



Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine
Sumy State University

T. O. Kurbatova

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS

Study guide

Recommended by the Academic Council of Sumy State University

Sumy
Sumy State University
2020

УДК 327.5+341.7(075.8)
К 93

Reviewers:

V. I. Pokotylova – Doctor of Economics Sciences, Professor, Rector of Kherson Economic and Legal Institute;

L. M. Taraniuk – Doctor of Economics Sciences, Professor of the Department of International Economic Relations of Sumy State University

*Recommended for publishing
by the Academic Council of Sumy State University
as a study guide
(minutes № 4 of 15.10.2020)*

Kurbatova T. O.

К 93 International conflicts : study guide / T. O. Kurbatova. –
Sumy : Sumy State University, 2020. – 114 p.

The study guide contains theoretical and applied bases of development and settlement of international conflicts. It considers the main types and structural elements of international conflicts; analytical tools for conflicts analysis; the key measures to prevent and resolve international conflicts, particularities of international negotiation and peace support operations conduction.

УДК 327.5+341.7(075.8)

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INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, understanding the main trends in international conflicts development and resolution is an important part of the training of qualified specialists in the international economic relations field.

The purpose of this study guide is to form in students a system of knowledge about nature and patterns of conflicts in the system of international relations, the acquisition of practical skills regarding analysis of international conflicts, their prevention and settlement.

The study guide briefly and consistently outlines the content of basic concepts and approaches used by world science in studying international conflicts; main types and structural elements of conflicts; theoretical aspects and analytical tools for international conflicts analysis; the key measures to prevent and resolve international conflicts, particularities of international negotiation and peace support operations conduction.

The study guide is intended for students of higher education institutions of speciality “International Economic Relations”, and anyone, who are interested in trends of international conflicts development, approaches to their analysis, prevention and resolution.

CHAPTER 1. CONFLICTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SYSTEM

- 1.1 Defining conflict.
- 1.2 Causes of international conflicts.
- 1.3 Drivers of insecurity in modern world.
- 1.4 Classification of international conflicts.
- 1.5 Ways of international conflicts development.
- 1.6 Functions of international conflicts.

The word “conflict” comes from the Latin word “conflictus”, which means collision or clash.

Conflict can be defined as (Merriam, 2020; Lexico, 2020):

- a serious disagreement and dispute about something important, when opposing forces cannot reach an agreement;
- a process in which two or more parties attempt to prevent the achievement of the goals of others;
- a special type of relationship based on opposite goals, interests, needs, ideals, beliefs, etc.;
- an interaction between actors (individuals, groups, organizations, states) in the result of incompatibilities of thinking, imagination, perception etc.;
- a disagreement through which the involved parties perceive a threat to their needs, interests or concerns;
- a way to solve certain contradictions.

International conflict is a clash of interests of two or more actors of international relations (states, groups of states, international organizations), which pursue mutually incompatible goals.

Conflicts are an inherent part of international relations as international relations can take two forms (Baiturbayeva, 2012):

- allied relations, when actors of international relations are partners and actively cooperate with each other in different spheres;
- conflict relations, when actors of international relations make various claims to each other and take active steps to satisfy them.

Approaches to understanding the causes of international conflicts. There are a number of approaches that try to explain the causes of international conflicts, namely (Al-Rawashdeh, 2017; Watts et al, 2018; Adavize, 2015):

1. Psychological approach. According to this approach, conflicts are caused by the innate instincts of the human personality – greed, a person’s tendency to destroy and dominate. No matter what a cause of the conflict is – protecting the homeland, struggle for resources or power, promoting political or religious principles, establishing racial or ethnic domination – conflict provides the necessary outlet for the aggression of human nature.

2. Ideological approach. The supporters of this approach claim the ideological contradictions are the main cause of international conflicts, namely the incompatibility of political, legal, religious and other ideas, beliefs, values and attitudes among the actors of international relations.

3. Resource approach. According to this approach, the main reason of international conflicts is the struggle for mineral resources, caused by their uneven distribution among countries. As a result, countries compete for the natural resources which are needed for their survival and economic growth.

4. National interests approach. This approach advocates that the main driving force of the international conflicts is policies of countries aimed at protecting national interests. First of all, it relates to primary national interests which are essential to the survival of the nation, namely the preservation of the physical, political and cultural identity of the state. Physical identity

refers to the preservation of the territorial integrity of the state; political identity refers to belonging to a particular political position; cultural identity refers to the historical values that the state supports as part of its cultural heritage.

5. Arms race approach. According to this approach, superiority in armaments leads to the manifestation of forces in international disputes that increases tension and prevent solving the conflicts by diplomatic means.

6. An approach related to political regimes. According to this approach, the conflict is best explained in terms of the internal characteristics of states. There is an observation that some states are prone to aggression and others advocate peace. Thus, countries with a democratic political regime rarely have conflict relationship. On the contrary, countries with authoritarian and totalitarian political regimes are prone to militarism, conflicts, and wars. Countries with such regimes are characterized by the glorification of the armed forces, the political culture formed by the belief in heroism and self-sacrifice, and the recognition of war not only as a legitimate policy instrument, but also as an expression of national patriotism.

7. An approach related to the nature of the international political system. Conflict is a consequence of an anarchic international system that forces states to rely on self-help. This trend is reflected in the security dilemma, which is the result of fear and uncertainty among states that consider states' defence actions as a potential threat. According to this approach, national sovereignty of states is a major source of international conflicts, and the resolution of conflicts can only be achieved through the creation of a world government that will have power over sovereign states.

Drivers of insecurity in modern world. It should be noted that each historical stage of humanity's existence has specific

drivers of instability provoking conflicts. Nowadays such drivers are (Brock, 2012):

- Increasing competition over resources. First of all, it relates energy resources. Nowadays the global economy is based on fossil fuels, which are limited today that can provoke the struggle for them. It increases the chances for conflicts between the West-consumer nations and the resource-rich nations in the South. Other areas of competition that could lead to conflict include water and land as the main resources needed for to sustain humans live.

- Global militarization. Maintaining international security through use of military force combined with the development of both nuclear and conventional weapons has contributed to the military insecurity, which time to time can provoke military conflicts.

- Economic gap between developed and developing countries. Division between the rich and poor countries, absolute and relative poverty are one of the key drivers of global insecurity. While overall global wealth has increased, the benefits of this economic growth have not been equally shared. Growing rich-poor divide combine with poverty and discrimination are threat to national and international stability. Today, there is more awareness of this gap, as improvements in education and modern technologies (radio, mobile phone, television and internet) allow poor people to observe the wealth and opportunities of rich ones. This leads to increasing radicalization and emergency of conflicts.

- Climate change. Climate change is a complex phenomenon, which will have multiple effects on stability and security of states and communities in the future. Sea level rises and desertification as the consequences of this process will make some areas unfit for human life. It will increase the chances of international conflicts, first of all, due to the migration.

International conflicts can be classified based on the following criteria (Bernadsky, 2012; Sheriff, 2015):

1. By the sphere of contradictions:

- **territorial conflicts** related to desire of one state to control the borders, airspace or territorial waters of another state. Territorial conflicts are is one of the most widespread types of international conflicts, because territory as an object of dispute has great importance for the state: along with the population, it is the material basis of its existence, determining the prospects for the economic and political development (e.g. the southern Kuril Islands dispute, territorial disputes in the South China Sea, Hans Island dispute).

- **political conflicts** deal with the traditional distribution of power and prestige in international relations. In international politics, any state pursues two goals, on the one hand, to secure its own sovereignty (the right to independently resolve internal and external political affairs without the interference of other states, organizations, individuals), and on the other hand, establishing and maintaining influence on other states. So, the main causes of political conflicts are the protection of sovereignty, when state seeks to protect its own political independence or the desire to dominate in international system, when one or more powerful states to establish or maintain their influence on the foreign and domestic policies of other states.

- **economic conflicts** arise for the following reasons:

- the struggle for resources occurs when one country wants to control natural resources of another country. The main reason of the struggle for natural resources is their unequal distribution, so countries compete for the resources needed for survival and economic growth. It should be noted that struggle for natural resources very often underlie most conflicts, even if publicly presented aim is another. Scientists predict that as the world's population grows, struggle for the resources will be the

main cause of international conflicts (e.g. territorial claims in the Arctic, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait);

– the competition on the world markets of goods. States, whose trade policies are characterized by full or partial protectionism, as a rule, are the parties of such conflicts (US-China trade, Ukrainian-Russian trade wars).

- **ideological conflicts** relate the incompatibility of systems of values and views on society and the world. Such conflicts often manifest in confrontation in the sphere of political ideology, where one political system seeks to win in an ideological struggle of another system and tries to expand its ideology on the opponent's territory. The prime example of such conflict is ideological tension during Cold War between two superpowers – the USA (capitalism political ideology) and the Soviet Union (communism political ideology).

- **ethnic conflicts** are conflicts between two or more ethnic groups (an ethnic group is a group of people who identify themselves with each other based on such common features as language, history, culture, religion, etc.). Conflict between ethnic groups is often manifested in the condition of their neighbourhood within a narrow geographical area of residence (e.g. Sri Lanka (between Singles and Tamils), Rwanda (between Hutu and Tutsi)).

- **religious conflicts** are caused by religious differences between countries with different religions or with different trends within one religion (e.g. Protestants against Catholics), often within one country.

2. By the absence or presence of violence in the conflict:

- **armed conflicts** are organized clashes between the armed forces of the conflicting parties. Armed conflicts in comparison with other types of conflicts have serious negative impact on the security of states and people. The results of armed conflicts are significant casualties among the military and civilian population, the displacement of civilian

populations and the destruction of national infrastructure. Domestically, armed conflicts break the political order, internationally – they have impact on international relations, formation and conduction of defence and security policy (e.g. Syrian civil war, Persian Gulf, World war II);

- **non-armed (non-violent)** conflicts are characterized by confrontation between warring parties without using military force.

Among the non-armed conflicts, it can be identified:

- diplomatic conflicts which are expressed in the exchange of notes of protest, announcement of persona non grata of diplomatic staff, termination of diplomatic relations between the conflicting parties, etc.;

- economic conflicts are manifested, first of all, in trade wars which are carried out through customs policy, a full or partial ban on trade with a hostile party (e.g. embargo), financial means (e.g. freezing of accounts in foreign banks), etc.;

- information conflicts are characterized by the active interference in the information field of the conflicting party with the aim of propaganda, violation of internal stability, incitement of national, national, social, religious and other hatred;

- cultural conflicts relate to the complete or partial prohibition of distribution in the country of literature, music, film or video from a hostile country.

3. By equality of capabilities:

- symmetric conflicts are conflicts that occur between relatively similar parties (i.e., those who have equal military power, resources, etc.);

- asymmetric conflicts are conflicts that arise between dissimilar parties (e.g. between state and a group of rebels, state and a terroristic group).

4. By the geographical scope of the conflict:

- local conflicts occurring in the border areas of neighbouring states or on small territories of the conflicting parties;

- global conflicts or world wars cover virtually all states, even if they are not directly involved in hostilities.

5. By a number of participants in the conflict:

- bilateral (two actors are involved);
- multilateral (many actors are involved).

6. By the duration of the conflict:

- short-term;
- medium-term;
- long-term.

7. By the display of the conflict:

- manifest;
- latent.

8. By the consequences of the conflict:

- constructive;
- destructive.

The main feature of the conflict is that it has the potential for change (the possibility of qualitative change for the conflict's participants and the international relations model). The nature of a conflict and its course determine how this potential will be realized (Bernadsky, 2012):

1. Conflict can destroy or build a model of international relations. Such conflicts, as a rule, are world wars.

2. Conflict can facilitate the creation of military-political or other blocs and alliances.

3. Conflict can lead to the creation of new types of weapons, military strategies, etc.

4. Conflict can change the level of power of conflict's participants, social, economic and political relations in society.

5. Conflict can contribute to the unification of society within the countries, and creation of an ideology propagation that justifies their participation in the conflict.

Conflicts can develop in two main ways: confrontational and compromise (Bernadsky, 2012).

1. The confrontational version of conflict development relates to the aggravation of relations between conflict's parties and involves the forceful conflict resolution.

2. The compromise version of conflict development, unlike the previous one, involves reaching an agreement through mutual conciliation, which partially satisfies the interests of conflict's parties and determines the non-violent conflict resolution.

Despite the fact that international conflicts bring a lot of material, social, moral and political losses to society, they perform not only negative but also certain positive functions.

Functions of international conflicts (Bernadsky, 2012):

1. Information function of a conflict is manifested in facilitating the exchange of information between the conflict's parties. The information function of a conflict is also called a signalling function, meaning that the conflict signals to the parties about existing contradictions in the relationships.

2. Preventive function. The probability of a conflict development is often the last argument of states in their relations with one another. The possibility of conflict emergence, especially war, forces states to find compromises and reduce their claims to power, resources, ideological influence, and other important values in world politics. In other words, "conflict" disciplines international actors. Unfortunately, however, often even the probability of development of the most destructive forms of international conflict with guaranteed significant losses do not stop states. At present only nuclear weapons possess a deterrent effect: the prospect of nuclear confrontation has established the limit of escalation of conflicts between nuclear powers.

3. Integrative function helps to resolve disputes and contradictions. In some cases, only during the conflict its

parties can find the decision, which helps to solve long-standing disagreements. On the other hand, the integrative function of conflict is manifested in the unification of state before the threat of a “common enemy”. In such situations, they generally find a common interest in which the contradictions between the parties temporarily are disappeared or mitigated. Examples are coalitions of irreconcilable opponents to counter a strong common enemy.

4. Innovative function is manifested in encouragement of conflict’ actors to generate ideas and find ways to resolve a conflict. As a result, new tools and technologies for solving current problems are emerging.

Thus, it can be distinguished the negative and positive aspects of the international conflict. The negative ones include the fact that conflicts contribute to destructiveness, instability, lead to escalation of violence; positive aspects relate to the facts that conflicts attract attention to existing problems, enhance society solidarity, stimulate creativity in finding a way for resolving conflict, help to avoid more serious conflicts.

Understanding the nature of international conflicts, identifying causes and types and possible ways of conflicts development are essential to dealing with it effectively.

End-of-chapter questions

1. How international conflicts can be classified?
2. What are the main approaches to understanding the causes of international conflicts?
3. What are key drivers of instability in modern world?
4. What are the main ways of international conflicts development?
5. What functions do international conflicts perform?

CHAPTER 2. STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS

- 2.1 Structural elements of international conflict.
- 2.2 Actors of international conflict.
- 2.3 Object of international conflict.
- 2.4 Conflict situation.
- 2.5 Conflict cycle.

International conflict can be considered as a relatively independent phenomenon in the system of international relations. Under these conditions, an important task is to establish constant parameters inherent to international conflicts, based on which they can be investigated.

There are many approaches to determining the structural elements of international conflicts, however, most scientist distinguish the following ones:

- actors of an international conflict;
- an object of an international conflict;
- a conflict situation;
- a conflict cycle.

Actors of international conflicts can be states, blocs of states (unions, alliances), international organizations, organized political, military forces inside the states or in the international arena, etc. In the course of a conflict, both the number of actors in the conflict and the place of conflict in the hierarchy of their goals may change.

All actors involved in a conflict can be combined into the following groups (Bernadsky, 2012; Sherengovskij, 2011):

1. Stakeholders are participants of a conflict, who are interesting in maintaining a conflict or building peace. Stakeholders can participate in a conflict both directly (to be the conflict's party) and indirectly (to be a third party), or

support one of the conflict's parties with political, economic methods, arms supplies, etc.).

2. Conflict party is a state, group of states, international organizations and other actors of international relations, which are actively engaged in a conflict, have a certain interest in the conflict's outcomes and takes actions to achieve its goals in relation to a conflict.

The main features of the conflict parties are:

- specific activities aimed at owning a conflict object;
- the ability to carry out such activities meaningful and organized over a period of time;
- the ability to be the bearer of conflicting behaviour.

3. Third party is a state, a group of states, international and regional governmental and non-governmental organizations, church, individuals, etc., which are not directly involved in a conflict.

The third party can intervene in a conflict independently or at the request of the conflicting parties in order to solve conflict. It is important to emphasize that the third party intervenes in the conflict for its peaceful settlement, and not to assist one of the conflict's parties.

The main means of influence of third party include:

- persuasion and assistance in finding a peaceful solution;
- coercion (political or economic pressure).

There are several possible forms of third party intervention in the conflict management process:

- mediation, when recommendations do not necessarily have to be taken into account by the conflict's parties;
- reconciliation, when the focus, first of all, is on ending the conflict, but not on solving the problem;
- arbitration, when the recommendations of a third party are binding.

So, the main task of third party is to help resolve the conflict, create favourable conditions for negotiation, minimize

consequences of conflict, and maximize the benefits for each conflict's party.

Important structural element of international conflicts is the **object of the conflict** – certain material or intangible values (disputed territory, resources, power, ideological influence, etc.) which conflict's parties want to obtain. Usually, the object of conflict is difficult to identify. Conflict's parties, pursuing their goals, often hide the real motives underlying their confrontation.

Another element in the structure of international conflict is a **conflict situation** – coincidence of circumstances in which contradictions escalate into a conflict. A conflict situation may arise at the initiative of one of the conflict's parties or by chance, regardless of the conflict parties' desires.

An inherent part of the structure of international conflict is its dynamics. Each conflict can be divided into different phases, each with its own characteristics. When these phases are put together, they can be seen as a complete conflict cycle, which most conflicts go through.

Conflicts cannot be considered as a phenomenon with the same features. All conflicts are unique, and each conflict has own context and framework. Moreover, not all conflicts go through all the phases of conflict cycle or have the same characterizes within each phase.

The conflict cycle is an “ideal type” that does not necessarily reflect the reality each conflict. In some conflicts several phases can be absent and create a gap in the standard development of a conflict, at the same time some phases can be combined with each other.

A key feature of the conflict cycle is to demonstrate that conflicts can easily escalate into new phase even after peace has been reached and post-conflict peacebuilding initiated. It allows to consider conflict cycle as a tool for conflict management, resolution and prevention.

Let us consider in more detail the phases of the conflict cycle (potential conflict, gestation of conflict, mobilization of conflict, escalation of conflict (armed conflict), de-escalation of conflict and post conflict) (Figure 2.1) and the conflict management measures that can be undertaken at each of the phases.

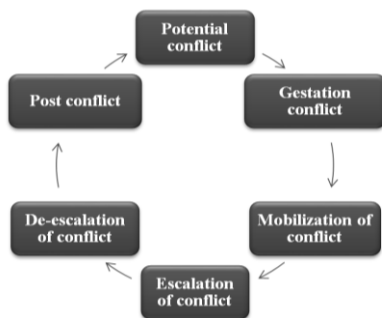


Figure 2.1 – The conflict cycle (Thruelsen, 2009; Bernadsky, 2012)

Phases of the conflict cycle (Thruelsen, 2009; Bernadsky, 2012):

1. Potential conflict. This phase is characterized by the presence of factors that can provoke a conflict emergence. Such factors may be poverty, inequality, deficit of resources, religious, political, cultural and other contradictions. They can exist in many societies for a long time, but their awareness is incomplete. In the latent phase, the conflict's parties have not yet identified a strategic goal and have not created the means to participate in the conflict. In these conditions, there is additional opportunity for early conflict prevention through preventive diplomacy aimed at eliminating the root causes of the conflict. However, it should be noted that the preventive

diplomacy is not always effective, as evidenced by the large number of conflicts that reach the second phase.

2. Gestation of conflict. At this phase the conflict has not yet started, however the main problems attract more attention of society. With increasing awareness of existing problems and possible ways to solve them, a decision is made in favour of confrontation after the estimation of potential benefits and losses. At this phase, as a rule, party initiating the conflict is identified. The main preventive measures at this phase are aimed at protecting human rights, ensuring freedom of the press and constructive dialogue between the conflict's parties.

3. Mobilization of conflict. This phase is characterized by a high degree of tension and confrontation between the conflict's parties caused by various reasons (governmental repressions, ethnic clashes, the threat or use of force, etc.). This phase can be considered as a phase of the beginning of the conflict. This phase is characterized by the situation where each action A narrows the possibilities of B, and vice versa, that is a direct cause of the growing tension in the relations between them. As this process develops, the possibility of compromise is reduced, and the probability of using force to increases.

Achieving maximum tension forces conflicting parties make one of three fundamental decisions: to give up, to escalate conflict, to try to find a compromise. The solution to solve the contradiction by a compromise is a prerequisite for reducing tensions between the parties. However, unilateral non-confrontation can have extremely negative consequences. In 1938, Czechoslovakia renounced sovereignty over the Sudetenland that decreased tension in its relations with Germany; however, it did not save it from the complete loss of its sovereignty. So, the implementation of such approach does not always contribute to national security and stability in international relations.

Conflict-prevention measures at this phase include: condemnation of actions by regional and international organizations, international mediation, imposing targeted sanctions and the deployment of observers.

4. Escalation of conflict (armed conflict). At this phase, tension escalates into full-scale armed conflict, resulting in human rights violations, a humanitarian crisis, the presence of refugees, etc. The use of military force usually occurs after one of the conflict's parties finds a reason to use it.

As the reasons the conflict's parties can use:

- political decisions (e.g. imposing sanctions);
- an incident in which one of the parties has suffered human casualties, material or moral damage in the result of activities of other party (e.g. terrorist acts, shelling of the territory of neighbouring states, etc.);
- a provocation, that is, the event is caused by the deliberate actions of one of the conflict's parties;
- an insinuation, that is, an artificial incident created by one of the parties towards itself, and the other party is accused in it.

International conflicts at this phase are characterized by a mobilization of society, justification of positions and goals, intensification of propaganda and information support. The conflict's parties are actively seeking external and internal support among coalition partners, alliances, international organizations, etc.

Conflict management measures at this phase include: political condemnation, mediation, reconciliation, imposing arms embargo, the demilitarization of territories, the conduction of peace-making and peace enforcement operations. Peacekeeping operations are conducted after voluntary peace agreements have been reached between the conflict's parties. Peace enforcement operations are conducted when other measures are ineffective and when a strong third

party (country, regional or international organization) is ready to use force to resolve the conflict.

5. De-escalation of conflict. This phase begins at a point of culmination when the resources needed for fighting are ending or when the struggle does not bring the expected results. The prerequisites for de-escalation of the conflict may understand the futility of further struggle or changing the balance of power between conflict's parties, that opens prospects for a quick victory one of the parties.

Temporary de-escalation may lead to the conflict re-escalation, while a successful de-escalation may lead to complete conflict resolution.

Under the de-escalation phase, the same conflict management measures as at the escalation phase are implemented.

6. Post-conflict. The signing of a peace agreement or other events that highlight the official end of armed conflict signals about the beginning of post-conflict period.

The post-conflict phase is aimed at achieving sustainable peace and post-conflict reconstruction of territories, which is a long and costly process.

Post-conflict recovery is taking place in the following areas:

- Management. First of all, the rule of law should be restored, and an effective system of governance established to make fair political decisions.

- Security. A state suffered from conflict should ensure the security of its citizens from possible internal and external threats, disarmament, demobilization, borders protection, and suppression of formation of internal armed groups.

- Humanitarian aid. The state must provide citizens with items of primary use, food, medicines, etc.

- Infrastructure. During armed conflicts, national infrastructure is destroyed (roads, bridges, airports, power

grids, etc.). Therefore, measures should be taken to restoring destroyed infrastructure.

- **Economics.** Economic recovery measures should include the creation of a credible banking and financial system; creating favourable environment to generate new sources of incomes and economic growth, provision of loans and grants for businesses, etc.

Along with post-conflict reconstruction actions, implementation of such measures as demobilization, disarmament, promoting human right is carried out, as well as support for building democratization processes.

The identification of international conflicts phases is crucial in determining the potential areas of interventions, implementation of conflict prevention and conflict resolution measures.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What are the main structural elements of international conflict?
2. What is the key goal of third party intervention in the conflict?
3. What are the main features of the conflict's parties?
4. What phases does a conflict cycle include?
5. What preventive measures can be implemented at each phase of conflict cycle?

CHAPTER 3. INTERNATIONAL TERRITORIAL CONFLICTS

- 3.1 Territory as a fundamental concept in international law.
- 3.2 Causes of territorial conflicts.
- 3.3 The South China Sea territorial dispute.
- 3.4 Territorial disputes in the Arctic.
- 3.5 The Falkland Islands sovereignty dispute.

A state cannot exist without a territory that physically defines the state itself. Thus, in accordance with the Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States (1933), in order to exercise power at national level and participate in international relations, the state must possess four features (Word, 2020):

- defined territory;
- permanent population;
- an effective government;
- ability to enter into relations with other states.

So, territory is one of the key features of the state, and the protection of the territorial integrity is one of the basic national interests of the state, which is often the cause of conflicts and full-scale wars. State boundaries have been constantly changing over the historic period. Some territorial conflicts have been resolved peacefully, some have ended with a war and some remain unresolved and continue to these days.

At present, there are 195 independent recognized states in the world (compared with 50 in 1945). These include 193 countries that are members of the United Nations, the Vatican, which is recognized by the United Nations but is not of its member, and Palestine, which has observer status in the United Nations.

At the same time there are a number of partially recognized and unrecognized states (e.g. Taiwan, Northern Cyprus, South

Ossetia, Abkhazia, Transnistria, Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics, etc.) Most such states have separated from their internationally recognized states as a result of conflict. The borders of such states under international law are illegitimate (Buzard et al, 2017).

Territorial conflicts between states can be divided into conflicts in which:

1. States do not agree with the demarcation of the international border. Border demarcation is the marking of the state's border with special border signs on the ground. Prerequisite for demarcation is delimitation – defining the general direction of the state border between neighbouring states through negotiation. Delimitation results are usually a part of peace treaties or special agreements regarding the establishment or change of national borders. In the course of delimitation, the states draw on a map (without carrying out work on the ground) the border line. Delimitation materials are the basis for the next stage – demarcation (Organization, 2017).

2. One state occupies a part or all territory belonging to another state. Occupation is the takings under control by the armed forces of one state the territory or a part of the territory of another state. The occupied territory does not pass under the jurisdiction of the occupying country.

3. One state annexes a part or all territory belonging to another state. The annexed territory passes under the jurisdiction of annexing state.

The most common causes of territorial conflicts are:

- irredentist territorial claims. Irredentism is a term that denotes the policy of a state, party or political movement to unite people, a nation, and an ethnic group within one state. It is manifested in ethnic mobilization to reunite the territory where the irredent lives (population that compactly lives in the states bordering with their historical homeland). High concentration of irredent is in the border territories. The

diaspora, in turn, differs from irredent in that its members live on the territories of states, which are distanced from their historical homeland (Kim, 2016);

- territorial claims in the struggle for independence;
- the struggle for natural resources.

Today, territorial conflicts are the most common type of international conflicts. At present most countries around the world are involved in territorial conflicts.

Consider in more detail some of the most famous international territorial conflicts.

The South China Sea territorial dispute. Territorial disputes in the South China Sea claims relate to possession the Parasel Islands, the Spratly Islands (archipelagos in the South China Sea, consisting of a number of small islands) and the Scarborough Shoal (Peace, 2019).

Official claims regarding establishment of sovereignty over all the Parasel Islands, the Spratly Islands and the Scarborough Shoal are made by China. Beijing claims that the islands in the South China Sea were discovered by the Chinese about 2 thousand years ago (some historical artifacts found on islands in the South China Sea confirm this version).

In 1939, some islands were occupied by Japan, which used them for military purposes. In 1947, two years after the capitulation of Japan in the World War II, the Chinese authorities issued a map on which the state border in the South China Sea was marked as the so-called the “nine-dash line”, which covers up to 90% of this region (Fig. 3.1).

Besides China, 5 other states of the Indo-Pacific region claims to possess part of the islands, namely: Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei and Taiwan.



Figure 3.1 – The “nine-dash line” demarcation (The Economist, 2012)

Increased interest to the South China Sea is caused by the significant economic and geopolitical attractiveness of this region (Novoseltsev, 2018):

- the region is extremely important in terms of shipping traffic, the closest route from Indian to Pacific Ocean passes through water area of the South China Sea. The Strait of Malacca – one of the most important shipping ways on the planet – is located near. About half of world’s shipping passes through it, and the significant part of energy resources supplies to China (about 80% of imported crude oil), Taiwan, Korea and Japan;
- in the waters of the South China Sea, around the Parasel Islands and the Spratly archipelago, significant oil, natural gas and phosphate reserves are concentrated.

Disputes over islands developed into international conflict when in early 1970s countries began extracting resources from the seabed near to their exclusive economic zones (the territories of the sea and the continental shelf adjacent to the territorial waters of a state, which are subject to a special legal

regime within which the state has exclusive rights to exploration, production of all natural resources, the creation and use of artificial islands, conduction of scientific research, etc. It stretches to 200 nautical miles from the state's coast. Unlike territorial waters (area of the sea immediately adjacent to the shores of a state and is under jurisdiction of a state), the territory of exclusive economic zone is "open sea", where free passage or stay of any foreign ships is allowed) and occupied part of the islands in the South China Sea.

Aggravation of the situation in the South China Sea occurred in 1974, when China by force established control over a part of the Parasel Islands, and in 1988 over a part of the Spratly archipelago.

The reason for the escalation of the conflict in recent years was large-scale construction regarding the creation of seven new artificial islands in the disputed Islands area.

The Philippines as a conflict's party filed a lawsuit in the Permanent Court of Arbitration in 2013, claiming that China's activities in this area violate the international law. On July 12, 2016 the Court ruled that China does not have "historical right" on the disputed territories in the South China Sea and does not have right to engage in fishing, extract natural resources and conduct other economic activities on this territory. China, in turn, refused to recognize the court's decision and said that it will not affect the sovereignty and interests of China in this region.

As part of efforts to contain China, militarily weak Philippines asked the USA to increase its presence in this region. The USA intervened in the conflict, increasing its military presence in the region that from time to time provokes the conflict escalation. America has no territorial claims in the South China Sea; its presence justifies the need to protect the free navigation in the South China Sea, for which the creation

of artificial islands by the Chinese and their militarization is a threat.

At present, the South China Sea territorial dispute is not resolved. Each conflict's party controls a part of islands (most islands are controlled by China and Vietnam), where actively develops infrastructure, extracts natural resources, and deploys military bases.

Territorial disputes in the Arctic. The Arctic region has attracted increasing attention in the 21st century and has become a conflict area for many countries. Its attractiveness for states is determined by several factors:

- the Arctic has significant reserves of natural resources, including about 22-25% of all unexplored world reserves of oil and natural gas. It should be noted that 84% of these resources are on the shelf of the Arctic Ocean and only 16% on the land area of the Arctic states within the Arctic Circle;
- the exploitation of the Arctic Ocean's maritime routes is extremely promising, which become free from ice as a result global warming, which significantly enhances both the commercial and strategic importance of the region;
- fisheries in the Arctic region are becoming increasingly profitable, and its intensification is also a side effect of climate change.

Under international law, the North Pole and the region of the Arctic Ocean surrounding it are not owned by any country. The five surrounding Arctic countries – Russia, the United States (via Alaska), Canada, Norway and Denmark (via Greenland) are limited to their exclusive economic zone (200 nautical miles/370 km) near their coasts. Waters outside the territorial waters of coastal states are considered “open sea” (i.e. international waters). The seabed beyond the exclusive economic zone and the continuation of the continental shelf are considered the “heritage of all mankind” and are managed by the United Nations International Seabed Authority.

The exact boundaries of the Arctic are not defined, but the waters of the Arctic Ocean wash the shores of four countries: Russia, Canada, the United States, Norway, and the Greenland Island belonging to Denmark (European, 2017). These five Arctic countries are the main claimants to the Arctic (Fig. 3.3).

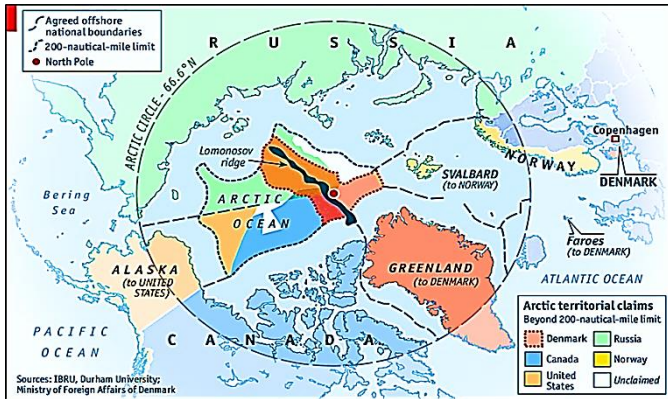


Figure 3.3 – Territorial claims of countries in the Arctic (The Economist, 2014)

In 1950th Canada submitted a claim to possess of the North Pole Then the international Court ruled that the territory could withdraw to Canada if during next 100 years no one country will not have proven that the bottom of the Arctic Ocean belongs to it.

In 2004, Denmark announced that has rights to the North Pole, since the Pole is connected with Greenland by the two thousand-kilometre Lomonosov underwater ridge, and Greenland is territory of Denmark.

In turn, Russia made the statement the underwater ridges of Lomonosov and Mendelejev are connected with the territory of Russia. To collect evidences Russia conducted an unprecedented expedition “Arctic 2007” on July-August 2007,

which ended with the establishment of the Russian flag at the bottom of the Arctic Ocean near the North Pole (STIMSON, 2015).

It should be noted that not only the Arctic states make their claims to the Arctic region. China, the United Kingdom, Germany, Ireland, Japan, and a number of other countries, which geographically unrelated to the Arctic Ocean insist on internationalization of the Arctic region and are beginning to invest in its future development. China is especially active; it has built a research base on the Svalbard Island and is actively engaged in the icebreakers construction. In 2012, the first Chinese icebreaker “Snow Dragon” passed through the Arctic waters to Europe.

The growing interest in developing the Arctic region as a result of the changing climate in the near future will only intensify that, probably, will provoke new international conflicts. This is confirmed by the recent intentions of US President Donald Trump to buy Greenland. The prerequisite for such a decision was the information about abnormal ice melting due to global warming; as a result, Greenland loses about 250 billion tonnes of ice annually. In the future it will open great opportunities for the extraction of natural resources (uranium, oil, gold, diamonds, rare earths metals, etc.), which are on the island. Denmark has strongly stated that Greenland is not for sale.

The Falkland Islands sovereignty dispute. Sovereignty over the Falkland Islands is disputed by Argentina and the United Kingdom.

Argentines believe that the islands were opened in 1520 by a member of the Magellan expedition, Captain Esteban Gomez. And since Argentina is the legal successor of the Spanish colonial empire in South America, the islands must belong to it. In England, it is claimed that the islands were discovered in 1592 by the English navigator John Davis. In 1690, British

Captain Strong, who visited these places, discovered a strait separating the two largest islands, and called them the name of Lord Falkland (later this name was spread to the whole archipelago). In 1892, Britain declared the islands as a colony (now it is the British overseas territory) (The British, 2020).

With the exception of the temporary occupation of Argentina in 1982, the islands have been under the United Kingdom jurisdiction since 1833.

The dispute between the countries intensified on April 2, 1982, when Argentina invaded and occupied the Falkland Islands (Fig. 3.4). The Argentine leadership hoped that the United Kingdom, agreed with the loss of the islands, and would not organize a military operation. However, the reaction of the United Kingdom was completely opposite. To the South Atlantic, British Navy was sent immediately in order to return the islands (Encyclopedia, 2020).

The Falkland conflict was only armed conflict after the World War II, in which naval forces played a leading role. Argentina's lack of preparation for a large-scale war was a key factor in determining the outcome of that conflict. The war ended with the victory of the United Kingdom, which controls the islands to these days. The Falkland Islands' inhabitants received full British citizenship with the British Nationality after victory of the United Kingdom in the Falklands War

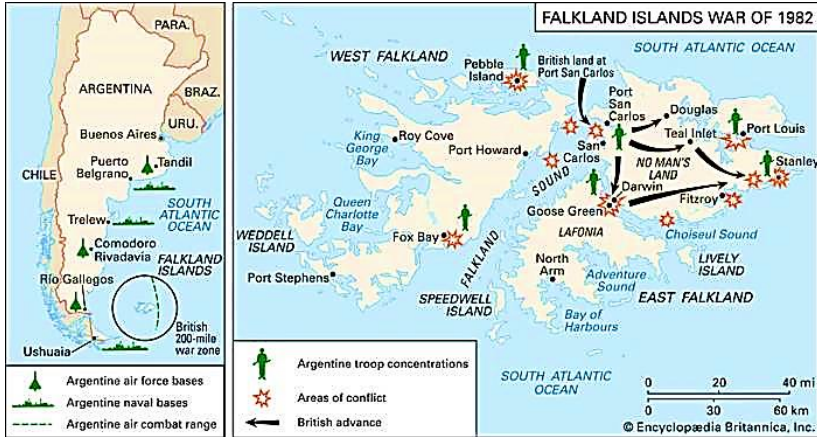


Figure 3.4 – The Falkland Islands War zone (left) and route of British landing forces (right) (Encyclopedia, 2020).

However, after the defeat in the Falkland War, Argentina continues to make claims on the islands. In 1994 Argentina’s claim to the territories of Falkland Islands was added to its constitution. On the background of continuing conflict, the United Kingdom increased its military presence in the Falklands; Argentina, in turn, blamed Britain in the islands militarization.

The referendum on political status was held in the Falkland Islands in 2013. The decision to hold the referendum was taken by the Falklands government, which insists that the islands are a British overseas territory that has self-governing, and not subordinate to London as a colony, except of defence and international affairs. The referendum should have put an end to Argentina’s claims, which have not recognized the current status of the archipelago since the Falklands War. As a result of the referendum, 99.8% voters voted to maintain the Falklands status as the British overseas territory. Turnout was about 92%.

Another escalation of the conflict took place in 2010 after London announced the start of offshore oil production near Falklands. Argentina expressed protest regarding oil production and passed a law according to which all ships heading to the Falklands must receive special license from Argentina. The United Kingdom responded to the innovation by translating its naval forces into high alert, and, despite Argentina's objections, started offshore oil production.

Thus, today, the division across borders is the most debatable and is often at the centre of the agenda of world politics. In the near future, a number of economic and environmental drivers will only intensify competition for the disputed territories.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What four features must state possess as actor of international relations?
2. What is the difference between occupation and annexation of territory?
3. What is the difference between demarcation is delimitation of territory?
4. What five countries are the main claimants to the Arctic?
5. What is the object of conflict in the South China Sea territorial dispute?

CHAPTER 4. INTERNATIONAL ARMED CONFLICTS

- 4.1 Understanding armed conflicts.
- 4.2 Types of armed conflicts.
- 4.3 Indicators of military power of states.
- 4.4 Changing “face of war”.
- 4.5 Controversy of war justification.
- 4.6 International humanitarian law.
- 4.7 The Persian Gulf War.
- 4.8 The Syrian Civil War.

Armed conflict is any armed confrontation between warring parties with using military force. Armed conflicts in comparison with other types of conflicts have serious negative impact on the security of states and people. The results of military conflicts are significant casualties among the military and civilians, the displacement of civilians and the destruction of national infrastructure. Domestically, armed conflicts break the political order, internationally – they have impact on international relations, formation and conduction of defence and security policy.

The existence of armed conflict implies the application of international humanitarian law, also known as the law of armed conflict, which imposes restrictions on the means and methods of warfare conduction and protects all persons affected by the conflict.

International humanitarian law distinguishes two main types of armed conflicts (Chelimo, 2011):

- international armed conflicts are struggle between armed forces of at least two states. They also include all cases of partial or total occupation and annexation of the territory, even if they are not accompanied by resistance.

- non-international armed conflicts are armed confrontations occurring between regular armed forces of the state and identifiable armed groups or between two or more armed groups on the territory one state without state's armed forces involvement. In recent years non-international armed conflicts, especially such as civil wars have become more common and very often develop into international armed conflicts.

A key feature of international armed conflict is the involvement of the armed forces – regular and irregular military forces of the state. The outcome of international armed conflicts very often depends on the military power of the states, directly involved in the conflict.

The main indicators for measuring military power are states include (Kaarbo, J., Ray, J. (2010):

- Defence budget. The size of the defence budget and its comparison with the budgets of other sectors of economy shows the relative importance of the armed forces in country. The size of the defence budget is estimated as a percentage of total government spending and as a percentage of gross domestic product.

- Military manpower. The size of military manpower is important as a crude index of military strength, while a quality of military manpower (the educational levels, ability to use sophisticated military technologies, etc.) has more essential meaning.

- Weapons. It includes quantity, quality, types of weapons and military equipment, which are in the possessing of state and the ability to increase their production.

- Military infrastructure. This category includes the facilities used for placement of military personnel and their equipment (training ground, medical facilities, etc.).

- Other indicators: geographical factors, membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, current political/military leadership, etc.

One of the world's most prestigious ranking for evaluating the world's armies is the Global Firepower, which is based on 55 indicators. In addition, the ranking includes a system of bonus (possession of nuclear weapons, North Atlantic Treaty Organization membership, real combat capability, oil production) and penalties (undeveloped navy for offshore countries, high external debt, poor road coverage, and high oil consumption).

One of the non-standard indicators in this ranking is the index of oil production and consumption. This indicator shows how long a country can be engaged in a long-term conflict, as the longer the conflict, the more fuel it requires.

As of 2020, the top three positions in the Global Firepower rankings are held by the US, Russia and China. France is the leader in the European Union (5th place in the ranking). Ukraine holds 27th position in this ranking (Global, 2020).

Changing “face of war”. The war is the highest form of conflict, if we describe the military clash of the states parties to the conflict from a position of scale and intensity. The nature of war has changed enormously over time. During the historical period, wars arose between states and were conducted by uniformed, organized national armies according to certain norms/rules/laws of war (official declaration of war, declarations of neutrality, peace treaties, etc.). However, nowadays we can observe new wars, the vast majority of which are civil wars rather than inter-state ones and, therefore, asymmetrical rather than symmetrical (Heywood, 2011).

The decline of traditional inter-state wars and the rise of civil wars has been a marked feature of the post-Cold War period. Nowadays about 95% of armed conflicts have occurred within states, not between states. The decline of inter-state

wars in some parts of the world, can be explained by such factors as the spread of democracy, globalization processes, the development of weapons technologies (especially nuclear weapons), etc.

While previous wars were motivated by geopolitical or ideological goals, modern wars often arise due to cultural, ethnic, and religious differences, when people belonging to one social group do not perceiving the rights and values of people belonging to another one.

Whereas inter-state wars usually took place between opponents with relatively similar level of economic and military development, modern wars are frequently asymmetric. Asymmetric wars are characterized by the appearance of new military strategies and tactics (e.g., terrorist attacks) that are effective to defeat a much stronger enemy.

While the nature of war has changed significantly over time, the debates whether war can be justified continue to these days. There are three main approaches regarding it:

According to the first approach, war, as a political act, does not require moral justification; it is a universal norm of human history. War may be limited by long periods of peace, but peace is always temporary.

The following approach supposes that war can be justified if it complies with certain moral principles, namely:

- all violent variants for resolving the conflict must be exhausted before the use of military force can be justified. Self-defence in response to a military attack is considered as a classic justification for war;
- warfare should have a reasonable prospect. The hopeless loss of military and civilian populations without purpose or benefits is not justified;
- military force should be aimed only at military purposes. The death of civilians is only acceptable if they are accidental

victims. The military force must not be directed against the enemy's personnel if they are wounded or captured.

The third approach – pacifism suggests that war, as a needless evil, can never be justified. From the point of view of pacifists, violence can never be a solution to conflicts because it generates more violence by developing a psychology of hatred and revenge.

In international relations, pacifism was the driving force behind the creation of the United Nations, whose primary purpose is to provide a peaceful settlement of international disputes by supporting a system of international law, and to promote the emergence of a peace movement (Heywood, 2011).

International humanitarian law (law of armed conflict or law of war) is a part of international law that regulates the conduction of war. International humanitarian law includes a set of rules aimed at limiting the destructive effects of armed conflict and mitigation human suffering (International, 2020).

The two main treaty sources of international humanitarian law are the Hague Convention (1907), which sets restrictions on the means and methods of warfare, and the four Geneva Conventions (1949), which provide protection to certain categories of vulnerable persons (the wounded and sick in armed forces in the field and at sea, prisoners of war, and civilians). In 1977 Geneva Conventions were supplemented by two Protocols one of them regulates international armed conflicts, another – non-international armed conflicts.

It should be understood that international humanitarian law:

- applies only during armed conflict;
- does not decide on the legality of a conflict;
- does not prohibit all violence, just seeks to regulate the use of force and limit the harm and violence caused by an armed conflict.

International humanitarian law covers two key areas:

- the protection of victims of war, those who are not directly taking part (civilians, medical and religious military personnel, etc.), or no longer directly taking part (wounded soldiers, prisoners of war, etc.) in the hostilities;
- the restriction of means of warfare (weapons) and the methods of warfare (military tactics).

Humanitarian law provides:

- protection of those who are not fighting (civilians, medical personnel, etc.);
- protection of those who are no longer able to fight (wounded soldier, prisoner, etc.);
- prohibition of targeting civilians;
- prohibition of torture of prisoners and their discrimination based on race, nationality, religious belief, political opinion, etc.;
- prohibition of children under the age of 18 to take part in hostilities;
- declaration of that medical workers, medical vehicles and hospitals cannot be attacked;
- limitation of the types of weapons and tactics that can be used in wars to avoid unnecessary suffering;
- prohibition of any forms of sexual violence in the context of armed conflict;
- protection of historic buildings, monuments, works of art, etc.;
- prohibition of robbery and looting during armed conflict.

Serious violations against humanity during armed conflicts, including genocide, belong to special legal category known as international criminal law and are considered as war crimes.

Nowadays there are a lot of armed conflicts around the world. In this lecture we will consider the two of them: the Persian Gulf War and the Syrian Civil War.

The Persian Gulf War. The Persian Gulf War (2 August 1990 – 28 February 1991) is the armed conflict between the Multinational Force and Iraq for the liberation and restoration of Kuwaiti independence (Encyclopedia, 2020).

The Persian Gulf War is known due to the unprecedented large-scale use of aviation, “smart” and high-precision weapons, which according to many experts, marked the beginning of a new era in the art of war. The war got the nickname “Video Game War” due to daily broadcast of images from cameras on US bombers.

The prerequisite for the Persian Gulf War was the difficult economic situation in Iraq caused by the consequences of the Iran-Iraq war, which was enhanced by the establishment of low world prices on oil, which were determined by policies of major exporters – Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

On August 2, 1990, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein ordered to invade and occupy Kuwait. The official reason for the invasion, which was announced by Iraq, was oil theft from Iraq’s border areas. However, the main purpose of the invasion was to gain access to oil reserves located in Kuwait, to eliminate Iraq’s large debt to Kuwait, and to expand Iraq’s power in the region.

The Invasion of Kuwait on 2 August 1990 was a two-day operation which resulted in the seven-month-long occupation of the country. The success of the occupation of Kuwait was predetermined by a significant quantitative and qualitative advantage of the Iraq’s forces over the national Kuwaiti army.

In Kuwait, the interim government was established, which addressed to the Iraq with a request to connect Kuwait to Iraq. On August 8, Kuwait annexation was announced. Part of the country’s territory was connected to the Iraqi province of Basra, and the rest was proclaimed as the 19th province of Iraq.

On August 2, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution, in which required that Iraq immediately withdraws

its troops from Kuwait. The Iraqi leadership ignored this Resolution. The United Nations Security Council continued to regularly return to the Kuwaiti crisis, after unsuccessful attempts to persuade Iraq in a peaceful resolution of the conflict, the United Nations Security Council authorized the use of military force against Iraq.

As a result, the coalition of Multinational Force from 34 countries opposing Iraq's aggression was formed. It was the largest coalition since World War II.

On January 17, 1991, the troops of the Multinational Force launched a military operation to liberate Kuwait. January 17 – February 24, 1991 there was air phase: massive air attacks, involved up to 1000 aircrafts, which dropped 88500 tons of bombs. February 24 – February 28, 1991 a ground phase was held, which ended with the liberation of Kuwait.

The result of the Persian Gulf War was significant casualties among the military and civilians. In addition, the war had serious environmental consequences for the region. In the last weeks of the occupation of Kuwait, Iraqi forces organized oil dumping into the Persian Gulf (about 8 million barrels) that caused serious damage to ecology. Furthermore, during the retreat from Kuwait, the Iraqi army set fire to 700 oil wells, which were only extinguished on November. It is estimated that the Persian Gulf War caused one of the most serious environmental disasters in the history of international conflicts.

The Syrian Civil War. The civil war in Syria is a multilateral armed conflict on the territory of Syria, which began in the spring of 2011 as a local civilian confrontation and gradually developed into a struggle against the regime of Bashar al-Assad (BBC, 2014). During this confrontation not only the main states of the region, but also international organizations, military-political groups and world states were involved in this conflict.

The prerequisite for the beginning of civil war in Syria was dissatisfaction of population with the long-term authoritarian regime of the Assad family, which holds power in Syria since 1971 caused by repressions, the lack of freedom of speech and other personal freedoms, the concentration of all power in the hands of the country's president and his political party, economic and political corruption, etc.

Significant impact on the deterioration of welfare of the Syrians had drought (the worst in the last nine decades), which began in 2006 as a result of which 75% of Syria's farms failed, and 86% of the livestock died. Instead of supporting farmers in this period, the government reduced subsidies for them. As a result, 1.5 million of Syrians were forced to leave their places of residence. Most of them migrated to the big cities, which were already under stress due to demographic growth (~2.5% per year) and a lot of Iraqi refugees. So, some sources believe that the rapid growth of the urban population with poor infrastructure, high unemployment and crime also contributed to the emergence of the internal Syrian conflict.

Significant push for Syrian pro-democracy protests the Arab Spring has given (successful series of anti-government protests across the Middle East in late 2010, which led to overthrow of Tunisia's and Egypt's presidents).

In March 2011, peaceful protests in Syria started after 15 boys were detained and tortured for writing graffiti in support of the Arab Spring. The Syrian government responded to the protests by killing hundreds of demonstrators and imprisoning many more.

Initially, hostilities were between the government army the Free Syrian Army, which was formed by opposition. However, later there was a split in the opposition – Kurdish organizations formed their own government and the most radical Islamist groups (“Al-Nusra Front” (local branch of al-Qaida) and “Islamic State”) formed the Islamic Front.

During civil war in Syria a wide range of weapons was used (including forbidden chemical weapons) that led to significant casualties among military and civilian population.

Foreign supporting and intervention had significant impact on Syria's civil war dynamics. The regime of Bashar al-Assad is supported by Russia, Iran, Hezbollah (militarized organization in Lebanon), and Iraq. Syrian opposition is supported by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Jordan.

More than 500000 people have been killed and disappeared as a result of the Civil War in Syria. About 55% of the population were forced to leave permanent residence. The largest number of Syrian refugees is in Turkey (more than 3.5 million people), Lebanon (about 1 million people), and Jordan (about 700000 people).

End-of-chapter questions

1. How armed conflicts are classified according to international humanitarian law?
2. What are the main indicators for measuring military power of a state?
3. How “the face of war” has changed?
4. What environmental consequences did the Persian Gulf War have?
5. What states and terrorist organizations are involved in the Syrian Civil War?

CHAPTER 5. THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF CONFLICT ANALYSIS

- 5.1 The emergence of conflict analysis.
- 5.2 Purposes for conflict analysis conduction.
- 5.3 Challenges for conflict analysis conduction.
- 5.4 Conflict analysis process.

There is a long and rich history of studies about the nature, origins and experiences of conflict. However, the systematic study of the causes of conflict and political violence, linked to conflict resolution, is a relatively recent. Contemporary conflict analysis originated from the evolution of other broader conflict-related fields, notably conflict prevention, peacebuilding, development cooperation and humanitarian assistance. In this sense, the origin and evolution of conflict analysis seem to be rooted in the two-fold desire to understand the nature of contemporary conflicts in order to prevent them and to avoid unintended and perverse effects of activities or external interventions originally aimed at improving the situation.

This perspective has directed conflict analysis to be (Oliva and Charbonnier, 2018):

- Multilevel – looking at the intrapersonal (inner conflict), interpersonal, intergroup (families, neighbourhoods, affiliations), international, regional and global levels, and the complex interplays between them.
- Multidisciplinary – drawing on psychology, anthropology, politics, sociology, history, law, economics, management, philosophy, religion, social work, etc.
- Multicultural – identifying conflict as a worldwide phenomenon and conflict resolution as a cooperative international enterprise.
- Both analytical and normative – combining systematic analysis and interpretation of statistics with the aim of

transforming violent conflict into non-violent political, economic and social processes.

- Both theoretical and practical – with an interplay between theory and practice.

Purposes for conflict analysis conduction. Today conflict analysis forms the foundation on which coherent strategies and actions should be designed and implemented in a conflict-sensitive manner. As such, conflict analysis applies throughout the whole program cycle management. In particular, it is possible to distinguish three different purposes for conducting this kind of analytical exercise (Oliva and Charbonnier, 2018):

1. Understanding the context.
2. Providing a basis for planning and implementation.
3. Supporting monitoring and evaluation phases.

Contemporary conflict analysis is generally understood to be a systematic study of the causes, stakeholders and dynamics of a conflict, both to achieve short-term objectives and build long-term visions overall. As such, it serves as a basis to inform conflict sensitive programming and to identify critical priorities for development and humanitarian assistance and for peacebuilding interventions, by providing a better understanding of factors and forces promoting either violent conflict or peace.

So, conducting conflict analysis also can fulfil the following purposes:

- enhancing cultural awareness;
- increasing information-sharing and reporting within a team;
- facilitating conflict-sensitive program design, planning and implementation;
- integrating gender lenses into both the design and implementation of programs;
- evaluating and monitoring programs/projects;
- evaluating the impact of peace and conflict dynamics;

- developing and updating conflict-related policies;
- increasing safety and security of personnel and civilians;
- supporting conflict prevention, resolution, transformation and peacebuilding;
- finding entry points for interventions and prioritizing responses;
- linking development cooperation, humanitarian assistance and peacebuilding fields.

Challenges for conflict analysis conduction. The long-term experience of conflict analysis indicates that there are a lot of challenges for its conduction. All these problems can be considered from the two points of view (Melander et al, 2004; Herbert, 2017; Oliva and Charbonnier, 2018):

1. Dilemmas and trade-offs. Many external factors can have a negative influence on the ability to perform an optimal analysis. External obstacles are better described in terms of dilemmas and trade-offs. This is because, in many cases, analysts have to make a judgment call among different options.

One of the obstacles for conducting conflict analysis is the issue of time. Performing and updating a thorough analysis may imply spending several months to ensure full territorial coverage, participation and inclusion. The problem with protracted assessments is that they risk producing analytical outputs that may no longer be valid because of fast-changing conflict dynamics. In other cases, analysts may find themselves on the receiving end of either last-minute requests by high-ranking officials or breaking news crises that require quick action and, therefore, hasty analysis.

Another potentially disruptive factor in the analysis processes is the issue of access, in terms of physical security of analysts and participants. The changing character of armed conflict is such that there are more and more regions that are simply off limits for foreigners and even for locals due to the extent of violence and threats to civilians.

The most frequently cited impediment to good analysis is the lack of capacities or resources, in human and financial terms. While having the right people and enough funds to conduct the assessment are important factors, these complications can be overcome by using alternative solutions that tap into technology and human resourcefulness. Dealing with very complex and protracted conflict situations can be challenging for those attempting an investigation. On the one hand, the amount of information, facts, events and issues to consider can easily result in analytical deadlock. On the other hand, the lack and reliability of data can also affect the quality of assessments, forcing experts to make tenuous assumptions to fill information gaps.

Political sensitivity is a recurrent dilemma. Some governments are particularly sensitive to the nature of activities implemented on their territory by external agencies. They may not be comfortable with conflict analysts “going around asking questions” and “encouraging dissent among the population”. That is why sometimes “conflict analysis” can collide with the intent of some governments to deny even the existence of a conflict in their own country.

A more profound question is posed by cultural sensitivity or the lack thereof. Often framed in terms of language or religion, this type of constraint has broader ramifications touching on a multitude of elements that define local cultures and make them different from others. Differences in gender roles and traditions are obviously part of the problem but, in some cases, challenges and problems with conflict analysis can also be about particular places and the legacies or feelings they prompt in the local people, or even about hierarchies that international analysts fail to see because they transcend or work in parallel with formal institutions.

2. Analytical traps, biases and deviations. The human element is so important that in many cases it defines the

outputs of the conflict analysis. Subliminal and seemingly unintentional factors can drive the methods, assumptions and findings of investigations. The impact of human psychology on decision-making – and consequently on the analytical processes leading to conclusions – can be far-reaching as it is contingent on the influence of filters like cultural legacies, social constructs, and personal experiences. These prejudicial tendencies are technically defend as cognitive biases and can be described as “systematic errors in judgment and decision-making common to all human beings which can be due to cognitive limitations, motivational factors, and/or adaptations to natural environments”. Cognitive biases can materialize during assessment processes, prompting analysts to selectively observe reality, omit evidence or misinterpret facts. They are also known as “cognitive traps” since they produce deviations from rational and logical thinking processes, which taints the validity of conclusions. The most recurrent cognitive biases affecting conflict analyses are given below:

- Confirmation bias: “The tendency to search for, interpret, favor, and recall information in a way that confirms one’s beliefs or hypotheses while giving disproportionately less attention to information that contradicts it”. This is perhaps the most recurrent fallacy conflict specialists stumble upon during a conflict analysis process. Human beings inherently prefer to stay within their comfort zones and can become very selective when information must be gathered and should be retained.

- Anchoring: “The tendency to rely too heavily on the first piece of information offered (the “anchor”) when making decisions. During decision-making, anchoring occurs when individuals use an initial piece of information to make subsequent judgments”. This phenomenon occurs particularly in those contexts about which people know the least. The limited knowledge about the situation and its background generates an inclination to look for quick evidence to

rationalize and explain the unknown. Once an opinion has emerged, it can be difficult to change it.

- Group-think: This phenomenon “occurs when a group of people, for the desire for harmony or conformity in the group, produces irrational or dysfunctional decision-making outcomes. Group members try to minimize conflict and reach a consensus decision without critical evaluation of alternative viewpoints, by actively suppressing dissenting viewpoints, and by isolating themselves from outside influences”. This bias is particularly relevant in situations where a team is put together to conduct a conflict assessment in a region or a country.

- Failure of imagination: “A circumstance wherein something seemingly predictable and undesirable was not planned for”. The paradox of this bias is that, in hindsight, most of the facts or events appear as if they could have easily been predicted and even prevented. But it is often the failure to “connect the dots” that prevents the analyst from anticipating such occurrences.

All cognitive biases presented have something in common – i.e. prevalence during the investigation of mental comfort zones that are quickly constructed and owned and that generate enduring opinions, which are reluctantly abandoned even in the presence of conflicting evidence. The lack of information is the general precondition for the activation of cognitive biases, since when an analyst lacks information he or she is more likely to look within his or her own experiences to fill in any informational gaps.

Conflict analyses are typically funded, published and/or written by policymakers, practitioners (especially international non-governmental organizations), think tanks, policy-oriented research centres, human rights organizations and private sector actors/consultancies. The conflict sensitivity literature and aid effectiveness principles highlight the benefits of joint analyses (within governments, between donors, between international

non-governmental organizations, etc.) to generate shared understandings and joined-up working and to improve the coherence of different actors' programming.

Conflict analysis process. The implementation of a conflict analysis is generally organized into three main stages (Oliva and Charbonnier, 2018):

1. Preparatory stage. When a request for an assessment is made, most conflict analysts find themselves in situations where proper preparation is not feasible, yet it is the preliminary work that often determines the quality of an assessment by ensuring that critical issues are considered and addressed prior to the conduct of the assessment. Below is a short overview of the elements worth considering during this phase.

- Contextualization. There can be plenty of different reasons for conducting a conflict analysis. Clarity about the purpose is crucial, as it automatically defines the analytical boundaries and determines the methodology that best fits the declared goal. At this stage of the process design it is useful to run a conflict analysis baseline and gather information about past efforts. This will help to build on previous assessments and learn from them.

- Calibration. It is careful adjustment to be made during the design phase is the definition of the scope of analysis. An improper choice at this stage can compromise the relevance of the analysis. It is therefore critical to start achieving some clarity about the type of conflict that we seek to understand (political crisis, ethnic violence, etc.) or the key issue that we want to tackle (environmental degradation, gender-based marginalization, state corruption, etc.). It is then important to determine the geographic focus of the analysis (e.g. the entire country, a region or international level). These are important considerations that will help to fine-tune the methodology, prioritize issues – dismissing factors and stakeholders that may

not be relevant to the analytical level envisioned – and structure the process accordingly.

- **Ownership.** There is a good chance that the people carrying out the assessment will not be the same people who will then use its findings. In some cases, it is also possible that the end user is not the same stakeholder who commissioned the analysis in the first place. In such situations, ownership of the analysis may be in doubt, thereby paving the way to a dysfunctional process. Analysts have more chance of success when they are able to probe the background to a request for analysis and be exposed to the needs and expected outcomes of the commissioning entity.

- **Sources of information.** It goes without saying that, if information is scarce and/or unreliable, the assessment will suffer in terms of accuracy and impartiality. Lack of information will have an impact on the effectiveness of conflict analysis tools and, in some cases, may hijack or delay the assessment. Security or lack thereof, is the primary cause for poor information, but issues such as culture and language are also important barriers to access to knowledge.

- **Format.** Last but not least, an important consideration for contextualizing the analysis process concerns the end product and its appearance. It may seem a trivial point, but the format of the output is as important as its content. Conflict analyses can take the form of long full-fledged documents, flash reports, code cables, talking points, briefing notes, etc. Experienced analysts familiarize themselves with the required format beforehand and inquire about the level of analytical depth that the analysis should reach. Also, different organizations manage confidentiality in different ways and it is safer to become familiar with organizational standards and procedures regarding such a sensitive matter.

2. **Process design and planning,** where a methodology is developed and the different analytical stages are carefully

articulated and prepared. The second stage of a conflict analysis implementation is an operational one. It lays down the different activities to be carried out during the assessment process and helps formulate a sequenced plan of action. Below are some of the most common items to be considered in this phase.

- Literature review. It cannot be emphasized enough how important it is not to start from scratch and to make sense of the existing documentation on the subject for investigation. The literature review seeks to capture existing knowledge, previous analyses and arguments relating to conflict and security in the region or the topic we are interested in. The review will also help draw the boundaries of investigation and – in some cases – revise the analytical scope.

- Pre-design consultation. When time and resources allow, it is good practice to conduct a preliminary consultation with key stakeholders and get their feedback on the proposed analytical process. This activity will also validate some assumptions and methodological considerations, while ensuring that issues like security, conflict sensitivity and resource management are duly taken into consideration in the process design.

- Formulation of the analytical framework. Building on the work carried out in the screening phase and during the initial consultations, the analysis team will devise the analytical methodology suitable to the specific purpose and process identified. The framework will identify: 1) the sources and information to draw upon; 2) the conflict analysis tools and techniques to employ; 3) the people to involve throughout the assessment – both as participants and facilitators; 4) the methods for consolidating the findings. It is good practice to prepare a contingency plan as part of the analytical framework in order to make the assessment flexible and adaptable to the possibly changing circumstances and the security situation.

- Main assessment. At this point, analysts should have enough information and guidance to plan the main assessment. This step of the design and planning phase looks concretely at the format and location of the different events and the sequencing of actions (i.e. the critical path). There are several ways to gather information and facilitate knowledge-sharing. Some of the most common techniques are: 1) online and paper-based surveys; 2) structured group interviews; 3) key informant interviews; 4) focus groups; 5) conflict analysis workshops; 6) open and closed-door consultations. These events can take place at different geographic levels (local, regional, national, international) and involve different configurations of participants (men, women, elders, youth, former combatants, children, civic leaders, religious leaders, government officials, members of armed forces, etc.).

- Validation process. Any sound conflict assessment should include a time for verification of the findings. The process can take the form of validation workshop at the community or national level or may simply entail a set of bilateral briefings with the concerned parties. The feedback received at this stage may imply a review of the analytical findings or the need for additional analysis with regard to some specific aspects or actors of the conflict.

- Dissemination. Once the assessment has been completed and a report finalized, this should be disseminated and shared with the relevant audience (i.e. those who commissioned the assessment and other actors whose actions may benefit from the findings). Conflict analysis reports are rarely published in full length as they contain sensitive information. Nonetheless, the dissemination process is an important one as it can increase the understanding of the conflict and raise awareness on specific and sometimes overlooked issues.

3. Conduct of the assessment. The results of the screening and planning phases provide the primary inputs to define the

boundaries of the assessment. The investigative clarity derived from those findings will make the task of actually conducting the assessment a much easier and more productive effort. Majority of analytics adopt a methodology based on four main analytical segments: situation profile, causal analysis, stakeholder analysis, and analysis of conflict dynamics.

Recent and innovative practice suggests that some intractable and prolonged conflicts lend themselves to being better explained through systemic approaches. The use of systems thinking in conflict analysis, however, encounters some resistance among conflict practitioners who tend to assume that one can only make sense of a conflict by narrowing rather than amplifying its boundaries and by simplifying rather than magnifying the inter-connections. However, it is reasonable to start a conflict analysis process with traditional methods and then embrace systems thinking to better capture the complexity of conflict.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What are the purposes for conflict analysis conduction?
2. What are the challenges for conflict analysis conduction?
3. What are three main stages of conflict analysis process?
4. What elements does preparatory stage of conflict analysis process include?
5. What measures are conducted at operational stage of conflict analysis process?

CHAPTER 6. PRACTICAL APPROACHES TO CONFLICTS ANALYSIS

- 6.1 Analytical elements of conflict analysis.
- 6.2 Analysis of conflict's profile.
- 6.3 Analysis of conflict's causes.
- 6.4 Analysis of conflict's actors.
- 6.5 Analysis of conflict's dynamics.

The conflict analysis is a structured process of analysis to better understand the conflict. It plays a key role in the development, implementation, and evaluation of peacebuilding programs. It helps to prevent the escalation of conflict, promote positive changes in the conflict situation and reduce the potential for violence.

Traditional conflict analysis involves detailed examination of four key analytical elements: the profile, causes, actors, and dynamics of conflict (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 – Core analytical elements of conflict analysis (Oliva and Charbonnier, 2018)

№	Elements of conflict analysis	The main research directions
1	Profile	General overview of the situation
2	Causes	Investigation of drivers of instability and causes of the conflict
3	Actors	Investigation of the conflict's actors, their role and impact on the conflict
4	Dynamics	Investigation of trends and changes in the conflict dynamics

I. Analysis of conflict's profile. Conflict profile is a general picture of a conflict that helps to understand the situation and context of the conflict as a whole. The development of the conflict's profile generates the first level of information needed to understand the conflict at later stages.

The aim of analysis of the conflict's profile is to briefly outline the historical, political, economic, security, social, cultural and environmental context in a conflict-affected area at specific point in time.

Guiding questions for analysis of conflict's profile (Herbert, 2017):

- Does the conflict have a history (when did the conflict start?)
- What were the most important events during the conflict?
- How many people died and were displaced as a result of the conflict?
- Which areas are located in the geographical zone of the conflict?
- What political, economic, social, environmental, and other issues caused the conflict (e.g., elections, reforms, unemployment, demographic problems, etc.)?

The main tools for conflict's profile analysis include: timeline, conflict arena and geographical mapping, curve of conflict, and issue matrix (Oliva and Charbonnier, 2018).

1. Timeline is a simple tool that shows graphically depicted key events of the conflict over a period of time (Fig. 6.1). Depending on the scale, it may include years, months or days of the conflict evolution events.

In conflict analysis, using this tool helps to look at various interpretations, points of view and to understand that there is no single "truth" about the history of the conflict as different people note different events, understand them in different ways, and describe them differently.

The timeline is used as a basis for conflict analysis within other analytical elements and it is a valuable tool in the negotiation process, especially when people disagree about events or do not know about of the history of the conflict.

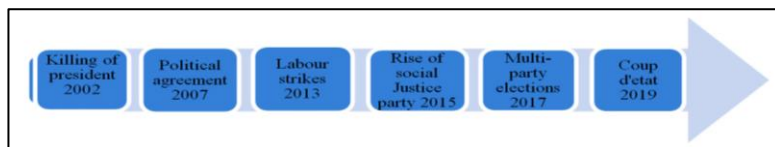


Figure 6.1 – Timeline

2. Geographical mapping of conflict arena. It is a tool for spatial analysis of conflict. Its purpose is to visualize the geographical arena of significant borders, communication links, patterns of violence, location of natural resources, etc. Mapping such types of information can be crucial for full understanding of the conflict’s territorial aspects and dynamics both in internal and regional contexts (e.g. to identify external influences and areas of tension or safety).

Mapping of the conflict arena plays special importance in armed conflicts. The geographical area of an armed conflict is any territory or region where real hostilities take place.

3. Curve of conflict is a graphic tool that shows the course of a conflict over a certain period of time, passing through different stages of activity, levels of intensity and violence. It means that the curve of conflict passes through the phrases of conflict cycle: potential conflict, gestation of conflict, mobilization of conflict, escalation of conflict (armed conflict), de-escalation of conflict and post conflict (see Fig. 2.1).

This tool is a valuable to depict visually how conflict is changing over time and stimulates discussion about the reasons and factors, which cause the certain conflict’s dynamics. This contributes to the formation of more accurate forecasts regarding the conflict development in the future and the implementation of measures for its settlement at each stage of the conflict cycle.

4. Issue matrix is a tool designed to collect and systematize conflict-relevant information (Fig 6.2). This tool helps to find information gaps and create an overview of the country where

the conflict takes place. The matrix provides the analysis of different spheres (political system, socio-cultural, relations with neighbouring countries, etc.).

	Political	Economic	Social	Environment	Security
International					Violent extremism
Regional / sub-regional	Autonomy claim by minority group				
National					Inter-ethnic clashes
Sub-national		Economically deprived IDPs			
Local				Pollution by mining companies	

Figure 6.2 – Issue matrix

Given the uniqueness of each conflict, an individual matrix of relevant areas of research can be developed before the analysis will be conducted. It will allow to identify more accurately the problems and drivers of instability inherent to the particular conflict.

II. Analysis of conflict’s causes. Conflict analysis implies deep assessment of existing conflict’s causes and potential sources of tension. Causes analysis is a fundamental component of the conflict analysis, which aims at looking beyond the visible manifestations of conflict (frequently in the form of violence) in order to focus on the factors underlying them.

During the conflict analysis two main types of conflict’s causes are distinguished:

- structural causes of conflict (also called root causes or underlying causes) are long-term or systemic causes of conflict that have already built into “the norms” of a society;
- proximate causes of conflict (also called immediate causes) are more recent causes that are changed more quickly and can lead to the conflict escalation.

Guiding questions for analysis of conflict's causes (Herbert, 2017):

- what are the structural causes of conflict? (e.g. political isolation, bad governance, corruption, poverty, etc.).
- what are the proximate causes of conflict? (e.g. arms proliferation, change of political course, separatism, etc.).

The main tools for conflict's causes analysis include: iceberg, and conflict tree (Oliva and Charbonnier, 2018).

1. Iceberg is a visual tool demonstrated different levels of causation. The analogy with an iceberg is particularly appropriate to understand the hidden role played by root and structural causes in threatening the stability of the situation. Like the submerged part of an iceberg, most of the conflict's causes are difficult to identify, while the consequences of the conflict are usually clearly visible as the top of an iceberg (Fig. 6.3).

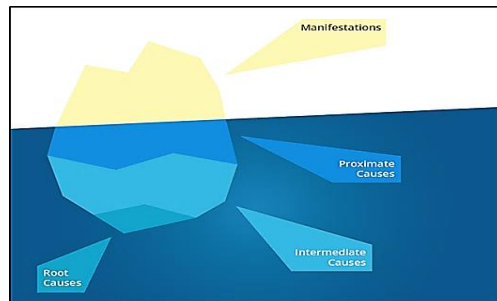


Figure 6.3 – Iceberg

2. Conflict tree is a graphic tool aimed at identifying key causes, core problem and consequences of conflict using the image of a tree (Fig 6.4):

- the roots represent the underlying or structural causes of conflict;
- the trunk represents the core problem of conflict;
- the branches represent the consequences of conflict.

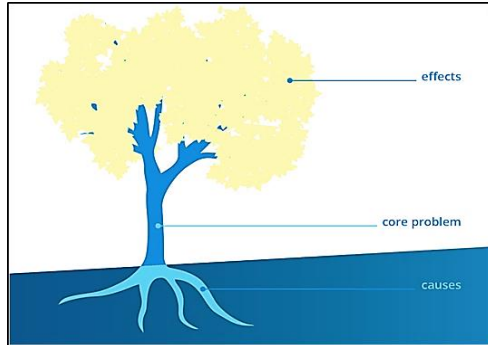


Figure 6.4 – Conflict tree

The main idea of this tool is to provide a correct identification of the root causes, core problem and effects of the conflict. Analysis on the basis of this tool is often a difficult task, because some issues can be considered both a cause and core problem of a particular conflict simultaneously.

III. Analysis of conflict’s actors (stakeholders). Analysis of conflict’s actors is a fundamental part of any conflict assessment. It identifies and examines full spectrum of visible and less visible actors at local, national, regional and international levels who have any relation to the conflict.

Guiding questions for analysis of conflict’s actors (Herbert, 2017):

- Who are the actors of conflict (e.g. states, terrorist organizations, international organizations, criminal groups, etc.)?
- What are their interests, concerns, goals, fears, strategies, positions, expectations and motivations (e.g. autonomy, political power, etc.)?
- What power, resources or support do they have (e.g. power over corrupt justice institutions, financial or military support from other countries, etc.)?

- What are their incentives for maintaining conflict or for peace (e.g. what benefits or losses from the conflict do they have)?
- What are the relationships between all actors, and how they relate to each other?

The main tools for conflict’s actors analysis include: “onion” and ABC Triangle (Oliva and Charbonnier, 2018).

1. “Onion” – a tool that uses the visual analogy of onion layers to identify positions, interests, and needs that influence the behaviour of conflict’s actors (Fig. 6.5).

The three components of “onion” can be defined as follows:

- positions: what people say they want;
- interests: what people really want;
- needs: what people must have.

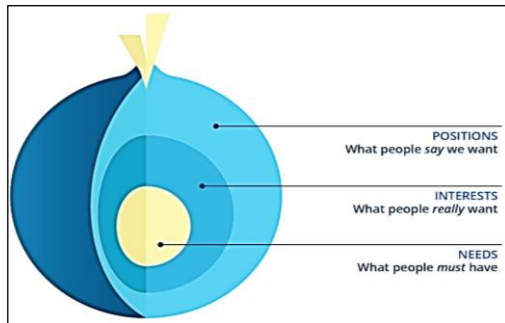


Figure 6.5 – “Onion”

The aim of this model is to demonstrate graphically that, although the conflict has many layers to consider, only those, which are on the surface are visible at first. Therefore, it is necessary to “peel away” as many layers as possible in order to reach the underlying needs that drive people’s actions.

2. ABC Triangle. This tool is based on an idea that conflicts have three major components: Attitudes (A), Behavior (B) and Context (C) (Fig. 6.6):

- “attitudes” refers to the psychological state of actors, their emotions and feelings;
- “behavior” involves undertaken actions (positive or negative);
- “context” considers the overall situation (in political, economic and social terms).

These components are graphically represented as the corners of a triangle, symbolizing the conflict as a whole. The arrows indicate the mutual impact that attitudes, behaviors, and context have on each other.

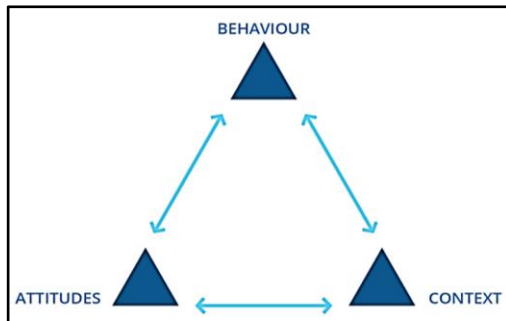


Figure 6.6 – ABC Triangle

IV. Analysis of conflict’s dynamics. The analysis of conflict dynamics investigates the interaction between current situation, identified conflict’s causes and actors. This step of conflict analysis focuses on the dynamic forces that drive negative or positive changes. Understanding these interactions is important to estimate the possibilities for conflict to increase, decrease or remain stable.

Guiding questions for analysis of conflict’s dynamics (Herbert, 2017):

- What are the current conflict dynamics/trends?

- What are the recent changes in conflict dynamics? (e.g. increased/decreased military operations, the number of deaths has decreased)?
- What triggers conflict? (e.g. elections, economic crisis, state coup, food price increases, a corruption scandal)?
- What scenarios can be developed (e.g. a peace agreement)?

The main tools for conflict’s dynamics analysis include: issues synergies diagram and scenario-building (Oliva and Charbonnier, 2018).

1. Issues synergies diagram. The essence of effective analysis for conflict dynamics is to focus on describing the nature of the causal interaction (“how and why”) (Fig. 6.7).

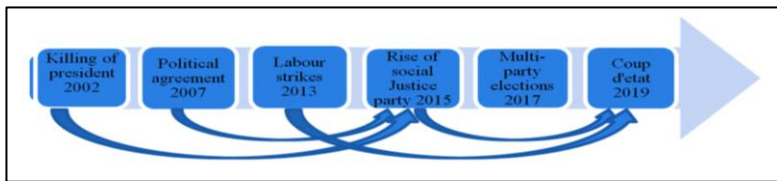


Figure 6.7 – Issues synergies diagram

Conflict causes do not exist independently of one another they interact with and influence each other in various combinations. In order to understand the combined effect of various conflict factors (i.e. the so-called “confluence”), it is recommended depict their linkages and synergies between them in a simple diagram.

2. Scenario-building is the hypothetical description of future conditions during a certain period of time. Scenarios are stories (or narratives) set in the future. Scenario-building does not represent an attempt to strictly predict the future. Rather, it works as a strategic tool, providing a “reality check” in order to identify opportunities to better react on future trends of the conflict.

Many methods are used for scenario-building; one of them is “Cone of plausibility method” (Fig. 6.8).

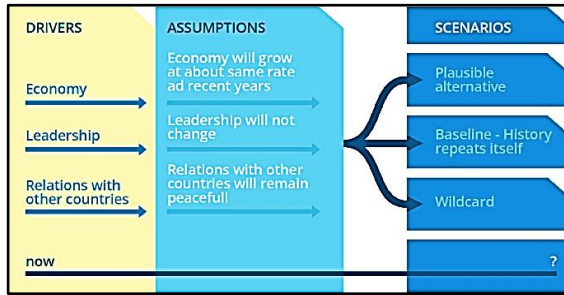


Figure 6.8 – Scenario-building

This method requires that scenarios are built based on previously identified drivers and a set of assumptions (e.g. if A, then B). Thus, after the key drivers have been identified, the assumptions are generated to create a scenario.

Using above tools is a valuable approach to conflict analysis, which looks at conflict within its own boundaries, examines its constituent parts and driving forces (causes and actors) and observes its evolution over time (dynamics). This traditional approach has some limitations, but those are outweighed by the gains that an orderly analytical approach can produce.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What are core analytical elements of conflict analysis?
2. What is the main goal of conflict profile analysis?
3. What is a difference between structural and proximate causes of conflict?
4. What tools are used for analysis of conflict’s actors?
5. What guiding questions can help in analysing the dynamics of the conflict?

CHAPTER 7. CONFLICT PREVENTION AND RESOLUTION

- 7.1 Indicators of risk for international conflict development.
- 7.2 Preventive measures.
- 7.3 Terminological approaches to conflict resolution.
- 7.4 Techniques and approaches to conflict resolution.
- 7.5 Power in conflict resolution.

Conflict prevention is the idea that action should be taken to prevent conflicts from breaking out in the first place, rather than responding only once violence has broken-out.

Conflict prevention (preventive diplomacy) is action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur.

Early warning aims to monitor particular areas of potential conflict, and seek ways to act early enough to thwart potential conflict. There are two tasks involved here (Woodhouse and Duffey, 2008; Women, 2014):

- first, identification of the type of conflicts and location of the conflicts that could become violent;
- second, monitoring and assessing their progress with a view to assessing how close to violence they are.

A key element in understanding the context and situation in an escalating conflict is the ability to read warning signs of trouble and indicators of increasing tension or violence, which is the basis for “conflict early warning” analysis.

Indicators of risk for international conflict development can include (Women, 2014):

- demographic pressures (rapid population change including refugee flows, high population density, food or water shortage, ethnic groups sharing land, environmental pressures);

- lack of democratic practices (human rights violations, criminalization, de-legitimization of the state);
- lost political or territorial autonomy;
- ethnic composition of the ruling elite differing from that of the population at large;
- sharp and severe economic distress (uneven economic development along ethnic lines, lack of trade openness);
- human right violation, etc.

Analysing these indicators together can help provide understanding of the state of events and emerging trends in a society. It is also critical in determining whether corrective actions should be immediate and “operational” for direct prevention or if there is also a need for structural prevention to address the root causes of conflict in the longer term. Often there is a need for both.

It should be noted that preventive action is not a single event; rather it is an on-going process that changes according to given circumstances. It should strengthen existing processes for peace, respond to crises, help generate an environment and create mechanisms through which conflicts can be resolved non-violently. Effective conflict prevention measures require coordination and collaboration between various entities, including international, regional, subregional, national and local actors. Lessons drawn from conflict prevention efforts indicate that building the capacities of a society to manage and address conflict peacefully requires (Women, 2014):

- a high degree of inclusiveness and participation of all sectors of society in dialogue, as well as peacebuilding;
- a high degree of local ownership of conflict prevention strategies and initiatives;
- the strengthening of democratic institutions and empowerment of local actors through continuous consultation, assistance and training.

Preventive measures. All preventive measures can be divided into two main group (Mitchell, 2012; Women, 2014):

1. Structural conflict-prevention measures (root causes prevention) comprise strategies aim to meeting basic human needs, such as economic, social, cultural or developmental needs. This involves fighting against poverty, political repression and uneven distribution of resources, which can, if left unattended, escalate into violence.

Structural conflict-prevention implies long-term sustainable and locally anchored measures both before and after the eruption of conflict – in the conflict cycle, primarily in the potential conflict phase and the post-conflict phase. In the post-conflict phase, structural conflict-prevention measures are normally implemented in close cooperation with major national or international state actors and organizations, among other things with the aim of strengthening nationbuilding activities and preventing renewed fighting.

2. Operational conflict-prevention measures (direct prevention) are measures to address immediate crises (e.g. sending high-level diplomatic missions to mediate between parties, using economic tools such as sanctions, inducements, or collecting weapons and demobilizing fighting units), and employing forceful measures such as deploying peacekeepers to a region.

Operational conflict-prevention measures are undertaken when violence seems imminent or has broken out. They can be implemented in most of the five phases of the conflict cycle. Due to their technical character and quick impact, their implementation is highly sensitive and implies careful planning and understanding of the conflict dynamics in a given context in order to avoid the escalation of dangerous situations or the creation of unintended negative spill-over effects on other preventive initiatives. Operational conflict-prevention is normally undertaken by a variety of international and local

actors, from civil-society organizations and non-governmental organizations to international organizations and governments.

The aim of conflict resolution is not the elimination of conflict. Rather, the aim of conflict resolution is to transform actual or potential violent conflict into peaceful (non-violent) processes of social and political change. This requires a continuously evolving set of conceptual and practical tools to deal with conflict as and when it arises.

Terminological approaches to conflict resolution. Many terms are frequently, and almost interchangeably, used in the field of conflict resolution to describe the activities and processes which bring conflict to an end. However, several of these terminological approaches have implications for the outcome of a conflict situation. We will consider four the most significant approaches (Woodhouse and Duffey, 2008):

1. Conflict management. Conflict management, like the associated term “conflict regulation”, is often confusingly used as a generic term to cover the entire spectrum of positive efforts to affect conflicts in non-violent ways. It is also used to refer to the limitation, mitigation and containment of conflict, rather than the durable elimination of the causes of conflict.

2. Conflict settlement. The settlement approach prescribes an outcome that is built on agreement reached by the conflicting parties through negotiation and bargaining. A settlement, in this definition, suggests agreement over the conflict issues, which involves compromise or concession from both sides. Using this approach, neither side may be able to achieve all of their goals, but the initial disappointment may be offset by the mutuality of the compromise. Formal negotiation and political bargaining are examples of this approach.

This approach emphasizes the objective, power-related issues of conflict. All parties (including the third party) to the bargaining process approach the goal of settlement with their own interests to be promoted or safeguarded and their own

agendas to be addressed. Third parties in settlement-type processes legitimately use pressure, inducements and/or threats (hard power tactics) to compel the parties to agree to a compromise solution. The feelings of the parties are secondary to the issues; their relationship is addressed only in so far as it is relevant to the bargaining process.

Although a settlement is often the quickest solution to a difficult or violent situation, its effectiveness is temporary because the underlying relationships and structures that have caused the conflict are not addressed. In practice, conflicts that have reached settlements are often re-opened later when feelings produce new issues or renewed dissatisfactions about old ones, or when the third party's guarantee runs out.

3. Conflict resolution. Conflict resolution is a more comprehensive approach based on mutual problem-sharing between the conflict parties. The parties co-operate with each other to redefine their conflict and their relationship. They solve the conflict themselves by jointly finding their own solution, becoming their own guarantors of the agreement. Rather than compromising or bargaining away their goals, they engage in a process of information-sharing, relationship-building, joint analysis and co-operation. The role of the third party is one of facilitation without coercion or the use of hard power persuasion.

This approach emphasizes the subjective features of the conflict, particularly relationships between parties. Resolution of conflict implies that the deep-rooted sources of conflict are addressed, changing behaviours so they are no longer violent, attitudes so they are no longer hostile, and structures so they are no longer exploitative.

The process of conflict resolution includes becoming aware of a conflict, diagnosing its nature and applying appropriate methods in order to:

- diffuse the negative emotional energy involved;

- enable the conflicting parties to understand and resolve their differences;
- resolve the differences so as to achieve solutions that are not imposed, which have been agreed by all the key parties, and which address the root cause of the conflict.

A resolution process is based on the needs of the primary parties to a particular conflict, rather than on the interests or assumptions of the “resolvers”. This approach opposes traditional notions of power politics. The primary objective of this approach is to achieve a “win-win outcome”, in which long-lasting (even permanent) solutions to the conflict are sought. However, while it is a fundamental means of dealing with conflict, resolution is difficult to achieve in practice, because the conflicting parties often are not open to the idea of close co-operation.

4. Conflict transformation. The term “conflict transformation” refers to the longer-term and deeper structural, relational and cultural dimensions of conflict resolution. The contention is that “resolution” carries the connotation of bringing conflict to permanent conclusion, negating the possible social value of positively channelled conflict. Thus, while conflict resolution is used as a comprehensive term to encompass the variety of approaches and methods used to handle conflict non-violently at all levels in society, conflict is used transformation as a developmental term to indicate the deepest level of change in the conflict resolution process.

It focuses on the dynamic processes through which conflict becomes violent, rather than focusing narrowly on how to bring a violent conflict to a cease-fire or settlement. An emphasis on the transformative aspects of conflict helps to understand the changes that occur in individuals, relationships, cultures and nations as a result of the experiences of violent conflict.

Transformation is also used to refer to a specific approach to violent conflict that focuses on the changes needed at many

different levels of society in order to create long-term peace. This approach aims to transform a conflict from one of violence and destruction into a constructive force which produces change, progressively removing or reducing the social and structural conditions from which the conflict and violence have arisen. The peace that emerges will be deeply rooted and sustainable.

Techniques and approaches to conflict resolution. There are a variety of techniques employed within the field of conflict resolution to manage and resolve conflict at all levels of social interaction. Possible activities for third parties include: mediation, negotiation, conciliation, facilitation, arbitration, adjudication, consultation, good offices, and enquiry/fact-finding. In practice, the most appropriate ways to approach a particular conflict will vary according to the level on which it occurs, the parties' personalities, the power or resources the parties possess, their perspectives on the future, the strength of the parties' feelings, and the complexity of the conflict.

1. Conciliation. Conciliation refers to non-coercive intermediary efforts to encourage the parties to move towards negotiations. The main aims of conciliation are to help identify the major issues of contention, to lower tensions between parties and to move the parties closer to direct interaction.

Conciliation represents the first occasion that parties to the conflict require the intervention of a third party. It also refers to the more minimalist role of providing good offices which enable conflict parties to get together to recognize each other's interests and needs. Conciliation involves a pacification process and gentle persuasion which aims to restore communication so that negotiation, mediation or consultation can take place.

2. Negotiation. Negotiation is a process interaction, by which two or more parties, with some apparent conflict, seek to do better through jointly decided action than they could

otherwise. Negotiation occurs on both formal and informal levels.

Negotiation is based on a search for options. There are four major obstacles that inhibit this search:

- premature judgment;
- searching for a single answer;
- assumption of a fixed pie;
- thinking that solving the problem is the other's problem.

3. Mediation. An extension of the negotiation process is mediation, which also occurs on many different levels, from interpersonal to international. Mediation involves the intervention of a third party, who may be more effective in getting the conflict parties to re-examine their positions, interests and needs. It is a voluntary process in which the parties retain control over the outcome and the mediator merely acts as an impartial facilitator of the process of communication. The mediator has no power outside the mediation situation and cannot make or impose binding decisions. The mediator's role is to facilitate direct negotiation on the substantive issues, with the aim of producing a lasting settlement.

Power in conflict resolution (Heywood, 2011):

- Hard power, or coercive power, refers to the power to command, order, or enforce cooperation. Hard power has always been important in violent conflict situations; however, soft power may be more important in conflicts managed peacefully.

- Soft power, or persuasive power, means the power to induce, legitimize or inspire cooperation. There are two forms of soft power:

- exchange power (“do what I want and I will do what you want”)

- integrative power, associated with persuasion and transformative long-term problem-solving (“together, we can do something that is better for both of us”).

Conflict resolvers try to shift emphasis away from the use of hard power and towards the use of exchange and integrative power.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What does preventive diplomacy mean?
2. How preventive measures can be classified?
3. What methods and approaches exist to resolve international conflicts?
4. What is difference between “conflict settlement” and “conflict transformation”?
5. Which power “hard” or “soft” is more suitable for resolving international conflicts?

CHAPTER 8. CONFLICT NEGOTIATION

- 8.1 Definition and essence of negotiation.
- 8.2 Negotiation functions.
- 8.3 Stages of negotiation.
- 8.4 Negotiation styles.
- 8.5 Basic concepts of the negotiation process.
- 8.6 Factors influencing the results of negotiation.
- 8.7 Communication skills.

Negotiation is a traditional method of resolving international conflicts. It can be initiated by conflict's party (parties) or by a third party.

Conflict negotiation is never easy. It involves finding a compromise, reaching consensus and forming a certain mutual trust. Usually, the negotiation process begins when the conflict's parties conclude that the conflict does not produce the desired results and recognize the benefits that can be achieved as a result of negotiation.

Negotiation can be defined as (Woodhouse and Duffey, 2008; Wertheim, 2010; Malik, 2015):

- discussion, mutual communication aimed at reaching a joint solution;
- the process of finding mutually beneficial alternatives by the conflict's actors;
- joint discussion disputed issues by conflict's parties with the possible involvement of a mediator in order to reach an agreement;
- exchange of information, ideas and promises in order to achieve a result that is acceptable for conflict's parties;
- the process of communication, in which the conflict's parties have the possibility to control both the process and the outcome.

Although these definitions are quite different, they have several common features that characterize the negotiations in general:

- two or more conflict's actors are involved in the negotiation;
- each conflict's party pursues completely or partially incompatible goals;
- the conflict's parties take part in the negotiation in order to form alternatives;
- alternatives are formed in order to agree on one of them.

Negotiation functions:

1. Information function is related to obtaining information about the interests, positions of conflict's parties, and their approaches to solving the problems. The significance of this function is determined by the fact that it is impossible to come to a mutually acceptable solution without understanding the essence of the problems, which caused the conflict, true goals, and clarifying each other's points of view.

2. Communicative function refers to the establishing and maintaining links and relations between conflict's parties.

3. Regulatory function concerns the regulation and coordination of actions of the conflict's parties. First of all, it refers to those cases when the parties have reached certain agreements, and negotiation is conducted regarding the implementation of agreed decisions.

4. Propaganda function relates to fact that conflict' parties seek to influence public opinion to justify their actions, make claims, attract allies to their side, etc.

The negotiation process involves several stages (Malik, 2015):

1. Preparation for negotiations. This stage begins with a statement by one of the conflict's parties or a third party about the desire to conduct negotiation. The area for negotiation is organized, the optimal number of participants and terms of

negotiation are determined. At the preparatory stage, the interests of the conflict's parties are analysed, their hierarchy is built, the object of the conflict is determined. Possible alternative solutions are developed, the degree of possible losses and benefits for each of the conflict's parties is determined.

2. Negotiation conduction. It is a stage of open discussion of the conflict. All unclear points are clarified at this stage. The concessions that can be made by each of parties, as well as the interests that are fundamental for each of conflict's parties are discussed.

3. Analysis of the negotiation results. At this stage, the conflict's parties recognize the results, which they have reached, and evaluate them. As a rule, at this stage a document containing the agreements between the conflict's parties is formed and signed.

4. Implementation of reached agreements. This is the final stage of negotiation, which is an objective indicator of the success of negotiation conduction. The conflict's parties fulfil their obligations and act within the framework of the reached agreement.

Negotiation styles (Wertheim, 2010; Novak and Hall, 2016):

1. Hard style. This style implies that one party insists on its requirements, make ultimatums, does not make concessions, exerts pressure on the opponent, uses force and influence to protect their own interests and ignores the interests of the other party. Such negotiations style should be used only when one conflict's party is not interested in establishing good relations with another one, and only pursues meeting its own needs. In this case, negotiation can finish with win for one conflict's party and the loss for another one. However, if another party also will use a similar style of negotiation, the negotiation may be broken down.

2. Soft style implies tolerance and flexibility in negotiation. This style should be used if establishing a good relationship with the opponent is more important than defending own interests in the conflict and when one of the conflict's parties recognizes that it has little chance for win. In this case, the negotiations can finish with the defeat of one of the conflict's parties (when a significant concession will be made) or the win of both parties.

3. Collaborative style. The main purpose of conducting negotiation in such style is to satisfy both own interests and interests of opponent. Because the conflict's parties care about each other's interests, there is a possibility that a mutually beneficial decision will be made, and as a result of the negotiation all conflict's parties will win. When during a conflict it is possible to negotiate in a collaborative style, it means that the parties are able to reach a consensus. This negotiation style implies a hard approach to consideration of the conflict's essence but implies a soft approach to the relationship between the negotiators.

Such negotiation is based on four main principles:

- separating people from the problem. This principle emphasizes the need to discuss problems, not the personal qualities of opponents;
- focus on interests, not positions. Positions are those requirements or desires expressed by the conflict's parties, which they want to satisfy in resolving conflict. Interests are the motives that cause the conflict's parties take certain positions. This principle focuses on identifying the interests underlying the positions;
- search of options for mutual benefit. This principle directs negotiators to seek various solutions of the problem, then jointly select one of them, the best for all conflict's parties;

- use of objective criteria. This principle focuses on the use of criteria that are recognized by both conflict's parties. If both parties evaluate the decision according to the same criteria, they can come to the same opinion about which solution is best.

4. Trading style. During conduction of negotiation in this style, the achievement of results is realized through mutually beneficial concessions from both sides. The principle of this style can be described as follows: “you will do it for us, and we will do the next”, that is there is an exchange of concessions, as a result of which one side loses something, in order to win something. The results of such negotiation can be asymmetric in favour of the more persuasive side or symmetrical if the agreement will be mutually beneficial.

The style of negotiation is chosen taking into account the balance of power, the degree of tension between the conflict's parties, the content of their claims to each other, plans and goals. Often in practice, opponents change their tactics, moving from one style to another depending on the circumstances.

Table 8.1 shows the comparative characteristics of the main elements of the considered styles of negotiation.

Table 8.1 – The comparative characteristics of the main elements of the negotiation styles

Hard style	Soft style	Collaborative style	Trading style
Participants are opponents	Participants are friends	Participants solve the problem together	Participants solve the problem together
Goal is win	Goal is agreement	Goal is a reasonable result achieved efficiently and friendly	Goal is to achieve beneficial results through concessions from both sides

Continuation Table 8.1

To require concessions as a condition for continuing the relationship	To make concessions to develop relations	To separate people from the problem	To exchange with concessions
To follow a hard course in relations with conflict's parties and during solving problems	To follow a soft course in relations with conflict's parties and during solving problems	To follow a soft course in relations with conflict's parties and a hard course during solving problems	To follow a soft course in relations with conflict's parties and during solving problems
Do not trust others	To trust others	To continue negotiation regardless of the level of trust	To trust others
To adhere a position firmly	To change a position easily	To focus on interests, not positions	To change the position depending on the concessions options
To require unilateral dividends as payment for an agreement	To allow unilateral losses in order to reach an agreement	To consider and suggest mutually beneficial options	To consider and suggest mutually beneficial concessions
Look for a single option – acceptable to one the conflict's party	Look for a single option – acceptable to another conflict's party	To develop equal options for choice	Look for the best options of concessions for both the conflict's parties
To insist on own position	To insist on an agreement	To insist on using objective criteria	To insist on the best option of concessions
To use pressure	To be under pressure	Do not succumb to pressure	Do not succumb to pressure

It should be noted that the conflict's party (parties) can avoid negotiation. It is appropriate when:

- the issues raised in the negotiations are trivial and do not deserve the time;
- the conflict's party or parties do not see the possibility to satisfy their interests by conducting negotiation.

Postponement, as a variation on negotiation avoidance, is a useful strategy when the conflict's party or parties need time to assess the situation, gather more information or resources, or engage allies who have the influence to resolve the conflict or negotiate more effectively.

Basic concepts, which are essential to negotiation (Malik, 2015):

1. Area of possible alternatives – the framework within which the agreement satisfies both negotiation's parties.

2. Value creation through trade – when one negotiation's party has something that it values less than the other party, and vice versa. The negotiation's parties can trade what one party values more and what is not too important for the other party.

3. Reservation price – the lower limit or the least desirable result acceptable to the negotiator.

4. The alternative to a negotiated agreement – an alternative action that will be taken if no agreement is reached.

5. Bargaining mix – general issues of negotiation – the least acceptable result, the best alternative to the agreements, and so on.

6. Strategy – a plan for negotiation in order to achieve the certain goals.

Factors influencing the results of the negotiation:

- goals and interests of the parties;
- the degree of interrelation of the parties of the negotiation process;
- character, temperament and personal qualities of the negotiators;
- place and time of negotiations;

- culture (intercultural differences could lead to misunderstandings that arise due to difficulties with interpretation of messages during the negotiation);

- trust (trust leads to communication and constructive dialogue; negotiators will not exchange information and promises if they do not trust each other).

Communication skills. Communication skills are important for successful negotiation. They can be divided into two groups

- Verbal: active listening, questioning styles, reflection, re-phrasing, explaining, etc.

- Non-verbal: body posture, gestures, eye contact, physical space, attentive (interested) silence, etc.

The most important elements of effective communication skills include (Wertheim, 2010; Novak and Hall, 2016):

1. Active listening. Active listening requires a clear focus on understanding the speaker's message. Active listening: means listening to the whole person, to both the verbal and non-verbal cues; gives the speaker time, space and confidence to express his/her thoughts, feelings and experiences.

2. Using questions. Asking appropriate questions can help to gain more information, refocus a discussion; reorient escalation of conflict, etc.

3. Stating interests, needs, goals. A clear, specific statement of interests, needs, and goals allows opposition to be clear about what expects from the negotiation process as well as what needs or interests must be satisfied in order for a solution to be acceptable

4. Setting a constructive tone. Emphasizing positive intentions whenever possible is essential during negotiation process. The using of the word "we" also passes an important message that the negotiation is a joint process, not something that one party will impose on another.

5. Acknowledgment and conformation of the other person's perceptions. It does not imply that one party agree with

another one, however, it makes to understand that opponents' opinion is respected.

6. Improving understanding of the opposition. Some of the most successful negotiators are those who can form a relationship with their opponents for the specific purpose of joint problem-solving and reaching mutually acceptable solutions. This requires the ability to imagine oneself in the other person's position, with his or her interests and needs. Deeper understanding of the opposition improves the ability to generate mutually acceptable options and solutions.

7. Providing constructive feedback. Feedback is most useful when it is:

- specific rather than general;
- focused on actions, not attitudes;
- well-timed and focused on the discussed issue;
- checked for clarity and understanding.

8. Avoiding judging, criticizing, and/or blaming others. While it seems obvious that this behaviour should not be used in conflict negotiation, it occurs frequently during negotiation. These feelings reduce effectiveness of negotiation. When emotions cloud the thinking, negotiator is less able to represent the interests. If negotiator stops attacking the issues and starts attacking the person it is usually a signal that negotiator is losing positions in a negotiation.

9. Overcoming past negative history with the opposition. Emphasizing previous interactions and expectations is especially important when prior interactions, history, and/or negotiation have been negative, particularly if numerous unsuccessful attempts to resolve conflict were made or resulted in negative outcomes.

The real challenge is to stay positive and focused on the discussion, and not to give in to the human tendency to evoke past insults, resentment and unresolved issues. Reaching

agreement regarding one specific issue can help to improve negotiation on more substantive issues in the future.

In situations where a real negative history prevents constructive negotiation, it should be considered bringing in a neutral third party that is acceptable for both parties. This neutral party can more effectively facilitate the negotiation process and increase the probability of a positive outcome.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What are the main stages of negotiation process?
2. What function does negotiation perform?
3. What is acceptable and what is not acceptable to all parties during negotiation?
4. What does term “reservation price” mean in the negotiation process?
5. What are the most important verbal and non-verbal communication skills in the negotiation process?

CHAPTER 9. FUNDAMENTALS OF PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS

9.1 The United Nations and peace support operations.

9.2 Basic documents for peace support operations conduction.

9.3 Principles for peace support operations conduction.

9.4 Techniques for peace support operations conduction.

Peace support operations encompass operations and activities of all civil and military organizations deployed to restore actions, traditional peacekeeping and the more forceful, military actions required to establish peaceful conditions.

They include conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, peace enforcement and humanitarian operations.

Peace support operations differ from a war because they are complex operations that do not have a designated enemy but are designated as part of a composite approach involving diplomatic efforts and generally humanitarian agencies to achieve a long-term peace settlement.

Each peace support operation is conducted in a unique way with its own political, diplomatic, geographic, economic, cultural and military characteristics and in a dynamic environment shaped by a number of factors and variables that strongly influence the manner in which operations can be conducted.

The United Nations and peace support operations. The main purpose of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security. The United Nations Charter provides the terms of reference for the various elements of the United Nations in fulfilling this responsibility. The three chapters of the Charter most relevant to the conduct of peace support operations are Chapters VI, VII and VIII.

The United Nations will normally conduct Peace Support Operations or humanitarian assistance under the provisions of a resolution or mandate from the Security Council or the General Assembly.

The United Nations Security Council is the focal point in the efforts to organize collective security, and it is composed of 15 members. Five (China, France, Russian Federation, United Kingdom and the United States) are permanent members, and ten others are elected by the General Assembly to serve 2-years terms.

The United Nations Security Council is vested with the primary responsibility for maintenance of international peace and security. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII and VIII.

Basic documents for peace support operations conduction (United, 2008):

1) The Mandate. All military peace support operations are normally based on a mandate developed by the United Nations Security Council. The mandate will give broad strategic guidance for the mission and should express the political objective and international support for the operation and define the desired end state. Changes in the mandate during a mission need through reassessment, taking account of advice as to the implications on the ground for both civil and military components. An essential precondition in establishment of the mandate must be a clear understanding by the Security Council and participating nations of the implications of the use of the military and the projection and use of force. The Security Council in particular must be made aware of what can realistically be achieved by those Forces likely to be made available in a given situation.

The mandate may:

- nominate the Force commander;
- recommend the size of force;
- list those countries that are prepared to provide contingents;
- immediately and those with which negotiations are still proceeding;
- outline proposals for the movement and maintenance of the Force, including countries that might provide transport airlift, shipping, and logistic units;
- propose a time limit for the operation;
- make recommendations concerning the financing of the Force.

2. Status of Forces Agreement. The Status of Forces Agreement proceeds from the mandate. This agreement has normally been concluded between the United Nations and the host nation. The Status of Forces Agreement establishes legal rights and duties of peace support operation Forces and personnel in the host nation. Status of Forces Agreement may include the following main points:

- protected status of the peace support operation Force and its members;
- entry and departure permits to and from the host nations;
- the right of ingress and egress (exemption from passport and visa requirements) use of ID card only;
- the right to carry arms as well as the authorized type of weapons and the right to use force in self-defence and defence of others;
- legal jurisdiction over members of the peace support operations;
- the right to operate postal and communication systems – i.e., radio, TV, plus military communications equipment;

- the right to operate on highways and airways, and use ports and airports, licenses, user fees, inspection requirements, landing fees;
 - postal regulations and customs clearance procedures;
 - authority to display United Nations and nation flags;
 - uniform regulations;
 - military police actions and authority;
 - tax and duty regulations;
 - permission to operate vehicles without special registration;
 - general supply and maintenance matters (imports of equipment; commodities, local procurement of provisions, etc.).
- the Force has authority to gather record and report such information as is necessary to ensure protection and security of the Force.

3. Terms of Reference. Based on analysis of the mandate and the situation the Terms of Reference are developed to govern implementation of United Nations participation in the peace support operations. Terms of Reference, which may be subject to approval by the parties in a conflict, describe the mission, command relationships, organization, logistics, accounting, procedures, co-ordination and liaison, and responsibilities of the military units and personnel assigned to the peace support operations Force.

4. Rules of Engagement. Rules of Engagement regulate use of force in a specific mission, and provide direction and guidance to commanders concerning the use of force. They will therefore be issued on the basis of operational needs and must be strictly adhered to. Their function is mainly to restrain the use of force in order to avoid escalations, in situations where escalations otherwise would be legally permissible.

5. Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel. The 1994 Convention on the Safety of

United Nations and Associated Personnel has been developed in order to provide basic protection for personnel taking part in peace support operations. It contains many of the provisions normally found in the Status of Forces Agreement. The Convention also stipulates, among other things, that peace support operations personnel shall not be made the object of an armed attack and that the States which are party to the convention shall take appropriate measures to ensure the safety and security of peace support operations personnel.

Apart from the United Nations there are a number of important international and regional organizations which play a significant role in peace support operations: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, etc.

Peace support operations are one of the approaches to alleviating tensions, supporting a ceasefire or a peace agreement or creating a buffer zone between hostile groups. In order to be successful peace support operations must be carried out according to a number of fundamental principles.

Principles for peace support operations conducting (SEEBRIG, 2000; United, 2018):

- **Consent.** Peace support operations under Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter are conducted with the consent given by the government of the involved nation(s). It is the responsibility of that government to make sure that national authorities comply with the conditions of the peace support operations.

In peace support operations the level of consent determines the fundamentals of the operations. Consent may vary with level: at strategic level consent is given by Parties in the conflict, at operational level by military organizations and military factions, and at tactical level by local commanders and warlords.

- **Impartiality.** Impartiality with respect to the belligerents is a prime doctrinal interpretation of the consent criterion. Without impartiality, there can be no prospect of preserving the confidence and cooperation of conflicting factions. It is not enough for peace support operations to act impartiality – they also must be seen to be acting impartiality. So, impartiality is thus a vital characteristic of those undertaking peace support operations.

- **Minimum Force.** Peace support operations cover a broad range of military operations. The need to employ force may initiate a cycle of increasing violence; therefore, it should be judicious in employing forceful measures and must understand the relationship between force and the desired end state.

- **Legitimacy** is a condition growing from the perception of a specific audience of the legality, morality, and correctness of a set of actions. It is initially derived from the mandate authorizing and directing the conduct of operations. However, the perception of legitimacy can only be sustained with the world public, Peace Forces, indigenous parties, and the international community if operations are conducted with scrupulous regard for international norms on the use of military forces and regard for humanitarian principles. The higher degree of legitimacy ascribed to the Peace Force by the international community and the parties to the conflict, the greater is the likelihood of success. It is therefore essential that military forces act within the domestic, national, international and military law, as well as within the United Mandate and the Status of Forces Agreement.

- **Credibility.** For the peace support operations to be effective it must be credible and the credibility of the operations is a reflection of the parties' assessment of the Force's capability to accomplish the mission.

- **Mutual respect.** The peace support operation environmental is likely to create friction between the

recognized parties to a conflict and Peace Force. Notwithstanding such friction, the force should always hold the respect of the belligerent factions. If that respect has been lost, action should be as a matter of priority to restore it. Such respect should be mutual and whilst a Peace Force will enjoy certain immunities, its members must respect the host country's laws, language, religion, culture and social customs and show patience and respect for the problems and negotiating positions of the belligerents wherever possible.

- **Transparency.** It is important that the parties to the conflict of the local populace should not misinterpret the Peace Force's action. Such misunderstandings may prove dangerous in times of tension. Force's activities should therefore be manifestly "above-board" and not be vulnerable to accusations of pursuing an illicit hidden agenda. Therefore, the parties to a conflict should be made as fully aware as possible of the motive, mission and intentions of developing confidence and trust, thus prejudicing prospects for future conciliation and cooperation. Information should be gathered and communicated through open sources wherever possible. Transparency is therefore a highly desirable characteristic of peace support operations and should be promoted whenever possible.

- **Coherence.** The United Nations Mandate will determine the overall aim of the Peace Force. At the tactical level this aim must be translated into clearly defined, coherent and achievable objectives towards which all military activity is directed so that unity of effort is achieved. These objectives must be fully understood and consistently pursued by all members of the Peace Forces at every level. It is through the common pursuit of such objectives that coherence will be achieved.

- **Flexibility.** Peace support operations cover wide range of tasks of which there is potential for rapid transit up and down the intensity spectrum. This characteristic renders flexibility as

a key attribute for those undertaking such operations. The Peace Force should be able to adapt and move from one activity to another as required – at short notice and with the minimum of outside assistance.

- **Objective.** Every military operation must be directed toward a clearly defined, decisive, and attainable objective. A clearly defined and attainable objective with a precise understanding of what success presents-is critical when the Peace Forces are involved in peace support operations.

- **Unity of effort.** Unity of effort emphasizes the need for directing all means to a common purpose, because in peace support operations, achieving unity of effort is complicated by the numbers of non-military organizational participants, the lack of definitive command arrangements among them, and varying views of the objective.

The key to success of peace support operations will generally lie in selection and use of combination of techniques. Techniques fall broadly into two categories: 1) consent techniques and 2) management techniques.

Consent techniques:

1. **Civil-military cooperation.** Civil-military cooperation is defined as “the resources and arrangements, which support the relationship between commanders and national authorities, civil and military, as well as civil population in an area where military forces are, or planned to be, employed. Such measures include cooperation with non-governmental or international agencies, organizations and authorities”.

Civil-military cooperation is concerned with harmonization of civilian and military relations within a defined area of operations and with coordinating the use of resources designed to redress the deprivation and suffering of the populace.

Civil-military cooperation is also designed to enhance the credibility of the peace support operations force, to promote co-operation and consent for the operation and to persuade the

parties to the conflict and the uncommitted members of the host nation that their best interests lie in the peace.

2. Negotiation and mediation. Negotiation and mediation are required at all stages of peace support operations.

Negotiation refers to direct dialogue between parties. If negotiating itself, the Peace Forces will be playing an active role to gain particular ends whilst protecting their own interests. Such negotiations might take place to secure safe passage of humanitarian relief supplies.

Mediation describes the activities of parties connected to a dispute. In this role Peace Supporter has no position of his own to guard – he acts as the means whereby opposing parties communicate with each other and he encourages them to identify and reach mutually agreed solutions.

3. Liaison. The purpose of liaison is to ensure timely passage of information, to notify intentions, lodge protests, coordinate activities, manage crises and settle disputes. A liaison system is therefore required to link the Peace Forces, the communities, the civil authority and the parties in the conflict. The timely passage of accurate information based on a trusting relationship is a key method of combating uncertainty and promoting stability in a conflict region. Liaison is therefore a vital tool of the peace support operations force.

4. Public information. Especially at the beginning, peace support operations are likely to attract intense public scrutiny from the international and the local media. The aim of public Information activities is to inform the media more accurately so as to create more reasonable and balanced understanding of the mission and objectives and what it can be expected to achieve.

5. Community relations. Community relations, being an element of both public information and community information programs, refer to deliberate fostering of social contact with the indigenous population. The purpose of community relations is

to create favourable perceptions locally and to encourage cooperative responses to the Peace Force's activities. Community relations, by its actions, seeks to convey implicitly simple but positive messages such as: "Trust us", "We are here to help you" and "Peace is the only way ahead". Community relations may be developed through formally hosted events or informal meetings during the normal course of military operations.

Management techniques:

1. Military information. The parties to a conflict in peace support operations suspicious of all intelligence-related activities. They are likely to regard the gathering of intelligence as a hostile act. The standard function of intelligence in peace support operations is therefore termed "military information". This terminology seeks to accommodate local sensitivities as well as those that may exist within multinational Peace Forces itself. Military information works through cyclical process of collection, interpretation, evaluation, collation and dissemination.

2. Observation and monitoring. Observation and monitoring are fundamental techniques. Tasks may range from observation of cease – fire lines by unarmed individuals and/or small multinational teams in peacekeeping operations, to the covert acquisition of intelligence by special force teams in peace enforcement operations. Methods used by observers might include manning of static observation posts and checkpoints as well as foot and vehicle patrols.

3. Supervision. Local civil authorities and peace support operations forces can conduct supervision tasks. It may also be possible to delegate certain supervised tasks jointly to the parties to a conflict; such action would encourage their joint cooperation and contribute significantly to the conciliation of the parties concerned. Investigation of complaints and alleged breaches of agreement, as well as supervisory tasks, should be

conducted according to previously agreed procedures and governed by the principles of objectivity, thoroughness, and impartiality. Not all complaints deal with as official complaints. Those that are minor can be dealt with at a low level; however, they must still be reported and recorded fully.

4. Patrolling. Patrolling is a key activity in peace support operations and may be used to collect information, to provide additional security for guards and at checkpoints and to escort representatives of the Peace Forces, relief agencies, aid convoys, members of the civil authorities, and threatened elements of the local populace. Patrolling can be used also to carry out aspects of most peace support operations tasks, including mobile checkpoints, investigation, interposition, supervision, liaison, negotiation, and “flying the flag” to reassure and calm troubled areas, deter lawbreakers, and promote the credibility and the prestige of the Peace Forces.

5. Interposition. The Interposition of Peace Forces remains one of the basic military techniques in peace support operations and its purpose is to establish and maintain cease-fires within the context of demobilization operations. The interposition might be phased with advanced groups deployed to provide a screen between withdrawing factions. Interposition may also be used as a short – term emergency response to forestall or manage a local crisis.

As with any mission, all members of the Peace Force, at all levels, must have a common understanding of the end state and the conditions that constitute success prior to initiating operations. In peace support operations, settlement, not victory, is the ultimate measure of success, though settlement is rarely achievable through military efforts alone. Peace support operations are conducted to reach a resolution by conciliation among the competing parties, rather than termination by force. They are designed principally to create or sustain the conditions in which political and diplomatic activities may

proceed. In peace support operations, military action must complement diplomatic, economic, informational and humanitarian efforts in pursuing overarching political objective. It should be understood that the concept of traditional military victory or defeat is inappropriate in peace support operations.

End-of-chapter questions

1. How many countries are members of the United Nations Security Council?
2. Who are the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council?
3. What basic documents are needed for peace support operations conduction?
4. What are the key principles for peace support operations conduction?
5. How techniques for peace support operations conduction can be classified?

CHAPTER 10. TYPOLOGY OF PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS

- 10.1 Peacemaking.
- 10.2 Peacebuilding.
- 10.3 Peacekeeping.
- 10.4 Humanitarian intervention.

Peace support operations encompasses three types of activities: activities with predominantly diplomatic lead (peacemaking, peace building) and two complementary, predominately military, activities (peacekeeping and peace-enforcement) and humanitarian operations aimed at, first of all, protecting human right during conflicts also are considered as peace support operations (SEEBRIG, 2000; NATO, 2011).

Peacemaking. Peacemaking is a process of diplomacy, mediation, negotiation, or other forms of peaceful settlement that end disputes and resolve the issues that led to conflict under chapter VI of the United Nations Charter.

However, military support is possible either indirectly or in a form of direct involvement of military assets. Military activities that support peacemaking include military to military relations and security assistance operations.

Other military activities, such as exercises and peacetime deployments, may enhance the diplomatic process by demonstrating the engagement of the Peace Forces. These activities contribute to atmosphere of cooperation and assistance with allies and friends, thus demonstrating resolve of the Peace Forces with regard to its commitments. Such demonstrations of resolve may assist diplomatic efforts at conflict resolution.

Military-to-military contacts and security assistance programs also serve to enhance diplomacy by influencing

important groups in regions of conflict and by promoting stable environment necessary for the success of diplomacy.

The main tasks of peacemaking include:

- provision of good offices, liaison and negotiation;
- surveillance;
- sanctions and embargoes;
- mediation;
- conciliation;
- diplomatic isolation.

Peacebuilding. Peacebuilding consists of post conflict actions, primarily political, social, diplomatic, economic and military measures that strengthen and rebuild civil infrastructures and institutions in order to redress the causes of a conflict and to avoid a return to conflict. It also includes mechanisms that advance a sense of confidence and well-being and support economic reconstruction.

Peacebuilding activities include restoring civil authorities, rebuilding physical infrastructures, and re-establishing commerce, schools, and medical facilities.

Military support to diplomacy also includes assistance in selected areas such as conduct of elections and plebiscites and demobilization of former belligerent parties.

The military involvement will primarily be focused on the provision of stable and secure environment. Other military contributions to peacebuilding can be education and training of the regional armed forces.

The main tasks of peacebuilding include:

- ensure withdrawal of heavy weapons to interim or final locations;
- monitor external borders;
- supervise exchange of prisoners, movement of refugees and displaced persons;
- assist in the restoration of civil infrastructure;

- assist in de-mining and explosive ordnance disposal operations;
- support establishment of new political structures;
- assist in restoration or establishment of civil administration, law and order;
- supervise relocation or demobilization of warring factions, regular and irregular forces.

Peacekeeping. Peacekeeping involves military operations that are undertaken with the consent of all major belligerent parties. These operations are designed to monitor and facilitate implementation of an existing truce agreement, to ensure safe delivery of humanitarian relief and support diplomatic efforts to reach a long-term political settlement.

Peacekeeping operations should be conducted based on willingness of belligerents to abide by truce. All disputing parties must perceive peacekeeping force as neutral. Peacekeeping force must always be prepared for a quick change of environment in which peace enforcement or combat may occur.

Although there are a variety of ways in which their roles are classified by different authorities, many current peacekeeping operations now include military, political, and humanitarian functions.

Military functions include:

- cease-fire observation and monitoring;
- maintaining buffer zones;
- disarming warring factions;
- regulating the disposition of forces;
- preventing infiltration;
- preventing civil war;
- training and re-forming military units.

Political functions include:

- upholding law and order;
- helping to establish viable government;

- negotiating with non-government entities;
- exercising temporary authority;
- providing security and re-establish economic life for the local population;
- management and arbitration of local disputes.

Humanitarian functions include:

- providing humanitarian aid;
- establishing, supporting and protecting regional safe havens and other protected areas;
- assisting in refugee repatriation;
- monitoring refugee flow;
- logistical support for humanitarian projects including transport, medical and engineering;
- verifying human rights agreements.

Peace enforcement. Peace enforcement is application of military force or threat of its use, normally pursuant to international authorization, to compel compliance with generally accepted resolutions or sanctions. The purpose of Peace enforcement is to maintain or restore peace and support diplomatic efforts to reach a long-term political settlement.

Peace enforcement may include combat action. In such cases, missions must be clear and end states defined. With the transition to combat action comes the requirement for successful application of war fighting skills. Forces conducting peace enforcement may, for example, be involved in the forcible separation of belligerent parties or be engaged in combat with one or all parties to the conflict. Peace enforcement may be needed when all other efforts fail.

Peace enforcement includes use of armed force to maintain or restore international peace and security in situations in which the Security Council has determined the existence of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression.

The main tasks of peace enforcement include:

- peace restoration;

- protection of humanitarian operations;
- establishing and protecting “safe areas” or exclusion zones;
- enforcing sanctions;
- establishing and enforcing no-fly-zone;
- protection of human rights.

Humanitarian intervention refers to use of military force by one state, group of states, or international organization against another state with the aim to end human rights violations, prevent a humanitarian catastrophe (state of society characterized by the threat of its destruction as a result of migrations, hunger, epidemics and violence against civilians) or genocide (actions aimed at the destruction (full or partial) of any national, ethnic, racial, religious group) of the local population.

Humanitarian intervention also aimed at fulfilling measures designed to establish an environment for truce or cease fire includes programs conducted to relieve or reduce the results of complex emergencies involving natural or manmade disasters or other endemic conditions such as human pain, disease, hunger, or privation that might present a serious threat to life or may result in great damage or loss of property.

Specifics and goals of the humanitarian intervention:

- provision of the evacuation of the population from areas covered by a humanitarian catastrophe, including the organization of humanitarian corridors (temporary demilitarized zone, the goal of which is to provide the safe transit of humanitarian aid and refugees from a crisis region);
- provision of the population with humanitarian aid;
- establishment of control over power plants, drinking water tanks, television and radio centres;
- deployment and secure of protect refugee camps;

- avoidance of mass casualties during military operations: use of ultra-precise or non-lethal weapons (stun grenades, water cannons, tear gas, rubber bullets);
- actions against terroristic groups, armed groups of extremists and criminal groups;
- protection of human rights;
- disaster relief.

Criteria to conduct humanitarian intervention.

According to the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, criteria for conducting humanitarian intervention can be (Roth, 2015):

1) Large-scale loss of life, actual or apprehended, with genocide intent or not, which is the product either of deliberate state action, or state neglect or inability to act, or a failed state situation;

2) Large-scale ethnic cleansing, actual or apprehended, whether carried out by killing, forcible expulsion, acts of terrorism or rape.

There are four precautionary principles as a means of ensuring that the intervention is undertaken properly:

- the main aim of the intervention must be to stop human suffering;
- all non-military options for conflict resolution must be undertaken before;
- the scale, duration, and intensity of the intervention should be dictated by the achievement of the humanitarian goals;
- there must be a reasonable chance of success in stopping the suffering, in order for consequences of action would not be worse than consequences of inaction.

Humanitarian intervention is one of the most hotly disputed issues in global politics. While some see it as evidence that world affairs are being guided by new and more enlightened

sensibilities, other view humanitarian intervention as deeply misguided and morally confused.

Arguments in support of humanitarian intervention (Heywood, 2011):

- **Indivisible humanity.** Humanitarian intervention is based on the belief that there is a common humanity. This implies that moral responsibilities cannot be confined merely to one's "own" people or state, but extend, potentially, to the whole of humanity. There is therefore an obligation to "save strangers", if the resources exist to do so and the cost is not disproportionate.

- **Global interdependence.** The responsibility to act in relation to events on the other side of the world is increased by recognition of growing global interconnectedness and interdependence. States can no longer act as if they are islands. Humanitarian intervention can therefore be justified on grounds of enlightened self-interest; for example, to prevent a refugee crisis that may create deep political and social strains in other countries.

- **Regional stability.** Humanitarian emergencies, especially in the context of state failure, tend to have radical implications for the regional balance of power, creating instability and wider unrest. This provides an incentive for neighbouring states to support intervention, with major powers opting to intervene in order to prevent a possible regional war.

- **Promoting democracy.** Intervention is justified in circumstances in which endangered or suffering people do not possess the democratic means to alleviate their own hardship. Humanitarian interventions therefore invariably take place in a context of dictatorship or authoritarianism. Democracy promotion is a legitimate long-term goal of intervention, as it will strengthen respect for human rights and reduce the likelihood of future humanitarian crises.

- International community. Humanitarian intervention provides not only demonstrable evidence of the international community's commitment to shared values (peace, prosperity, democracy and human rights), but also strengthens these by establishing clearer guidelines for the way in which governments should treat their people, reflected in the principle of "responsible sovereignty". Humanitarian intervention thus contributes to the development of a rule-bound global order.

Arguments against humanitarian intervention (Heywood, 2011):

- Against international law. International law only clearly authorizes intervention in the case of self-defence. This is based on the assumption that respect for state sovereignty is the surest, if still an imperfect, means of upholding international order. To the extent that intervention for humanitarian purposes is permitted, international law becomes, at best, confused and the established rules of world order are weakened.

- National interests rule. Since states are always motivated by concerns of national self-interest, their claim that military action is motivated by humanitarian considerations is invariably an example of political mendacity. On the other hand, if an intervention were genuinely humanitarian, the state in question would be putting its own citizens at risk in order to "save strangers", violating its national interests.

- Double standards. There are many examples of pressing humanitarian emergencies in which intervention is either ruled out or never considered. This can happen because no national interest is at stake, because of an absence of media coverage or because intervention is politically impossible. This makes the doctrine of humanitarian intervention hopelessly confused in political and moral terms.

- Simplistic politics. The case for intervention is invariably based on a simplistic "good or evil" image of political conflict. This has sometimes been a consequence of distortion, but it

also ignores the moral complexities that attend all international conflicts. Indeed, the tendency to simplify humanitarian crises helps to explain the tendency towards “mission drift” and for interventions to go wrong.

- **Moral pluralism.** Humanitarian intervention can be seen as a form of cultural imperialism, in that it is based on an essentially western notion of human rights that may not be applicable in other parts of the world. Historical, cultural and religious differences may therefore make it impossible to establish universal guidelines for the behaviour of governments, making the task of establishing a “just cause” threshold for intervention unachievable

Civil war and genocide in Rwanda. During historical period the United Nations has undertaken a lot of humanitarian interventions, but the Rwandan genocide was a case that undoubtedly required it and did not receive.

The Rwandan Civil War (1990-1994) was a conflict between the Rwandan Armed Forces, representing the government of Rwanda, and the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front. The war is related to the long-term ethnic dispute between the Hutu and Tutsi groups within the Rwandan population (Maryan, 2016).

The Rwandan genocide is a mass murder of Tutsi in Rwanda during the 100-day period from 7 April to mid-July 1994 within the Rwandan Civil War.

Rwanda’s population consists of three ethnic groups: Hutus (88%), Tutsis (11%), and Twa pygmies (1%). The Republic of Rwanda has been divided by ethnic division between the majority Hutu and minority Tutsi.

When the Belgian colonists arrived in 1916, they provided identity cards classifying people according to their ethnicity. The Belgians considered the Tutsis to be superior to the Hutus. As a result, in subsequent years Tutsis had better jobs and

educational opportunities than their neighbours. It led to gradual growth of ethnic hostility.

When Belgium refused and provided Rwanda independence in 1962, the Hutus took their place. Thus, since the declaration of independence, Tutsi discrimination has begun, as a result of which about 330000 Tutsis were forced to leave Rwanda and move to neighbouring countries (Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania), where they lived as refugees. A group of these refugees in Uganda founded the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

The civil war began on 1 October 1990, when the Rwandan Patriotic Front invaded north-eastern Rwanda. The Rwandan Army, assisted by troops from France, won over and the Rwandan Patriotic Front. After that the Rwandan Patriotic Front began a guerrilla war, which continued until mid-1992 in which none of the countries had any advantages. A series of protests forced Rwandan President to begin peace negotiation, which was successfully concluded in August 1993. An uneasy peace has been started within of which peaceful agreements; however, many Hutus were dissatisfied with peaceful agreements and with such conflict resolution.

The escalation of the conflict has begun on April 6, 1994, when the plane, on board which were the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi, was shot down. Although it was not established who shot down the plane, Hutu extremists blamed the Rwandan Patriotic Front and immediately started a campaign of the genocide of Tutsis.

The genocide was conducted by the temporary government of Rwanda (the ethnic majority of the country – the Hutu), which came to power in the result of military coup of April 6-7, against the ethnic minority of the country – the Tutsi, and against Hutu, who had moderate political views, aimed at total destruction both of them. The genocide continued about 100 days during of which about 800000-1000000 people were killed, 10% of which were Hutu.

Although in the beginning of the conflict to support peaceful agreements the peace-keeping United Nations Assistance Mission was sent to Rwanda, on April 21, the United Nations Security Council voted to for its substantial reduction. After that a series of uncoordinated United Nations actions followed as a result of which United Nations did not manage to organize humanitarian intervention. As a result the civil war and genocide were ended only in July 1994, when the Rwandan Patriotic Front captured the all territory of Rwanda and create the temporary government.

Inability to conduct humanitarian intervention in Rwanda had significant negative consequences for the reputation of the United Nations and its member states.

Peace support operations are intended to create or support conditions conducive to conflict resolution. They always complement diplomatic, economic, informational, or humanitarian efforts. The peace support operations should not be viewed as an end in itself, but as a part of a larger process that must take place concurrently.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What are the main tasks of peacemaking?
2. What are key aspects of peacebuilding
3. What is the main goal of peace enforcement?
4. What are criteria for humanitarian intervention conduction?
5. What are arguments for and against humanitarian intervention?

GLOSSARY

Annexation is the forcible acquisition of territory, when annexed territory passes under the jurisdiction of annexing state.

Asymmetric conflicts are conflicts that arise between dissimilar parties.

Conciliation refers to non-coercive intermediary efforts to encourage the parties to move towards negotiation.

Conflict is a serious disagreement and dispute about something important, when opposing forces cannot reach an agreement.

Conflict analysis is structured process of analysis of the profile, causes, actors, and dynamics of conflict.

Conflict cycle is a set of phases which conflict goes through.

Conflict party is a state, group of states, international organizations, and other actors of international relations, which are actively engaged in a conflict, have a certain interest in the conflict's outcomes and takes actions to achieve their goals in relation to a conflict.

Conflict prevention is action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalation and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur.

Conflict situation is coincidence of circumstances in which contradictions escalate into a conflict.

Delimitation is defining the general direction of the state border between neighbouring states through negotiation.

Demarcation is the marking of the state's border with special border signs on the ground.

Ethnic conflict is a conflict between two or more ethnic groups (an ethnic group is a group of people who identify themselves with each other based on such common features as language, history, culture, religion, etc.).

Genocide is actions aimed at the destruction (full or partial) of any national, ethnic, racial, religious group) of the local population.

Humanitarian catastrophe is state of society characterized by the threat of its destruction as a result of migrations, hunger, epidemics, and violence against civilians.

Humanitarian intervention refers to use of military force by one state, group of states, or international organization against another state with the aim to end human rights violations, prevent a humanitarian catastrophe or genocide.

International armed conflict is struggle between armed forces of at least two states.

International conflict is a clash of interests of two or more actors of international relations (states, groups of states, international organizations), which pursue mutually incompatible goals.

International humanitarian law is a part of international law that regulates the conduction of war.

Irredentism is a term that denotes the policy of a state, party or political movement to unite people, a nation, and an ethnic group within one state; it is manifested in ethnic mobilization to reunite the territory where the irredent lives (population that compactly lives in the states bordering with their historical homeland).

Mediation involves the intervention of a third party, who may be more effective in getting the conflict parties to re-examine their positions, interests, and needs.

Negotiation is discussion, mutual communication aimed at reaching a joint solution.

Non-international armed conflict is armed confrontations occurring between regular armed forces of a state and identifiable armed groups, or between two or more armed groups on the territory of one state without state's armed forces involvement.

Object of the conflict is certain material or intangible values (disputed territory, resources, power, ideological influence, etc.) which conflict's parties want to obtain.

Occupation is takings under control by the armed forces of one state the territory or a part of the territory of another state.

Operational conflict-prevention measures are measures to address immediate crises and employing forceful methods such as deploying peacekeepers to a region.

Peace support operations are civil and military organizations deployed to restore traditional peacekeeping and the more forceful, military actions required to establish peaceful conditions.

Proximate causes of conflict (also called immediate causes) are more recent causes that are changed more quickly and can lead to the conflict escalation.

Religious conflict is a conflict caused by religious differences between countries with different religions or with different trends within one religion often within one country.

Structural causes of conflict (also called root causes or underlying causes) are long-term or systemic causes of conflict that have already built into "the norms" of a society.

Structural conflict-prevention measures comprise strategies aim to meeting basic human needs, such as economic, social, cultural, or developmental ones.

Symmetric conflicts are conflicts that occur between relatively similar parties.

Territorial conflict is related to desire of one state to control the borders, airspace, or territorial waters of another state.

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Навчальне видання

Курбатова Тетяна Олександрівна

МІЖНАРОДНІ КОНФЛІКТИ

Навчальний посібник
(Англійською мовою)

Комп'ютерне верстання Т. О. Курбатової

Стиль та орфографія автора збережені.

Формат 60×84/16. Ум. друк. арк. 6,74. Обл.-вид. арк. 7,01.

Видавець і виготовлювач
Сумський державний університет,
вул. Римського-Корсакова, 2, м. Суми, 40007
Свідоцтво суб'єкта видавничої справи ДК № 3062 від 17.12.2007.