

Symposium Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation

The Falstad Centre 19th – 23rd April 2010

SCHEDULE

Sunday 18th April

Arrival Falstad

2000 Dinner / supper

Monday 19th April

08.30 Breakfast

09.45 -10.00 **Welcome and Introduction – John Buckley** University of Wolverhampton and **Marianne Neerland Soleim**, Falstad Memorial and Human Rights Centre

10.00 -11.00 **Martin Dangerfield**, University of Wolverhampton
Soft power and peace-building: The role and limitations of the European Union and other regional cooperation initiatives

11.00 -11.20 Break

11.20 -12.20 **Steve Gumaer**, Partners Relief and Development (Norway)
Conflict Resolution in Burma

12.30 -13.30 Lunch

13.30 -14.30 **Katy Hayward**, Queen's University Belfast
The Role of Political Discourse in Conflict Resolution

14.30 -15.30 **James McAuley**, University of Huddersfield
Post-conflict transitions in Northern Ireland: loyalist perspectives of peace

15.30 -16.00 Coffee Break

16.00 -17.30 Guided tour of the Falstad Museum and the forest

19.00 Dinner

Tuesday 20th April

07.30-08.15 Breakfast

Excursion to Trondheim

09.15 Arrival Air Force Academy

09.30-09.45 Dean **Gjert Lage Dyndal** Norwegian Air Force Academy
Introduction about Royal Norwegian Air force Academy and research activity

09.45-10.30 Senior Military Lecturer **Steinar Skaar** Air Force Academy
State building and military planning, the challenges of coordinating the military effort with non-military organisations

10.30-11.15 **Aurélien Tobie**, International Alert (London)
The dilemma of managing conflict versus resolving conflict when supporting local groups

11.15-12.15 Lunch at Air Force Academy

12.15-13.00 Military Chaplain **Tor Arne Berntsen** Norwegian Defence Command and Staff College Air force Academy
"Negotiated identities: the role of child soldiers in the peace process in northern Uganda"

13.00-13.45 Questions and discussion

14.00 Nidaros cathedral

15.00-17.00 Free time in the city

17.00 Bus back to Falstad

19.00 Dinner at Falstad

Wednesday 21st April

08.00 Breakfast

09.00-10.00 **Jim Waddington**, University of Wolverhampton
Transplanting Visions of Policing: Reality and Rhetoric

10.00-11.00 **Georgina Sinclair**, the Open University
Internationalising British Policing: 1945 – 2009

11.00-11.20 Break

- 11.20-12.20 **David Lewis**, Bradford University
After Sri Lanka: challenges to peaceful conflict resolution in a changing world
- 12.30-13.30 Lunch
- 13.30-14.30 **Katie Drake**, Royal Air Force College, Cranwell, King's College London
A Last Resort: Physical Force as a Means of Conflict Resolution in Ireland, 1919-21
- 14.30-15.30 **Graham Spencer**, University of Portsmouth
Apology, Regret and Change Amongst Former Loyalist Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland
- 15.30-16.00 Coffee Break
- 16.00-18.00 **Group activity in conflict resolution** – convened by **Aurélien Tobie**
- 19.00 Dinner

Thursday 22nd April

- 08.00 Breakfast
- 09.30-10.30 **Vesna Matovic**, Responding to Conflict
Role of Action Research in Conflict Transformation
- 10.30-10.50 Break
- 10.50-11.50 **Louise Askew**, Nottingham University
Is there a place for language policy in external peace-building?: the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina
- 12.00- 13.00 Lunch
- 13.00-14.00 **John Buckley**, Wolverhampton University
Winning the Peace: Allied Armies and the Aftermath of War – Germany 1945 and Iraq 2003 compared
- 15.30 Excursion to **Stiklestad** (<http://www.stiklestad.no/international/english/>)
- 18.00 **Visit at Gallery Fenka**
- 19.00 Dinner in Levanger (No39), and maybe a visit to a local pub (Pøbben)

Friday 23rd April

08.00 Breakfast

09.30-12.00 Questions & discussion (Coffee in the conference room)

12.30-13.30 Lunch

14.30 Departure

Abstracts

Katy Hayward, Queen's University Belfast

The Role of Political Discourse in Conflict Resolution

This paper constructs a model for analysing political discourse as an instrument of conflict transformation by drawing on evidence from Northern Ireland. It identifies three processes, or stages, in a peace process in which political discourse can play a unique and crucial role. These are: (i) the construction of a (conceptual) framework within which negotiations can take place, (ii) the facilitation of agreement between moderate and extreme positions, and (iii) the forging of common ground. The motivating thesis of this research is that discourse analysis is a vital resource for deepening our knowledge of why, how and when violence can erupt and peace can be built.

Vesna Matovic, Responding to Conflict

Role of Action Research in Conflict Transformation

In this paper we want to present our learning from Applied Conflict Transformation Studies (ACTS), especially the role of Action Research methodology applied on peacebuilding. We will introduce the problem that we wanted to address through this programme, and then talk about our learning, which resulted in proposing the use of AR model to peacebuilding practice. We are going to explain the advantages of specific AR model that we used in ACTS programme, and why we thought that that particular one can be useful in peacebuilding practice. This model is proposing how to approach our practice, but also touching on our 'philosophical' approach, opening questions such as: how the change happens, what is the role and 'power' of individuals in peacebuilding, how do we learn, etc. Our analysis highlighted a number of concerns. They can be broadly put as gap between theory and practice in peacebuilding field, lack of greater impact on conflict situations, as well as assessment of it, and lack of theoretical input to the field from the experience of local peacebuilding practitioners.

Firstly, practitioners are rarely able to contribute to discussions and literature in the field of conflict transformation. While peacebuilding activities are often the subject of research, it is written by external researchers rather than from the perspective of those deeply engaged in the work.

The second problem is that while there is much well-intentioned and well-carried out peacebuilding work it is somehow not adding up to all it should.

And finally, there is a clear assumption in conflict transformation work that change has to start from the individual – we need to know ourselves, and ourselves in our work before we can hope to bring change to those around us.

Georgina Sinclair, International Centre for Comparative Criminological Research,
Department of History, The Open University, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes, UK
'Internationalising British Policing: 1945 – 2009'

This paper considers whether the internationalisation of UK policing today has developed from a meshing of two broadly different policing systems since the nineteenth century: a civil/English/Metropolitan and a semi-military/Irish/colonial. From the early nineteenth century until the post-war era of decolonisation, British police officers undertook a variety of overseas policing missions with a predominantly imperial focus. A transformation and indeed 'internationalisation' of UK policing occurred from this time with the Allied Control Commission and British involvement in early UN-led police missions. After the Cold War, overseas police deployment has become more widespread: the *police* and policing are now accepted as an essential part of state-building and governance within peace support operations. Drawing on empirical evidence as well as recent case studies (e.g. Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan), this paper will reflect on the different UK policing systems that have contributed to its internationalisation today with a focus upon the role of Northern Ireland's Royal Ulster Constabulary/Police Service of Northern Ireland.

James McAuley, University of Huddersfield
Post-conflict transitions in Northern Ireland: loyalist perspectives of peace

The violent campaign currently being undertaken by republican dissidents has variously been described (and dismissed) as the actions of 'ghosts from history' and the work of the 'zombie IRA'. Following the killing of three members of the security forces in March 2009, the campaign took on a somewhat different hue, however.

One of the more notable features following the killings by the Real and Continuity IRAs has been the (non) reaction of paramilitary loyalism. It is almost inconceivable that during the Troubles that such events would not have precipitated a direct and violent reprisal of violent revenge by sections of loyalism.

So how do loyalist paramilitaries regard republican dissidents and the post-conflict era of politics? While the repost of paramilitary has been uniformly opposed to violent retaliation it has not been straightforward. Reflecting the different paths they have taken to conflict transformation (and the speed of the journey along those paths) the reactions of both the UVF and the UDA (the largest loyalist paramilitary groupings) have revealed both internal divisions and a number of synergies and differences in how they understand contemporary republicanism.

The paper further highlights some of the key responses within loyalism 'on the ground' and the political consequences of the alternatives being offered within contemporary loyalism. It also questions whether, and in what sense is it possible to talk of long-term change within loyalism. This presentation traces in detail the transformation of loyalist paramilitarism away from political violence. This process was neither uniform or linear. For the UDA grouping, for example, the threat of dissident republican activity brought to the fore fears that the 'war' may not be over and compounded difficulties in promoting decommissioning as sections of the grouping continued to present it as a very real external threats. The UVF, on the other hand, largely believed that mainstream republicans had properly understood the context of such violence and thus were not subject to as much internal pressure to respond militarily. Both the UDA and UVF (for somewhat differing reasons) questioning the logic of retaliation and considering any counter-violence would be futile.

Drawing on interviews with leading loyalists this paper considers the reactions of loyalist paramilitarism to contemporary politics in Northern Ireland, their response to dissident republicanism, the political relationships between loyalism and contemporary republicanism and suggests how such relationships may develop.

Aurélien Tobie, International Alert

The dilemma of managing conflict versus resolving conflict when supporting local groups

Given the constraints of time, capacity and programming, it is very tempting for third party interveners to smooth conflicts over, to help/push local organisations to 'manage' conflicts rather than address the root causes of it, and go deeper into the subject – examples of some experience of this in the Kivus and in Ituri.

Jim Waddington, University of Wolverhampton

Transplanting Visions of Policing: Reality and Rhetoric

The police in most liberal democratic societies legitimate their authority by emphasising their neutrality and impartiality, and especially in post-conflict situations where police legitimacy needs to be re-established. In Britain the police have actively propagated the idea of 'policing by consent'. However, this myth is exposed when the police find themselves defending the 'national interest'. This paper will explore the circumstances in which the police can aspire to neutrality and impartiality, and those conditions where they cannot. It will focus on public order policing and contend that the police are inevitably partisan when confronted by terrorism or insurrection; where protest threatens to disrupt 'state' occasions and those involving 'Internationally Protected Persons'; and where there is a direct or indirect threat to 'critical national infrastructure'.

Louise Askew, Nottingham University

Is there a place for language policy in external peace-building?: the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina

Since the signing of the US-brokered Dayton Peace Agreement in December 1995, the international community has played a significant and decisive role in the peace-building process in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Individual international organisations have been involved in implementing every aspect of the Dayton Peace Agreement and in attempts to construct a viable state. But 14 years after the end of the war, Bosnia-Herzegovina is still an unstable state with commentators regularly predicting its imminent demise. The ethnic rivalries of the wartime period have in the intervening years become entrenched in a political system in which ethnic identity is the dominant identity. The salience of ethnic identity in the political process means that markers of this identity are particularly significant in political life. This presentation will take one of these markers – language – and examine what role language has played in post-war peace-building. The language situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is specific because there are now three official languages (Bosnia, Croatian and Serbian) where before the war there was just one, called Serbo-Croat or Croato-Serbian. Despite the languages being mutually intelligible, each of the three main ethnic groups claim linguistic difference in order to distinguish themselves from the other two. Language is thus used as a tool to keep the ethnic groups apart and hinder post-war reconciliation.

This presentation will look at how the international community has approached these language issues in the post-war period and how this approach has impacted on the post-conflict peace-building process. No international organisation has had a deliberate language policy to deal with the language situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This presentation will conclude by arguing that based on the experience in Bosnia-Herzegovina language policy should be included as part of future peace-building processes elsewhere.

Martin Dangerfield, University of Wolverhampton

Soft power and peace-building; the role and limitations of the European Union and other regional cooperation initiatives

This presentation will reflect on how non-state actors can be agents for conflict resolution, focusing on the European Union as an (arguably) unique political entity based on pooled sovereignty and application of the so called ‘post-modern’ concept of statehood in its external policies. The presentation will look at the various ways in which the European Union (EU) has contributed to conflict resolution and peace-building both within its own territory and externally. It will focus on how the EU has used its ‘soft power’ – defined as “the ability to exert influence on the basis of its own attractiveness and policies towards outsiders” to foster security and stability beyond its own borders, mainly by promoting internal transformations within the countries and regions it engages with. The main success stories in this respect have been in post-communist Europe, including in the former Yugoslavia, where the EU enlargement process has been a key tool and has been described as the “*the most successful act of foreign policy that the EU has ever made*”. The paper will also consider the additional ways in which the EU has been developing its conflict resolution role, including the development of ‘hard power’ in the form of military capacity and how this has been deployed in conjunction with the soft power approach in the form of ‘civilian’ power in which it deploys its human resources for capacity-building in failed states. The paper will incorporate a critical perspective on the EU’s effectiveness as an actor for conflict resolution and review some recent analyses of the EU’s performance in the conflict resolution realm

and identify some of the measures that have been suggested in order to address some of the factors that have hindered its effectiveness so far.

Katie Drake, Royal Air Force College Cranwell, King's College London

A Last Resort: Physical Force as a Means of Conflict Resolution in Ireland, 1919-21

The decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century saw Irish Nationalists change the focus of their efforts from armed rebellion to a constitutional approach. While home rule looked likely, if not inevitable, by the outbreak of World War One, the Unionist response made it clear that home rule could never work in practice. Determined to maintain the union with Britain, some 100,000 Ulster Protestants united under Sir Edward Carson to form the UVF with the aim of using force, if necessary, to resist home rule. The constitutional approach had reached an impasse; Westminster could not meet the demands of both sides, and any attempt to implement the Bill would be a catalyst for civil war.

Having brought Ireland to the brink of civil war, the Ulster Crisis had clearly demonstrated that the constitutional approach could not elicit more than a limited measure of independence. Equally, the use of force alone had no hope of success against a militarily superior enemy, as previous armed rebellions had shown. Rather, Sinn Féin sought to combine the two traditions, thus providing legitimacy for their military actions and protection for the government. Neither could operate effectively long-term without the other, and the merger played to the strengths of both constitutional and physical force approaches.

In keeping with the conflict resolution theme of the conference, this paper will examine why the Irish Republicans resorted to physical force in an effort to resolve the conflict. The paper will also highlight the challenges of researching the General Headquarters Staff of the Irish army, given that they were largely written out of history. GHQ was tasked with both ordering and controlling the ensuing violence, ultimately shaping their forces into a disciplined peacetime army, and playing a key role in consolidating Irish democracy.

Graham Spencer, University of Portsmouth

Apology, Regret and Change Amongst Former Loyalist Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland

This paper sets out to highlight how a sample of former loyalist paramilitaries view apology and regret in a changed Northern Ireland. Unsurprisingly, there is general resistance to an expression of apology and regret and there are a number of reasons for this which will be explained in the talk. However, although respondents showed an unease and general rejection of apology and regret it was also clear that many were working to try and prevent a return to conflict and that this work might also be seen as a manifestation of apology and regret at some level. If the cliché 'actions speak louder than words' has relevance then in the context of Northern Ireland a disregard for articulating apology and regret is perhaps more justifiable if perpetrators are actively seeking to try and develop conflict prevention initiatives. And if that is the case, what role might apology and regret have in a 'post-conflict' situation like Northern Ireland? This presentation is a tentative attempt to address these questions in the early stages of researching this problem.

David Lewis, University of Bradford

After Sri Lanka: challenges to peaceful conflict resolution in a changing world

After 2005 Sri Lanka shifted from a peace process based on notions of liberal peacebuilding and conflict resolution to a post-liberal order characterised by active counterinsurgency and a denial of political reform. This paper argues that the Sri Lankan case is representative of a broader trend in approaches to conflict, in which some states are questioning the global norms that underlie the liberal peace agenda, challenging the practices of conflict resolution, and instead preferring the use of military force to achieve non-negotiated ends to internal wars. The paper discusses two possible reasons for these changes, in the Sri Lankan and broader context. Firstly, shifts in the global power balance have contributed to a reversal of some emerging global norms that threatened maximalist views of sovereignty and promoted human rights and other universalist liberal positions. States such as China, India and Russia have demonstrated differing attitudes towards conflict management and conflict resolution, both in internal conflicts and in their global policies. Secondly, the widespread implementation of counterinsurgency doctrine in Western military strategy has provided legitimization for similar policies elsewhere. The paper argues that counterinsurgency tends to deny political space and agency, and encourages strategists to avoid necessary political settlements and reforms even after the main military conflict is over. These trends have potential implications for both supporters and critics of conflict resolution and liberal peacebuilding approaches in conflict-affected states.