

Conflict Resolution in a Changing World

The impact of human rights in peacebuilding

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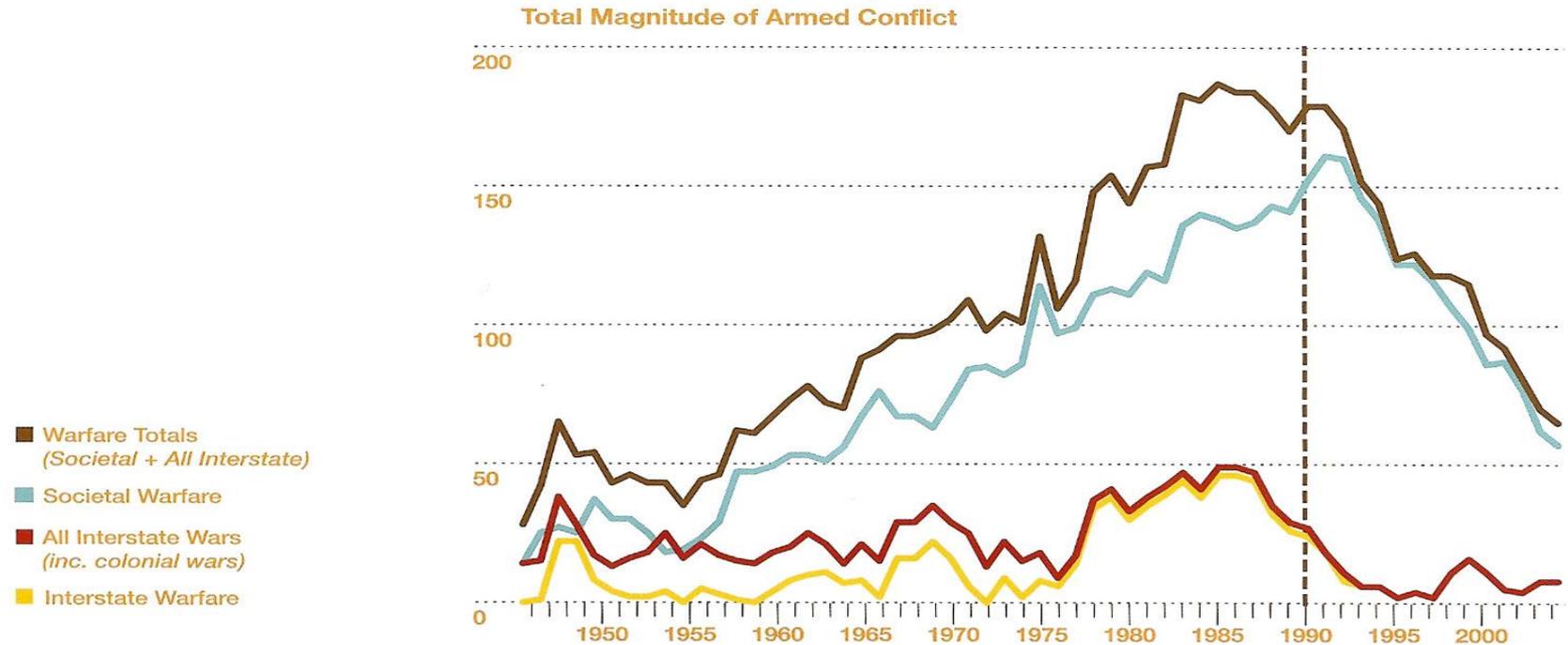
Overview

- Analysis of changes in international system post-Cold War
- Critique of terror and unilateralism – the limits of military power
- Growing impact of international protection of human rights
- Conflict resolution, management, prevention and transformation as a new development
- Challenges ahead: merging human rights and conflict resolution in theory and practice
- Relevance of new trends for scholars/practitioners
- Conclusions

Changes post-Cold War

- No more inter-state wars? Trends of progress? Lowest levels since 1950s

Figure 3.1: Global Trends in Violent Conflict, 1946-2004



Changes post-Cold War (con't.)

- Violent conflict shifting from inter-state to intra-state disputes
- Ethnopolitical/religious replacing ideological wars
- Societal wars longer and resistant to resolution
 - 55 of 161 countries affected by violence since 1990; 28 countries with armed conflict (1 in Latin America, 2 Europe, 5 Middle East, 10 Africa, 12 Asia)
 - Peace processes 65% of armed conflicts. Only 8 remained “hot” in early 2005 (70 countries with tensions, 6 in Latin America)
 - Humanitarian crises 43 countries (56% Africa)

Changes post-Cold War (con't.)

- Wars for ethnonationalist independence and self-determination continue to decline

Figure 5.1: Trends in Armed Conflicts for Self-Determination, 1956-2004

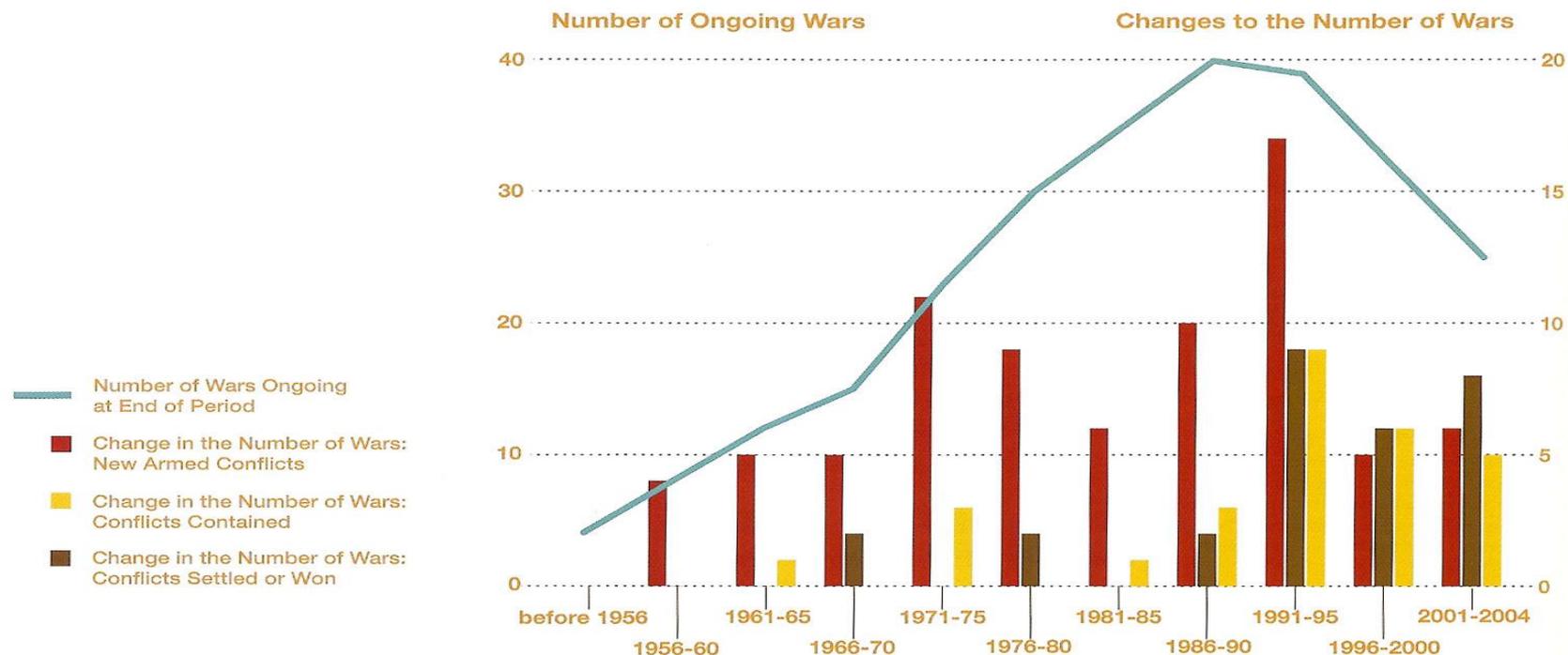
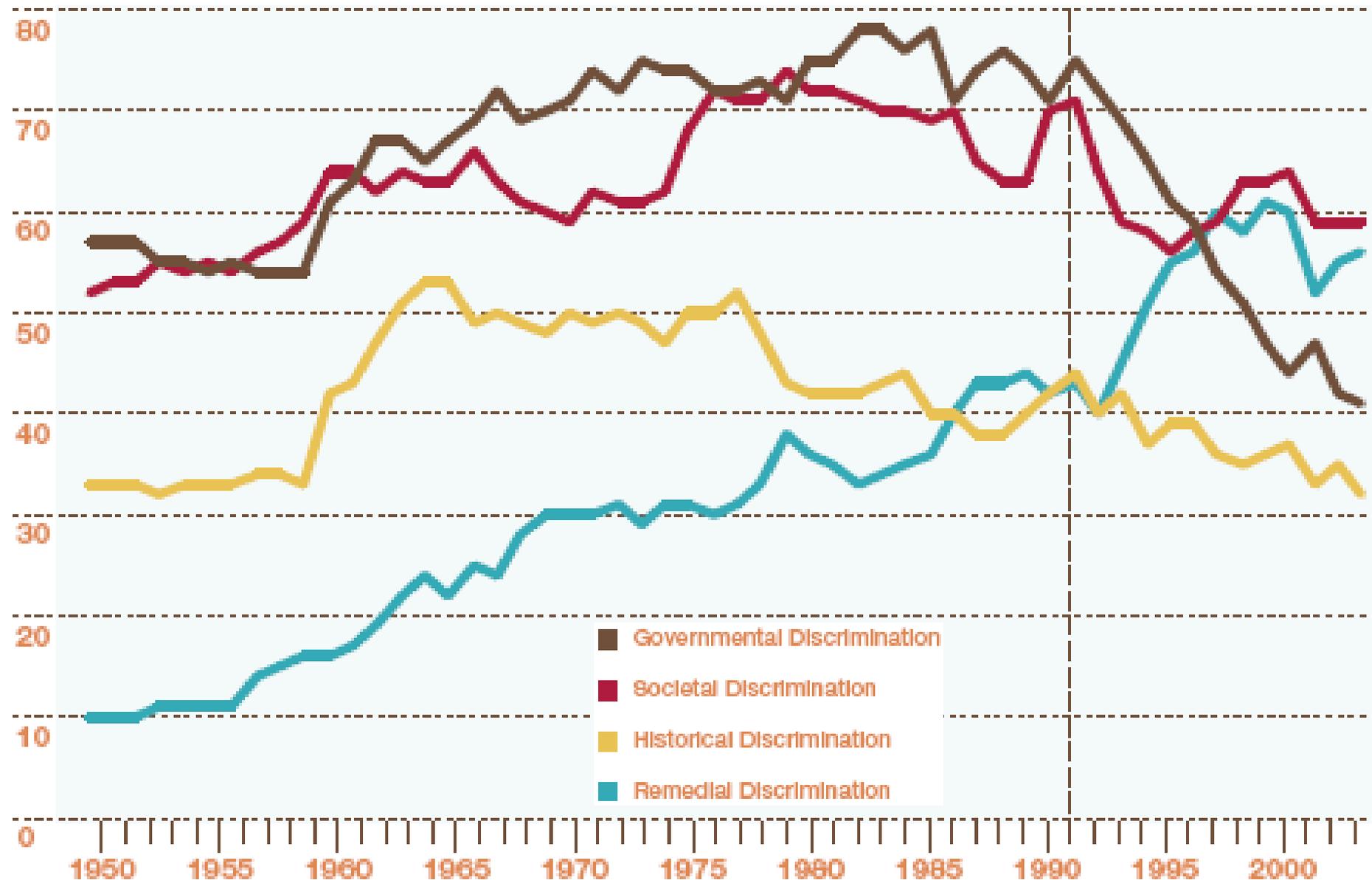


Figure 6.3: Global Trends in Political Discrimination of Minorities, 1950-2003

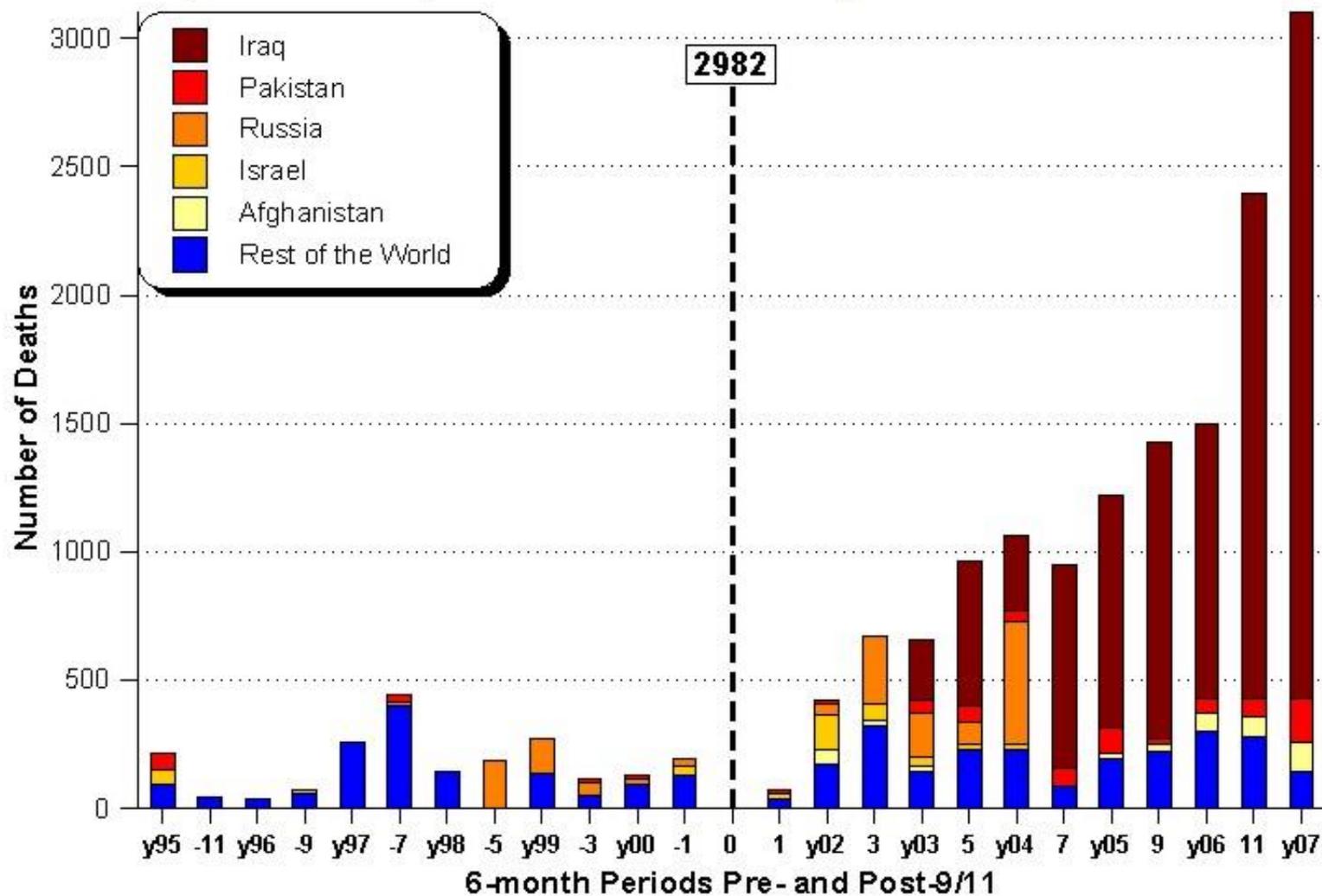
Number of Minority Groups



Current situation

- *Peace and Conflict Ledger*
 - rates 161 countries (> 1/2 million) on 7 indicators of peace-building capacity
 - **31 countries at serious risk of conflict management failure**
 - **51 have mixed positive and negative factors**
- No warrant for unqualified optimism about future of world peace
- Gains are results of persistent coordinated efforts at peace-building
 - CSOs, national leadership, international bodies

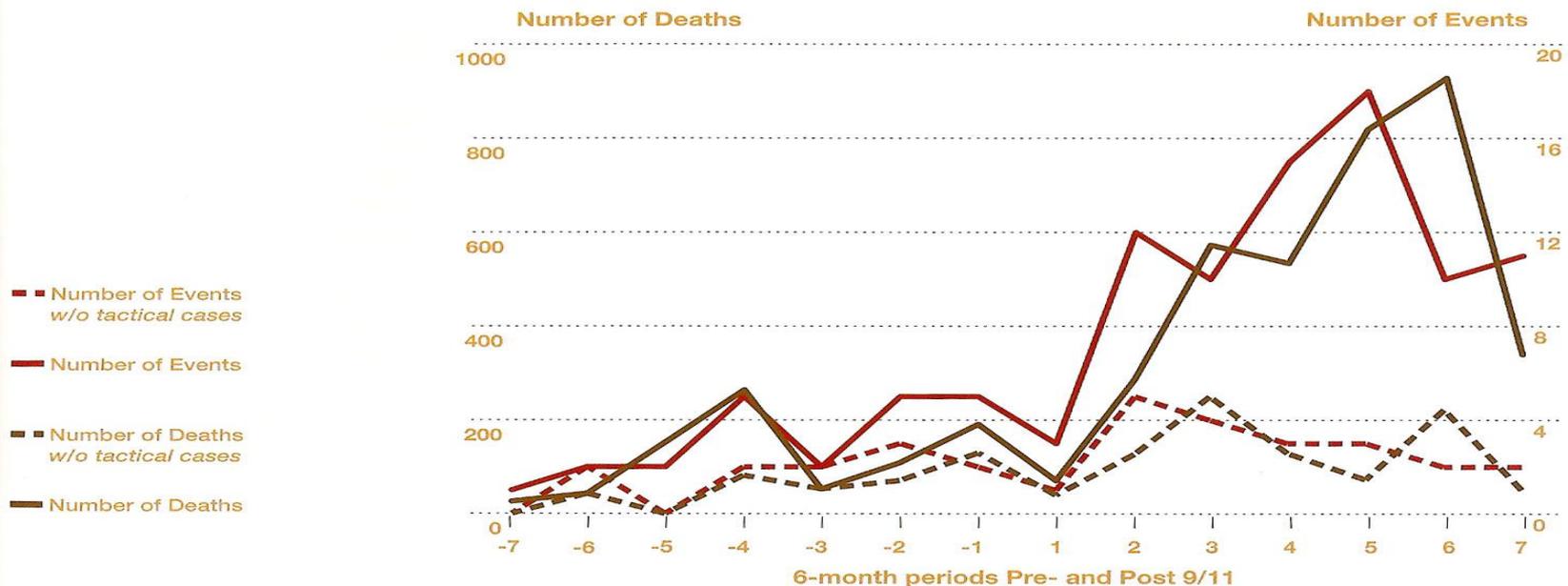
High Casualty Terrorist Bombings, 9/11/95-9/10/07



Critique of terror and unilateralism - the limits of military power

- Trends?
 - Limits of military power
 - “War on terror” a temporary setback – dehumanizing
 - Most conflicts now involve a non-state actor

Figure 9.2: Trends in High Profile Terrorism, 3/11/98 - 3/10/05



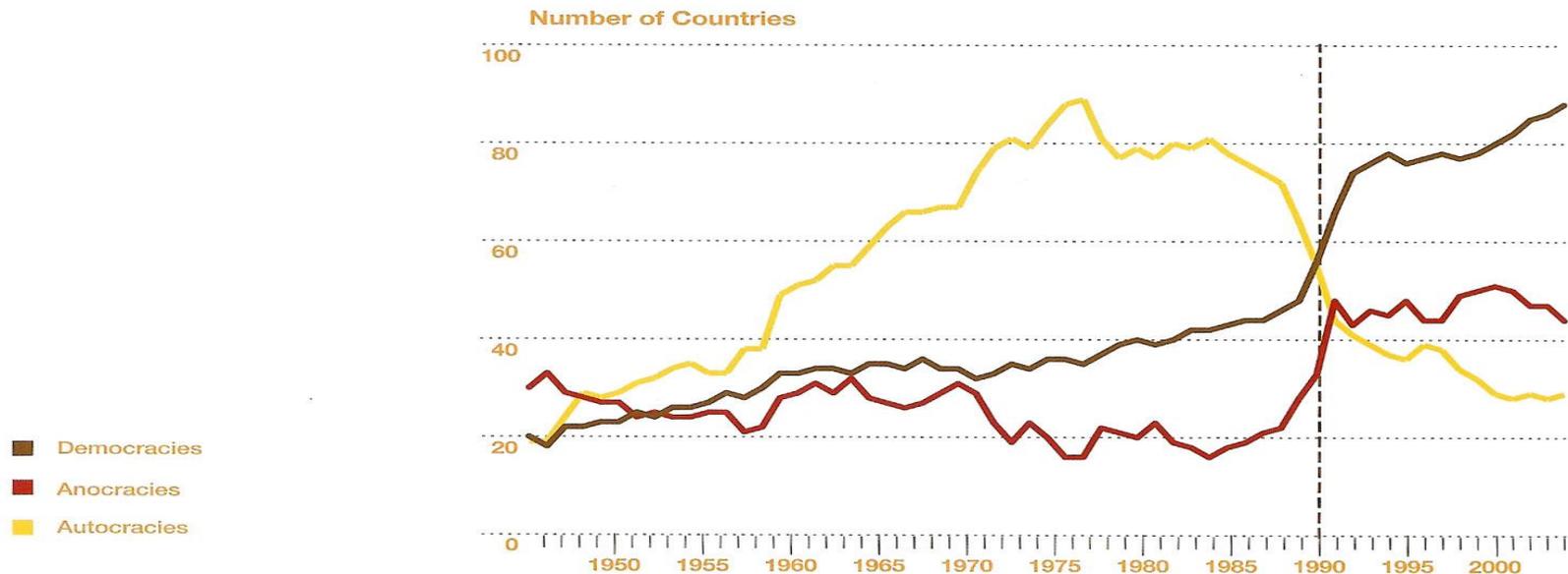
Critique of terror and unilateralism - the limits of military power (con't.)

- Changing rules of the game – "hard" more important than "soft" power
- "War on Terror" justifies new security policies impacting human rights standards in democracies as well
- Conflict resolution emphasizes "human security«
- Pulls attention away from "structural violence"

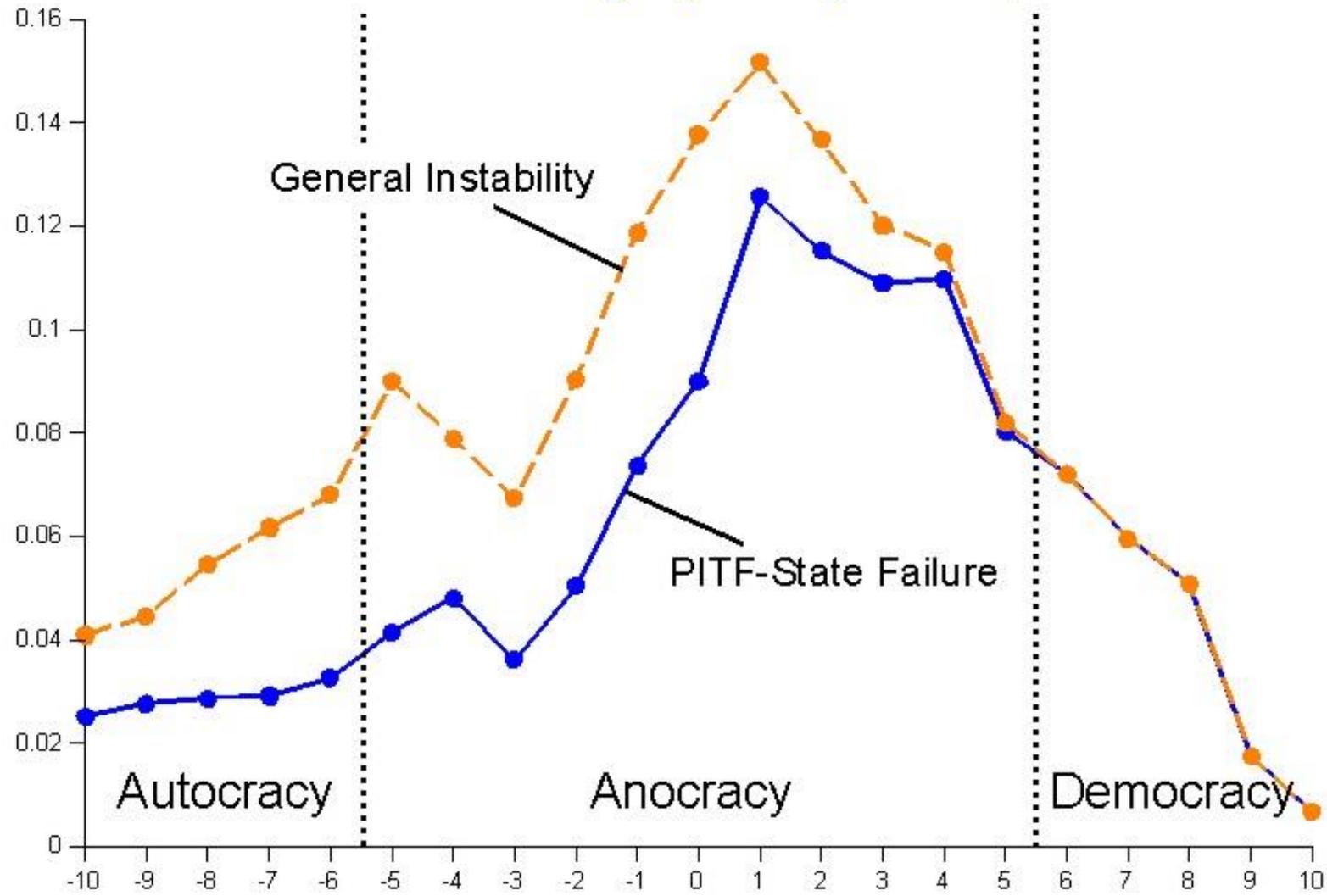
Growing impact of international protection of human rights

- 1950: 23/78 states democratic (29%)
- 1977: 35/89 states democratic (39%)
- 2005: 88/161 states democratic (55%)

Figure 4.1: Global Regimes by Type, 1946-2004



Likelihood of Instability by Polity Score, 1955-2002



Growing impact of international protection of human rights (con't.)

- WWII: watershed for world concern for human rights
 - “Never again” (UDHR, Genocide Convention)
 - Cold War prioritized prevention of “nuclear Holocaust”
 - After 1975, détente, post-Helsinki, Carter administration, protection to frontline human rights organizations – opens avenues for dissent in totalitarian and authoritarian societies, leading to democratization
- Impact of human rights → democratization, democratization → peace

Growing impact of international protection of human rights (con't.)

- Humanitarian intervention as just war
 - *Then:* UN paralyzed, politicized on human rights; “conspiracy of silence” until end of Cold War (e.g., Saddam’s Kurdish genocide, 1988)
 - *Now:* Sovereignty limited on territory, not on people; humanitarian intervention legitimated by UN Security Council, since post-Cold War 1991 protection of Kurds safe-haven in Iraq.

Growing impact of international protection of human rights (con't.)

- Humanitarian intervention as just war (con't.)
 - More than a dozen multi-lateral interventions: preventive (Macedonia), during (Bosnia) or post-conflict (Lebanon), sometimes too little, too late (Rwanda)
 - Victims shifting from military to civilian
 - WWI: 10% of casualties civilian
 - WWII: 50% of casualties civilian
 - Last decade: 80-90% of casualties civilian

Conflict resolution, management, prevention as a new development

- CONFLICT RESOLUTION/CITIZENDS DIPLOMACY
- Triggered by fear of nuclear conflagration
- Non-official-track scientists, to arms control, SALT
- Slow process of Second Track Diplomacy (Oslo), official negotiations with non-state actors limited
- Increasing use of alternative dispute resolution methods; mediation increasingly legitimated from micro through macro levels

Conflict resolution, management, prevention as a new development (con't.)

- Withdrawal or collapse of state institutions, limited efficacy of judiciary makes "citizens diplomacy" a priority
- National, regional and global networks of peacebuilding NGOs
- "War on terror" now fear of nuclear rogue states or non-state actors; reluctance to officially negotiate

Challenges ahead: merging human rights, conflict resolution in theory & practice

- Conceptual and practical problems
 - legal versus social science approaches
 - NGOs seeking “justice” vs. “peace”; can a “just peace” formula be achieved?
- Human rights approach:
 - Principled, adversarial, advocacy, exclusion of violators, justice non-negotiable, prescriptive, public
- Conflict resolution approach:
 - Facilitating, mediating, inclusive, searching for common ground, negotiating transitional justice, pragmatic, conciliatory, confidential

Challenges ahead: merging human rights, conflict resolution in theory & practice (con't.)

- Merging human rights & conflict resolution:
 - Peaceful means:
 - in societal war, respect civilians' right to life
 - Peaceful aims:
 - Conflict prevention, reduction and management; post-conflict reconciliation, sustaining peace accords
 - Pope John Paul's encyclical, "Pacem in Terris," dual message:
 - Urge for the peaceful resolution of conflicts by dialogue and negotiations, and recognize basic human rights

Potential for non-violence

- Emerging norm: collective international responsibility to protect
 - Security Council authorizing military intervention
 - Less as prevention, more as a last resort
 - Precedent: Intervention to restore democracy in Haiti
- Not only pacifists agree to try nonviolence first
 - Al Qaida, power to disrupt and change world priorities, affects negatively human rights; but no military victory

Potential for non-violence (con't.)

- In post-Cold War and anti-terror consensus, higher chances of nonviolent revolution
 - highlighted in former spheres of influence (e.g., Ukraine, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan)
- Dramatic shift in Latin America
 - Post-Cuban Revolution, guerrilla warfare only Sandinistas to power (now by elections)
 - 1976: 80% of states under military rule
 - Now: 80% under left-wing regimes through democratic elections (difference between democratic and 'bourbonic' left)

- Academics interested in conflict transformation and human rights have relative advantage to work internationally.
- Mediation as a mandatory stage in the justice system. Mediation as a voluntary priority for civil society.
- Positive image in resolving conflicts with neighboring countries peacefully, skillful official diplomacy, contribution to peacekeeping
- Human rights/social justice profile of domestic regimes important

Conclusions

- Changing concept of sovereignty, from real to idealpolitik
- More world events look local; transparency/accountability
- State-centered replaced by multicentric world; one world regime replaced by issue-area regimes
- End of short conventional wars? Shift toward long internal non-wars
- Technology race threatens unexpected use of weapons of mass destruction by state and non-state actors

Conclusions (con't.)

- Other correlates of war decline
 - reduction in military spending 30% last five years (US 44% of total)
 - number of casualties (in year 2000 “only” 300,000 war-related while 1.2 million from traffic accidents)
- Increased importance of knowledge-based economy, brainpower not zero-sum and more important than physical resources (except oil)
- Developed world: less tolerance for own violent conflict casualties

Conclusions (con't.)

- Increase in peacekeeping operations, preventive action, growing international citizens peacebuilding lobby
- Should ends dictate means? Consistency of rule of law with long-term peacebuilding
- Civilian control of military? Empowerment of civil society, connecting human rights, democracy & peace.
- Failure of Pax Americana, limits of military power. Addressing “why do they hate us?” as top priority

Academic contribution

- Important to experiment with conflict transformation domestically
 - Through work in social, urban, religious-based conflict
 - Charity begins at home, also provides recognition for work globally
- Introduction of conflict transformation/citizens diplomacy
 - Teaching programs at universities
 - Training NGOs and diplomats
 - Development of action research will build up recognized profile for scholars/practitioners