Alternatives to Military Intervention under R2P

September 21, 2018
Charles Thackrah Building
University of Leeds

Conference Programme
# Alternatives to Military Intervention under R2P

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<th>Registration</th>
<th>8:40 - 9:00 (Charles Thackrah, Room 1.01)</th>
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<td><strong>INTRODUCTORY SESSION</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Welcome</strong></td>
<td>Dr Cristina G. Stefan, Co-Director of the European Centre for R2P, University of Leeds, and Co-Convener of the BISA IR2PWG</td>
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<td><strong>Keynote Speech</strong></td>
<td>Joanne Neenan, Foreign and Commonwealth Office</td>
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<td><strong>Coffee Break</strong></td>
<td>10:15 - 10:45 (Charles Thackrah, Room 1.01)</td>
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<td><strong>ROUNDTABLE</strong></td>
<td>10:45 - 12:00 (Charles Thackrah, Room 1.02)</td>
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<td><strong>Alternatives to War: From Sanctions to Nonviolence</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Professor Chris Finlay</strong> (University of Durham)</td>
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<td><strong>Dr Stephen McLoughlin</strong> (Liverpool Hope University)</td>
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<td><strong>Dr Cristina Stefan</strong> (University of Leeds)</td>
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<td><strong>Professor James Pattison</strong> (University of Manchester)</td>
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<td><strong>Buffet Lunch</strong></td>
<td>12:00 - 13:00 (Charles Thackrah, Room 1.01)</td>
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## SESSION ONE

13:00-14:30

**Panel 1**
Room 1.03

**Chair: Dr Jess Gifkins** (University of Manchester)

- **Tom Buitelaar** (European University Institute) - UN Peacekeepers and the ICC in Congo: How International Interveners Weight Conflicting Obligations
- **Samuel Jarvis** (University of Leeds) - Competing Accountabilities in R2P Implementation: Rethinking the Interaction Between Morality, Politics and Law
- **Aslihan Turan Zara** (Istanbul Okan University) – The Codification of R2P and the role of the ICC in the development of non-military alternatives for preventing mass atrocity crimes

**Panel 2**
Room 1.02

**Chair: Dr Cristina Stefan** (University of Leeds)

- **Outi Donovan** (University of Leeds) - Failed Ideas and Contested Norms: Responsibility to Rebuild
- **Jason Ralph and Eglantine Staunton** (University of Leeds) – The European Union and the Responsibility to Protect in Myanmar: From Norm Internalization to the Practice of Protection
- **Pinar Gözen Ercan** (Hacettepe University) - Debating the Responsibility to Protect in the United Nations General Assembly: an assessment of the impact of the emphasis placed on prevention
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Panel 3
Room 1.04
Chair: Prof. James Pattison (University of Manchester)

Niamkoi Lam (Jawaharlal Nehru University) - Responsibility to Protect and Women in Armed Conflict
Valentina Bonello (University of Texas at Austin) - Is R2P hypocritical? Russia’s intervention in Ukraine vs NATO’s intervention in Kosovo
Lucy Scott (University of Bradford) - "Bring back the white man": Neo-colonialism in Sierra Leone

Coffee Break 14:30 - 15:00 (Charles Thackrah, Room 1.01)

SESSION TWO
15:00-16:30

Panel 4
Room 1.02
Chair: Dr Pinar G. Ercan (Hacettepe University)

Noele Crossley (University of Oxford) - The Normative Value of Consistency: Revisiting the Debate on Selective Humanitarianism
Eamon Aloyo (Leiden University) - Cognitive Biases and Mass Atrocity Prevention
Alex Leveringhaus (University of Surrey) - Defending rights and protecting individuals: the normative foundations of military intervention
Joanna Lekea (Hellenic Air Force Academy) and George Lekeas (City, University of London) - Balancing between ethics, prevention, non-intervention and the law: Syria as a war game scenario for teaching ethics of intervention and the responsibility to protect

Panel 5
Room 1.03
Chair: Dr Johnny Gilmore (University of Manchester)

Adrian Gallagher & Euan Raffle (University of Leeds) - What should be done? Analysing Coercive and Non-Coercive Options to fulfil the Responsibility to Protect drug users in the Philippines
Chloë Gilgan (University of York) - Localising the Responsibility to Protect: The UK and Syrian Refugees
Stacey Henderson (University of Adelaide) - Overt assistance to opposition groups: R2P pushing the boundaries of non-intervention
Rishika Chauhan (Jawaharlal Nehru University) - Sanctions and Responsibility to Protect: The Emerging Powers Perspective

Coffee Break 16:30 - 17:00 (Charles Thackrah, Room 1.01)
SESSION THREE
17:00-18:15

Panel 6
Room 1.02
Chair: Dr Eglantine Staunton (University of Leeds)

Ben Willis (University of Leeds) - Progress or Paralysis? North Korean Human Rights at and Beyond the UN Security Council
Heena Makhija (Jawaharlal Nehru University) - India’s Stand on the Responsibility to Protect: The UN Security Council and the Libya Crisis
Tor Dahl-Eriksen (UiT) - R2P and the UN Security Council – an unreliable alliance
Jess Gifkins (University of Manchester), Jason Ralph & Sam Jarvis (University of Leeds) - ‘Brexit and Lost Influence? Assessing the Impacts of the Decision to Leave the EU on the UK’s Reputation within the UN Security Council’

Panel 7
Room 1.03
Chair: Dr Adrian Gallagher (University of Leeds)

Margaret Gamberton (University of York) - Responsibility to Protect or Right to Intervene? Analyzing the Political Narratives of Operation Licorne in Cote d’Ivoire
Zain Maulana (University of Leeds) - Norm Implementation and Contestation: The Case of R2P in Southeast Asia
Josie Hornung (University of Queensland) - The Preventive Use of Force for Atrocity Prevention: Insights from History
Obinna Franklin Ifediora (University of Queensland) - The Role of Regional Strategy: Explaining Success and Failure of African Union Mediation in Atrocity Crimes Settings

CONCLUDING REMARKS
18:15-18:25 (Charles Thackrah Room 1.02)

Dinner
19:00-21:00
Location: Jamie’s Italian, 35 Park Row, Leeds LS1 5JL (Note: Participants who join us for dinner will have to cover the costs of their own consumption).
Dr Cristina G. Stefan

Professor James Pattison
James Pattison is a Professor of Politics at the University of Manchester, and one of the three Co-Conveners of the BISA WG on Intervention and R2P organising this conference. His research focuses on ethical issues in international politics, with research expertise on humanitarian intervention and the R2P, Just War Theory, private military and security companies, and the alternatives to war. This conference’s roundtable discussed his most recent book ‘The Alternatives to War: From Sanctions to Nonviolence’, published by Oxford University Press in 2018.

Dr Jess Gifkins
Dr Jess Gifkins is Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Manchester, and a Co-Convenor of the BISA WG on Intervention and R2P. Her research focuses on the practice and process of decision-making within the United Nations system, particularly in relation to R2P. Her article in EJIR – co-authored with Professor Jason Ralph - was awarded ‘Best Article for 2017’ by the European International Studies Association. Her research has focused on the cases of Darfur, Libya and Syria. Dr Gifkins did her PhD in the Asia-Pacific Centre for the R2P, where she retains an ongoing honorary position, and recently published a Policy Brief on ‘UN Security Council Resolutions and the Responsibility to Protect’.

KEYNOTE SPEAKER
Joanne Neenan
Joanne Neenan is a diplomat at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Research Fellow at the Centre for Woman, Peace and Security. Her research examines the intersection of gender and stigma associated with conflict-related sexual violence. She began her research as a Visiting Fellow at the Human Rights Program, Harvard University. Joanne is also an international lawyer and diplomat. Formerly, she was head of the Peacekeeping, Human Rights and Conflict Prevention team at the UK Mission to the United Nations. Her legal portfolios at the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office included: The Middle East, Africa, cyber law, human rights PSVI, UNPK and sanctions.

Professor Jason Ralph
Jason Ralph is Professor of International Relations, Head of the School of Politics and International Studies, and Co-Director of the European Centre for the Responsibility to Protect at the University of Leeds. He is also Honorary Professor of International Relations at the University of Queensland. His most recent works include: “What Should be Done? Pragmatic Constructivist Ethics and the Responsibility to Protect” in International Organization 2018, and “The purpose of UN Security Council Practice. Contesting Competence Claims in the Normative context created by the Responsibility to Protect” (with Jess Gifkins), which was awarded best article to be published by the European Journal of International Relations in 2017.
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**Professor Chris Finlay**
Chris Finlay is a Professor in Political Theory at the University of Durham. His research interests include enlightenment political thought, ethics of violence and armed conflict, Just War Theory, Political Violence, Republican political thought and resistance and revolution in political thought. Professor Finlay's research has been published widely, including *Review of International Studies, Ethics & International Affairs, International Affairs and International Theory.*

**Dr Stephen McLoughlin**
Dr Stephen McLoughlin is a Lecturer in International Relations, and Convener of the MA Peace Studies Program at Liverpool Hope University. His research interests include: mass atrocity prevention, the role of the UN in conceptualising and carrying out prevention, the causes of genocide and mass atrocities, and the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). He is also the deputy director of the Desmond Tutu Centre for War and Peace Studies.

**Dr Adrian Gallagher**
Dr Adrian Gallagher is an Associate Professor in International Relations and Research Director of the European Centre for the R2P (ECR2P) at the University of Leeds. Dr Gallagher’s research interests lie broadly in International Relations Theory (principally the English School), Genocide and Mass Violence, the Responsibility to Protect and Research Methods. His research on the R2P has appeared in a range of journals, including *International Theory, International Politics, International Affairs, and Global Responsibility to Protect.*

**Dr. Pınar Gözen Ercan**
Dr. Pınar Gözen Ercan is an Associate Professor at the Department of International Relations of Hacettepe University, Turkey. Her research interests include humanitarian intervention, the Responsibility to Protect, human rights, international law and the law of the sea, theories of International Relations, and Greek-Turkish relations. Besides journal articles and book chapters, she authored the books entitled Debating the Future of the ‘Responsibility to Protect’: The Evolution of a Moral Norm (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), and The Territorial Sea Issue in Greek-Turkish Relations (VDM Verlag, 2009), and edited Turkish Foreign Policy: International Relations, Legality and Global Reach (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

**Dr Eamon Aloyo**
Dr Eamon Aloyo is Lecturer in international relations at Leiden University. He received his PhD in political science from the University of Colorado at Boulder in 2007, which was awarded the Thomas Jefferson Award. His research has been published in a range of journal articles, including *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice, Ethics & International Affairs, Global Constitutionalism, Global Responsibility to Protect, Global Society, and International Theory.* His work has received support from The Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), George Washington University, and elsewhere. Dr Aloyo affiliated with the European Center for the Responsibility to Protect.

**Dr Alex Leveringhaus**
Dr Alex Leveringhaus is a Lecturer in Political Theory at the University of Surrey, UK, where he is currently finishing a three-year Leverhulme ECF on the ethics of intervention. Before coming to Surrey, Alex worked in MANCEPT at the University of Manchester where he began the ECF in 2016. From 2012-15, Alex was a post-doctoral research fellow in DPIR at the University of Oxford, where he also held a James Martin Fellowship. His monograph, Ethics and Autonomous Weapons, was published by Palgrave in 2016. He holds an MSc in Political Theory and a PhD in Government, both from LSE.

**Dr Noele Crossley**
Dr Noele Crossley joins the Department of International Development at the University of Oxford as Departmental Lecturer in Global Governance this September. Her research interests revolve around international security, humanitarianism, and the politics of intervention. She received her PhD from the International Relations Department at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). She has taught courses in international relations and political science at LSE, Nazarbayev University, and University College London. She is the author of Evaluating the Responsibility to Protect: Mass Atrocity Prevention as a Consolidating Norm in International Society (Routledge, 2016).

**Dr Eglantine Staunton**
Dr Eglantine Staunton is a Research Fellow at the School of Politics and International Studies and a member of the European Centre for the Responsibility to Protect (ECR2P) at the University of Leeds. Dr Staunton is also an Honorary Research Fellow at the Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect at the University of Queensland. Her research interests include human protection, R2P, France’s foreign policy, EU Foreign policy, the United Nation’s Security Council, and norm diffusion. Her most recent article ‘France and the Responsibility to Protect: A Tale of Two Norms’ was published in *International politics* (2018).
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Dr Outi Donovan
Dr Outi Donovan is a Senior Research Fellow at the School of Politics and International Studies and a member of the European Centre for the Responsibility to Protect at the University of Leeds. My research interests are in the responsibility to protect and rebuild, ethnic conflicts and identity politics. My current research project, funded by the ESRC, examines the rebuilding element of the responsibility to protect principle from both empirical and ethical perspectives.

Dr Aslıhan Turan Zara
Dr Aslıhan Turan Zara is graduated from the International Relations Department at Galatasaray University. She wrote her PhD thesis at Galatasaray University on ‘The concept of humanitarian intervention according to English school: the correlation between state sovereignty and anarchical society’ which is in publication process by ‘Harmattan press. She is currently teaching on democratization, ‘Research methods in international relations’, ‘Turkey and the European Union’ and ‘Dynamics of world politics’ at Okan University. She has publications (articles, book chapters) on IR theories and EU foreign policy.

Tor Dahl-Eriksen
Tor Dahl-Eriksen is senior lecturer in political science at UiT the Arctic University of Norway (Tromsø). He develops study-programs and courses within the discipline of international relations, in addition to teaching and supervision of students. R2P is the present research focus, but research interests also include human rights and international ethics and justice more broadly.

Dr Samuel Jarvis
Dr Samuel Jarvis is a Research Fellow at the University of Leeds, working as part of a British Academy funded project that explores “The UK role and reputation as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council after the decision to leave the European Union”. He gained his PhD from the University of Sheffield, which was funded by an ESRC White Rose Scholarship. He also holds an MA and BA in International Relations, respectively from the University of Leeds and King’s College London. His research interests span the topics of Responsibility to Protect (R2P), United Nations Security Council, International Relations Theory and Human Rights.

Dr Stacey Henderson
Dr Stacey Henderson is a Lecturer at Adelaide Law School, the University of Adelaide. Her PhD research investigated the increasing use of measures less than force by the international community in order to satisfy its secondary duty under R2P to respond to atrocity crimes where a State is unable or unwilling to effectively respond itself. Stacey’s research interests include international humanitarian law, international criminal law and public international law generally. She is particularly interested in the protective capacity of law.

Chloë M Gilgan
Chloë M Gilgan is a PhD candidate in Law at the University of York Law School and the Centre for Applied Human Rights with funding by the Economic and Social Research Council. Chloë is a doctoral researcher for the European Centre for the Responsibility to Protect (ECR2P) and has published on the Responsibility to Protect. Her dissertation examines the varied understandings over implementation of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) norm across different UK government agencies. Chloë’s research and expertise lies in US constitutional law and public international law, particularly in the areas of international human rights, international refugee law, international humanitarian law and international criminal law.

Lucy Scott
Lucy Scott is currently a Doctoral Candidate at the University of Bradford, exploring the long-term legacy of the ‘successful’ British military intervention in Sierra Leone. This research examines the domestic outcomes and their implications for military intervention globally. Lucy applies a R2P lens, as although pre-dating the World Summit endorsement, this intervention was arguably motivated by the panoply of ethical ideals underpinning R2P. Lucy has just finished a term serving as the Grants and Elections Officer on the BISA PGN Executive Committee.

Ben Willis
Ben is a doctoral researcher within the School of Politics and International Studies at the University of Leeds, where he is also affiliated with the European Centre for the Responsibility to Protect. His doctoral work draws on a combination of critical norms research and philosophical pragmatism in addressing the politics and ethics of R2P with regard to North Korean crimes against humanity. Ben is also a research associate for Protection Approaches, a UK-based charity that works to promote the mainstreaming of atrocity prevention into UK government policy.
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Zain Maulana
Zain is a PhD student at the School of Politics and International Studies University of Leeds and a member of the European Centre of Responsibility to Protect at the University of Leeds. His research focuses on the R2P and study of norm in the context of ASEAN.

Tom Buitelaar
Tom Buitelaar is a PhD Student the Social and Political Sciences Department of the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. His project, which is supervised by Professor Jennifer Welsh, focuses on cooperation between international criminal courts and tribunals and peacekeepers. Before, he was a Researcher at The Hague Institute for Global Justice, where he specialized in Conflict Prevention and Global Governance. Tom’s work has been published in Human Rights Review, St. Antony's International Review, as well as several edited volumes with Oxford University Press.

Valentina Bonello
Valentina Bonello received her MA in Global Policy Studies from the University of Texas at Austin in 2018, specialising in international security and energy geopolitics. She earned her BA in foreign languages applied to international relations from the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, in Milan, and speaks fluent Italian, English, Russian, French, and Spanish. Her research focuses on Russia’s energy sector, on the EU’s energy security and relations with Russia, and on Russia’s foreign relations. Her latest work examines the economic, security and safety aspects of Belgium’s attempt to recycle plutonium into nuclear fuel.

Euan Raffle
Euan Raffle is a PhD Student at the School of Politics and International Studies at the University of Leeds. His research attempts to address how and why elites in certain Southeast Asian countries have sustained the ‘war on drugs’ to legitimize violence, despite international norms moving away from such approaches. In addition, the thesis will use critical methods to explore how drug policy reform can be read as a form of emancipatory politics which challenges security agendas that result in violence.

Rishika Chauhan
Rishika is a PhD candidate at the Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She is also a Visiting Scholar at the Centre for India Studies in China West Normal University. She has held teaching and research positions at the University of Delhi and the Observer Research Foundation in New Delhi, and worked as a consultant for Boston University. Rishika’s research interests include R2P, UN sanctions and Indian and Chinese foreign policy. Her articles have appeared in Foreign Policy, The National Interest, and the Routledge Handbook of Asia in World Politics.

Josie Hornung
Josie is a PhD student working on mass atrocity prevention. Her research looks at the decision-making process that has historically led to action or inaction in the face of imminent mass atrocities. Her master’s thesis analysed the 2014 Yazidi Crisis as an instance of second pillar protection under R2P. She is currently completing my PhD at the University of Queensland. Her research project is titled ‘The Pre-Empptive Use of Force for Atrocity Prevention’ and is supervised by Professor Alex Bellamy and Professor Chris-Reus-Smit. She is currently in the UK as a visiting PhD student at the University of Oxford (Michaelmas term).

Margaret Gamberton
Margaret’s academic background includes a BA in Linguistics and a BA in Psychology from the University of California, Santa Cruz, and a Master of Arts in Education from Stanford University. She worked for the US Department of Defense in a joint US-UK facility before taking early retirement in order to pursue her research interests. In 2013 she earned a Master of Science in Strategic Intelligence, which included a thesis on The Fall and Rise of Cote d’Ivoire: A Case Study in State Failure and Renewal. She is currently in her second year as PhD student in the Politics Department at the University of York. Her doctoral research is a comparative analysis of the political narratives of the French and United Nations international interventions in Cote d’Ivoire.

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