

BSS 187/487
Seminar in Managing 21st Century
Conflicts

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18-21 Apr – 25-27 Apr – 2-5 May – 16 (-17) May
8:00 – 9:30 am

Course Objectives

- ✓ **Changing nature of conflict in the 21st century**
- ✓ **Strategies for conflict management and resolution**
- ✓ **Role of international institutions in managing conflict**
 - ✓ **United Nations**
 - ✓ **Regional organizations (e.g., NATO, Africa Union, etc)**
- ✓ **International law ... international norms**
 - ✓ **State vs. individual responsibility**
 - ✓ **National sovereignty & “responsibility to protect”**
- ✓ **Peacekeeping vs. Peacemaking vs. Peacebuilding**
 - ✓ **Employing diplomacy, economic development, & military force**

Course Requirements

- ✓ **Written essays (40%) – 2 x 20 points ~ 750-1,000 words**
- ✓ **Conflict Management Simulation & Point Paper (15%)**
 - ✓ *Team point paper (bullet paper) + Role playing in simulation*
- ✓ **Case Study Research & Presentation (30%)**
 - ✓ *Team presentation (30 minutes + 15 minutes Q&A) – 10 points*
 - ✓ *Team case study paper (due 16 May) – 20 points*
- ✓ **Seminar preparation, engagement, participation (15%)**
 - ✓ **Prepare**
 - ✓ **Engage**
 - ✓ **Participate**

A – 90-100%

B – 80-89%

C – 70-79%

D – 60-69%

E – 50-59%

F – 0-49%

Course Resources

- ✓ **Crocker**, Hampson, Aall (eds). *Rewiring Regional Security in a Fragmented World* (US Institute of Peace, 2011) [**FSS Lib Reserve**]
 - ✓ *Chapter 2 (Andreani) & Chapter 3 (Williams & Haake) ... ++*
- ✓ **Posted on IS:**
 - ✓ *Global Risks 2035*, Atlantic Council, November 2016
 - ✓ *Global Trends 2035*, National Intelligence Council, January 2017
 - ✓ Bellamy, *Responsibility to Protect*
 - ✓ Greg & Diehl, *Peacekeeping-Peacemaking Dilemma*
- ✓ **Internet Links**

Course Overview I

Substantive Foundation

- ✓ 18.4: Legacy of Conflict in the 20th Century
- ✓ 19.4: Sources of Conflict in the 21st Century
- ✓ 20.4: International Law & Institutions for Conflict Management
- ✓ 21.4: “Responsibility to Protect”
- ✓ 25.4: Peacekeeping/Peacemaking/Peace Enforcement/Peacebuilding

- ✓ Essay #1 Due in Class (20 points)

The changing nature of conflict in the 21st century has led to a new concept of “responsibility to protect,” which directly challenges the traditional view of state sovereignty. Explain and assess this argument.

Course Overview II

Two-Day Conflict Management Simulation

- ✓ **26.4 & 27.4 – Conflict Management Simulation**
 - ✓ **Setting ... an African country**
 - ✓ **Civil war with sectarian conflicts overlaid on political conflict**
 - ✓ **Notional Teams:**
 - ✓ **The Government (political & military leadership)**
 - ✓ **The Opposition (political & military leadership)**
 - ✓ **UNSC Member State with ties to the government (pol & mil leadership)**
 - ✓ **UNSC Member State with ties to the opposition (pol & mil leadership)**
 - ✓ **Office of the UN Deputy Secretary General for Peacekeeping**
 - ✓ **Leadership of UN Peacekeeping force on the ground in the country**

Course Overview III

Case Study

Presentations (10 points)

✓ Tuesday, 2.5

- ✓ Civil/Sectarian Conflict – Libya
- ✓ Civil/Sectarian Conflict – Sudan

✓ Wednesday, 3.5

- ✓ International Terrorism – Afghanistan
- ✓ International Terrorism – Syria

✓ Thursday, 4.5

- ✓ Nuclear Proliferation – Iran
- ✓ Nuclear Proliferation – North Korea

✓ TEAM Presentation:

- ✓ Brief description of conflict
- ✓ Why important
- ✓ Overview attempts at conflict management
- ✓ Results

✓ Format:

- ✓ 30 minutes
- ✓ 15 minutes Q&A/critique
- ✓ PowerPoint

Course Overview IV

Final Products – Due TUESDAY, 16 MAY

Note: No Class week of 8-12 May

- ✓ **Submit TEAM Case Study Paper (20 points)**
 - ✓ Comprehensive (*what, when, where, why, how ... assess results*)
 - ✓ Incorporate feedback from class presentation
- ✓ **Submit Essay #2 (20 points)**
 - ✓ Summarize and explain (*with examples*) what you believe are the three most important lessons for states and international institutions in managing future international conflict.

Legacy of Conflict in the 20th Century

Session 1

Tuesday, 18 April

Modern State System

Internationalization of Hobbes' *Leviathan*

- ✓ **Westphalian origins of modern state system**
 - ✓ **State-to-state ... self-help system, based on reciprocity**
 - ✓ **National sovereignty & balance of power**
- ✓ **Territorial foundations of aggression**
 - ✓ **Political power**
 - ✓ **Economic resources (land, labor, natural resources)**
- ✓ **Growth of military technology**
 - ✓ **Offense over defense – threat to territory**
 - ✓ **Post-Napoleonic emergence of “total war”**

Century of Total War

The end of humanity ... or of war?

- ✓ Late 19th century ... recognition of war's destructiveness
 - ✓ 1898-99 Hague Conventions ~ *Jus in bello* ... regulate weapons
- ✓ World War I ~ 9 million casualties
 - ✓ Collapse of 4 empires ... exhaustion of 2 others
 - ✓ League of Nations ~ **collective security**, not **balance of power**
 - ✓ Efforts to outlaw war (Kellogg-Briand), regulate weapons (Naval)
 - ✓ E.H. Carr, *The Twenty-Years Crisis*
- ✓ World War II ~ 55-60 million casualties
 - ✓ End of remaining empires over next 30 years (45 counting USSR)

The Nuclear & Missile Age

A new form of societal vulnerability

- ✓ ***The Absolute Weapon*** (Bernard Brodie, 1946)
 - “Thus far the chief purpose of our military establishment has been to win wars. From now on its chief purpose must be to avert them. It can have almost no other purpose.”*
- ✓ **Missile age ~ *unavoidable* societal vulnerability**
- ✓ **Effects:**
 - ✓ **Restraint on great power conflict**
 - ✓ **Great power restraints on “client” conflicts**
 - ✓ **United Nations only mildly relevant to managing conflict**

End of the Cold War

A fleeting opportunity

- ✓ “Unfreezing” of persistent, historical conflicts
 - ✓ Balkans – Caucasus – Middle East – Africa
- ✓ Period of effectiveness for “imagined” collective security
 - ✓ UN in Iraq/Kuwait, Somalia, Haiti
 - ✓ Birth of “peacemaking” ~ Balkans
 - ✓ Success depended on superpower/great power cooperation
- ✓ Post 9.11 ... *neither balance of power nor collective security*
 - ✓ New kind of vulnerabilities ~ disruptive globalization, radicalism
 - ✓ Great power cooperation only if interests directly threatened
 - ✓ Little great power “control” over other conflict-driving forces

Look ahead to Wednesday

19.4

- ✓ **Sources of Conflict in the 21st Century**
 - ✓ **Andreani, *Global Conflict Management and the Pursuit of Peace*, in Crocker, Chapter 2 [*FSS Library and internet link*]**
 - ✓ ***Global Risks 2035: The Search for a New Normal*, Atlantic Council Strategy Paper, November 2016 [*posted in IS*]**
 - ✓ **Executive Summary**
 - ✓ ***Global Trends 2035: The Paradox of Progress*, U.S. National Intelligence Council Report, January 2017 [*posted in IS*]**
 - ✓ **Executive Summary**

Sources of Conflict in the 21st Century

Session 2

Wednesday, 19 April

Global Trends 2035

- ✓ Author – National Intelligence Council
- ✓ Every 4 years ... delivered to President in January 2017
- ✓ “Trends” are not “predictions”
- ✓ Theme – “Paradox of Progress”
 - ✓ *“The achievements of the industrial and information ages are shaping a world that is both more dangerous and richer in opportunity than ever before”*
 - ✓ Rising tensions within **and** between countries
 - ✓ States remain relevant: China & Russia emboldened

The Paradox ... and Challenge

- ✓ *“The progress of past decades is historic—connecting people, empowering individuals, communities, and states, and lifting a billion people of out of poverty....*
- ✓ *But it also spawned shocks like the Arab Spring, 2008 Global Financial Crisis, and populist, anti-establishment politics.”*
- ✓ **Fragile achievements ... deep shifts in global landscape ... uncertain future**

Choices ... [not predictions]

- ✓ **How will individuals, groups, and governments renegotiate their expectations of one another to create political order ...?**
- ✓ **To what extent will major state powers, as well as individuals and groups, craft new architectures of international cooperation and competition?**
- ✓ **To what extent will governments, groups, and individuals prepare now for multifaceted global issues like climate change and transformative technologies?**

Global Risks 2035

- ✓ **Author – Matthew Burrows (wrote NIC Global Trends 2030)**
- ✓ ***“To many, we live in dark times ... [but] the world is in a better place than it has ever been...” [Brent Scowcroft’s Foreword]***
- ✓ ***“In the four years since Global Trends 2030 was published, the biggest change in the world is the increased risk of major conflict. ... Now, the post-Cold War security order has broken down, and the consequences are immense, potentially threatening globalization.” [First sentence of Executive Summary ~ punchline]***

Global Risks 2035

- ✓ **Unraveling at Home**
 - ✓ Individual empowerment
 - ✓ Demographic crunch
 - ✓ Malthusian world for the very poorest
 - ✓ Technology with increasing downside
- ✓ **Breakdown of the Post-Cold War Order**
 - ✓ Conflict risk at highest level since Cold War
 - ✓ No end in sight of Middle East stability
 - ✓ China's swing role
 - ✓ No clear path to 'post-Western' order

Top 10 Key Trends

Trends converging at unprecedented pace

- 1. Political power is diffusing**
- 2. The rich are aging, the poor are not**
- 3. The global economy – and the nature of work – are shifting**
- 4. Technology accelerates progress but causes discontinuities**
- 5. Populations move to seek opportunity, escape desolation**
- 6. Ideas and identities drive a wave of exclusion**
- 7. Expectations of government exceed governments' capacity**
- 8. Nature of conflict is changing – civ/mil ... hybrid ... lethality**

Trends ... not predictions

- ✓ **Global Risks 2035**

- ✓ **Alternative Futures ...**

- ✓ **Fragmented World**
- ✓ **New Cold War**
- ✓ **Ageless World**
- ✓ **Strange Bedfellows**
- ✓ **Urban Oasis**

- ✓ **Global Trends 2035**

- ✓ **Alternative Scenarios ...**

- ✓ **Islands**
 - ✓ **Economic dislocation**
- ✓ **Orbits**
 - ✓ **Regional conflicts**
- ✓ **Communities**
 - ✓ **Challenge to government**

So how does the international community manage conflict in such worlds

Look ahead to Thursday

20.4

- ✓ **Int'l Institutions & Conflict Management & Resolution**
- ✓ **Charter of the United Nations** [*UN website, internet link*]
 - ✓ Chapter I – Purposes & Principles
 - ✓ Chapter IV – General Assembly [*note Articles 10-12, 18*]
 - ✓ Chapter V – Security Council [*note Articles 24, 25, 27*]
 - ✓ Chapter VI – Pacific Settlement of Disputes [*skim*]
 - ✓ Chapter VII – Actions with respect to threats to the peace
 - ...
 - ✓ *Note Articles 39-42, 48-49, 51 ... also Chapter VIII*
- ✓ **Williams & Haake, Regional Approaches to Conflict Management**, in Crocker, Chapter 3 [*FSS Library, internet link*]

International Institutions for Conflict Management & Resolution

Session 3

Thursday, 20 April

Charter of the United Nations

Preamble

- ✓ We the peoples of the United Nations ... twice in our lifetime ... untold sorrow to mankind ...
- ✓ ... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, to the dignity of the human person, **of the equal rights of men and women** and of nations large and small ...
- ✓ **Accordingly, our respective Governments ... have agreed to the present Charter ...**

Charter of the United Nations

Chapter I – Purposes & Principles

✓ Purposes (Article 1)

- ✓ To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective **collective measures** ...

✓ Principles (Article 2)

2. ... shall fulfill in good faith the obligations ...
3. ... shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means ...
4. ... shall refrain from the threat or use of force ...
5. ... shall give the UN every assistance in any action it takes ...
6. ... shall ensure that states who are not Members act in accordance ...

Charter of the United Nations

Chapter I – Purposes & Principles *[cont]*

- ✓ #1 ...The Organization is based on the principle of the **sovereign equality** of all its Members.
- ✓ ...
- ✓ #7 ... Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are **essentially** within the jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; **but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.**

Charter of the United Nations

Chapter IV – General Assembly

- ✓ **Functions and Powers (Article 10-15)**
 - ✓ ... **may discuss** any question or matters ...
 - ✓ ... **may consider** the general principles of cooperation ...
 - ✓ ... **may make** recommendations to the Security Council ...
 - ✓ ... **may call** the attention of the Security Council to situations ...
 - ✓ While the Security Council is exercising ... the General Assembly **shall not** make any recommendations with regard to ...
 - ✓ ... shall initiate studies ... shall receive and consider reports ...
- ✓ **Voting (Article 18):** Decisions ... on important questions ... two-thirds vote ... shall include **recommendations**.

Charter of the United Nations

Chapter V – Security Council

- ✓ **Membership (Article 23, amended)**
 - ✓ 15 ... including Permanent 5 [CH, FR, RU, UK, US]
- ✓ **Functions and Powers (Articles 24-25)**
 - ✓ ... Members confer upon the Security Council **primary responsibility** for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that ... the Security Council **acts on its behalf**.
 - ✓ The Members of the United Nations **agree to accept and carry out the decisions** of the Security Council.
- ✓ **Voting (Article 27, amended)**
 - ✓ ... affirmative vote of 9 members including the concurring votes of the permanent members

Charter of the United Nations

Chapter VI – Pacific Settlement of Disputes

- ✓ The parties to any dispute, the continuation of which is likely to endanger the **maintenance of peace and security**, shall, first of all, seek a solution by **negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements**, or other peaceful means of their own choice. *[Art. 33]*
- ✓ The Security Council may investigate any dispute ... **recommend** any appropriate procedures or methods ...

Can the UN “solve” problems under Chapter VI?

Charter of the United Nations

Chapter VII – Action with respect to threats ...

- ✓ The Security Council **shall determine** the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make **recommendations**, or **decide what measures** ... *[Art 39]*
- ✓ The Security Council may **decide** what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed ... *[Art 41]*
- ✓ Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate ..., **it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security.** ... *[Art 42]*

Charter of the United Nations

Chapter VII – Action with respect to threats ...

- ✓ The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security **shall be taken** by all the Members ... *[Art 48]*
- ✓ Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their **action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.**
- ✓ The Members of the United Nations **shall join in affording mutual assistance** in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council. *[Art 49]*

Charter of the United Nations

Chapter VII – Article 51

- ✓ **Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.**
- ✓ **Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.**

What it means ...

- ✓ **The power of the UN is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members ...**
- ✓ **BUT ... that principle is ‘qualified’ by the recognition that some actions by sovereigns within their domestic jurisdiction will have implications for “international peace and security.”**
- ✓ **The Charter envisions circumstances in which—under Chapter VII—the principle of sovereignty can be overruled ...**
- ✓ **... and gives the Security Council the authority to do so.**
- ✓ **Also recognizes that states may take matters into their own hands (Article 51) ... *but is this an unconditional***

Look ahead to Friday 21.4

- ✓ **“Responsibility to Protect”**: An Emerging Norm?
 - ✓ *The Responsibility to Protect: Background & 2005 UN Summit* [UN website; internet links]
 - ✓ *The Responsibility to Protect, Rwanda Genocide & the UN*
 - ✓ Bellamy, *The Responsibility to Protect and the Problem of Military Intervention*, 2008 [posted in IS]
- ✓ **Note Essay #1 due Tuesday, 25 April:**
 - ✓ *The changing nature of conflict in the 21st century has led to a new concept of “responsibility to protect,” which directly challenges the traditional view of state sovereignty. Explain and assess this argument.*

***“Responsibility to
Protect:”
An Emerging Norm?***

Session 4

Friday, 21 April

Evolution of the Concept

How to prevent Rwanda, Srebrenica ... ~ UN norms

- ✓ *International Commission on Intervention & State Sovereignty (ICISS), December 2001*
 - ✓ From “sovereignty as control” to “sovereignty as responsibility”
 - ✓ Not “whether to intervene” but “whether to protect”
- ✓ *UN SYG High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, December 2004 [101 recommendations, including R2P]*
 - ✓ Changing definition of security, threats, self-defense
- ✓ *UN SYG Report, In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all, 2005 ... [prelude to 2005 UN Summit]*

2005 UN Summit Document

Paragraph 138

- ✓ Each individual State has the **responsibility to protect** its populations from **genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing** and **crimes against humanity**.
- ✓ This responsibility entails the **prevention** of such crimes, including their **incitement**, through **appropriate and necessary means**.
- ✓ **We accept this responsibility and will act in accordance with it.**
- ✓ The international community should, **as appropriate, encourage this responsibility and support the United Nations in establishing an **early warning capability**.**

2005 UN Summit Document

Paragraph 139

- ✓ The **international community, through the UN**, also has the **responsibility** to use appropriate, diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with **Chapters VI and VIII** of the Charter, to help **protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity**.
- ✓ In this context, **we are prepared to take collective action**, in a **timely and decisive manner**, through the **Security Council**, in accordance with the Charter, **including Chapter VII**, on a **case-by-case basis** and in cooperation with relevant **regional organizations, as appropriate**, **should peaceful means be inadequate** and **national authorities manifestly fail to protect** their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. ...

Implementation?

- ✓ **2006 – UNSCR 1706 re Darfur**
 - ✓ **Support for African Union efforts**
 - ✓ **Support implementation of Darfur Peace Agreement**
 - ✓ **Added 17,300 troops & 3,300 civilians to UNMIS**
 - ✓ **... to monitor and verify implementation ...**
 - ✓ **... to observe and monitor movements of armed groups ...**
 - ✓ **... to investigate violations ...**
 - ✓ **... to maintain a presence ...**
 - ✓ **... to assist ...**

Libya 2011

- ✓ **UNSC Resolution 1973:**
 - ✓ **“Deploring the failure of the Libyan authorities to comply ...”**
 - ✓ **“Reiterating the responsibility of the Libyan authorities to protect the Libyan population ...”**
 - ✓ **Acting under Chapter VII**
 - ✓ **“Authorizes ... To take all necessary measures ... to protect civilians and civilian populated areas**
 - ✓ **“... while excluding a foreign occupation force”**
 - ✓ **Enforce no fly zone ... Enforce arms embargo ... Ban on flights ... Freeze assets ... Restrict travel**

Other cases

- ✓ **Côte d'Ivoire (2011)**
 - ✓ Cite Chapter VII authority
 - ✓ Former President transferred to Int'l Criminal Court (ICC)
- ✓ **South Sudan (2011)**
 - ✓ Cite Chapter VII authority
 - ✓ Peacekeeping mission to protect civilians
- ✓ **Yemen (2011) – no Chapter VII**
- ✓ **Central African Republic (2013) – admonished authorities**

Syria?

- ✓ What is the **AUTHORITY** of the Security Council?
- ✓ What is the **RESPONSIBILITY** of the Security Council?
- ✓ *“In this context, we are prepared to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter, including Chapter VII, on a case-by-case basis ...”*
- ✓ Do others have a responsibility when UNSC does not act?

Look ahead to Tuesday, 25.4

- ✓ **Peacekeeping – Peacemaking – Peace Enforcement - Peacebuilding**
 - ✓ **Overview of UN Peacekeeping [UN website, internet link]**
 - ✓ **Grieg & Diehl, “The Peacekeeping-Peacemaking Dilemma,” *International Studies Quarterly*, December 2005 [posted in IS]**
- ✓ **Stand by for email on next week’s crisis simulation**
- ✓ **Start work within your case study team**
- ✓ **Note Essay #1 due Tuesday, 25 April:**
 - ✓ **The changing nature of conflict in the 21st century has led to a new concept of “responsibility to protect,” which directly challenges the traditional view of state sovereignty. Explain and assess this argument.**

**Peacekeeping
Peacemaking
Peace Enforcement
Peace Building**

Session 5

Tuesday, 25 April

Definitions

- ✓ **Peace keeping – following a truce**
 - ✓ **Protect civilians ... disarmament, demobilization, reintegration ... support elections rule of law, promote human rights**
- ✓ **Peace making – conflict in process**
 - ✓ **“Usually” diplomatic ~ “Good offices,” mediation, negotiations**
- ✓ **Peace enforcement – conflict is raging**
 - ✓ **Application of coercive measures ~ Chapter VII**
- ✓ **Peace building – after cessation of hostilities**
 - ✓ **Lay basis for sustainable peace ~ long term, civil activities**
 - ✓ **Governance, economic development, democratization**

Peacekeeping

✓ Principles

- ✓ Consent of the parties
- ✓ Impartiality
- ✓ Non-use of force except in self-defense & to defend mandate

✓ Operations

- ✓ **71 since 1948 – 56 since 1988 – 16 currently**
 - ✓ **Africa (9):** Western Sahara, Central African Republic, Mali, Congo, Darfur, Abyei, South Sudan, Ivory Coast, Liberia
 - ✓ **Middle East (3):** Syria, Lebanon, Sinai
 - ✓ **Europe (2):** Cyprus, Kosovo
 - ✓ **Asia (1):** India-Pakistan
 - ✓ **Latin America (1):** Haiti

Issues

- ✓ **Blurred lines of peacekeeping as “umbrella” for range of peacekeeping/making/enforcement/building activities**
- ✓ **Chapter VI ~ consent of sovereign government**
 - ✓ **Chapter VII ~ not required if UNSC approves**
- ✓ **Who provides the troops?**
- ✓ **Who trains the troops?**
- ✓ **Who pays for the troops?**
- ✓ **Mandate & “Rules of Engagement” (ROE)?**

Look ahead ...

- ✓ **Wednesday-Thursday ... 25-26 April**
 - ✓ **Crisis Simulation ~ Sudan/Darfur**
 - ✓ *TEAM Point Papers on objectives due in class 25 April*
- ✓ **Tuesday-Wednesday-Thursday ... 2-4 May**
 - ✓ **Case Study Presentations**
 - ✓ **20-30 minutes ... with PowerPoint**
 - ✓ *TEAM reports due in class Tuesday, 16 May*
- ✓ **Tuesday, 16 May – Lessons Learned [*Final Class*]**
 - ✓ *Team reports ... also Essay #2 due in class*

Conflict Management Simulation

Sessions 6 & 7

Wednesday, 26 April

Thursday, 27 April

Sudan & Darfur – Crisis Sim



Two other Sudan Peacekeeping Missions:

- **Abyei region**
- **South Sudan**

Sudan/Darfur

Background

- ✓ **Cross-cutting sources of conflict**
 - ✓ Arab vs. non-Arab (blacks)
 - ✓ Islamist vs. non-Islamist/Christian
 - ✓ Sedentary agricultural communities vs. nomadic herders
 - ✓ Drought since 1980's ... loss of land & water, famine
- ✓ **2003 uprising against Sudanese government in Khartoum**
 - ✓ Rebels successful hit-and-run tactics
 - ✓ Government embarrassed ~ responded violently
 - ✓ **UN estimates ~ 400,000 killed ... 3 million displaced ... since 2003**
 - ✓ Sep 2004 – US Sec State Colin Powell called it “genocide”

Players *[simplified!]*

✓ **Government:**

- ✓ President Omar al-Bashir
- ✓ Supported by military, police, *Janjaweed* Arab militias
 - ✓ *Janjaweed* funded/supplied by government, which denies it
- ✓ Supported by **China** [oil] ... Iran [until 2016] & Saudi [after 2016?]

✓ **Rebels:**

- ✓ Sudanese Liberation Movement (SLM)
- ✓ Justice & Equality Movement (JEM)
- ✓ Supported by **France**, other European countries

UN Actions *[also simplified!]*

- ✓ 2005 Humanitarian Cease Fire
 - ✓ African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) – 2005
 - ✓ “Monitoring mission” ... grew from 300 to 7,000
- ✓ 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement -- Government & SLA
 - ✓ Rejected by JEM and rival SLA factions
 - ✓ 115 page agreement ~ power sharing, demilitarize militias, referendum on future status, humanitarian aid
 - ✓ Bashir rejected 20,000 UN peacekeeping force ~ 10,000 Sudanese
 - ✓ *More casualties, dislocations, rape, aerial bombardment of civilians*

UNSCR 1706 ('06) & 1769 ('07)

UN Africa Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)

- ✓ First joint UN-African Union peacekeeping effort ~ **R2P**
- ✓ Cited UN Charter Chapters **VII & VIII**
 - ✓ 12-0 ... China, Russia, Qatar abstained
- ✓ Expand UNMIS mandate ~ **17,300 troops & 3,300 civilians**
 - ✓ ... to monitor and verify implementation ...
 - ✓ ... to observe and monitor movements of armed groups ...
 - ✓ ... to investigate violations ...
 - ✓ ... to maintain a presence ... and assist ...
 - ✓ ... to prevent attacks and threats against citizens
- ✓ **UNMIS/AU efforts merged – UNAMID extended annually**
 - ✓ By 2016-17 reduced to 15,000 military, 3,500 civilian/police

Since 2006

- ✓ **Persistent but lower levels of violence, occasional flare-ups**
 - ✓ Occasional government offensives
 - ✓ 2016 – reported CW attack on civilians by Gov't forces
- ✓ **Diplomatic breakthrough – 2011 Doha Peace Accord**
 - ✓ UN-brokered ... Darfuri Vice President *[never happened]*
 - ✓ Compensation fund for victims *[never paid]*
- ✓ **International Criminal Court**
 - ✓ 2008 – al-Bashir indicted for genocide, murder, crimes vs. humanity
 - ✓ Arab League & African Union reject; FR threatened to force arrest

Roles!

<p>Žilinčík, Samuel – Sudan Pres Bashir Salazar, Lucero – Sudan Vice Pres Nevrayeva, Darya – Sudan For Min</p>	<p>Kyselý, Vojtěch - SLA Leader Kozová, Petra - SLA Faction Leader Vorda, Alana - JEM Leader</p>
<p>Dvořáček, Marek - Janjaweed Cdr Kling, Katharina – CH Premier Matiushenko, Viktoriia – CH Foreign</p>	<p>Bátřia, Michael - Rebel Mil Cdr Brezden, Barbara - FR President Chlustinová, Natálie - FR For Min Jakobczyk, Monika – FR Def Min</p>
<p>Rekšáková, Terézia – CH Energy <u>UN Deputy SecGen for Peacekeeping</u> ✓ Goksadze, Tamar [Taco] ✓ Shanidze, Dachi ✓ Vinkler, Pavel</p>	<p><u>UNAMID Commanders in Sudan</u> ✓ Alekseeva, Alexandra - UNMIS ✓ Janičatová, Silvie - AU</p>

Scenario – April 2018

- ✓ UNAMID mandate extended until June 30, 2018 (in 2017)
 - ✓ 15,000 military personnel + 2,500 civilian police
- ✓ **January** – Chad expels 200,000 refugees back to Sudan
 - ✓ Refugees seeking to return to Darfur under protection
- ✓ **February** – Government offensive against Darfur region
 - ✓ Aerial bombardment, Janjaweed raids, reported CW use
 - ✓ 1,000+ killed ... 25,000 displaced in one week
 - ✓ Arms from China, Russia; funding from Saudi Arabia
- ✓ Debate among rebel factions about utility of continued talks
- ✓ UN Sec Gen seeks guidance on next steps ... including extension

Press Briefing #1 – 26 April

- ✓ **Sudan Tribune, 26 April.** Bombs rocked the capital of Khartoum this morning as 3 explosions occurred in the main market square, in a government services building, and in the main tourist information office.
 - ✓ Al Qaeda in the Maghreb has taken credit for the attacks.
 - ✓ Interior Ministry spokesman declared that this was further proof that the so-called Sudanese Liberation Movements was really a front organization for radical Islamist terrorism.
- ✓ **Riyadh Times, 26 April.** A member of the Saudi Royal Family is quoted as having referred to President Omar al-Bashir as an “opportunist” whom we can use but should not trust.

Breaking News – 26.4-1

- ✓ **Reuters**. Following earlier explosions in Khartoum, a suicide bomber rammed a truck full of explosives into a critical control facility for the Greater Nile Oil Pipeline outside Khartoum. The building suffered extensive damage. The pipeline carries oil from South Sudan and the Nile valley to the Port of Sudan facility.

Breaking News – 26.4-2

- ✓ **BBC**. Riots broke out in al-Junaynah (western Darfur) today, as food distribution points began to turn people away because of lack of food. A local spokesman for Oxfam said the system had been overwhelmed by the new flood of refugees expelled earlier this year from Chad. He also reported that local residents were becoming violent in their treatment of refugees, and angry mobs were forming outside the UNAMID base near al-Junaynah.

Breaking News – 26.4-3

- ✓ **Agence France Presse. Anonymous French intelligence sources reported that there are indications from social media of growing impatience within the ranks of the SLM and a demand for a new offensive against the government of Sudan.**

One SLM rebel reportedly said on Twitter, “if the world will not get rid of the war criminal, al-Bashir, we will.”

Press Briefing #2a – 27 April

- ✓ **Sudan Times**. According to an Interior Ministry spokesman:
 - ✓ Yesterday's bombings in **Khartoum's market, government, and tourist buildings** resulted in 15 people dead, and several hundred had flooded area hospitals with injuries.
 - ✓ There were no casualties at the **Greater Nile Oil Pipeline control station** that had been hit by a suicide bomber in a truck. However, the station had been extensively damaged, and it would take several weeks before it return to service.
 - ✓ Additional inspections of the pipeline revealed several satchels of unexploded makeshift bombs, indicating a much more widespread attack. No one has yet claimed responsibility for that bombing.

Press Briefing #2b – 27 April

- ✓ **CNN**. International press headlines highlighted the growing violence in Darfur, as thousands of refugees continued to overwhelm food distribution centers and other NGO services.

Protests built yesterday outside UN Headquarters in New York, after pictures of the chaos in Darfur went viral on social media.

Breaking News – 27.4-1

- ✓ **Reuters**. More explosions in Sudan this morning, this time near al-Junaynah (western Darfur), when a suicide bomber tried to ram a truck into the UN compound. The truck blew up at the gate, and three Africa Union guards were killed along with the suicide bomber. No one else was injured.
- ✓ **Al Qaeda in the Maghreb** claimed credit for this attack, but this could not be readily corroborated.

Breaking News – 27.4-2

- ✓ **Agence France Presse.** Homemade “Molotov” cocktails were thrown into the compound of the French Embassy in Khartoum this morning, as a mob of hooded militia, shouting “*Allahu Akbar,*” tried to force their way into the Embassy grounds. Five attackers were killed before the mob was turned back.
Embassy personnel said they were trying to determine the identity of the dead attackers.
In a public statement, the French Ambassador said that the Government of Sudan had a legal responsibility to assist in ensuring the security of embassies.

Case Study Presentations

Sessions 8-9-10

Tuesday, 2 May (*Civil/Sectarian Conflict*)

Wednesday, 3 May (*International Terrorism*)

Thursday, 4 May (*Nuclear Proliferation*)

Look ahead to Tue-Thu 2-4 May

- ✓ **Case Study TEAM Presentations**
 - ✓ **2 May: Sectarian Civil Conflict – Libya & Sudan**
 - ✓ **3 May: International Terrorism – Afghanistan & Syria/ISIS**
 - ✓ **4 May: Nuclear Proliferation – Iran & North Korea**
- ✓ **Content & Format**
 - ✓ ***20-30 minutes ... with PowerPoint ... then 15-20 min class critique***
 - 1. Brief description of conflict and why it is important***
 - 2. Brief overview of attempts by international community, regional organizations, states, & non-state actors to manage/resolve the conflict***
 - 3. Brief description & assessment of the results of those efforts***
 - ✓ ***Final TEAM written report due in class Tuesday, 16 May***

Case Studies – Tuesday, 2 May

Sectarian Civil Conflict

Libya

- ✓ **Alekseeva, Alexandra**
- ✓ **Goksadze, Tamar [Taco]**
- ✓ **Janičatová, Silvie**
- ✓ **Vinkler, Pavel**

Sudan

- ✓ **Kozová, Petra**
- ✓ **Rekšáková, Terézia**
- ✓ **Žilinčík, Samuel**

Case Studies – Wednesday, 3 May International Terrorism

Afghanistan

- ✓ Kyselý, Vojtěch
- ✓ Matiushenko, Viktoriia
- ✓ Shanidze, Dachì

Syria/ISIS

- ✓ Bátria, Michael
- ✓ Brezden, Barbara
- ✓ Jakobczyk, Monika

Case Studies – Thursday, 4 May

Nuclear Proliferation

Iran

- ✓ Dvořáček, Marek
- ✓ Salazar, Lucero
Guadalupe
- ✓ Vorda, Alana

North Korea

- ✓ Chlustinová, Natálie
- ✓ Kling, Katharina
- ✓ Nevrayeva, Darya

Look ahead to Tuesday, 16 May

~ Last Class ~

- ✓ **Lessons Learned: Managing Future International Conflict**
- ✓ **TEAM Case Study Report** due in class
- ✓ **Essay #2** [individual ~ 20 points] due in class:
 - ✓ **Summarize and explain (with examples) what you believe are the *three* most important lessons for states and international institutions in managing future international conflict.**

Lessons Learned? Managing Future International Conflict

Session 11

Tuesday, 16 May

TEAM Case Studies Due

[Individual] Essay #2 Due