

2019 International Summer School in Comparative Conflict Studies June 23 – 30, 2019

Causes and Consequences of Conflict and Intervention. Will Lessons Ever Be Learned?

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Course Description

In 2018, people the world over solemnly commemorated the centenary of the end of “the war to end wars”. The irony of this description of the First World War was not lost on those who have their eyes fixed on the ongoing conflicts in Syria, Ukraine and Yemen, to say nothing of the continuing plight of the Palestinian people and the Rohingya. None is left living now of that generation who fought in WWI and all too soon our opportunity to hear the living voices and memories of those who experienced WWII will also be gone. It is therefore vital that we understand the other, less globally devastating, but still vastly devastating conflicts that continue to touch the lives of hundreds of thousands, even millions of people.

In studying conflicts, we see quickly that no matter their particularities and specificities, there are common themes and threads, why then do they continue not only to arise but to carry on for so many years? For many, the answer lies in the nature of the international system and its fundamental organising principle, that of state sovereignty, whereby states are considered to have authority over a defined and internationally recognised territory, protected from external intervening forces. As with so many rights and principles, it was never intended that sovereignty be unconstrained. In 2005, in reaffirmation of this idea of “constrained sovereignty” but also as a response to successive, sometimes illegitimate and/or illegal interventions into the sovereign affairs of states, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the principle of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P).

R2P has since been widely debated by reason of the emphasis it places on achieving justice for people, placing obligations on states to protect the wellbeing of their citizens and to face the possibility of a military intervention when they fail to do so. However, following the so-called Arab Spring, successive states in North Africa and the Middle East have experienced instability and/or intrastate conflict, leading to enormous loss of life, injury and displacement of people. The speedy intervention in Libya in 2011 marked a turning point for Western states, since then they have shown little appetite for intervention, as the Syrian people have learned during the long conflict that has engulfed their country. By 2017, reports were that the UN had ceased to count the number of deaths in Syria, evidence not of unwillingness but of the difficulties entailed in doing so. Thus, less than 15 years after R2P, circumstances are suggestive of a limited and certainly wavering commitment to the principle of rights protection as the larger and longer scale consequences of intervention have been revealed.

In this course, students will be introduced to the underpinning concepts and competing understandings of (non-)intervention in situations of conflict. Students will learn to identify and deliver a critical analysis of those factors that shape conflict and international, regional and national responses to it. Emphasis is

placed on the application of concepts and theories to real-life scenarios, examining a combination of historical and ongoing cases that offer insights for us as analysts.

Course Themes and Case Studies

Throughout the course, students will be asked to consider the origins of conflict as well as the conditions under and means through which it can be ended. Emphasis will also be placed on identifying the appropriate levels of analysis and, following that, identifying those actors whose motives, decisions and actions warrant most scrutiny. By examining at least four different cases, the course aims to help students understand the arguments for and against a military intervention, the debate about who should undertake such an intervention and the authority and legitimacy under which it should be done. Through the study of these interventions, students will debate the choices available to actors in order to achieve an understanding of the context in which difficult decisions are made and the consequences of them. Finally, they will have to consider whether and how such decisions and subsequent actions shape the wider international order and the lives of those living in it.

Four core themes in the study of Intervention will therefore sit at the heart of our studies: Sovereignty, Legitimacy, Legality, Human Rights. The case studies will comprise: Uganda-Tanzania War 1978-79; the former Yugoslavia 1991-99; Darfur 2003-?; Syria: 2011-?

Earn academic credit for your participation in this course

In order to receive academic credit for your participation in the summer school, you must submit a learning log by no later than noon on Monday, July 9th to your course professor.

Introductory / Background Reading

- Abiew, Francis Kofi (1998) Assessing Humanitarian Intervention in the Post-Cold War Period: Sources of Consensus. *International Relations*, XIV(2): 61-90.
- Annan, Kofi (2004) Secretary-General Kofi Annan's Tip O'Neill Lecture, "Learning the lessons of peace-building", delivered at Magee Campus, University of Ulster, United Kingdom, on 18 October. United Nations. Online: <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2004-10-18/secretary-general-kofi-annan%E2%80%99s-tip-o%E2%80%99neill-lecture-%E2%80%99clearing-lessons>
- Brower, Julia, Ryan Liss, Tina Thomas, & Jacob Victor (2013). Historical Examples of Unauthorized Humanitarian Intervention, *Consent-Based Humanitarian Intervention*. Online: https://law.yale.edu/system/files/documents/pdf/cgic/GLC_historicalExamples.pdf
- Jenke, Libby and Christopher Gelpi (2017). Theme and Variations: Historical Contingencies in the Causal Model of Interstate Conflict. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 61(10): 2262-2284.
- Packer, George (2019). The End of the American Century. *The Atlantic*, May 2019. Online: <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/05/george-packer-pax-america-richard-holbrooke/586042/> [accessed 22 May 2019].
- Pingeot, Lo, Wolfgang Obenland (2014) In whose name? A critical view on the Responsibility to Protect. *Global Policy Forum*. Online: https://www.globalpolicy.org/images/pdfs/images/pdfs/In_whose_name_web.pdf

Videos

Please reflect *critically* on these, as well as the readings.

- Mary Kaldor on New and Cold Wars. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eGhI58kjmB0>
- Is the era of humanitarian intervention over? <https://aeon.co/videos/is-the-era-of-humanitarian-intervention-over>
- Kosovo conflict: The war that won't go away <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f55lvc3jhNY>
- Humanitarian Intervention in South Sudan: A Model Diplomacy Case Study <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qJwCc6PY-so>
- Why are peacekeepers leaving Mali? <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/insidestory/2019/04/peacekeepers-leaving-mali-190401200021637.html>
- Understanding the Syrian crisis in 5 minutes <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-l44KUQHovY>

COURSE OUTLINE BY DAY

Students are required to come to each class having done some reading. This is in order to facilitate informed discussion of very complex issues. Students should come to class with either an electronic or hard copy of the readings marked as required for that session; we will then spend some time on analysis of the specified literature.

Additional readings will be added at intervals and serve to deepen understanding of the theoretical literature and empirical cases, and assist in understanding how to apply the former to the latter.

Day 1: Monday, June 24th

Actors & Strategies in International Intervention: Mali and Other Cases

Required Reading

- Bratton, Michael (2016). Violence, displacement and democracy in post-conflict societies: evidence from Mali. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 34(4): 437-458. DOI: 10.1080/02589001.2016.1269880
- Soliku, Ophelia and Ulrich Schraml (2018). Making sense of protected area conflicts and management approaches: A review of causes, contexts and conflict management strategies. *Biological Conservation*, 222: 136-145. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2018.04.011>

Further Reading

- Sabrow, Sophia (2017). Local perceptions of the legitimacy of peace operations by the UN, regional organizations and individual states – a case study of the Mali conflict. *International Peacekeeping*, 24(1): 159-186, DOI: 10.1080/13533312.2016.1249365
- Stigall, Dan E. (2015) The French Military Intervention in Mali, Counter-Terrorism, and the Law of Armed Conflict, 223 *Military Law Review*, 223(1): 1-40.

Day 2: Tuesday, June 25th

Syria, Theory and the Law: Constraining and Permitting

Required Reading

- Ford, Christopher M. (2017) 'Syria: A Case Study in International Law'. *University of Cincinnati Law Review*. 1-57.
- Wenaweser, Christian, James Cockayne (2017) 'Justice for Syria?: The International, Impartial and Independent Mechanism and the Emergence of the UN General Assembly in the Realm of International Criminal Justice'. *J Int Criminal Justice*: 1-20

Further Reading

- Kirk, Thomas (2016). The challenge of theorising security and justice provision in conflict-affected places. *Justice and Security Research Programme Blog* (03 Aug 2016). Online: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/79760/>

Group 1¹

- Summarise and deliver a critical analysis of the class discussion.

Day 3: Wednesday, June 26th

Causes of Conflict

Group 2

- Identify common causes of conflict. Be prepared to prioritise causes and point to specific cases as evidence – historical and current.

Required Reading

- De Waal, Alex (2018). The end of famine? Prospects for the elimination of mass starvation by political action. *Political Geography*, 62(6): 184-195. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.09.004>
- Nordås, Ragnhild, Nils Petter Gleditsch (2007). Climate Change and Conflict, *Political Geography*, 26(6): 627-638. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2007.06.003

Darfur

Group 3

- Identify key actors in Darfurian conflict.
- Which of the causes identified in the morning session are apparent in Darfur and should we add anything?

¹ All students have been pre-allocated to one of four groups. Each group is responsible for running the activity stated in the class stated. Required readings are for the class as a whole. Each group running the activity in question should find and read additional sources in order to be able to deliver on a deeper understanding of the issues/case under discussion.

Required Reading (read at least two of the following)

- Udombana, Nsongurua J. (2005) When Neutrality is a Sin: The Darfur Crisis and the Crisis of Humanitarian Intervention in Sudan. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 27(4): 1149-1199.
- Verhoeven, Harry, Ricardo Soares de Oliveira & Madhan Mohan Jaganathan (2016) 'To Intervene in Darfur, or Not: Re-examining the R2P Debate and Its Impact'. *Global Society*, 30(1): 21-37.
- Harkness, Kristen A. (2016). The Ethnic Army and the State: Explaining Coup Traps and the Difficulties of Democratization in Africa. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 60(4): 587-616. DOI: 10.1177/0022002714545332

Day 4: Thursday, June 27th

Failings and Consequences: Yugoslavia in the 1990s and the Road to the Responsibility to Protect

Simulation

- Students will be divided into groups representing the main national groups in the former Yugoslavia from April 1992 onwards (groups to be decided on Day 1) to decide on objectives, strategies, tactics and policy to be employed by that group.

Required Reading

- Campbell, David (1998). MetaBosnia: narratives of the Bosnian War. *Review of International Studies*, 24: 261–281.
- Korac, Maja (2006). Gender, conflict and peace-building: Lessons from the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 29(5) 510-520.
- Freedman, Lawrence (2000) 'Victims and Victors: Reflections on the Kosovo War', *Review of International Studies*, 26: 335-58.

Day 5: Friday, June 29th

Tanzania and Uganda 1978-79 – Lessons Learned?

Group 4

- Deliver a comparative analysis of the Malian and Tanzania-Ugandan conflict.

Required Reading (groups 1 & 2)

- Burrows, Noreen (1979). Tanzania's intervention in Uganda: some legal aspects. *World Today*, Jul 1, 1979, 35(7).
- Roberts, George (2014) The Uganda-Tanzania War, the fall of Idi Amin, and the failure of African diplomacy, 1978-79. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8(4): 692-709. DOI: 10.1080/17531055.2014.946236

Required Reading (group 3)

- Roberts, George (2014) The Uganda-Tanzania War, the fall of Idi Amin, and the failure of African diplomacy, 1978-79. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8(4): 692-709. DOI: 10.1080/17531055.2014.946236
- Tankink, Marian (2004). Not talking about traumatic experiences: harmful or healing? Coping with war memories in southwest Uganda. *Intervention*, 2(1): 3-17. Online: https://www.interventionjournal.com/sites/default/files/03-17%20Marian%20Tankink_0.pdf

Day 6: Saturday, June 30th

Course Conclusions

Required Reading

- Brockmeier, Sarah, Stuenkel, Oliver & Tourinho, Marcos (2015) 'The Impact of the Libya Intervention Debates on Norms of Protection'. *Global Society*, 30(1): 113-133.
- Richmond, Oliver (2015) 'Peace During and After the Age of Intervention'. *International Peacekeeping*, 21(4): 509-519.