COURSE OUTLINE

CONFRONTING A CRISIS: TOOLS FOR ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Teachers(s): David Chuter, Bertrand Epstein, Romain Poirot-Lellig, Guillaume Le Duc, Jérôme Spinoza, Léonard Vincent

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

David CHUTER: A former UK civil servant, David Chuter spent his career in the Ministry of Defence, where he dealt with a wide range of generally international issues, including European Security, the Balkans (including war crimes and transitional justice) and the political support of arms exports. He has been involved in Security Sector Reform since the defence and security transition in South Africa between 1993 and 1995. From 2005-2008 he worked in the Délegation aux Affaires Stratégiques of the Ministry of Defence, as Special Advisor to the Policy Director. He is now an independent author, lecturer and consultant based in Paris, and author of a number of books on security questions.

Bertrand EPSTEIN: Officer, currently working on policies for the Amy staff. He previously worked for the disarmament and strategic affairs department of the MFA, where he specialized on defence and security related issues in Africa. He worked for the Cabinet of the Ministry of Defence from 2011 to 2013. A helicopter pilot, he served in several army aviation units and was deployed in the field both in national and multinational operations. He is a graduate of Saint-Cyr military academy, the United States Command and General Staff College, and the French War College.

Romain POIROT-LELLIG: Former Political Adviser to the Special Representative of the European Union for Afghanistan, based in Kabul from 2008 to 2010, in Mali and Burkina Faso between 2013 and 2015, Romain Poirot-Lellig began his career as a financial journalist (at La Tribune) then as an investment banker and public affairs adviser between Paris and Hong Kong. He is a graduate of Sciences Po, and holds a Master’s Degree in Corporate Management of the University of Paris-Dauphine. He was also NATO Desk Officer in the Prime minister’s Secrétariat général de la défense nationale. He is currently back in the investment banking industry, focusing on emerging markets financing.

Guillaume LE DUC: A humanitarian aid worker, Guillaume Le Duc is one of the cofounders of ALIMA, the Alliance for International Medical Action, a fast growing innovative medical NGO. Guillaume has direct field experience with humanitarian crises including Ebola in Guinea, cholera in Haiti, malnutrition in the Sahel, and conflicts in North Kivu, DRC. Prior to ALIMA, Guillaume worked for six years with Médecins Sans Frontières in the communication department in the USA and in the field as project coordinator and head of mission. Guillaume holds masters degrees from ESCP Europe, Sciences Po and Columbia University. He is now ALIMA’s Development Director based in Montreuil, France.

Jérôme SPINOZA: Diplomat, he is currently working at the Africa directorate of the French MFA. Specialized on African Peace and security issues, he has previously served at the Prime Minister’s administration (Secretariat General de la Défense et de la sécurité nationale), the EU’s external action service (political advisor to the EUSR for Sahel) and the MoD (Africa Bureau of the “Délégation aux Affaires stratégiques”, political advisor to the Licorne operation in the Côte d’Ivoire). He took part in electoral observation missions (EU, OSCE) and has also worked for local governments in France. He is a graduate of Sciences Po and, of the Freie Universität Berlin and of Paris II Pantheon Assas.

Léonard VINCENT: Currently journalist with Le Média, former Deputy Editor and reporter with Radio France Internationale’s Africa service, and specialist in African current affairs, Léonard Vincent directed the Africa
office of Reporters sans frontières from 2004 to 2008, before becoming editor in chief until March 2009. He is the author of a book on the reclusive state of Eritrea, as well as documentaries and articles on the role of the media in humanitarian crises, for various publications.

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Session 1: Introduction to the Course

Introduction to the subject: what is a crisis or a conflict? why intervene?, how does a crisis work, can it be resolved?, how does international involvement affect the resolution of a crisis?), presentation of teachers, election of delegate, allocation of presentations, how to convey oral and written information, short overview of “jobs” in the international “crisis management” area.

Required readings: None

Session 2 Responding to a Crisis (1/2)

Ways of understanding the crisis and questions raised, why and how to intervene or to negotiate. How to understand the crisis. How to react. How to (re)construct the peace. Understanding the mindsets and motivations of the actors. When action is possible and when it is not. How to judge if the situation will be made better or worse. How outside political factors influence the decision. How demands are based on history, religion, economic and political imbalances. Link with other crises and issues of the day such (as Yugoslavia with the fall of the USSR, European defence construction, interrogations about NATO’s future…). Presentations should refer (if only briefly) to the current situation in each country, and how far hopes for peace have been realised.

Presentations:

- Bosnia since the Dayton Agreement and Macedonia since the Ohrid Agreement
- The Rwandan Civil War (1990-94), the Arusha Accords and what followed.

Recommended Readings:

- Mahmood Mamdani, When Victims Become Killers
- P. Richards, No Peace, No War: an anthropology of contemporary armed conflicts, Ohio UP, 2005
- G. Andreani et P. Hassner (dir.), Justifier la guerre, Presses Sc. Po, 2005
- Christopher Cramer, Civil War is not a Stupid Thing, Hurst, 2006
- David Keen, Useful Enemies, Yale, 2012
- Kate Jenkins and William Plowden, Governance and Nationbuilding, Edward Elgar, 2006
- Steven Lukes, Power: A Radical View, Palgrave 2005

Session 3: Responding to a Crisis (2/2)

Presentations
• A new Great Game?: International strategies in the Sahel-Sahara (Mali, Libya since 2011)
• System failure? civil wars: the example of Syria since 2011.

Recommended Readings
• Note: many of the readings from session 2 are relevant here as well.
• Generally all reports by research centres and also think tanks and advocacy structures (ICG, HRW, Carnegie, etc.). Also Parliamentary reports (French Parliament, UK, US, etc.).
• Jospeh Confravreux, “Le Sahara n’est pas une “zone grise” Mediapart, 14 February 2013
• Syria Focus Page a http://www.isis-europe.eu/syria-focus
• David Chandler, “Human Security and Post-Intervention: The Case of Libya” online at http://www.ces.uc.pt/publicacoes/p@x/pdf/P@x19en.pdf
• Yezid Sayegh, “A Melancholy Perspective on Syria” available at http://carnegie-mec.org/2014/04/08/melancholy-perspective-on-syria/h7fc#
• See also other Carnegie publications.
• See also other ICG publications.

Session 4: Exploiting Crises

How certain events (eg the non-existent Iranian “nuclear” programme), can still be defined and treated as “crises”. How crises are sometimes managed according to the agendas of external actors. How local political and military actors can make use of the practical and symbolic capital of humanitarian intervention. How peace agreements can force inappropriate patterns onto crises. How local actors can exploit them.

Presentations
• Iran & its proxies vs “the West” 1980-2016: from reciprocal targets to objective allies and back again?
• South Sudan: Why was the Comprehensive Peace Agreement bound to fail?
Session 5 – Humanitarian 1/2: Humanitarian Interventions?

Since the 1990s, armed international interventions carried out in the name of humanitarianism and of the restoration of democracy have greatly increased, with the announced objective of providing security for humanitarian assistance operations, protecting civilians, and of advancing nation building.

What conclusions can we draw from these experiences? How far have they contributed to the security of populations and to delivering aid? What effect have they had on the operation of NGOs? Who and what has benefitted from them?

Presentations.

- “Restore Hope” in Somalia (1992-95): the advent of military-humanitarian interventions?
- CAR: from relative neglect to intervention; what role for humanitarian organisations?

Recommended Readings

- Fabrice Weissman (dir.), A l’ombre des guerres justes, Flammarion, 2003
- Gareth J. Evans, The responsibility to protect, Ending mass atrocities crimes once and for all (Washington D.C : Brooklyn Institution Press 2008)
- ICG: The Central African Crisis: From predation to stabilisation, June 2014
- ICG: Central African Republic: Better late than never, December 2013
- Médecins sans Frontières, Dossier Centrafricque : La Valise ou le Cercueil, Juillet 2014
Session 6 – Humanitarian 2/2: Public health, biohazard and international security

Having started in 2013, the Ebola epidemics have demonstrated the limited capacity of a large number of public health actors to respond swiftly and adequately. In recent years, the epidemics of SARS and Avian Flu made the hypothesis that major epidemics could massively disrupt the functioning of the international system more real. Coming back to those recent epidemics, this session will aim at understanding how state and non-state actors at the local, regional and international levels understand and react to these « new threats ».

Presentations

- Public health and international security (Anthrax, Avian flu, SRAS…)

Recommended readings

- The UN agency that bungled Ebola, http://online.wsj.com/articles/brian-hook-the-u-n-agency-that-bungled-ebola-1413931419
- G. Lachenal, Chronique d’un film catastrophe bien préparé, Libération, 18 septembre 2014
- Dr Alice Mesnard/ Paul Seabright, Escaping epidemics through migration? May 2008
- AFD-Hewlett Foundation, Health Risks and Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa

Session 7: Greed or Grievance?

How crises can be linked to the struggle for the control of wealth.

Presentations

- Afghanistan: guerrillas and drug traffickers
- Around the Greater Sahel: trans-Sahel traffic in arms, drugs and people and its security implications.

Recommended readings:

- M. Berdal & D. Malone, Greed or Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars, Lynne Reiner, 2000
- Roberto Saviano, Gomorra, Paris, Gallimard, 2007 (also available in English).
- ICG, “The Insurgency in Afghanistan’s Heartland”, 27 June 2011
- David Keen, Useful Enemies, 2012.
Session 8: (Re)making the State (1/2)

Relationship between security and development. How states are constructed after the resolution of a crisis. Use and limitations of the norms of “good governance” and democratisation. “Fragile states”.

From peacekeeping to peace building. The Islamic state in the Middle East and elsewhere. What does this imply?

Presentations

- Constructing a state: Haiti and Kurdistan compared.
- Proclaiming a state? (Islamic State, Boko Haram) have they worked? What does this tell us?

Recommended readings

- Sen, La démocratie des autres. Pourquoi la liberté n’est pas une invention de l’Occident, 2005
- Jeffrey Herbst, States and Power in Africa, Princeton University Press, 2000
- Simon Chesterman, You, the People: The United Nations, Transitional Administration and State-Building, Oxford University Press, 2004
- OECD, Concepts and Dilemmas of State Building in Fragile Situations, 2008
Session 9: (Re)making the State (2/2)

Types and limitations of the concepts of SSR and DDR. Variety of experiences of SSR (Latin America, Eastern Europe, Africa) and DDR, Cambodia, Africa, especially Angola and Mozambique, where there is a real historical dimension). Need to understand the logic of local actors.

Presentations

- Transforming governance: promise or threat? What is needed for western-style states to work? Does “governance” reform work in practice?
- Security Sector Reform, African lessons: (DRC, RCI, Mali, Guinea Bissau, RSA, Ethiopia)

Recommended readings

- Douglas Johnson, "The Root Causes of Sudan’s Civil Wars"
- Sébastien Melmot, Candide au Congo: L’échec annoncé de la réforme du secteur de sécurité, IFRI 2008 (also available in English).
- Blog de Alex de Waal sur le Soudan http://blogs.ssrc.org/sudan/

Session 10: The “Usual Suspects”

The international community has what it describes as a “toolkit” for the resolution of crises. Two of the most important elements are “dealing with the past” through criminal prosecutions and truth commissions (sometimes simultaneously) and the holding of multiparty elections on the western liberal models. But what is the evidence that they actually work?

- Crises and justice. How to deal with the past. Can threats of criminal investigation influence how a crisis unfolds? The logic of criminal justice and the risks of political obstacles. Lessons of the ad hoc tribunals and the ICC. Is there such a thing as “truth”, and can it produce reconciliation?
- Elections after conflict. Timing and models. What happens if things go wrong? Do elections actually settle anything or can they be a disruptive factor? What are the preconditions for successful elections?

Presentations
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- International justice as “victor’s justice”? (Rwanda, Former Yugoslavia, Darfur) or as a mechanism for resolving a crisis (the above + Sierra Leone & Liberia). The alternative: amnesties, pardons and letting the past go. Truth and Reconciliation Commissions. Do they work?

- Elections after conflict. How soon and under what circumstances. Do they help or harm. What happens if the results are not accepted? Can elections be a source of conflict? (Bosnia, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Afghanistan, etc.)

Recommended readings

- R. Goldstone, For Humanity: Reflections of a War Crimes Investigator, Yale, 2000
- Fabrice Weissman, “Humanitarian Aid and International Justice : Grounds for a divorce”, July 2009,
- P. Hayner, Unspeachable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity, Routledge, 2000
- Julie Flint, Alex de Waal, “Case Closed: A Prosecutor without Borders”, World Affairs, Spring 2009
- IFRI, Transitions politiques: les déboires du modèle de sortie de crise en Afrique, https://www.ifri.org/fr/publications/notices-de-ifri/notices-de-ifri/transitions-politiques-deboires-modele-de-sortie-de-crise

Session 11: Symbols and Mirrors. Media and Communications (1/2)

Facing the information battlefield. Objectivity? Neutrality? Media coverage vs. experience on the ground, political communications strategies vs. the complexity of reality, perception of reality vs. value judgements, communication vs. information, etc. The contradictions and incoherencies at the heart of the “major issues” of the contemporary world, and their consequences for current crises. How the media influences a crisis.

Presentations

- ISIS and the terrorist theatre ? How mass communication and real-time news coverage are integrated in terrorist group's combat strategy, and how the self-proclaimed Islamic State wages a parallel war with images and signs.
- "Modern-day slavery in Libya": story and consequences of a snuff movie broadcast on CNN: Migrations, images and policy making in 2018

Recommended readings

- Les Cahiers De Mediologie n°.13 ; La Scène Terroriste http://www.mediologie.org/cahiers-de-mediologie/13_terrisme/sommaire13.html
Session 12: Building a narrative. Media and Communications (2/2)

Presentations

- Civil war in Ukraine and The Second Council of Nicea: how centuries-old stories hide behind daily news, and how long term historical process and lack of historical culture flaw media coverage.


Recommended readings

- Encyclopedia Britannica: “Second Council of Nicaea (787)” and “The Great Schism” (1054)
  https://www.britannica.com/event/Council-of-Nicaea-Christianity-787
  https://www.britannica.com/event/Schism-of-1054
- Archives of US/UK and Russian media coverage of the Ukranian civil war
- EPA - The media coverage of the Romanian revolution epa.oszk.hu/02300/02341/.../EPA02341_ceu_2006_01_25-44.pdf
- “The Death of Yugoslavia”, BBC Documentary, 1996 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Dj5dLoSYo&spfreload=10
- Google Search : «Yugoslavia Footage»