History

- Fordham University and the IIHA have offered various international humanitarian training courses, including the IDHA. There are now over 2000 graduates from 133 nations.
- The MIHA was developed to offer a comprehensive Masters Program in Humanitarian Action.
- The MIHA is designed in response to participants’ requests for a flexible yet academically rigorous degree-granting program that combines a theoretical base with applied knowledge.
MIHA Program Overview

4 modules of 8 credits each

2 credits per week — equivalent of 35 - 40 instructional hours
MIHA Benefits

– Flexible and cost effective
– Practitioner led and field oriented
– Student body of practitioners
– Alumni network
– Family atmosphere
– Scenario based
– Fordham rigor
1. International Diploma in Humanitarian Assistance (IDHA)
2. International Diploma in Operational Humanitarian Assistance (IDOHA)
3. International Diploma in the Management of Humanitarian Action (IDMHA)
4. International Diploma in Humanitarian Leadership (IDHL)
Module 1: International Diploma in Humanitarian Assistance (IDHA)

• First component of the MIHA
• Worth 8 Academic Credits
• Offered 3 times per year
Module 2: International Diploma in Operational Humanitarian Assistance (IDOHA) (8 Credits)

- **3 Required Courses**
  - Humanitarian Logistics (2 CR.)
  - Community Participation in Emergency Response (2 CR.)
  - Humanitarian Negotiation (2 CR.)

- **1 Elective Course**
Module 3: International Diploma in the Management of Humanitarian Action (IDMHA) (8 Credits)

IDMHA consists of 4 courses:

• **3 Required Courses**
  - Leadership and Management of Humanitarian Action (2 CR.)
  - Accountability in Humanitarian Action (2 CR.)
  - Ethics of Humanitarian Assistance (2 CR.)

• **1 Elective Course**
Module 4: International Diploma in Humanitarian Leadership (IDHL) (8 credits)

Capstone module of the MIHA; 3 Required Courses:

1. Disaster Management Training Course (2 CR.)

2. Strategic Issues in Humanitarian Affairs (3 CR.)

3. MA Thesis Completion (3 CR.)
Elective Courses

1. Forced Migration

2. Human Rights and Humanitarian Law

3. Mental Health in Complex Emergencies

4. Communications and Media in Humanitarian Affairs

5. Civil Military Cooperation
To Apply to the MIHA

1. Visit the Fordham University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences website at:
   – [www.fordham.edu/gsas](http://www.fordham.edu/gsas)
2. Click on “GSAS Programs and Degrees”
3. Click on “M.A. In International Humanitarian Action” on top of page
4. Click on “Apply” link on the left side of page.

**To apply to a stand-alone course, please e-mail iiha@fordham.edu**
Questions?
THE FUNCTIONS OF CONFLICT

ALEXANDER VAN TULLEKEN MD IDHA DTMH MPH
HUAF 4001, 12th September 2012
Office Hours

• Tues: Rose Hill. BY APPOINTMENT
• Weds: LC
• Discuss response papers, readings, careers...
Overview and Purpose

• Part 1
  – Causes of Conflict
  – Definitions
  – Representation and Interpretation
  – The State & Power
  – Power & War
  – The Functions of Conflict
  – Thinking like a state at war

• Part 2
  – The Fog of War
Why Study Conflict?

• Creates unique environment for service delivery
• Access & Pragmatism
• Root causes
• Actors & Agency
• Programming & Harm
• Strategic Planning
• Global narratives and politics
Why does prolonged, large-scale violent conflict occur?

• Down the rabbit hole…
Afghanistan Stability / COIN Dynamics

OUTSIDE SUPPORT TO INSURGENT FACTIONS

INSURGENTS

NARCOTICS

WORKING DRAFT – V3
We Have Met the Enemy and He Is PowerPoint

New York Times, April 26th 2010

• “PowerPoint makes us stupid... It’s dangerous because it can create the illusion of understanding and the illusion of control... some problems in the world are not bulletizable” Gen. James N. Mattis of the Marine Corps, the Joint Forces commander

• “rigid lists of bullet points... take no account of interconnected political, economic and ethnic forces. If you divorce war from all of that, it becomes a targeting exercise” Brig. Gen. H. R. McMaster
Theories of Conflict

• Poverty and Lack of Development?
  – Conflict bad for trade
    • Disrupts production, distribution and purchasing power
  – Trade bad for conflict
    • Creates prosperity and interest in peace

• War Economies?
  – Pillage, protection, ransoms, control of trade, access to land, access to aid
Economies in Wartime

• Activities impeded by war
  – Industry, agriculture, service industries, tourism

• Consistent with War
  – Low tech, high-value commodities (alluvial diamonds), Oil

• Improve with Conflict
  – Arms, some agriculture, illegal narcotics

• ... functions of atrocities?
• ... risks of doing business?
MODES OF THOUGHT:
Paul Collier and Greed

• Rebel Greed vs. Grievance
• Identified proxies for economic motivations
  – Reliance on exports of primary products
  – Low education levels
• Proxies for grievance
  – Economic inequality
• Strong Correlation seen for “greed”
• “Collective Action Problem” (personal risk with delayed benefits)
Paul Collier and Greed

• Where violence brings rapid results collective action can be achieved
• Civil wars occur when they are “feasible”
• No need for motivation
• Proxies for feasibility include?
  – High proportion of young men
  – Pop size
  – Mountains
  – Former French Colonies
Effects of Colliers Work?

- Initiatives to decrease illegal commodity flows
- But...
- Dubious Proxies (young men? Education?)
- Policy Implications? (Mountains and French)
- “Rebels will always emphasize grievances even when their motivation is greed” Collier, 2000
- Splitting/ Otherising
- Creation of Abusive other (greed, evil, blind hatred)
- Conflict Resolution, listening & root causes
- Legitimacy & Grievance (& criminalization) – Oil, Diamonds
- Interactions of Greed and Grievance (on opposing sides)
- Greed needs to be explained
Effects of Colliers Work?

• Lack of Attention to the role of the state
  – Focus mainly on the rebels as “the cause”
  – State abuses go unnoticed
  – States ability to manipulate conflict (group work later)
Case Studies in the Functions of Conflict

• Example Sierra Leone
  – 150 RUF insurgents from Liberia in 1991
  – Displaced 50% Sierra Leone’s population
  – Why? Grievance? Greed?
  – “Sell Game” - Collaborative Conflict
  – Use of CDF to suppress rebellion destined to fail in Sierra Leone
  – Reluctance to achieve peace or democracy in 1996...
Case Studies in the Functions of Conflict

- Example Cambodia
  - Paris Peace Agreement 1991
  - Khmer Rouge financed through exporting timber & gems (though Thailand)
  - MoD gained the sole timber license 1994
  - Collaborative Conflict – neither side had vested interest in disarming
Case Studies in the Functions of Conflict

• Example Northern Uganda
  – GoU actions undermine peace initiatives
  – Cattle trade, aid economy
  – Profits from Troop Supply (& non-supply) “Ghost Soldiers”
The Functions of Conflict

- Collaborative Conflict
- Need to absorb security forces
- Need to maintain a threat
- Corruption (Chechnya and Moscow)
- Kill Numbers
- Self-financing armies (catastrophe of demob.)
- Democracy avoidance
- Legitimacy and control avoidance
Discourse

• “systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak.” Michel Foucault
• Discourse affects vocabulary, style, mode of expression, forms of knowledge... the limits of accepted speech
• “the texts have not been read... as if they explained or told us something about the nature of conflict. Instead they have been interpreted as a form of discourse that helps define points of intervention and new forms of coordination and power projection” Duffield
• “modes of representation are an essential aspect of how global liberal governance transforms knowledge into power” Duffield
Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (1977)

“[we must recognize the importance of] refusing to restrict one's questioning to the level of causes. If one begins by asking all the causes of the Gulag (Russia’s retarded development; transformation of the party into a bureaucracy; the specific economic difficulties of the USSR) one makes the Gulag appear as a sort of disease or abscess, an infection, degeneration or involution. This is to think of the Gulag only negatively, a dysfunctioning to be rectified - a maternity illness of the country which is painfully giving birth to socialism. The Gulag question has to be posed in positive terms. The problem of causes must not be dissociated from that of function: what use is the Gulag, what functions does it assure, in what strategies is it integrated?”
The Functions of The War on Terror

- Politicians
- Police
- Customs
- IRS
- Security
- Surveillance
- Argument
- Magical Thinking and predictable counter-productivity (Pakistan)
Problematisation

Problematisation is a term that suggests a particular way of analyzing an event or situation: not as a given but as a question.

"a problematisation does not mean the representation of a pre-existent object nor the creation through discourse of an object that did not exist. It is the ensemble of discursive and non-discursive practices that make something enter into the play of true and false and constitute it as an object of thought (whether in the form of moral reflection, scientific knowledge, political analysis, etc.)." Michel Foucault
Problematisation

- Who is making this statement?
- Who is he or she making it for?
- Why is this statement being made here, now?
- Whom does this statement benefit?
- Whom does it harm?
- What does it mean to bear witness to famine using the language of statistics?
- What does it mean to evaluate Humanitarian Responses through metric and indicators?
- How might the introductions of food security, food aid and nutrition, with their respective actors and concepts, transform the experience of hunger and oppression?
- What is the significance of a system of describing atrocities and abuse that substitutes its own truth for the truth of those in whose name it is deployed?
Death Rates in Darfur

“it is hard enough to derive a normal mortality rate for Darfur which is acceptable for statistical purposes... in a community such as Nankose one person can be expected to die every fortnight; during a famine that kills perhaps one will die every week. In a small village frequencies are lower...rural people in Darfur do not think in terms of a death rate at all. It is a notion that presupposes a statistical mode of thinking that is not generally found. Rural people do not think of the populace as an anonymous aggregate population, but as a moral community. They do not think of excess deaths as a discrepancy from what is average or normal. Rather early deaths are a violation of what ought to be the case.” De Waal, Famine that Kills

• Famine has become a technical malfunction not a human experience
• Famine is not how many die, but why
• Not merely starvation but suffering, hardship, disorder, loss of identity, threat not just to life, but to way of life
Problematisation

• Problematization is a term that suggests a particular way of analyzing an event or situation: not as a given but as a question.
• “a problematization does not mean the representation of a pre-existent object nor the creation through discourse of an object that did not exist. It is the ensemble of discursive and non-discursive practices that make something enter into the play of true and false and constitute it as an object of thought (whether in the form of moral reflection, scientific knowledge, political analysis, etc.).” Michel Foucault
• how is that thought, insofar as it has a relationship with the truth, can also have a history?
• So rather than asking about the relationship between sexuality and capitalism (or sexuality and revolution), Foucault asks how different eras have problematized sexuality and thus made sexuality an object of thought.
Problematisation

• “technological and political developments rendered prior security frameworks inadequate, and forced experts to invent new ways of identifying and intervening in security threats”
  – “something happened” which forced people to develop expertise around new topics?
  – But what is the “something” and where did it come from?
  – Did these tech/pol developments force experts to respond to “vital security” matters?
  – Or did the experts seal their status as experts by, at least in part by formulating vital security as a problem?
  – This doesn’t mean that the problem is simply constructed but neither is it simply real.
  – Can we articulate a view somewhere between constructed and real or rather a view that encompasses both of these?

• The experts help shape the problems which then in turn further propel the experts. Problems and their solutions are reciprocal – you simply cannot have one without the other.

• Fields or problematization are thus practices which are real constructions or constructed realities.
“...my attitude isn’t a result of the form of critique that claims to be a methodical examination in order to reject all possible solutions except for the one valid one. It is more on the order of “problematization”—which is to say, the development of a domain of acts, practices, and thoughts that seem to me to pose problem for politics.

For example, I don’t think that in regard to madness and mental illness there is any “politics” that can contain the just and definitive solution. But I think that in madness, in derangement, in behavior problems, there are reasons for questioning politics; and politics must answer these questions, but it never answers them completely.

The same is true for crime and punishment: naturally, it would be wrong to imagine that politics have nothing to do with the prevention and punishment of crime, and therefore nothing to do with a certain number of elements that modify its form, its meaning, its frequency; but it would be just as wrong to think that there is a political formula likely to resolve the question of crime and put an end to it.

The same is true of sexuality: it doesn’t exist apart from a relationship to political structures, requirements, laws, and regulations that have a primary importance for it; and yet one can’t expect politics to provide the forms in which sexuality would cease to be a problem.
I try to analyze the relations among science, politics, and ethics; but I don’t think that would be an entirely accurate representation of the work I set out to do... I am trying to see how these processes may have interfered with one another in the formation of a scientific domain, a political structure, a moral practice.

Let’s take psychiatry as an example: no doubt, one can analyze it today in its epistemological structure—even if that is still rather loose; one can also analyze it within the framework of the political institutions in which it operates; one can also study it in its ethical implications, as regards the person who is the object of the psychiatry as much as the psychiatrist himself. But my goal hasn’t been to do this; rather I have tried to see how the formation of psychiatry as a science, the limitation of its field, and the definition of its object implicated a political structure and a moral practice: in the twofold sense that they were presupposed by the progressive organization of psychiatry as a science, and that they were also changed by this development.

Psychiatry as we know it couldn’t have existed without a whole interplay of political structures and without a set of ethical attitudes; but inversely, the establishment of madness as a domain of knowledge [savoir] changed the political practices and the ethical attitudes that concerned it. It was a matter of determining the role of politics and ethics in the establishment of madness as a particular domain of scientific knowledge [connaissance], and also of analyzing the effects of the latter on political and ethical practices.
• a whole group of solutions was proposed for the difficulties encountered in the second half of the eighteenth century by penal practice. Or again, to take a very remote example, the diverse schools of philosophy of the Hellenistic period proposed different solutions to the difficulties of traditional sexual ethics.

• But the work of a history of thought would be to rediscover at the root of these diverse solutions the general form of problematization that has made them possible—even in their very opposition; or what has made possible the transformation of the difficulties and obstacles of a practice into a general problem for which one proposes diverse practical solutions. It is problematization that responds to these difficulties, but by doing something quite other than expressing them or manifesting them: in connection with them, it develops the conditions in which possible responses can be given; it defines the elements that will constitute what the different solutions attempt to respond to.

• This development of a given into a question, this transformation of a group of obstacles and difficulties into problems to which the diverse solutions will attempt to produce a response, this is what constitutes the point of problematization and the specific work of thought.

• “...A movement of critical analysis in which one tries to see how the different solutions to a problem have been constructed; but also how these different solutions result from a specific form of problematization. And it then appears that any new solution which might be added to the others would arise from current problematization, modifying only several of the postulates or principles on which one bases the responses that one gives. The work of philosophical and historical reflection is put back into the field of the work of thought only on condition that one clearly grasps problematization not as an arrangement of representations but as a work of thought.”
Foucault

- the concept of “problematization,” which is concerned with how and why, at specific times and under particular circumstances, certain phenomena are questioned, analyzed, classified, and regulated, while others are not. Rather than attempting to demystify current historical conditions, Foucault sought to examine phenomena that are taken for granted, largely because they are too obvious and superficial; in other words, has sought to objectify what is considered to be objective. Such an approach confounds deeply entrenched assumptions about the relation between theory and practice, thought and world. Thus, Foucault’s critique redefines modernity as an ethos of permanent self-reinvention, which is “genealogical in its design and archaeological in its method.
Foucault

• ‘[Eventalisation] means making visible a *singularity* at places where there is a temptation to invoke a historical constant, an immediate anthropological trait or an obviousness that imposes itself uniformly on all. To show that things weren’t ‘necessary as all that’; it wasn’t as a matter of course that mad people came to be regarded as mentally ill; it wasn’t self-evident that the only thing to be done with a criminal was to lock them up; it wasn’t self-evident that the causes of illness were to be sought through individual examination of bodies; and so on. A *breach of self-evidence, of those self-evidences on which our knowledges, acquiescences and practices rest: this is the first theoretico-political function of eventalization*. It means uncovering the procedure of causal multiplication: analysing an event according to the multiple processes that constitute it.
Problematisation

• What do we gain and what do we lose in this translation?
• What is the significance of a system of describing suffering that substitutes its own truth for the truth of those in whose name it is deployed?
• How is truth constructed?
• Who has the right to speak?
• What counts as truth; whose interpretations of reality are ignored, marginalized, forgotten or disqualified as anecdotal or unscientific?
• “Systems of social intervention tend to generate the data that in turn legitimize and sustain them, and this insight can help us to understand shortcomings in humanitarian interventions” David Keen, Complex Emergencies
• “Strategic actors need forms of interpretation and analysis that simultaneously provide understanding and justification for coordination and intervention. The way in which conflict is understood is an important aspect of this rationale, which is neither wholly independent, nor value free. While its intention may be to inform its effect is to deepen governance networks” Duffield
Duffield

• “texts have not been read, as their authors intended they should be, as if they explained or told us something about the nature of conflict. Instead they have been interpreted as a form of discourse that helps define points of intervention and new forms of coordination and power projection”
• Multiculturalism – new barbarism/racism
  – New barbarism – primordial, innate, irrational cultural & ethic identities (Rwanda & Chechnya)
  – New racism – accepts the reality of cultural pluralism (no culture better than another) vitality and renewal vs antagonism and conflict. Natural outcomes.
  – Engagement or isolation? Developmentalism – changeable economic categories
• Who defines the causes of conflict?
• Why? & How?
• What are the effects of war on culture? (according to who)
• What are the effects of war on wealth? (Whose wealth?)
• Securitization?
• The poor and the discourse “prone to revolt against underdevlopmnt and yet tend to attract criminally violent and vengeful leaders”
Duffield

- Multiculturalism – new barbarism/racism
- Who defines the causes of conflict?
- Why?
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- What are the effects of war on wealth? (Whose wealth?)
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CAMBRIDGE, MA—Jon Rosenblatt, 27, a Harvard University English graduate student specializing in modern and postmodern critical theory, deconstructed the take-out menu of a local Mexican restaurant "out of sheer force of habit" Monday.

"What's wrong with me?" Rosenblatt asked fellow graduate student Amanda Keifer following the incident. "Am I completely losing my mind? I just wanted to order some food from Burrito Bandito. Next thing I know, I'm analyzing the menu's content as a text, or 'text,' subjecting it to a rigorous critical reevaluation informed by Derrida, De Man, etc., as a construct, or 'construct,' made up of multi-varied and, in fact, often self-contradictory messages, or 'meanings,' derived from the cultural signifiers evoked by the menu, or 'menu,' and the resultant assumptions within not only the mind of the menu's 'authors' and 'readers,' but also within the larger context of our current postmodern media environment. Man, I've got to finish my dissertation before I end up in a rubber room."

At approximately 2 a.m., Rosenblatt was finishing a particularly difficult course-pack reading on the impact of feminism, post-feminism, and current 'queer' theory on received notions of gender and sexual preference/identity. Realizing he hadn't eaten since lunch, the Ph.D candidate picked up the Burrito Bandito menu. Before he could decide on an order, he instinctively reduced the flyer to a set of shifting, mutable interpretations informed by the set of ideological biases—cultural, racial, economic, and political—that infect all ethnographic and commercial "histories."

"Seeing this long list of traditional Mexican foods—burritos, tacos, tamales—with a price attached to each caused me to reflect on the means by which capitalist society consumes and subsumes ethnicity, turning tradition into mass-marketable 'product' bleached of its original 'authentic' identity," Rosenblatt said. "And yet, it is still marketed and sold by the dominant power structure in society as 'authentic' experience, informed by racist myths and projections of 'otherness' onto the blank canvas of the alien culture."
The Khartoum School of Genocide Management

• Darfur: A Unique Genocide
  – “The ruling minority has not cold-bloodedly decided to annihilate the black African denizens of its westernmost province, but it has decided to kill as many as will be necessary to put down their rebellion which it considers to be a vital threat to the long-term dominance of the riverine Arab socio-ethnic group.” Gerard Prunier
  – No factual ignorance, ideological/geopolitical divisions
  – Globalised economy, information technology
  – Perpetrators are a computer savvy, technocratic elite
  – “the unexpected disciples of Jacques Derrida and of the French Post-modernists, they know that reality is less important than the discourse restructuring it”
Genocide Management:1

• Act with ruthless brutality: “precautionary, limited violence smells of embarrassment; unapologetic murder reassures your troops and puzzles your enemies”
• Lie shamelessly: “rational bureaucratic actors will find it hard to believe the truth is the exact opposite of what you said”
• Court group prejudices (Arabs, leftists; critics of international system; racists; US Neocons; French; Conspiracy theorists; African Union)
• Use Money
• **Do not kill your victims...** make them die
  – Resulting mortality is fuzzy, hard to trace and has low media visibility
• Allow experts to argue about the data
Genocide Management: 2

- Bureaucratic harassment: never refuse anything; never honour your promises
- Delay Permits (visas, work permits, travel permits, import permits...)
- Never explain what you are doing: Military operations do not exist (just protection of civilians)
- Use Militias and on/off ceasefires (the people in arms)
- Split the enemy and then complain the divisions make it impossible to negotiate
- Multiply the “Peace Initiatives” (conferences, seminars, talks, sign as many agreements as possible
“Definitely never say “no.” Start by refusing. Then accept a watered down version of what you don't want. Then completely undermine what you have “accepted” by challenging the practical implementation of every single item of your proposal. Drag things on and on. Your adversaries will tire, change jobs, retire and will claim success to protect their own positions.” Gerard Prunier
Now you try it

• Imagine you are Omar El Bashir’s Government

• Kalma camp:
  – Run by NGOs. Peaceful (relatively)
  – 2 groups: Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and Justice and Equality Movement (JEM).
  – Both SLA and JEM want political voice in post-conflict Sudan. Both militarised (outside the camp).
  – You want to change the story.
  – What do you do?....
Kalma Camp/NYC
5.15km above
Here’s one I made earlier...

- Invite JEM to peace talks
- Allow/supply guns to SLA region of camp
- Permit violence without police interference
- UN security recommends NGOs evacuate
- NGOs leave
- The media reports...? (HSPH reports...)
Rape of the Congo

Making Sense of Sexual Violence in Central Africa

Imani* was just 15 when soldiers from the rebel group Interahamwe seized her on the road. Amid a bewildering array of competing armies, local militias, and rebel factions, sexual brutality has reached unprecedented levels there, terrorizing Congolese women and girls in a way that goes far beyond that often found in conflict zones, observers say. Women are gang raped in public, taken into sexual slavery, and violated with sticks, bottles, knives, and guns. Some victims are mutilated, their limbs chopped off by machetes. Other victims see their husbands and children murdered, houses razed, and crops burned.
Power, Life and Authority

• Power
  – “The ability to get someone to do something that they do not want to do”
  – “effects that shape the capacities of actors to determine their own circumstances and fate”
  – Regulatory (one actor manipulates incentives)
  – Constitutive (the social construction of reality – what is considered normal or natural, the production of reality)
    • Duffield?

• Authority
  – “The ability of one actor to use institutional and discursive resources to induce deference from other”
  – Deference: submission/ coercion - persuasion/ conviction
  – The right to speak, the obligation to defer/listen
  – Domination Legitimated? (Weber)

• Authority-legitimacy-governance-action
  – Rational- Legal Authority (Bureaucracies) – objective, efficient, rule governed
  – Delegated Authority (borrowed)
  – Expert Authority (specialized training/knowledge)
  – Moral Authority (values and interests)

• Which Kinds of Authority do humanitarian organizations rely upon?
• Do Humanitarian Organizations have power?
Power, Life and Authority II

- Power: Bullet-isable?
- “not a monolithic construct” Nordstrom
- So: no single font of power, socially or politically
- "a complex strategic situation in a given society social setting” Michel Foucault
- De-centered in and through society
- “essentially contested” (institution vs manifestation) Lukes
- “the doing is everything” Nietzsche
Power, Life and Authority II

• Where does the power of war lie?
• Command and action:
  – Country - tactical and ideological, politico-military, economic alliances
  – Soldiers – personal loyalties/antipathies and many other things
• The Irony/ies of Power (Nordstrom)
  – Legitimation > deed > legitimation
    • “constructing the reality of power’s expression”
  – Power and responsibility inextricably linked – acceptance or denial
• The state: authored from the ground up...?
“At last! After all the debates and polls: It’s back to real politics!”
The “explicit calculation of life”

- Michel Foucault
- *Biopower*: describes the “explosion” of numerous techniques for subjugating and controlling populations which he proposed occurred through the gradual inclusion of life processes into politics in 18th- and 19th-century Europe.
- "In concrete terms, starting in the seventeenth century, this [bio]power over life evolved in two basic forms. . . the first, it seems, centered on the body as machine: its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls, all this was ensured by the procedures of power that characterized the disciplines: an anatomo-politics of the human body. The second form, somewhat later, focused on the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary. Their supervision was effected through an entire series of interventions and regulatory controls: a biopolitics of population."
- Parallels with development and aid?
An unpleasant truth often overlooked is that although war is a great evil, it does have a great virtue: it can resolve political conflicts and lead to peace. This can happen when all belligerents become exhausted or when one wins decisively. Either way, the key is that fighting must continue until a resolution is reached.

Since the establishment of the United Nations... wars among lesser powers have rarely been allowed to run their natural course. Instead they have typically been interrupted early on and cease-fires and armistices have frequently been imposed.

The most disinterested of all interventions in war - and the most destructive - are humanitarian relief activities. If each European war had been attended by its own postwar UNRWA, today's Europe would be filled with giant camps for millions of descendents of uprooted Gallo-Romans, abandoned Vandals, defeated Burgundians and misplaced Visigoths, not to speak of more recent refugee nations such as post-1945 Sudeten Germans.

Such a Europe would have remained a mosaic of warring tribes undigested and un-reconciled in their separate feeding camps. It might have assuaged consciences to help each one at each remove, but it would have led to permanent instability and violence.

Although it may not be possible to constrain interventionist NGOs they should at least not be officially encouraged or funded. Underlying these seemingly perverse measures would be a true appreciation of wars paradoxical logic and a commitment to let it serve its sole useful function: to bring peace.
Sole Useful Function?

- “an act of violence to compel the enemy to fulfill your will”
- “Politics by other means” (Carl von Clausewitz)
- Angola
- Global Governance and Liberal Peace?
- The “cause” of war (the Gulag)
- Who achieves their objectives?
- Does conflict simply prevent peace (and its attendant democratic processes and mechanisms of justice)
Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (1977)

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- Argument
- Magical Thinking and predictable counter-productivity (Pakistan)
“At last! After all the debates and polls: It’s back to real politics!”
War and Peace
War and Peace

• “Isn’t it utter nonsense to suppose that you may bridge the gap between the world of the academy and war?” Martijs van de Port
• “What, then, is war as a soldier shoots out of a scientifically unfathomable combination of personal convictions, historical circumstances, interpersonal loyalties and emotional needs?” Carolyn Nordstrom (p78)
“Everyone who’s been through a war - whether as a combatant or civilian - particularly as a civilian under enemy occupation - war is a devastating experience. All the assumptions that we all make about daily life – the security, the reality of the streets we walk down, the houses that we live in the relationships we have, friendships, colleagues and the like, are all just swept aside. War is quite a surrealist business; you can walk down the street after a bombing raid and see a car upside down on a roof; a wall of a block of flats that’s collapsed exposing twenty living rooms each summing up a families’ life. I’m sure I was shaped by it. It made me... I won’t say suspicious, but a little nervous of bland reassurances that everything alright. Generally speaking it isn’t all right when people say that; reality is just a stage set that can be swept aside as I saw as a boy in shanghai. It leaves you a little wary of what other people think of as normal life, because you know that it can end at any moment.

(J.G. Ballard in conversation with Mark Lawson, BBC, 2009)
War and Peace

Definitions of “War”

- Hamburg: regular armed forces of a government must be involved
- Uppsala: >1000 battle related deaths/yr = war; >1000 battle related deaths/conflict = intermediate armed conflict; >25/yr, <1000 total = minor armed conflict
- Louvain: regular armed forces of a government must be involved & >10 battle related deaths/year or 100 people affected /year
- Waterloo: “an armed conflict is defined as a political conflict in which armed combat involved the armed forces of at least one state or one or more armed factions seeking to gain control of all or part of a state and in which at least 1000 people have been killed by the fighting”

What is our epistemological Universe?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual wars in 2001</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
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<td>Turkey</td>
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<td>Central African Republic</td>
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<table>
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<th>More than one war in 2001</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
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<tr>
<td>India</td>
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<td>Iran</td>
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<th>Total number of wars</th>
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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The End
The End
Metaphor

• Darkness and Shadow
• Black Holes
• Analogues with Medicine
Giorgio Agamben

- Life and Bare Life: Homo Sacer
  - zoē describes basic, biological existence “common to all living beings (animals, men, or gods)” or “bare life.”
  - bios, which indicates a “way of living proper to an individual or group... a particular way of life.” (Agamben, G., 1998, Homo sacer: sovereign power and bare life)
- Social spaces of life and death
  - the increasing focus on the measurement of life and of life sustaining activities
  - the inadequacy of current indicators to measure the “success” of humanitarian relief operations
  - a vision of aid that is transcendentally universalistic in its assessment of human needs.
- “The peculiar phrase "born with regard to life, but existing essentially with regard to the good life" can be read not only as an implication of being born in being, but also as an inclusive exclusion of zoē in the polis, almost as if politics were the place in which life had to transform itself into good life and in which what had to be politicized were always already bare life.” Giorgio Agamben
- Hmmm...
We Have Met the Enemy and He Is PowerPoint
New York Times, April 26th 2010

• “PowerPoint makes us stupid... It’s dangerous because it can create the illusion of understanding and the illusion of control... some problems in the world are not bulletizable” Gen. James N. Mattis of the Marine Corps, the Joint Forces commander

• “rigid lists of bullet points... take no account of interconnected political, economic and ethnic forces. If you divorce war from all of that, it becomes a targeting exercise” Brig. Gen. H. R. McMaster
Greed, Grievance and Conflict

Keen, Duffield and Collier

• Dubious selection of proxies (greed and feasibility)
• Dismissal of Political Goals (and criminalisation)
• Greed and Grievance interact
• “mechanistic, economistic analysis that highlights ‘greed’ actually begs a large number of vital questions” Keen, Complex Emergencies
• Sporting analogues?
Learning Objectives

By the end of this week’s sessions, students should be able to:

• Understand different definitions and meanings of the terms “power,” “war,” “civil war,” “structural violence,” and “conflict”

• Discuss the role of different academic disciplines in examining conflict and the meaning of different ways of representing conflict

• Examine and debate different theories regarding the causes of violent conflict (especially the ‘greed’ vs. ‘grievance’ debate)

• Understand some of the key underlying debates in international responses to conflict (especially humanitarian responses)
It is basically a matter of different examples in which the three fundamental elements of any experience are implicated: a game of truth, relations of power, and forms of relation to oneself and to others. And if each of these examples emphasizes, in a certain way, one of these three aspects—since the experience of madness was recently organized as primarily a field of knowledge [savoir], that of crime as an area of political intervention, while that of sexuality was defined as an ethical position—each time I have tried to show how the two other elements were present, what role they played, and how each one was affected by the transformations in the other two.

- history of ideas (by which I mean the analysis of systems of representation) and from the history of mentalities (by which I mean the analysis of attitudes and types of action [schémas de comportement])