Exits from War Economies: What Lessons for Peacebuilding in Syria?

Annual Meeting of the Geneva Peacebuilding Platform
Wednesday, 9 November 2016, 8.30-13.00
Geneva, Maison de la Paix

Background

What does the war economy mean for a future peace in Syria? What do we know about the effects of war economies on conflict endings and peacebuilding in other conflict zones? What lessons can we draw for the ongoing peace processes and for eventual ‘post-conflict’ peacebuilding in Syria? These questions frame the 9th Annual Meeting of the Geneva Peacebuilding Platform that aims to develop a nuanced and at the same time practical understanding about the implications of Syria’s war economy for current and future peace and peacebuilding processes.

The study of war economies has a long historical record and examples from interstate wars to more recent inter-state conflicts abound to underline the power of economic agendas and vested interests, and their implications for peace. The late 1990s saw a new wave of interest in war economies as processes of globalisation and technological innovation enhanced the possibilities of many governments and rebel groups to wage war. Better access to global markets allowed war chests to grow and conflicts to escalate as critical know-how, manpower and war-fighting materiel was channelled to the civil wars at the time. In these so-called ‘new wars’, violent conflict became an alternative system of profit, power and protection and ‘economics by other means’ in which economic agendas became more important than political ones. As a result, civil wars lasted longer and were more difficult to end. As part of this trend, the role of natural resources in civil wars gained particular prominence as, for instance, in Angola, Sierra Leone, Liberia or the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Nearly two decades later, war economies have not lost their relevance, especially with respect to the ongoing war in Syria. Since the start of the war, the Syrian economy has transformed into a decentralized and fragmented yet intensely connected market place where economic activity depends on the conflict, and the conflict depends on the economy. Previously dominant sources of
employment in agriculture, the public sector, small-scale trade and industry and tourism have all
but disappeared; while new employment opportunities mainly relate to unregulated trade, refining
and building, as well as smuggling, bribery, extortion, loot and pillage. Many families persist on direct
payments in the form of salaries or pensions from the different warring parties, or in the form of
remittances from family members living abroad. The war economy is transforming and recreating
systems of collusion and control the nature of which remains often difficult to discern in Syria’s fluid
and violent conflict dynamics. Yet they are likely to outlive the war itself and affect the trajectory of
post-conflict economic assistance and recovery.

The Platform’s Annual Meeting brings together a variety of actors and representatives from
government, international organizations, business, and academia and opens a space for frank and
open exchange outside of more formal policy forums. The Annual Meeting is a public event and
proceedings are ‘on the record’.

Programme

8.30 Registration

9.00 Welcome and review of GPP activities in 2016
   • Mirjana Spoljaric, Ambassador, Head of the United Nations and International
     Organizations Division, Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland
   • Keith Krause, Professor at the Graduate Institute of International and Development
     Studies, and Director of the Graduate Institute’s Centre on Conflict, Development and
     Peacebuilding (CCDP)
   • Achim Wennmann, Executive Coordinator, Geneva Peacebuilding Platform

9.15 What does the war economy mean for a future peace in Syria? What do we know about
the effects of war economies on conflict endings and peacebuilding in other conflict zones?
   • Omar Abdulaziz Hallaj, co-founder of the Syria Initiative of the Common Space Initiative,
     and consultant on urban planning, development and local governance, Beirut
   • David Keen, Professor of Complex Emergencies, London School of Economics, London
   • Tuesday Reitano, Head, Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime, Geneva

11.00 Break

11.30 What lessons can we draw for the ongoing peace processes and for eventual ‘post-conflict’
peacebuilding in Syria?
   • Rim Turkmani, Senior Research Fellow, London School of Economics, London
   • Andrew Ladley, Senior Advisor, MENA Region, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue,
     Geneva
   • Alexandre Marc, Chief Specialist, Fragility, Conflict and Violence, World Bank,
     Washington D.C.

12.45 Closing remarks
   • Salvatore Pedulla, Senior Political Affairs Officer, United Nations Office of Special Envoy for
     Syria, Geneva

13.00 Light lunch sponsored by the Swiss Confederation, the Republic and Canton of Geneva and
the City of Geneva on the occasion of Geneva Peace Week
Speaker Bios

Ambassador Mirjana Spoljaric

In August 2015, Mirjana Spoljaric assumed the position of Head of the United Nations and International Organisations Division of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. Mirjana Spoljaric graduated in philosophy, international law and economics from the universities of Basel and Geneva. After working as a research assistant at the Faculty of Law of the University of Basel, she joined the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs in 2000. Her first job in the Multilateral Financial Institutions department of the State Secretariat for Economic Affairs was followed by assignments in Cairo, the UN Coordination Office in Bern and the Permanent Mission of Switzerland to the UN in New York. At the same time, between 2004 and 2006 she was also part time lecturer at the University of Lucerne, Department of Sociology. From 2010 – 2012 Mirjana Spoljaric also served as Senior Advisor in the Office of the Commissioner General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). In September 2012, she assumed the position of Deputy Head of the United Nations and International Organisations Division and Head of UN Coordination at the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs in Bern.

Professor Keith Krause

Keith Krause is Professor at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, Switzerland, Director of its Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding (CCDP), and former Programme Director of the Small Arms Survey, an internationally-recognised research centre NGO he founded in 2001. Professor Krause's research interests include the changing character of contemporary armed violence, post-conflict peacebuilding policies and practices, proliferation and arms control. He has published Arms and the State (Cambridge) and co-edited Critical Security Studies, the Global Burden of Armed Violence (three editions), and Armed Groups and Contemporary Conflicts: Challenging the Weberian State. Professor Krause is Swiss-Canadian, and received his DPhil from Balliol College, Oxford, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

Omar Abdulaziz Hallaj

Omar Abdulaziz Hallaj is a consultant on urban planning, development and local governance. He is co-coordinator of the Syria Project at the Common Space Initiative in Beirut, where he is engaged in facilitating various dialogues and research projects for peace building and recovery planning in Syria. Formerly, he was the CEO of the Syria Trust for Development, and served on the boards of several NGO’s, and public commissions. His professional and research work relates institutional, financial and political frameworks to the production of built environment. In 2007, Mr. Hallaj was the recipient of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture as team leader of the Shibam Urban Development Project (GIZ). He subsequently served on the master jury and the steering committee of the Award.

David Keen

David Keen is a Professor of Conflict Studies at London School of Economics and author of Useful Enemies (Yale University Press); The Benefits of Famine (Princeton/James Currey); Complex Emergencies (Polity), Endless War (Pluto), and Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone (James Currey).
Tuesday Reitano

Tuesday Reitano is Deputy Director at the Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime and a senior research advisor at the Institute for Security Studies in Pretoria, where she leads five organized crime observatories in Africa. Tuesday was formerly the director of CT MORSE, an independent policy and monitoring unit for the EU’s programmes in counter-terrorism, and for 12 years was a policy specialist in the UN System, including with the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the UN Development Group (UNDG) and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). In this time, she has amassed a wealth of experience in fragile states and development working both with states, civil society and at the community level to strengthen resilience to transnational threats, promote sustainable development and the rule of law. She holds three Masters Degrees in Business Administration (MBA), Public Administration (MPA) and an MSc in Security, Conflict and International Development (MSc). Tuesday is based in Geneva, Switzerland.

Rim Turkmani

Rim is a Senior Research Fellow at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) working on the war economy in Syria and the role of Syrian civil society in brokering peace and creating stability from the bottom up. She is the co-founder of the Syrian Civil Coalition that supports the role of Syrian civil society in peace and democratic transitions. She has published extensive papers on the local negotiations and agreements in Syria, the war economy and ways in which it can be transformed into a peace economy, as well as on how ISIL is exploiting the war economy conditions in Syria. She is a member of the Syrian peacebuilding advisory group and took part in the Moscow 2 talks between the Syrian government and Syrian opposition and civil society. She is an astrophysicist by training, a former Dorothy Hodgkin fellow of the Royal Society and writer/curator on the history of Islamic science and culture. Her focus is on the impact of Arabic/Islamic science on the scientific revolution in the 17th century. She has curated two international exhibitions on the subject.

Andrew Ladley

Andrew Ladley has been working with HD since 2011, initially in Africa and Asia, and, since 2014, as one of HD’s Senior Advisers, focusing on Syria. He has extensive experience in peace processes and specialises in mediation, agreements, elections, transitions, coalition processes, and law. Andrew served with the United Nations Standby Team of Expert Mediators in 2008 and 2011. He began his career as an academic lawyer in New Zealand and elsewhere, and also served in a number of United Nations, Commonwealth and other missions. Andrew holds the degrees of B.Com LLB LLM PhD.
Alexandre Marc

Alexandre Marc is the World Bank Chief Specialist for Fragility, conflict and Violence. As Chief Specialist he oversees support and advice to Bank country teams in more than 30 countries affected by conflict and fragility. He was the Cluster Leader for the Social Cohesion and Violence Prevention team within the Social Development Department of the World Bank from 2009 to 2012. He has extensive experience in the areas of conflict and fragility having worked on related themes across four continents over the last 22 years. Alexandre Marc was a contributor to the 2011 World Development Report on Conflict, Security and Development. Alexandre Marc holds a Doctorate in Political Science from the Paris Institute of Political Science (Science Po). Before joining the World Bank in 1988, Alexandre Marc undertook research and consulting on Africa in Oxford University (St Antony’s college) and for The Societe D’Etude Economique et Sociale (Paris). His most recent publications are “responding to the Challenge of Security and Stability in West Africa” World Bank 2015; “Societal Dynamics and Fragility, Engaging Communities in Responding to Fragile Situation”, World Bank 2012, and “Violence in the City, Understanding and supporting community responses to Urban Violence,” World Bank 2010.

Achim Wennmann

Achim Wennmann is Senior Researcher at the Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding (CCDP) of the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, and Executive Coordinator of the Geneva Peacebuilding Platform. He is an expert in economic perspectives on violent conflict, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding with his current research focusing on statebuilding in hybrid political orders, negotiated exits from organized crime, and conflict prevention in contexts of large-scale investments. He is author of over 50 publications with recent publications including Business and Conflict in Fragile States: The Case for Pragmatic Solutions (with Brian Ganson; London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2016) and ‘The Political Economy of Violent Conflict’ (IISS Armed Conflict Survey 2016). He also authored The Political Economy of Peacemaking (London: Routledge, 2011), and edited (with Mats Berdal) Ending Wars, Consolidating Peace: Economic Perspectives (London: IISS, 2010). Achim has a broad advisory experience including intellectual mediation support and strategic advice for international organizations, governments, private foundations, and business. He is also co-facilitator of the Technical Working Group on the Confluence of Urban Safety and Peacebuilding Practice, and is a member of the Editorial Board of Global Governance. Achim holds a Doctorate from the Graduate Institute in Geneva.
About the Geneva Peacebuilding Platform

What is the Geneva Peacebuilding Platform?
- A network of peacebuilding professionals connecting over 4,000 individuals and over 60 institutions.
- A hub for practical peacebuilding expertise and know-how that draws upon field experience and research.
- A reference point for engaging with the peacebuilding community in Geneva.

What mandate does it have?
- Improve the practise of peacebuilding by facilitating the interaction on peacebuilding between different institutions and sectors in Geneva and worldwide.
- Advance new knowledge and understanding of peacebuilding issues and contexts.
- Build bridges between Geneva and other peacebuilding centres such as, the UN peacebuilding architecture in New York, as well as peacebuilding activities in the field.

Who is behind the Platform?
- The Platform is a collaborative project of four partner institutions:
  - The Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding (CCDP) of the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies;
  - The Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP);
  - Interpeace; and
- Through the Platform, these partner institutions combine their respective strengths in the peacebuilding field on education, dialogue, research, activism, and practice in the field.
- The four partner institutions guide the Platform’s strategy and activities, in close collaboration with an Advisory Board representing key peacebuilding stakeholders in International Geneva.

What are the Platform’s aims?
- Adding value by generating substance, analysis or understanding on peacebuilding at the cross section of institutions, sectors, and disciplines.
- Enabling frank and open exchange by locating discussions outside official meetings on positions and above institutional and sectorial silos and ‘turf wars’.
- Listening to the voices of local peacebuilders so that those building peace on a daily basis are heard in Geneva, New York, and other policy centres.

How does the Platform work?
- Finding solutions from the bottom-up by building strong partnerships with a range of actors at various levels tailored to a specific topic or context.
- Network peacebuilding resources in Geneva and worldwide by facilitating connections across institutions and sectors and by synthesising promising practice.
- Ensuring continuous exchange about peacebuilding issues, practice, and contexts through seminars, consultations, conferences, and multi-stakeholder processes.

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