

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
Faculty of Arts and Science
Department of Political Science

POL412H1S: Human Rights & International Relations - Summer 2017

Meeting Time: MONDAYS AND WEDNESDAYS 4:00-6:00PM

Class Room: SS 2114

Instructor: Khalid Ahmed
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Office Hours: Wed. 6.10 - 6.50
and by appointments
Office: SS 3058

Overview:

This course offer students the opportunity to rethink Western-oriented methods of inquiry and theories, which in turn allows them to rethink dominant conceptions of knowledge and normativity in International Relations, Human Rights, and Conflict Resolution (intervention) literature. The aim is to deconstruct the theoretical debates, and practices, pertaining to the politics of Intervention. Utilizing Critical Theory perspectives, you will critically analyze how Mediation, as a form of intervention, and the ensuing Peace Agreements, terminate wars and end human rights violations in countries embroiled in civil strife. The readings are organized in roughly three sections: Part I introduces the ontology and epistemology of “International” Relations and Human Rights research. Part II interrogates the main theoretical issues and debates on intervention. Part III provides case studies. The seminar will be driven by students and emphasis will be on critical interpretation of assigned readings through the active participation of students in classroom dialogue and debate. Useful participation will be informed by knowledge of the readings and a willingness to share doubts as well as certainties.

Prerequisites: (These are in addition to the requirements stated in the Arts and Science Calendar)

This is a fourth year advanced course on the theories and politics of human rights, international relations, mediation, and peace agreements. It is an intensive course that proceeds quickly through a wide range of topics; therefore, you must be able to complete, and critically comprehend, approximately 70-100 pages of analytically and conceptually complex readings for **each** meeting. Although an intimate knowledge of the offered case studies is not required, a serious interest in learning about critical theory, human rights violations, and Conflict Resolution is an absolute must. Note: Participation is mandatory.

Required Readings: Assigned Chapters will be made available on (Blackboard) and, if needed, on course reserve (Robarts Library). Assigned articles are available online, through the library catalogue system, as well as on Blackboard. Also, you will need to frequently consult these websites:

- 1- Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University: <http://ucdp.uu.se/>
- 2- The Peace Accords Matrix Project: <https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/>
- 3- <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/conflict-and-development>

Course Requirements

Summary of Grade Distribution

Attendance	10%
Participation	10%
Critical Summary Reports (Due weekly)	15%
Presentations (Due date shown on your schedule)	10%
Research paper #1 (Due July 26, 2017)	25%
Research Paper #2 (Due Aug 14, 2017)	30%

Class Attendance/Participation (Total 20%)

The success of any seminar depends on the willingness of students to attend and participate effectively in the weekly discussions.

Class Attendance: 10%.

Your attendance in this seminar is absolutely crucial to your success in this course. If you do not show up the week for which you have an In-class Presentation, you will receive a 0% for that assignment. You cannot make up missed class time. Missing more than **ONE seminar will result in a 0% for Attendance and Participation.**

Class Participation: 10%.

Effective participation in class discussions is a key component of the course and all students are expected to participate. Class discussions provide you the opportunity to share your ideas, examine important issues, pose interesting questions, assess course readings, and to learn the art of effective listening and communicating. Adequate preparation in terms of reading the assigned materials is very important to enhance your effectiveness during the class discussions. Active and productive participation in class discussion is impossible in the absence of prior preparation. Students are responsible for all materials covered in the readings and lectures. Grading for class discussions will be based on quality (not quantity) of contributions made during class meetings.

Critique Summary Reports: 15%

Each student is required to write two weekly summary reports. The report should critically analyze the readings required for class (2 classes in a week). The length of the report should be 2 double spaced pages. It should: a) contain a summary of the core issues discussed in the readings (1 page), b) analyze and critique the discussions and readings (1 page). **A soft copy of the summary report must be sent as an attachment to me and the entire class via Blackboard before 9pm on the night before the scheduled class and an identical hard copy should be submitted to me in class (it must contain a cover page!).**

Please note: The Critique Summary Reports will not be graded, but you will be penalized for failing to send them by 9 pm before the relevant session and if they are not clearly

written, coherent, and grammatically correct. You are expected to read and reflect on the summary papers of other seminar participants prior to class meetings. This will inform you of the reactions of other class members to the readings.

Presentations (Total 10%)

The number of presentations by students will be determined by class size. Each presentation should be based on two of the required readings for your chosen class. They will specify the key issues being addressed, the main arguments of the reading(s) and the supporting evidence and offer an opinion on the strengths and limitations of authors' analysis. You are also responsible for leading the class discussion and raising questions to stimulate an effective seminar discussion. I will assign the readings for presentation strictly by alphabetical order. If your assignment is inconvenient, it is your responsibility to arrange a swap with someone else. You will be penalized for failing to present when you are supposed to. You will receive a grade of **zero** for missing class on the day of your assigned presentation and you will **NOT** be allowed to present at a later time.

Research Paper #1: 25%

This paper must include the readings of July 26; and is due in class on **Monday July 26th, 2017**. The paper should be **minimum 15** double spaced pages **excluding** the bibliography. **A soft copy of the proposal must be sent as an attached to me before 1pm on July 26th, 2017 and an identical hard copy should be submitted the same day in class.** Written assignments handed in on the due date but after 4:10pm will be subject to a **3% penalty**. A **5% daily** penalty starts July 27th (penalty includes weekends). Your research should situate your thesis within the broader academic works (literature review) on the topic. You are required to use **a minimum of** fifteen (15) reputable works and provide proper bibliographical citation of works used to write the essay.

Research paper #2: 30%

The final essay is due on **Monday, Aug 14, 2017** and should be **minimum 20** double-spaced pages **excluding** the cover page and Bibliography. **A soft copy of the proposal must be sent as an attached to me before 1pm on Aug 14th, 2017 and an identical hard copy should be submitted the same day in class.** Written assignments handed in on the due date but after 4:10pm will be subject to a **3% penalty**. A **5% daily** penalty starts Aug 15th (penalty includes weekends). Your research should situate your thesis within the broader academic works (literature review) on the topic. You are required to use **a minimum of** fifteen (15) reputable works and provide proper bibliographical citation of works used to write the essay. More details on writing will be provided in class.

Additional Policies on Assignments: Read Carefully

The topic for the written assignments will be distributed in class. All essays should adhere to the criteria outlined here and in the separate essay writing handout (which will be posted on Blackboard). Essays must have 12 point font-size in Times New Roman.

Essays should be double-spaced and numbered. Improper citations could lead to you losing some points. Essays must be proofread for spelling, typographical, grammatical, or syntactical errors.

Late written assignments must be submitted to the academic secretary at the department of Political Science. Ensure that your late essay is date-stamped by the secretary. The final papers submitted in any form other than a printed copy will not be graded. Make a copy of your essay before submitting it and keep copies of your research notes.

You should request extensions in writing from me. I will grant the extension only on unavoidable and justifiable grounds (e.g. serious illness, etc). You will be required to submit an acceptable documentation (such as doctor's note on the official University of Toronto Medical Certificate in case of illness) to have any chance of being granted an extension.

Blackboard: We will be using Blackboard to manage and coordinate this course. For this purpose, all students must have an active U of T e-mail address. This email address will also be the means with which I will communicate to you. All important information relating to the course will be distributed electronically through Blackboard. It is your responsibility to daily log on to the Blackboard website and obtain the posted information.

Academic Honesty: This class has a ZERO tolerance for academic dishonesty in any form. You should acknowledge properly the work and ideas of other people. You are reminded that plagiarism is a serious academic offense and the offender will be punished. Read carefully the University's policies on proper academic behavior at www.utoronto.ca/govcncl/pap/policies/behaveac.html, www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html. You should consult me or any one of the many guides available at the Writing Center (<http://www.utoronto.ca/writing>) if you are at all uncertain about what constitutes plagiarism, or what acceptable forms of citation and referencing are. The Writing Center is a very useful resource to assist students to avoid plagiarism incidents or other academic offenses, as well as to improve their overall writing skills.

Accommodations and Accessibility: You do not need to inform me about the kind of disability unless you wish to do so. The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility accommodations. If you require accommodations or have any accessibility concerns, please visit <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility> as soon as possible.

Grade Dispute:

Though not anticipated, grade disputes are common occurrence. In an event of a student wanting to dispute a grade, the procedure would be as follows:

- i. In a page or two, student would detail what the discrepancy is.
- ii. Student state clearly the portion of their paper that was not graded correctly

- iii. Student would also attach the graded paper to the dispute letter and hand it over to the professor.

The disputed paper would be graded again. This could result in an increase, same, or reduction in grade.

Note that the grade obtained as a result of a paper being re-graded would be the final grade. There shall not be any further grading of the paper.

Contact: I will be pleased to see you during regular office hours. I will also be happy to answer your **short** questions about the course through email. However, I will only answer simple and direct questions about the course through email. It is advisable that you consult the course syllabus before sending questions about the course via email to me. You must use your UTOR account when communicating with me. I will do my best to reply to your email messages within 72 hours of receipt of the email during regular business hours. I will not be checking my emails regularly, and possibly not at all, on weekends or after regular business hours.

Schedule of Topics and Readings

Part I: Knowledge Production: IR & Human Rights Norms

Week 1

July 05: On Ontology and Epistemology

Jonathan, Grix. "Introducing Students to the Generic Terminology of Social Research". *POLITICS*: 2002 VOL 22(3), 175–186.

Edward W. Said. *Orientalism*. 1978. Chapter 1.

July 10: The discipline of IR: "Who tells the stories and how?"

Gruffydd, Jones, *Decolonizing International Relations*. (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006). "Introduction" and Ch 1.

Olivier Nay, "International organisations and the production of hegemonic knowledge: How the World Bank and the OECD helped invent the fragile State concept". *Third World Quarterly* 35:2 (2014), 210-231.

Oliver P. Richmond. "Critical Research Agendas for Peace: The Missing Link in the Study of International Relations". *Alternatives* 32 (2007), 247–274

Further Readings

Caroline Thomas and Peter Wilkin "Still Waiting After All These Years: The 'Third World' on the Periphery of International Relations" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 6:2 (2004), pp. 241-258.

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52:4 (Autumn 1998), 887-917

Susanne Rudolphe, "The Imperialism of Categories: Situating Knowledge in a Globalizing World", *Perspectives on Politics* 3 (1), 2005, 5-14.

Picq, Manuela. "Critics at the edge? Decolonizing methodologies in International Relations. *International Political Science Review*. 2013, 34(4) 444–455.

Andrew Preston, "Monsters Everywhere: A Genealogy of National Security," *Diplomatic History* 38:3 (June 2014), 477-500.

John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain*. Preface and Ch. 1. (London: Allen Lane, 2012).

Singer, Marshall R.. *Weak States in a World of Powers: The Dynamic of International Relationships*. Macmillan: 1972.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. "What is Wrong with Science and Rationality?" In Gred Philo and David Miller, eds. Market Killing. *What the Free Market Does and What Social Scientists Can do About it*. Edinborough Gate, Harlow: Pearson.

Ricci, David. 1984. *The Tragedy of Political Science: Politics, Scholarship and Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, Chapters 1, 7, 9.

Immanuel Wallerstein, "Social Science and the Quest for a Just Society," Ch. 12 of his *The Essential Wallerstein* (New York: New Press, 2000).

Week 2

July 12: On Human Rights

Grovogui, Siba. "Mind, Body, and Guts, Elements of a Postcolonial Human Rights Discourse". In *Decolonizing International Relations*. Ch 8.

S. Prakash Sinha. Human Rights: A Non-Western Viewpoint. *Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy*, Vol. 67, No. 1, pp. 76-91(1981).

Alice L. Conklin. Colonialism and Human Rights, A Contradiction in Terms? The Case of France and West Africa, 1895-1914. *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 103, No. 2 (Apr., 1998), pp. 419-442.

Johan Galtung (1973). "Epilogue: Basic human needs, conflict and peace research" (pp. 158-166), in *Theories of conflict: Definitions, Dimensions, Negations, Formations*. University of Hawai'i Press.

Further Readings

Mark Mazower (2004). THE STRANGE TRIUMPH OF HUMAN

RIGHTS, 1933–1950. *The Historical Journal*, 47, 2 (2004), pp. 379–398.

Ishay, Micheline R.. “What are Human Rights? Six Historical Controversies.” *The Journal of Human Rights* 3 (3): 359-371. 2004.

Hopgood, Stephen. 2013. *The Endtimes of Human Rights*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1-2.

Headley, J M (2008), *The Europeanization of the World: On the Origins of Human Rights and Democracy*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Hunt, Lynn. 2008. *Inventing Human Rights: A History*. New York: W.W. Norton. Chapter 4.

July 17: **On the Political Economy of Human Rights**

Johan Galtung. "A Structural Theory of Imperialism". *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 8, No.2 (1971), 81-117.

Tony Evans & Alison J. Ayers. "In the Service of Power: The Global Political Economy of Citizenship and Human Rights". *Citizenship Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 289–308, July 2006.

Oliver P. Richmond. “Emancipatory forms of human security and liberal peacebuilding”. *International Journal*, Summer 2007, 459.

Further Readings

Marina Ottaway, Bethany Lacina. *International Interventions and Imperialism: Lessons from the 1990s*. SAIS Review, Volume 23, Number 2, Summer-Fall 2003, pp. 71-92.

Michael Pugh, “The Political Economy of Peacebuilding: A Critical Theory Perspective”. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, Volume 10, Number 2, Autumn/Winter 2005

Tobias Denskus (2007): “Peacebuilding does not build peace”. *Development in Practice*, V 17, Number 4-5, August.

Part II: Intervention: Violence, Mediation, & Peace Agreements

Week 3

July 19: On Violence

Johan Galtung 1969. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research". *Journal of Peace Research*, 6, 3:167-91.

Ayers, A. J.. "Beyond The Ideology of 'Civil War': The Global-Historical Constitution of Political Violence in Sudan". *The Journal of Pan African Studies*. V. 4. N. 10. (2012).

Eileen F. Babbitt (2009). "Conflict Resolution and Human Rights: The State of the Art". The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution. SAGE Publications Ltd.

Christopher Clapham (1998). Rwanda: The Perils of Peacemaking. *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Mar.), pp. 193-210

Further Readings

Cramer, Christopher. *Violence in Developing Countries: War, Memory, Progress* Indiana University Press, 2006. Intro, Ch. 2.

*Duffield, Mark. *Development, Security, and Unending War: Governing the World of People*. (Polity Press, 2007). Ch. 1- 3, 5, 9.

*Feher, Michel. *Powerless by Design: The Age of the International Community*. Durham: Duke UP, 2000. Print. Pages 1-137.

Michael Pugh, "The Political Economy of Peacebuilding: A Critical Theory Perspective". *International Journal of Peace Studies*, Volume 10, Number 2, Autumn/Winter 2005

Week 4

July 24: On Mediation

Eileen F. Babbitt, "The Evolution of International Conflict Resolution: From Cold War to Peacebuilding". *Negotiation Journal* October 2009.

Jacob Bercovitch (2009). "Mediation and Conflict Resolution". The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution. SAGE Publications Ltd.

Oliver P. Richmond. *Mediation in Post-Liberal International Relations*. Draft (to be posted separately by the Professor on Blackboard).

Isak Svensson. "Who Brings Which Peace? Neutral versus Biased Mediation and Institutional Peace Arrangements in Civil Wars". *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (JUNE 2009), pp. 446-469.

Further Readings

Teresa Whitfield, "External actors in mediation: Dilemmas & options for mediators", *The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue* (HD Centre).

Bertha Kadenyi Amisi, "Indigenous Ideas of the Social and Conceptualizing Peace in Africa", *Africa Peace and Conflict Journal* 2007.

Gilbert M. Khadiagala. *Meddlers or Mediators?: African Interveners in Civil Conflicts in Eastern Africa*. (Brill Publishers, 2007).

Andrea Bartoli, Mediating Peace in Mozambique: "The Role of the Community of Sant'Egidio" in Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World*.

Richard Jackson, "Internal War, International Mediation, and Non-Official Diplomacy: Lessons from Mozambique", *The Journal of Conflict Studies*, 2005.

Siniša Vuković. "Soft Power, Bias and Manipulation of International Organizations in International Mediation". *International Negotiation* 20 (2015) 414–443.

July 26: **On Peace Agreements** *(1st PAPER DUE) *

Peter Wallensteen. *Understanding Conflict Resolution*. Forth Edition. Sage 2015. Ch 6 and Ch 7.

Arnault, Jean. 2001. "Good Agreement? Bad Agreement? An Implementation Perspective." Princeton University Center for International Studies.
http://id.cdint.org/content/documents/Good_Agreement_Bad_Agreement.pdf

Lotta Harbom, Stina Höglbladh & Peter Wallensteen. "Armed Conflict and Peace Agreements". *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 43, no. 5, 2006, pp. 617–631

Bercovitch, Jacob, and Leah Simpson. 2010. "International Mediation and the Question of Failed Peace Agreements: Improving Conflict Management and Implementation." *Peace & Change* 35 (1): 68–103.

Further Readings

Virginia Page Fortna. "Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace". *International Organization* 57, Spring 2003, pp. 337–372.

Beardsley, Kyle. 2008. "Agreement without Peace? International Mediation and Time Inconsistency Problems." *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (4): 723–740.

Bercovitch, Jacob, and Leah Simpson. 2010. "International Mediation and the Question of Failed Peace Agreements: Improving Conflict Management and Implementation." *Peace & Change* 35 (1): 68–103.

Höglbladh, Stina. 2012. "Peace Agreement Dataset Codebook, Version 2.0." Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Part III: Case Studies

Week 5

July 31: Sudan (Addis Ababa Agreement, 1972)

Roger Dean, "Rethinking the Civil War in Sudan". *Civil Wars*, Vol.3, No. 1 (Spring 2000), pp.71-91.

Nelson Kasfir, "Southern Sudanese Politics since the Addis Ababa Agreement". *African Affairs*. Vol. 76, No. 303 (Apr., 1977), pp. 143-166

David H. Shinn, "Addis Ababa Agreement: Was It Destined To Fail And Are There Lessons For The Current Sudan Peace Process?" *Annales d'Ethiopie*, 2005, vol. XX: 239-258

Further Readings

Scopas S. Poggio. *The first Sudanese civil war: Africans, Arabs, and Israelis in the Southern Sudan, 1955-1972*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 1st ed.

Douglas H. Johnson, (2016). *Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars: Old Wars and New Wars*. Suffolk: James Currey.

Woodward, P. *US foreign policy and the Horn of Africa*. Hampshire; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, c2006.

Aug 02: Sudan (The Comprehensive Peace Agreement, 2005)

John Young (2005): "Sudan: a flawed peace process leading to a flawed peace, Review of African Political Economy", 32:103, 99-113

Øystein H. Rolandsen, (2011): "A quick fix? A retrospective analysis of the Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement". *Review of African Political Economy*, 38:130, 551-564.

Sharath Srinivasan (2013). NEGOTIATING VIOLENCE: SUDAN'S PEACEMAKERS AND THE WAR IN DARFUR. *African Affairs*, 113/450, 24-44 December 2013.

Further Readings

Gilbert M. Khadiagala. *Meddlers or Mediators?: African Interveners in Civil Conflicts in Eastern Africa*. (Brill Publishers, 2007).

Hilde F. Johnson. *Waging peace in Sudan: the inside story of the negotiations that ended Africa's longest civil war*. Portland, Or.; Toronto: Sussex Academic Press, 2011.

Khalid, M.. *War and peace in Sudan: a tale of two countries*. London; New York: Kegan Paul, 2003.

Week 06

Aug 07: **NO Class (Civic Holiday)**

Aug 09: **On Outcomes**

Siniša Vuković, “Three Degrees of Success in International Mediation”. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 2014, Vol. 42(3) 966–976.

Marieke Kleiboer, “Understanding Success and Failure of International Mediation” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. V. 40. N 2. 1996. P. 360-389.

Mark Hoffman, “Defining and evaluating success: Facilitative problem-solving workshops in an interconnected context”. *Paradigms*, Vol.9 No.2 Winter 1995

Jacob Bercovitch, “Mediation success or Failure: A Search for the Elusive Criteria”. *Cardozo J. Of Conflict Resolution* [Vol. 7:289] 2007.

Week 10

Aug 14: **Student Presentations *(FINAL PAPER IS DUE)***