

POL 486F/POL 2205H
Fall 2010
Office Hours: Tues. 2-4 p.m.

Topics in International Politics
"Peacebuilding"

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This seminar will focus on a topic that has recently acquired considerable academic interest and international attention, the subject of peacebuilding. Long after the military struggle of a civil war has ended and a peace settlement has been negotiated (or imposed), there remains the difficult task of rebuilding the war-torn society. The purpose of this seminar is to explore what this term means; how peace is restored, by whom and for what ends; and the many obstacles that arise to slow down and in some cases to disrupt the peace process. In the last few seminars we shall examine individual cases of civil war, the efforts made to restore peace, and their success or failure.

REQUIREMENTS

1. The success of any seminar depends on the willingness of students to participate in the weekly discussions. Marks (**20%**) will be awarded to students on the basis of their general participation in the seminars and their individual presentation of a week's readings.
2. A critical review of one of the following books (2500 words), to be handed in by October 12 (30%).

Adekeye Adebajo & Ismail Rashid, eds., *West Africa's Security Challenges: Building Peace in a Troubled Region*

James K. Boyce, *Economic Policy for Building Peace: the Lessons of El Salvador*

Rex Brynen, *A Very Political Economy: Peacebuilding and Foreign Aid in the West Bank and Gaza*.

David Chandler, *Bosnia: Faking Democracy After Dayton*, (2nd Edition)

Amy Chua, *World on Fire*

Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion*

_____, *Wars, Guns, and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*

Elizabeth Cousins and Chetan Kumar eds., *Peacebuilding as Politics*

Romeo Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*

Timothy Donais, *The Political Economy of Peacebuilding in Post-Dayton Bosnia*

Antonio Donini, Noral Niland and Karen Wermester, eds., *Nation-Building Unraveled? Aid, Peace and Justice in Afghanistan*

Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars*

Craig Etcheson, *After the Killing Fields*

Shepard Forman and Steward Patrick, eds., *Good Intentions: Pledges of Aid for Post-Conflict Recovery*

Oliver Furley & Roy May eds., *Ending Africa's Wars: Progressing to Peace*

Francis Fukuyama, ed., *Nation Building: Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq*

Fen Osler Hampson, *Nurturing Peace: Why Peace Settlements Succeed or Fail*

Peter Harris and Ben Reilly, eds., *Democracy and Deep-Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators*

Jean Hatzfeld, *Machete Season: The Killers in Rwanda Speak*

Bruce Jones, *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure*.

Tom Keating and Andy Knight, eds., *Building Sustainable Peace*

Colin Knox and Padraic Quirk, *Peacebuilding in Northern Ireland, Israel and South Africa*.

Krishna Kumar, *Rebuilding Societies After Civil War: Critical Roles for International Assistance*

Leenco Lata, *The Horn of Africa as Common Homeland: The State and Self-determination in the Era of Heightened Globalization*

John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace*

_____, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*

Roy Licklider, ed., *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End*

Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*

Rama Mani, *Beyond Retribution: Seeking Justice in the Shadows of War*

Edward Newman and Albrecht Schnabel, eds., *Recovering from Civil Conflict: Reconciliation, Peace and Development*

Erna Paris, *Long Shadows: Truth, Lies and History*

Roland Paris, *At War's End*

Paula M. Pickering, *Peacebuilding in the Balkans: The View from the Ground Floor*

Scopas S. Puggo, *The First Sudanese Civil War: Africans, Arabs, and Israelis in the Southern Sudan, 1955-1972*

Michael Pugh, ed., *Regeneration of War-Torn Societies*

Michael Pugh and Neil Cooper, *War Economies in a Regional Context*

Robert Rotberg, *Creating Peace in Sri Lanka*

Lisa Schirch, *Ritual and Symbol in Peacebuilding*

Ian S. Spears, *Civil Wars in African States: the Search for Security*

Stephen Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth Cousins, eds., *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*

Barbara Walter, *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars*

Craig Zelizer & Robert Rubinstein, *Building Peace: Political Reflections in the Field*.

3. A research paper on an individual civil war, focusing on its causes and consequences, and especially on the responses to the civil war. Papers should be 6000 words in length and handed in no later than the last class (December 7). The following list is not exclusive: Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Lebanon, Liberia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Uganda, Yugoslavia, Zaire (or Congo) and Zimbabwe.

WEEKLY READINGS

I - Introduction (Sept. 14)

II - Peacebuilding: What is it? And why do we need it? (September 21)

Taisier Ali and Robert Matthews, eds., *Durable Peace: Challenges for Peacebuilding in Africa*, Introduction

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-Keeping*. Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to the Statement Adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992 (UN, 1992).

Elizabeth Cousins and Chetan Kumar, eds., *Peacebuilding as Politics*, pp. 5-16

Ana Cutter, "Peacebuilding: A Literature Review," *Development in Practice*, Vol. 15, No. 6 (November 2005)

John Paul Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*, pp. 31-40

Michael Lund, *What Kind of Peace is Being Built? Taking Stock of Post-conflict Peacebuilding and Charting Future Directions* (Ottawa: IDRC, 2003)

Necla Tschirgi, *Post-conflict Peacebuilding Revisited: Achievements, Limitations, Challenges* (New York, International Peace Academy, 2004).

III - Components I: Security (Sept. 28)

Mats Berdal, "Disarmament and Demobilization after Civil War", *Adelphi Paper 303* (1996)

Nat J. Colletta, Markus Kostner and Ingo Wiederhofer, *The Transition From War to Peace in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Chps 1,5.

Kees Kingma, *Demobilization in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Development and Security Impacts*, concluding chapter.

Mark Sedra, "The Future of Security Sector Reform", E-Conference Report, The Centre for International Governance Innovation, July 23, 2009.

Joanna Spear, "Disarmament and Demobilization", in Stedman, Rothchild and Cousins, eds., *Ending Civil Wars*

Ian Spears, *Civil Wars in African States*, chp. 1

Barbara Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement", *International Organization*, 51, 3 (Summer 1997).

IV - Components II - Political Arrangements (October 5)

Francis Fukuyama, "Building Democracy After Conflict", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (January 2005)

Peter Harris and Ben Reilly, eds., *Democracy and Deep-Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators*, Ch. 4.1 and 4.2, pp 133-178

Terrence Lyons, "The Role of Post-Settlement Elections," in Stephen Stedman, Donald Rothchild & Elizabeth Cousins, eds., *Ending Civil Wars*

Marina Ottaway, *Africa's New Leaders, Democracy or State Reconstruction*, Chp. 1

_____, "Rebuilding State Institutions in Collapsed States", *Development and Change*, 33(5), 2002

Richard Sandbrook, *Closing the Circle*, Chp. 3 (entitled "Democratization and Deadly Conflict")

Amos Sawyer, "Governance & Democratization" in Adebajo & Rashid, eds., *West Africa's Security Challenges*

Ian S. Spears, "Africa: The Limits of Power-Sharing", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (July 2002)

_____, "When Good Governments go bad" *International Journal*, Spring 2007.

V - Component III - Economic Development (October 12)

Peter Andreas, "The Clandestine Political Economy of War and Peace in Bosnia," *International Studies Quarterly*, 48, 2004

James Boyce, ed., *Economic Policy for Building Peace: The Lessons of El Salvador*, Introduction

_____, "Beyond Good Intentions: External Assistance and Peace Building", in Forman and Patrick, eds., *Good Intentions*

James Busumtwi-Sam, "Development and Peacebuilding", in Ali and Matthews, eds., *Durable Peace*

Timothy Donais, *The Political Economy of Peacebuilding in Post-Dayton Bosnia*, chps 1, 2

Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion*, chp. 2

Eboe Hutchful & Kwesi Aning, "The Political Economy of Conflict" in Adebajo & Rashid eds., *West Africa's Security Challenges*.

Susan L. Woodward, "Economic Priorities for Successful Peace Implementation", in S. Stedman, D. Rothchild, E. Cousins, eds., *Ending Civil Wars*

VI - Component IV - Justice and Reconciliation (October 19)

Hizkias, Assefa, "Reconciliation," in *Peacebuilding: A Field Guide*, edited by Luc Reychler and Thania Paffenholz, 2001

Michelle Gawere, "Peacebuilding: Theoretical and Concrete Perspectives," *Peace and Change*, October 2006

Richard Goldstone, *For Humanity*, Foreword and Chapter 3

Lyn Graybill and Kimberly Lanegran, "Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation in Africa", *African Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 8, Issue 1 (Fall 2004)

Ho-Won Jeong & Charles Lerche, "Reconciliation: Context and Consequences" in *Approaches to Peacebuilding*, edited by Ho-Wong Jeong.

M. Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*, Conclusion

Rama Mani, *Beyond Retribution: Seeking Justice in the Shadows of War*, pp. 3-22

VII - Parties to Peacebuilding: The Role of the International Community (October 26)

Fen Osler Hampson, *Nurturing Peace*, chp. 7

James Busumtwi-Sam, Alexander Costy and Bruce Jones, "Structural Deficits and International Adaptations to Conflict and Peacebuilding in Africa" in Ali and Matthews, eds., *Durable Peace*

David Chandler, *Bosnia*, Chp. 8 ("The external dynamic of democratisation")

Gareth Evans, "What Difference would the Peacebuilding Commission Make: The Case of Burundi," *International Crisis Group*, <http://crisisgroup.org>

K.J. Holsti, *The State, War and the State of War*, Chp. 9

Leon Gordenker and Thomas G. Weiss, eds., *NGOs, the UN and Global Governance*, chps by Domini and Natsios.

Stewart Patrick, "The Donor Community and the Challenge of Postconflict Recovery", in S. Forman and Stewart Patrick, eds., *Good Intentions*

Charles Pentland, "The European Union and Civil Conflict in Africa", *International Journal*, VOL LX, No.4 (Autumn 2004).

VIII - Peacebuilding from the Bottom-Up: The Role of Civil Society (November 2)

Swanee Hunt and Cristina Posa, "Women Waging Peace", *Foreign Policy* (May/June 2001).

Yasmin Jusu-Sheriff, "Civil Society", in Adekeye Adebajo & Ismail Rashid eds., *West Africa's Security Challenges*.

J.P. Lederach, *Building Peace*, pp. 37-61

Paul Pickering, *Peacebuilding in the Balkans: The View from the Ground Floor*, chp. 1.

John Prendergast and Emily Plumb, "Building Local Capacity: From Implementation to Peacebuilding", in Stephen Stedman, D. Rothchild and Elizabeth Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars*.

International Peace Academy, "Civil Society Perspectives from the Mano River Union", 2002.

IX - The Regional Context (November 16)

Marielle Debos, "Fluid Loyalties in a Regional Crisis: Chadian Ex-Liberators in the Central African Republic" *African Affairs*, April 2008

Gil Loescher, James Milner, Edward Newman, and Gary Troeller, "Protracted refugee situations and the regional dynamics of peacebuilding," *Policy Brief*, United Nations University, March 2007.

Michael Pugh & Neil Cooper, *War Economies in a Regional Context*, chp. 1

Keeysie Studdart, "War Economies in a Regional Context", *International Peace Academy*, 2004.

X - Obstacles to Peacebuilding (November 23)

Alvaro di Solo and Graciano del Castillo, "Obstacles to Peacebuilding" *Foreign Policy*, No. 94 (Spring 1994)

Roy Licklider, "The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993", *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 89, No. 3, 1995

Roland Paris, "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism" *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 1997)

Stephen Stedman, "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes", in *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 1997).

Stephen Stedman and Donald Rothchild, "Peace Operations: From Short-Term to Long-Term Commitments", *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Summer 1996)

XI - Failures and Successes in Peacebuilding (November 30)

"The Failed State Index", *Foreign Policy*, May/June 2008

Taisier Ali, R. O. Matthews and Ian Spears, "Failures in Peacebuilding: Angola and Sudan (1972-83)", in Ali and Matthews eds., *Durable Peace*

Burundi's Transition, articles by Dave Peterson and Howard Wolpel (with Steve McDonald), in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (January 2006)

Alex Costy, "The Peace Dividend in Mozambique", in Ali and Matthews, *Durable Peace*.

Larry Diamond, "What went wrong and right in Iraq", in Fukuyama, ed. *Nation Building: Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq*

Peter Gourevitch, "The Life After: A startling exercise in reconciliation", *The New Yorker*, May 4, 2009.

John Kiyaga-Nusbuga, "Uganda: The Politics of 'Consolidation,' under Museveni's Regime, 1996 - 2003" in Ali and Matthews, eds., *Durable Peace*

William Reno, "Reconstructing Peace in Liberia", in Ali and Matthews, *Durable Peace*.

XII - A Peacebuilding Strategy (December 7)

Taisier Ali and Robert O. Matthews, "The Long and Difficult Road to Peace", in Ali and Matthews, eds., *Durable Peace*

Daniel Branch & Nic Cheeseman, "Democratization, Sequencing, and state failure in Africa: Lessons from Kenya", *African Affairs*, January 2009.

Francis Fukuyama, "Guidelines for Future Nation-Building" in Fukuyama, ed., *Nation Building: Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq*

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect*, pp. 39-45.

Stephen Stedman, Donald Rothchild and Elizabeth Cousins, eds., *Ending Civil Wars*, chps. 2, 22.

