

Contemporary Conflict & International Conflict Management

Programme

Summer School Utrecht University

18 July–29 July 2011

All sessions take place at **Drift 23, Room 212**

INTRODUCTION

This Summer School course on 'Contemporary Conflict and International Conflict Management' aims to enhance your understanding of violent conflict and conflict management. We shall among others use the recent cases of Gaza, the DRC, and Sri Lanka as illustrative examples, but also refer to other conflicts around the world. You will learn to map and analyse contemporary conflict, and be introduced to theories that attempt to explain armed conflict. All this serves to sharpen your conceptual and analytical capacities and to familiarise yourself with a number of pertinent issues and tools in conflict analysis and policy planning.

Thematically, we discuss the politics of identity formation. There are also special sections on conflict studies and human rights, as well as on religion and conflict, as religion is increasingly considered to be an important conflict factor. We discuss how particular discourses elevate certain issues into a security problem by explaining the notion of securitisation and particular 'frames' on violence. Throughout the lectures we introduce policy approaches and instruments to deal with conflict and/or attain peace. Attention is also paid to post-conflict themes, such as the effects of political and military power-sharing between former belligerents and attempts to reach societal reconciliation and justice in the wake of civil war

On the last day we do a scenario exercise that teaches you to assess the possible future scenarios of the security situation in Sri Lanka where a 25-year war was ended in 2009 by the defeat of the Tamil Tigers: whether a peace process will evolve or whether there will be a resurgence of violence in future. It also gives you a methodology to think creatively in terms of conflict analysis and policy.

All participants receive a reader with the course literature at the beginning of the course. It contains a number of theoretical articles as well as a section with reading on the DRC and Sri Lanka cases. The lecturers giving this Summer Course are attached to the Centre for Conflict Studies of Utrecht University.

MONDAY 18 JULY: DEFINING CONFLICT AND MAJOR INTERVENTION APPROACHES

Lecturer: Dr. Irna van der Molen

Programme:

In this session, we will briefly discuss the origins, foundations and development of conflict analysis and conflict resolution. This lecture aims, first of all, at an understanding of the different concepts, the theoretical notions behind it, but also links these, in a first overview, to contemporary approaches in conflict resolution. In the second half of today, we provide a first overview of conflict resolution as well as different aspects of humanitarian and military intervention, such as the legal grounds for humanitarian intervention, recent developments, and major challenges in the practice of humanitarian intervention. Are humanitarian interventions indeed rooted in imperialism of former colonizing states, now liberal democracies? Or do we indeed do too little too late? These themes will be taken up and addressed in more depth in the second half of the Summer School.

10.00 – 12.30

- Main concepts and their use
- Conflict resolution approaches within states
- Humanitarian and military intervention

12.30 – 13.30 Lunch

13.30 – 16.00

- Case study Libya
- Group work

Readings:

1. Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse, Hugh Miall, 2005. *Contemporary conflict resolution: the prevention, management and transformation of deadly conflicts*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK. Ch. 2: origins, foundations, and development of the field; p. 32-54
2. Smith, D. 2004. 'Trends and causes of armed conflict'. In: Austin, A.; Fischer, M. and N. Ropers (eds). 2004. *Transforming Ethnopolitical Conflict; the Berghof Handbook*. Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict management. http://www.berghof-handbook.net/documents/publications/smith_handbook.pdf
3. Wallensteen, P. 2002. *Understanding Conflict Resolution; War, Peace and the Global System*. Sage Publications London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi. Chapter 6: conflict resolution in civil wars, pp. 131 – 162
4. Chester, A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela All (eds.) 2007 *Leashing the dogs of war; conflict management in a divided world*, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington DC, USA.: Ch.16 Yet again: humanitarian intervention and the challenge of never again. pp. 277-290

TUESDAY 19 JULY: EXPLAINING CONTEMPORARY CONFLICT

Lecturer: Professor Georg Frerks

Programme:

This introductory session will pay attention to the debate on 'new wars' and whether current wars are different from old ones. In a working session participants are also asked to critically reflect on the representation of conflict in a so-called conflict curve. The explanation of conflict is a contested issue and there is no academic consensus on its interpretation. In the afternoon session some major explanatory approaches will be introduced and participants will be asked to discuss their pros and cons.

10.00 – 12.30 Old and new wars and the conflict curve

12.30 – 13.30 Lunch

12.30 – 16.00 Explanatory approaches to conflict

Readings:

- Richards, P. (2005) *New War: An Ethnographic Approach*. In P. Richards, ed., *No Peace, No War*, pp. 1-21. Oxford: James Currey Publishers.
- Baumann, Gerd, 1999, "Ethnicity: Blood or Wine? The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic and Religious Identities, London/New York: Routledge, pp. 57-68.
- Brown, M.E. (2001) *Ethnic and International Conflicts: Causes and Implications*. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall, eds., *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, pp. 209-226. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.

WEDNESDAY 20 JULY: CONFLICT MAPPING THE CONGO

Lecturer: Judith Verweijen MA

Programme:

In this session, students will be familiarized with the concept of conflict mapping, and allowed to discover its analytical value. Using the example of the Second War in the DR Congo (1998-2003), it is explained how conflict dynamics often play out at various interlocking levels of analysis (local, national, regional, international). The horizontal stratification of conflict emerging from this analysis allows for the subsequent exploration of transversal thematic issues (natural resources, ethnic identities, state weakness), thus showing how the different layers of conflict are interlinked.

- 10.00-11.00 Introduction to Conflict Mapping & the Second Congo War
- 11.00-12.30 First Mapping Session: Levels of Analysis
- 12.30-13.30 Lunch
- 13.30-14.30 Transversal thematic issues
- 14.30-16.00 Second Mapping Session: Drawing Transversal Thematic Maps

Readings:

- International Crisis Group: Scramble for the Congo: Anatomy of an Ugly War, part I, III & IV B
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/central-africa/dr-congo/Scramble%20for%20the%20Congo%20Anatomy%20of%20an%20Ugly%20War.pdf>
- International Crisis Group: The Kivus. The Forgotten Crucible of the Congo Conflict
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/central-africa/dr-congo/The%20Kivus%20The%20Forgotten%20Crucible%20of%20the%20Congo%20Conflict.ashx>

THURSDAY 21 JULY: ANALYZING PEACEBUILDING STRATEGIES– DR CONGO

Lecturer: Judith Verweijen MA

Programme:

In December 2002, the main players of the Second Congo War signed a final peace agreement, leading to a transitional period that ended with the inauguration of an elected president in December 2006. However, throughout and after the 'transition', both 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' violence continued. In this session, we will analyze the causes of the ongoing violence in the DRC and what this tell us about the relative effectiveness of the peace-building strategies used-focusing on political and military power-sharing, "elections fetish", and the strategies of the UN mission in the DRC (MONUC). Finally, we will discuss the reasons why external interventions may have a limited effect on conflict dynamics, locating these both at the level of the country of intervention and at the level of the interveners themselves.

- 10.00-12.30 A 'Warlords' Peace': the effects of political and military power-sharing
- 12.30-13.30 Lunch
- 13.30-15.00 The incongruence between levels and degrees of conflict dynamics and levels and degrees of intervention
- 15.00-16.00 'Extraversion', the inconsistencies of conditionality & the limits of social engineering

Readings:

- Andreas Mehler (2009), 'Peace and Powersharing in Africa: a not so obvious relationship' *African Affairs*, 108/432, pp. 453–473
<http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/108/432/453.full.pdf+html>
- Meike de Goede (2007), 'The price for peace in the Congo: the incorporation of the political-economy of war in the state and governance system'. http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/intrel/cpcs/cpcs_papers/
- Séverine Autesserre(2007), D.R.Congo. Explaining Peace Building Failures: 2003-2006, *Review of African Political Economy*, 113 (34), pp. 423-442
<http://www.columbia.edu/~sa435/SevRoape.pdf>
- Judith Verweijen (2011): Why are there still so many armed groups in the DRC?

FRIDAY 22 JULY: FRAMING RECURRENT CONFLICT AND CRITICAL CONFLICT STUDIES

Lecturer: Theo Hollander

Fragile statehood and armed conflict have a large impact on gender relations and the reconstruction of masculinities and femininities. While much of the literature on gender and conflict focuses on negative consequences that conflict has on women, it is also acknowledges that armed conflict can have empowering effects for women vis-à-vis men. While the body of academic literature on conflict and masculinities is growing, the impact that conflict has on men is largely overlooked by international aid organizations. In this lecture we will take a critical look on the impact of state fragility and armed conflict on gender relations and especially on the reconstruction of masculinities.

Programme:

10.00-12.30

- Lecture on the reconstruction of gender roles, norms and identities in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo.
- Debate; Pursuing gender equality; a neo-colonial exercise?

12.30-13.30 Lunch

13.30-16.00 Workshop; designing policy to promote gender equality

Readings:

Dolan, Chris (2003) 'Collapsing Masculinities and Weak States - a case study of northern Uganda' in *Masculinities Matter, Men Gender and Development*, by Frances Cleaver London, Zed Books

Eriksson Baaz, Maria, and Maria Stern. 2009. "Why Do Soldiers Rape? Masculinities, Violence and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in Congo." *International Studies Quarterly* (2009) 53, 495–518

World Bank (2006) 'Gender as smart economics'
(<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGENDER/Resources/GAPNov2.pdf>)

MONDAY 25 JULY: THE RECONSTRUCTION OF GENDER IN THE CONTEXT OF FRAGILE STATES AND ARMED CONFLICT

Lecturer: Dr. Berma Klein Goldewijk

Programme:

This lecture will study the tension between policy approaches of recurrent intrastate conflict and the academic debate on the 'decline' of civil war. Key challenges, concepts and framings, arguments and agendas, instruments and mechanisms will be studied in an interdisciplinary perspective.

10.00-12.30 Recurrent Conflict and the 'Decline' of Civil War: Main Challenges

12.30-13.30 Lunch

13.30-16.00 Framing Conflict: Contemporary Approaches in Conflict Studies

Readings (for homework):

- Kalyvas, Stathis N. (2003) 'The Ontology of "Political Violence": Action and Identity in Civil Wars,' *Perspectives on Politics* 1 (3): 475-494
- Newman, Edward (2009) 'Conflict Research and the "Decline" of Civil War,' *Civil Wars* 11 (3) (September): 255-278.

TUESDAY 26 JULY: RESURGENCE OF RELIGION AND THE EXTENT, SEVERITY, AND DURATION OF CONFLICT AND CIVIL WAR

Lecturer: Dr. Berma Klein Goldewijk

The lecture focuses on religion as factor in the dynamics of violent conflict and civil war, and locates the nexus religion-conflict as integral part of the assumed global resurgence of religion in international relations and political diplomacy. Considerable attention will be given to shifting paradigms and changing frameworks. In regard of religion's complex role in the increased intractability of violent conflicts as well as in their resolution and termination, the main issue to be analysed regards the impacts of religion and religious actors on the practices, types, scale, severity and duration of violent conflict;

Programme:

10.00-12.30 Resurgence of Religion in International Relations

12.30-13.30 Lunch

13.30-16.00 How Religion and Religious Actors Impact on the Extent, Severity, and Duration of Conflict and Civil War

Readings:

- Fox, Jonathan (2007) 'The Future of Religion and Domestic Conflict', 127-150, in: Berma Klein Goldewijk (ed.) *Religion, International Relations and Development Cooperation*, Wageningen: Wageningen Academic Publishers.
- Svensson, Isak (2007) 'Fighting with Faith: Religion and Conflict Resolution in Civil Wars', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51 (6): 930-949.

WEDNESDAY 27 JULY: CONFLICT AND INTERNATIONAL LAW: PRACTICES OF HUMAN RIGHTS, HUMANITARIAN LAW AND CRIMINAL LAW – Gaza Conflict

Lecturer: Dr. Berma Klein Goldewijk

Programme:

The relationship between violent conflict and various branches of international law is intricate. Practitioners in both fields often work in the same conflict areas, but the practices of conflict resolution and realising human rights are not necessarily complementary. Efforts to advance human rights may contrast with attempts towards conflict resolution and negotiated peace settlements. Proponents of the one area charge against the other area that their efforts are being undermined. During conflict and in post-conflict situations, for instance, human rights field workers may push towards arresting indicted war criminals, whereas policy makers and diplomats would consider this as further destabilising a fragile situation. The lecture studies various dilemmas involved in the nexus conflict-international law and brings up issues that practitioners, policymakers and diplomats face in responding to conflict. The controversial 2009 Goldstone Report of the United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict, formally presented to the Human Rights Council, will be discussed as an exemplar of the complex challenges involved.

10.00-12.30 Armed Conflict, Non-state Actors and International Law

12.30-13.30 Lunch

13.30-16.30 The Goldstone Report: The United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict

Readings:

- Clapham, Andrew (2005) 'Human Rights Obligations of Non-state Actors in Conflict Situations,' *International Review of the Red Cross* 88 (863) (September): 491-523.
- Lubell, Noam (2005) 'Challenges in Applying Human Rights Law to Armed Conflict,' *International Review of the Red Cross* 87 (860) (December): 737-754.

THURSDAY 28 JULY: RECONCILIATION IN THE WAKE OF CIVIL WAR

Lecturer: Lauren Gould MA

Programme:

Since the end of the Second World War, wars have generally been fought mainly within states rather than between states. Such internal wars have characteristically been fought with the active and widespread involvement of the civilian population. And although all conflicts engender a sharp divide between antagonistic identities, ever since the end of the Cold War armed conflicts have increasingly been framed by conflict elites with reference primarily to cultural identity (e.g. ethnicity and or religion) rather than to political-economical ideology. It is this nature of current day civil wars that poses profound challenges to intergroup social and political relations after the ending of civil violence. For how do erstwhile antagonistic groups go about cohabiting and coexisting within the same national territorial unit after the killing has stopped? This requires parties to address the injustices that have taken place, while also moving towards a relationship that they believe to be minimally acceptable. The recent proliferation of transitional justice and reconciliation instruments attest to the common belief that a crucial nexus between reconciliation and sustainable peace exists. Unfortunately, the booming growth of this reconciliation industry has outpaced a careful development of empirically based theory and analysis that moves beyond the moral, philosophical, and normative notions that guided its founding thinkers to contribute to explanations as to how and why reconciliation between antagonistic identity groups actually happens in specific cases.

The goal of today's program is to help students to think critically about contemporary theories and practices of reconciliation. To this end, four fundamental questions are asked:

- (1) What is reconciliation?
- (2) Why does it matter?
- (3) How does reconciliation happen?
- (4) How can we come to know this, from an investigative and methodological point of view?

Readings:

- Bloomfield, David. 2006. 'On Good Terms: Clarifying Reconciliation', Berghof Report 14: 1-35
- Shaw, Rosalind. 2005. 'Rethinking Truth and Reconciliation Commissions: Lessons from Sierra Leone', USIP Special Report 130: 1-12.

FRIDAY 29 JULY: SCENARIO BUILDING EXERCISE SRI LANKA

Lecturer: prof. Georg Frerks

Programme:

10.00 – 15.00 Scenario building exercise

15.00 Presentation of scenarios

16.00 Closure and distribution of certificates

Assignment Scenarios for Sri Lanka 2011-2021

- Identify driving forces
- Cluster driving forces
- Select the two most relevant clusters according to level of impact and uncertainty
- Name the four different scenarios
- Design the scenarios
 1. Write major story line
 2. Identify major processes and events
 3. Construct a time-line
 4. Add details ('thickening the plot')
 5. Add illustrations (photo's and newspaper cuttings)

Readings:

- Frerks, G. (2011) Notes on Sri Lankan Politics and the War between the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), not published.
- Frerks, Georg and Bart Klem (2005) 'Sri Lankan Discourses on Conflict and Peace' in Georg Frerks and Bart Klem (eds.) *Dealing with Diversity: Sri Lankan Discourses on Conflict and Peace*. 1-46. The Hague: Clingendael Institute.
- UN (2011) Report of the Secretary General's Panel of Experts on Accountability in Sri Lanka, 30 March 2011, pages i till ix (executive summary).

