be protected. Interventions should be carried out in a

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[31] ibid
[32] . Scott Burchill et al , "Theories of international Relations,"(New York: 2001)pp 93

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case where the authorities of the states are infringing the rights of its members and subjecting them to suffering.[33]

2.11 The peace Keeping model and Humanitarian Intervention

Another debate is based on the difficulty of humanitarian intervention. Some argue that intervention is hard while others argue that it is easy. The belief that humanitarian intervention is easy is based on the peace keeping model. According to this school of thought, intervention only takes place where the environment permits. When the interveners attack, the fighting forces stop attacking the civilians. They also believe that it is important for the host government to give consent for intervention. They argue that because of the consensus there would be minimal violence.

Those who believe that intervention is hard claim tat many interveners do not send the strong troops and thus the ineffectiveness of the intervention. For instance the Canadian General Romeo Dalaire is one of the best advocates for this position based on his experience. He commanded 400 troops in Rwanda and notes that if he had been given a larger troop, he would have succeeded. Proponents of this argument do not believe in getting consent from the host government. They argue that this may not work as sometimes the government is the cause of the crisis.

Counter-restriction advocate for intervention which they believe is necessary to protect individuals in a state. They advocate for self defense. They argue that protection of nationals has been revived over time. They also support self defense.

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[33] ibid

2.12 Pluralism and Solidarism

Pluralists and Solidarists both believe in the existence of the international society system. They however disagree on humanitarian intervention.

Pluralists believe in the existence of plurality of actors in the international society which is guided by a constitution. They believe on the right of the individual states' right to exist. They thus posit that it is reflected in state sovereignty and thus the position of non-intervention. They accept diversity but with minimal interference. [34]Pluralists argue that states do not exhibit solidarity of this kind but are capable of agreeing only for certain minimum purposes which fall short of the role of the enforcement of the law.[35]On humanitarian intervention, they state that there is no humanitarian emergency which that necessitates the use of force. They argue that human rights are not universal.

Solidarists believe in the right of humanitarian intervention. According to them, individual human beings have the right to be members of the international society. They argue that there is an agreement in the international society as to what constitutes humanitarian emergency. They draw this from the human rights values. They cite the tradition set by the US intervention , Operation Provide Comfort in Iraq after the Gulf war. They describe the incorporation of the UN resolution   688 which was used as the basis for intervention as a revolution in the international society. They further argue that extreme cases of suffering warrant n exception to the rule of non-intervention.

[34] Alex Bellamy, " Power rules and argument : New approaches to humanitarian intervention ," *Australian Journal of International Affairs,* (Car fax Publishing 2003)Vol. 57, no.3, pp 499-512:500
[35] Scott Burchill et al, " Theories of international Relations,"(New York:2001), p 110

The debate between the Solidarists and pluralist are based on three issues: the components of humanitarian emergency, legitimacy in case f supreme humanitarian emergency and conduct during intervention.

2.13 Decisionism and Humanitarian Intervention

The debate on decisionism and humanitarian intervention is a debate by Carl Schmitt. At the centre of decisionism is global decisionism which involves the integrative network of supranational and international institutions such as the European Union, the United Nations and the International Criminal Court which make up a great political power at the global level. In an attempt to preserve political unity, these organizations are driven towards an authoritative political structure or decisionism aimed at preserving a political unity. Problems arise as to how to intervene peaceably. Yet the same bodies also campaign for military intervention thus going against the state-centric position.

According to Schmitt, [36] humanity has a nature of imperialism and thus carries the same in humanitarian intervention. He rejects liberalism stating that neutrality contradicts its initial purpose to preserve a permanent peace among nations. He gives the example of the League of Nations attempt to exclude aggression and its consequent failure. In times of crisis, actions are also often contrary to stated rules and negotiations and debates tend to undermine decisive actions. Humanitarian intervention thus changes its pattern from time to time.

Schmitt criticizes the liberal normative approaches and argues that the normative idea applied to a legal practice is inadequate in solving the problem. He argues that a gap is created between the legal and the practice. He thus states that at some point, a decision should be made

[36] Steve C Roach, " Decisionism and Humanitarian Intervention: Reinterpreting Carl Schmitt and the Global Political Order," *Sage Publications*, Vol. 30, No.4 (2005)p 443-460:445

to intervene. [37]Decisionism also concerns itself with the party which makes the decision. Schmitt states that the one who holds the power to make the decision should be the one to carry out the intervention. He cites US intervention as an example of such a case. In cases where it has intervened, the US powers are always the most supreme and so they have the right to intervene.

Scmitt believes that power and its relations should be objective and should be transparent in order to make the management of conflict easier. He critiqued liberal universalism as being abstract. He claims tat there can be no political unity and decisionism is more practical in dealing with conflict. [38]In this he supports intervention without consent as in the case of the US intervention in Iraq. He believes that universalism cannot contain conflict.

2.14 Capitalism and Humanitarian Intervention

Humanitaranism is said to be liked with capitalism. [39]The emergence of a market oriented form of life gave rise to new habits which set he stage for humanitarianism. The change from survival for the fittest to the more accommodating trust in promise which was later recognized by the law through legalizing contracts between two people, eventually gave rise to humanitarianism. Another factor tat bridged the capitalism to humanitarianism was principle which brought in the aspect of morality. One who was principled was fit to prosper in the market society.[40]

[37] Jef Huysman, " The Jargon of Exception-On Schmitt, Agamben and the Absence of Political Society, International Political Sociology, (2008) 2 165-183:168
[38] David Chandler, " War without end(s): Grounding the discourse of ' global war', International Peace Research Institute, (Sage Publications: 2009), Vol. 40 No. 3 p243-262: 251
[39] The American Historical Review-Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Thomas L Haskell Vol. 90, No.3 (Jun,1985)pp.559
[40] Thomas L Haskell, " The American Historical Review-Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility," .Vol. 90, No.3 (Jun,1985)pp.559

There are also other theories in international relations which view humanitarian intervention in various ways. Postmodernism which is concerned with exposing the interplay behind power politics. Postmodernists believe that politics can not be put aside. They believe that even humanitarianism can be placed on the spectrum of violence since it also operates with the sovereign state system. Moreover, in the famine camps, aid workers are forced t choose the group to help and can end up taking one side. In conclusion, prevailing humanitarianism deal with people involve as victims who cannot do without intervention. This in turn gives rise to *sovereign powers in form of humanitarian groups.* [41]

Liberalism and Humanitarian Intervention also present an argument.Liberalists believe that sovereignty of states is no longer an automatic protection against external influence or humanitarian intervention. This is evident in the most recent humanitarian interventions which have taken place in states with internal conflicts.[42]

According to the coevaluation theory, altruistic behaviors are often tied to self interested power pursuits. American humanitarianism for instance is tied to a number of things: domestic political factors, historical factors and international norms.

2.15 Positive law and the Natural law

The debate on the Positive and the Natural law by Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse [43]distinguishes between restrictionists who believe in the interpretation of Positive law that prohibits intervention and counter-restrictionists who believe in intervention and that state sovereignty is not absolute and intervention is allowed to prevent atrocities. Restrictionists

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[41] . Scott Burchill et al, Theories of international Relations,(2001) , York New pp 204

[42] . ibid

[43] Taylor B Seybolt, Humanitarian military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Faiure (New York,2007)pp.12

claim tat in 1979, Tanzania intervened militarily in Uganda claiming humanitarian reasons yet they had political interests. It later stated that it acted on National security grounds rather than on humanitarian grounds. In the 1990s there were many conflicts and the restrictionists faced a great challenge as humanitarian intervention acts were commonly used.

Communal liberty, human rights and Sovereignty is another argument presented by Michael Walzer who builds on the work of classical writers and enlightment philosophers to argue that communal liberty and human rights have greater intrinsic value than state sovereignty. He supports intervention which is based on just reasons and which is geared for success.[44]

2.16 Just war principles and Humanitarian Intervention

Another writer, Nicholas Wheeler evaluates humanitarian intervention using the just war principles. He develops an argument in favor of intervention to protect civilians from states. The intervention act by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the Serbian province of Kosovo thout the UN Security Council authorization sparked a disagreement based on whether humanitarian intervention and human rights can be a legitimate cause of war.[45]This probed an argument following the review on intervention by the United Nations which led Canada to form a commission on intervention and state sovereignty which produced "The responsibility to protect"

[44] Taylor B Seybolt, Humanitarian military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure (New York,2007)pp.13

[45] ibid

The Principle of Strategy in Humanitarian Intervention is a way forward given by a scholar. In view of the arguments, Seybolt [46]advocates for the use of strategy. He notes that strategy will pull together factors that will make the intervention successful.

In conclusion, humanitarian intervention is inevitable thus the principle of the Responsibility to Protect. This principle was put in place by the United Nations on September 16th 2005. [47]This principle gives mandate to states to take the responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. It also gives the United Nations the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means to help protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. The international world cannot thus close its eyes to a crisis. Its mere presence to intervene goes a long way in helping solve the crisis.

2.17 Conclusion

The approaches, theories and debates of humanitarian intervention which have been discussed posited that humanitarian intervention is inevitable and thus should be carried out in case of conflict, however they suggest that humanitarian intervention should be assessed and the conditions stated should be followed to ensure that the intervention is justified . They are all in one way or another imply that intervention should be justifiable.The models by Krain describe the position the intervener can take during a conflict. It is thus agreeable that intervention is

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[46] Taylor B Seybolt, Humanitarian military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure (New York,2007)pp.22

[47] Richard H Cooper and Juliette Voinov kohler, " Responsibility to protect: The Global Moral Compact for the 21st Century (New York 2009)pp.2

necessary during a conflict since it forms part of the values and norms in the international community.

CHAPTER THREE

HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

3.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of seven case studies of humanitarian intervention from 1980 to the present date which have been studied in order to obtain data which will contribute to the findings of the study. The data will try to establish the pattern followed in intervention to determine the intention of intervention and thus if each intervention is carried out with the right intent.

The intent behind interventions is justified by the state itself. This together with the analysis of the intervention by other writers will form the basis of the data which will be used to analyze each case. The variables: humanitarian reasons, national interest, media alert and other reasons will be calibrate on a 0 to 2 scale based on the stated intent of the intervention. The cases will be analyzed contextually using a comparative case study design and information will be obtained and tabulated. The analysis will be done. The results will be interpreted based on the findings. A conclusion will then be drawn from this.

3.2 The French and Libyan intervention in the Chad conflict in 1983

The Chad conflict started in 1978 and ended 1983. Chad had three different interventions during that period: two by France and one by Libya following requests by the government. The French intervened in 1978 as a reaction against alleged Libyan involvement. It was justified as the need to protect French nationals and as a reaction against alleged Libyan involvement and the 1983 intervention was justified as a reaction to a previous Libyan attack. The intervening powers

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conferred power to the group which had invited them to intervene. States which supported France justified the intervention as an act of collective self defense.[1]

The justifications of the intervention in Chad are thus summarized in table below:

Scale	Reasons for intervention
1	Humanitarian reasons
0	Media alert
0	National interest
2	Other reasons

Source:Author

3.3 The 1983 United States' intervention in East Caribbean-Grenada

The Grenada conflict started with a coup after a few years after it received its independence from Great Britain. The coup brought Maurice Bishop to power. His regime was described as Marxist-Lenist. This period ended freedom of press and other political freedoms. Disagreements later led to another coup in 1983.This coup was led by Bishop Maurice' deputy, Bernard Coard. It ended up in the death of Bishop and his ministers.[2]

United States' intervention in East Caribbean in 1983 followed the coup General Austin then assumed power but there was still unrest in the country. The US and the Caribbean force

[1] Humanitarian Intervention in the United Nations in an Evolving World Order", (University of Pennsylvania Press:1996)p.109

[2] "Antonio.T, "Foreign Armed Intervention Conflict in Internal",(Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: Dordrecht 1993)p.187

intervened. The US defended its intervention as invitation by the governor General Sir Paul Scoon , regional peace keeping action to prevent the conflict from posing threats to the US mainland and the protection of the US and other foreigners. US had established military bases in the Caribbean territories and thus it was an area of interest to the US. [3]There were 100 US medicine students in Grenada and the US tried to evacuate them without much success.

The intervention was supported by the nationals of the country as seen in the way they overwhelmingly voted for Scoon who had invited the US to intervene. The US' intervention action was greatly condemned in the General Assembly at the UN and it was doubted whether the peace keeping action was actually met.[4]The US justification was thus a response to an invitation by the General and the protection of US nationals. The US did not advance a general right of humanitarian Intervention.

Justification of the intervention in East Caribbean from the above case study

Scale	Reasons for intervention
1	Humanitarian reasons
0	Media alert
0	National interest
1	Other reasons

Source: Author

[3] Jeffrey D Bostic, "Shifting Patterns of Security Policy of the Commonwealth Caribbean since world war II", (Washington, May 1995) p. 25
[4] Antonio.T, "Foreign Armed Intervention in Internal Conflict",(Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: Dordrecht 1993)p.180

3.4 US intervention in Panama in 1989

Tensions in Panama began after the Panama leader cancelled the results of the presidential elections in May. Prior to this, Panama had bad relations with the US because the Panama president Manuel Noriega had been accused of drug trafficking and dictatorship. Efforts to oust him bore no fruits. The tension in Panama reached an attempted coup which was successfully averted by Noriega. The coup was allegedly US backed. Many US citizens were encountered violence and harassment. The US officially intervened in December of the same year through Operation Just Cause having succeeded in their strategy to put in an alternative government led by Guillermo Endara Gillmany , the actual winner of the presidential elections which had been annulled by president Noriega. This government gave consent to their intervention. [5]

The US motive to capture Noriega was not immediately achieved since there were still some forces loyal to Noriega. Noriega took refuge in the Vatican embassy. He was arrested in January the next year and appeared in a Florida court. The justification by the US authorities was based on The consent of the legitimate panama government, individual self defense, The protection of nationals abroad since some US nationals had been threatened and the relationship between the US and Panama was sour because of president Noriega, The protection of the free navigation in the Panama Canal. There were three other non official goals by the US which were: Pro-democratic intervention and the struggle against drug-trafficking.

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[5] Antonio Tanca, "Foreign Armed Intervention in Internal Conflict", (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1993)p.183

The Security Council did not succeed in adopting a resolution condemning the US. Generally speaking though, only the western countries: France and the UK appreciated the intervention with the rest of the international representatives rejecting the justifications.[6]

The post cold war period shows more consensus in intervention as there is no other power to turn to.

Justification for the intervention in Panama

Scale	Reasons for intervention
0	Humanitarian reasons
0	Media alert
1	National interest
2	Other reasons

Source: Author

3.4 The US and ECOWAS intervention in the Liberian conflict in the 1990s

The conflict in Liberia in 1990s was characterized by a struggle between Charles Taylor, President Samuel K. Doe and Prince Y Johnson. This also led to an internal fight between the Gio and the Mono tribes who backed Taylor on one side and the Krahn and the Mandingo tribes on the side of the president. A group headed by Johnson managed to capture and gain control of the capital thus defeating president Doe. This led to anarchy and troops committing atrocities against civilians on the opposing side. The US government refused to take sides in the intervention and sent peace keeping troops. ECOWAS which was composed of about 5000

[66] Antonio. T, "Foreign Armed Intervention in Internal Conflict",(Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: Dordrecht 1993)p.183-184

troops from Gambia, Ghana , Guinea, Sierra Leone and Nigeria landed in Monrovia's port on August 24th.[7]They were welcome by President Doe and Johnson but not by the rebel opposition leader, Charles Tailor. The US intervened with a clear purpose to protect US citizens and their mandate was strictly limited to that purpose.

The West African nations acted with the consent of the then president Doe and Prince Johnson with the aim of restoring peace in the state , protecting citizens of West Africa and preventing massive inflow of refugees into the neighboring countries. The international public supported US' action while ECOWAS' action was condemned by the neighboring countries such as Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso who were also accused of sending troops.[8] According to Jerry Mbarte Locula, [9]The UN did not authorize intervention because it had nothing to gain like oil or other commodities of economic interest. Thus, the US had no interest in Liberia.

Table 4: Justification of the intervention in Liberia from the above case study

Scale	Reasons for intervention
2	Humanitarian reasons
0	Media alert
0	National interest
1	Other

Source: Author

3.6 US and Allied Powers intervention in Iraq in 1991

[7] Antonio. T, "Foreign Armed Intervention Conflict in Internal",(Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: Dordrecht 1993)p.187

[8] ibid
[9] Jerry M'bartee Locula, "The Theory and Practice of Humanitarian Intervention and the Interest of Western Powers: Liberia, Darfur, Rwanda, Iraq, and Libya, May 03, 2011*

The 1991 conflict in Iraq was a result of the Persian Gulf War which left Kurd rebels in the North and Southern part of the country. They then started fleeing to the tune of two million to Iran and Turkey. Iran stopped accommodating them after some time but Turkey continued receiving them. The UN in April 5th adopted a resolution 688 [10]calling for the repression of the war since it would amount to a threat to the international peace and security.

It also called on Iraq to allow humanitarian mission in its territory. The UK through the Prime Minister proposed creating of a safe haven in the North and in the South but Iraq refused claiming that it was a strategy to interfere with their sovereignty. The safe haven was created nevertheless and a resolution was passed two days later allowing the same. A no fly zone was thus created and other forces which joined together in that operation were: the US UK, France and Turkey. Other participants were Italy and Germany. They delivered humanitarian relief and military protection. The operations in place were operation provide comfort, Desert shield and Desert storm.[11] The creation of a safe haven was justified as purely humanitarian. [12] The US was however accused of acting because of its interest.

Table 5: Justification of the intervention from the above case study

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[10]. Antonio.T, "Foreign Armed Intervention Conflict in Internal",(Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: Dordrecht 1993)p.186-187
[11] ibid
[12]ibid

Scale	Reasons for intervention
1	Humanitarian reasons
0	Media alert
2	National interest
0	Other reasons

Source: Author

3.7 NATO intervention in Yugoslavia in 1999

The NATO bombing of Yugoslavia through Operation Allied Force followed a full fledged internal conflict which was intended to stop ethnic cleansing and the Yugoslav military operation. This led to withdrawal of the Yugoslav forces and brought an end to the wars which had started in 1991.

The goals of the intervention were to end violence and military operation , for the withdrawal of military operations from Kosovo, to have a UN Peace keeping force I Kosovo, to have the displaced refugees return to their homes and to establish a political agreement.[13]

Table 6: Justification of the intervention Yugoslavia from the above case study

[13] . Antonio.T, "Foreign Armed Intervention Conflict in Internal",(Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: Dordrecht 1993)p.186-187

Scale	Reasons for intervention
2	Humanitarian reasons
0	Media alert
1	National interest
0	Other reasons

3.8 Operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti in 1994

Operation Uphold Democracy was an intervention to re-instate President Bertrand Aristides who had been overthrown through a military coup in 1991 after rightfully securing presidency. The operation was authorized by the UN Security Council Resolution 940.This was followed by peace building and a nation building operation.

Table 7: Justification of the intervention in Haiti from the above case study

Scale	Reasons for intervention
2	Humanitarian reasons
0	Media alert
0	National interest
0	Others

Graphical Presentation of the justifications of humanitarian intervention in the above cases
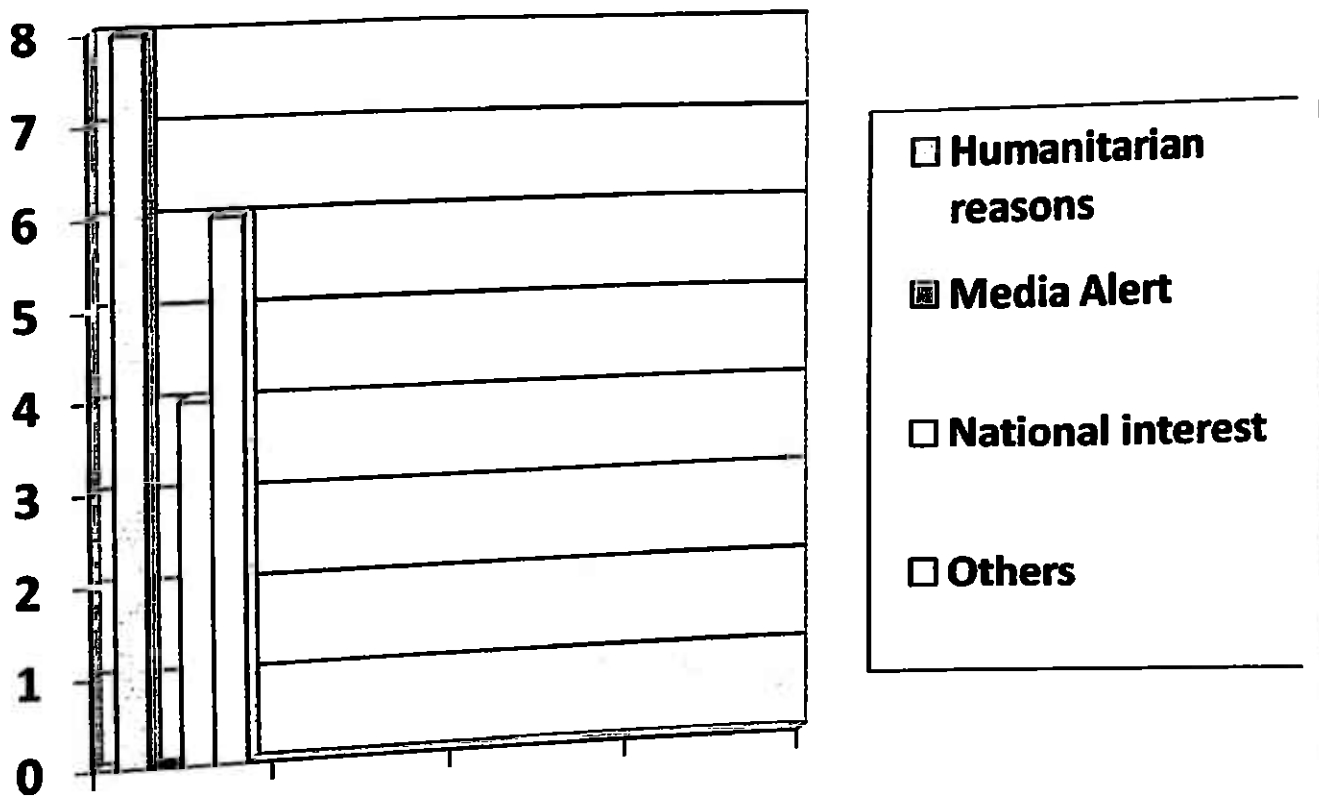
Interpretation of data reflected on the graph and the tables

Humanitarian Intervention with humanitarian intentions seems to be a dominant factor in most cases. It is however always accompanied by other reasons, 'others' which translates to other reasons which are usually specific to a state or the prevailing situation. Media alert has the lowest figure in each case and overall. It shows that it is not a determinant factor in humanitarian Intervention

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF SOMALI AND RWANDA INTERVENTION

4.1 Introduction

A case study of the intervention of the genocide in Rwanda and the conflict in Rwanda has been done in order to analyze the justifications of the intervention just as has been done in the conflicts in the other states. This will lead to the intent of the intervention and the conclusion of the study.

4.2 The Rwanda Genocide

The UN was expected to intervene as in the previous conflicts within the same decade. The UN intervention seemed to have suffered inadequacies because of its members who did not want to risk and to face the high cost of intervention. The mortality rate increased in Rwanda during the genocide but this did not wake up the interveners. In the General Assembly, the question of intervention was treated to a long debate on the legitimacy option. There was also the question of whether intervention was an obligation in cases of extreme need.

Intervention was affected by the previous failures in the interventions in Somalia in 1993 and in Bosnia and Herzegovinain 1995. These factors thus partly contributed to the lack of immediate response to the crisis in Rwanda.[1] The Security Council finally sent a more expanded and strengthen peace keeping operation, UNAMIR II but they still experienced difficulties while deploying the troops. This led to further delay and the Security council had to authorize a multinational operation with France leading the operation. [2]This was to help stabilize the

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[1] Taylor Seybolt, "Humanitarian Military Intervention –The conditions for Success and Failure, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)p 78
[2] The United Nations Blue Books Series , (New York :United Nations Department for Public Information,1993-1996)Vol. X p. 50

situation while waiting for the deployment of a full mission. This was in accordance with the United Nations Charter under Chapter VII.[3]

The right intention, a principle in Just war must have been missing in the Rwanda intervention because many lives were lost and the interveners went in reluctantly. However, the dormant nature of the interveners did not help the Rwandans. It amounted close to no intervention. The UN troop did not work effectively as the Just war law states. For instance they did nothing even with the knowledge that there wee some youngsters who were being equipped with machetes. During the peace keeping operation in Rwanda, the UN Department of Peace Keeping Operations troops not adequately equipped to carry out the mission in Rwanda. Other UN agencies such as UNICEF and UNHCR were better equipped.[4]

It was also believed that the UN bureaucratic procedures played a great part in the failure of the intervention. The UN chose to adopt the policy of neutrality. The UN Secretary General delayed in guiding the UN on the way forward.[5]The reluctance was further a cultural pattern followed by the UN. The US was not committed and only showed interest after the genocide. Other states were also blamed for not intervening. France is said to have been a bad choice of intervener since they were only protecting their interests and supported the rebelling troop which carried out the genocide. They did not also try to interfere with the Radio station which intoxicated the people with wrong information and which encouraged the genocide to go on.

Most interveners seem to have followed the Bystanders model, not doing much and thus making the genocide to aggravate. Using the utilitarian naturalist theory, the intervention can be said to have been unjust because it did not yield positive results. According to the utilitarian

[3] The UN Charter Chapter VII Article
[4] The United Nations Blue Books Series , (New York :United Nations Department for Public Information,1993-1996)Vol. X p. 50

[5] ibid

theory, an intervention is only just if it is favorable. This however should not have been the guide to intervention in Rwanda or any other conflict for that matter since intervention is guided by principles which are not dependent on previous interventions.

Table 8: Justification of the intervention in Rwanda

Scale	Reasons for intervention
0	Humanitarian reasons
0	Media alert
0	National interest
2	Others

Source: Author

4.3 The Conflict in Somalia

The Somalia conflict attracted intervention from the UN and the US. The intervention in Somalia was very prompt and what was the only let down was the reaction of Somalia to the intervention.

The UN intervened an even voted for an increase I humanitarian aid. The UN also brokered a cease fire with the clan leaders, a move which was overseen by UNSCR 746. UNOSOM Mission was authorized by UNSCR. The US also intervened directly by sending Operation Provide Relief.[6]

Intervention in Somalia was seen as a manifestation of the brave new world order after the cold war period and also as a way to confirm the right to intervention, given that it had happened in Iraq without consent. It was also a time which tested the UN political and military

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[6]Taylor B. Seybolt, Humanitarian Military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)p. 60

abilities and found them to be severely limited. This intervention saw the interveners experience the challenge of costs and other non financial ones when trying to deal with politically and militarily strong opponents.

It made the US to make a resolution not to get involved in conflicts that did not threaten its national interests. It was not a smooth sailing intervention since the troops also died in the process. The interveners witnessed the dark side of military intervention which they had really not seen in a long time having been successful in their previous interventions and having proved themselves to be more powerful. This was generally because the great powers are the ones who participated in interventions even through the United Nations. Humanitarian NGOs (Non Governmental Organizations) lost their neutrality when they were forced to seek military assistance. They were unable to secure themselves security from the local leaders. The intervention was curbed with many problems and even some reports were not correctly conveyed. The mortality rate was not correctly reported either through the mistake of the policy makers or the reporters.[7]

The intervention in Somalia was better conducted than the intervention in Rwanda. This can even be seen from the number of operations which were carried out preventing genocide or conflict aggravation. Many reasons are possible for the quick and enthusiastic reaction by the interveners. First, the conflict happened when the cold war had just ended and perhaps the US needed to prove itself a superpower. It also served as a gateway to the Middle East. Moreover it had more economic potential than Rwanda. It was also more linked to the US than Rwanda which had been colonized by Belgium and thus it had little interest in the state.

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[7] Taylor B. Seybolt, Humanitarian Military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure, (New York:Oxford University Press, 2007)p. 62

Table 8: Justification of the intervention in Somalia

Scale	Reasons for intervention
2	Humanitarian reasons
0	Media alert
0	National interest
2	Others

Conclusion

4.4 Analysis of data for the Somalia and Rwanda Intervention

Intervention in Somalia has 2 points because it shad intentions to save lives, a factor which translates to humanitarian motives. There were also other motives not indicated on the table that is of proving the right of intervention and of showing the might of the great powers. These having been clearly manifested obtained a mark of 2.

On the other hand, Rwanda intervention had 0 on humanitarian reasons because; the interveners ignored the call for help despite being aware of the gravity of the situation. They finally intervened because of other reasons which included pressure but did so rather late.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The method of analysis of the data was analytic induction by Howard Becker ,Katz, Znanieki[1]This kind of analysis is based on hypothesis .Humanitarian intervention has been affected by various factors over the years. Initially before the humanitarian intervention was adopted by the UN, humanitarian intervention was greatly guided by individual states and groups of states mostly the great powers. It was a chance of the great powers to show their might and control. With the passing of the resolution, Humanitarian Intervention now has to pass through the UN. If a state is to intervene it has to get consent from the UN. The UN decisions is however still greatly dependent on the support of the same states. In some cases like during the Iraq crisis, the individual states disregard the UN and conduct the humanitarian It has thus not been easy to know the clear motives of intervention and National interest and international security seemed to be the underlying factors behind intervention. The hypothesis used was tied to the public interest through the media alert. The analysis thus covered the media as one of the variables to see if it drives the humanitarian intervention to act.

The Humanitarian Interventions which have taken place have been assumed to be totally humanitarian or based solely on humanitarian reasons. They have further been assumed to be following the Just War principles that is, carried out with the right intentions. They have often adhered to the societal norms and bent down to acting naturally by helping those in crisis. This is exemplified by the interventions by neighboring states and the states which have the military and economic ability to intervene.

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[1]Ratcliff Donald, "15 methods of data Analysis in qualitative Research",(1999),p 2

However, though Humanitarian interventions are carried out for humanitarian reasons and a natural tendency of human beings to come to aid of another suffering being, each humanitarian intervention in the above case studies was tied to other justifications other than that of the humanitarian need or of reducing the number of casualties and deaths in the conflict. The other justifications however have not in any way been linked to the media and thus the humanitarian interventions are not motivated by the media.

It thus follows that Humanitarian Intervention in Somalia and in Rwanda would not have been carried out in the same way they were because of the media. There were intentions clearly stated out by the interveners. Media alert was not one of the intentions for intervening. The media thus acts as a medium used to relay information. The main factor which influenced humanitarian intervention was humanitarian factor followed by other reasons which were specific to each case such as security concerns, national interest and finally media which rarely featured.

The research objectives consisted of three questions. Concerning why humanitarian groups intervene differently. This study found that the intervention was indeed carried out differently depending on the particular conflict, the events preceding it (the results of previous interventions), the position of the Alliance in relation to other states and the relation of the state in crisis and the intervening state. In each case a predominant goal of humanitarian inervention is stated as the justification for the intervention.

National interest is also determinant of every case though not directly stated. National interest is important. This is usually related to the political, economic and other ties which are beneficial to the intervening state.

It is also evident in the promptness of the intervener in carrying out the intervention. For instance the US was reluctant to intervene in Liberia and in Rwanda but intervened even before getting consent in the Iraq war. The aftermath of the Somali conflict was a blow to the US despite the fact that they had more justifications. That affected the action of their intervention in Rwanda which followed the Somali conflict closely. The interveners had little to gain.

Protection of the intervener's nationals is important. In most of those cases there was an intention to protect the nationals. Rwanda was a French speaking country and had few US nationals thus the reason for protecting nationals was not applicable.

The literature and the events of humanitarian intervention do not feature the media as a key factor in determining their actions. Media is a tool which has little or no effect on humanitarian intervention. It is only vastly mentioned in the Rwanda case but not as a determinant of humanitarian intervention. The role of the media thus remains as informing the masses and not linked to humanitarian intervention.

The role of humanitarian intervention is thus to create peace during crisis, to avert violence, rescue victims and to provide relief to the victims.

Recommendations

Humanitarian intervention is driven by many motives but not by the media alert. The media was not mentioned in the justifications for intervention. The real motive behind humanitarian intervention lies with the intervener. The goal that is often achieved is chiefly humanitarian but in each case is tied with the national interest, protection of nationals of the intervening state at the time. The goals seem to be dynamic, changing every time depending on the prevailing circumstances.

Humanitarian reasons however remains a dominant factor in any intervention case whether the intervener intervenes through invitation or voluntarily. The US did not intervene in Rwanda promptly because one of its principle goals of intervention, national interest would not have been met. Moreover it had just intervened in Somalia and had suffered a blow. The US also remains the state which intervened in all the cases qualifying for one of the principles which defines just war. The principle was that intervention should be carried out by an authoritative state. The US has been the most authoritative body in the post cold war era.

As this study focused on right intention, other studies should focus on all the principles of just war like just cause, right authority-in the recent past the US has dominantly intervened through the UN.

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