

**POL 486/2205HF
Fall 2018**

Office Hours: Tues. 2-4 p.m.

**Topics in International Politics
“Peacebuilding”**

R.O. Matthews

E-mail: matthews2@sympatico.ca

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. Throughout the seminar we will apply theories of peacebuilding to real-world cases.

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/leadership of a week's readings.
2. A critical review of one of the following books (2500 words), to be handed in by October 9, 2018 (30% of the final grade).

Chris Alden, Monika Thakur and Matthew Arnold, *Militias and the Challenges of Post-Conflict Peace: Silencing the Guns*

S. Autesserre, *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding*

_____, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention*

Alex Bellamy, *The Responsibility to Protect: A Defence* (2015)

M.R. Berdal and A. Wennmann, *Ending Wars, Consolidating Peace: Economic Perspectives*

C. Call and V. Wyeth, *Building States to Build Peace*

Nicolas Coghlan, *Collapse of a Country: A Diplomat's Memoir of South Sudan*

Paul Collier, *Wars, Guns, and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*

Romeo Dallaire, *They Fight like Soldiers, They Die like Children*

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 Field*

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

K. Guttieri and J. Piombo, *Interim Governments: Institutional Bridges to Peace and Democracy?*
 Jean Hatzfeld, *Machete Season: The Killers in Rwanda Speak*
 Pamina Firchow and Harry Anastasiou, eds., *Practical Approaches to Peacebuilding: Putting Theory to Work*
 A. Jarstad and T. D. Sisk, *From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding*
 Bruce Jones, *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure.*
 Tom Keating and Andy Knight, eds., *Building Sustainable Peace*
 Michael Kelly and Catherine Baker, *Interpreting the Peace: Peace Operations, Conflict and Language in Bosnia-Herzegovina*
 Elisabeth King, *From Classroom to Conflict in Rwanda*
 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*
 Desmond Molloy, *Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: Theory and Practice*
 Rama Mani, *Beyond Retribution: Seeking Justice in the Shadows of War*
 Gearoid Millar, *An Ethnographic Approach to Peacebuilding: Understanding Local Experiences in Transitional States*
 Desmond Molloy, *Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*
 Edward Newman and Albrecht Schnabel, eds., *Recovering from Civil Conflict: Reconciliation, Peace and Development*
 Erna Paris, *Long Shadows: Truth, Lies and History*
 Paula M. Pickering, *Peacebuilding in the Balkans: The View from the Ground Floor*
 Elisabeth Porter, *Connecting Peace, Justice, and Reconciliation*
 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*
 O.P. Richmond & J. Franks, *Liberal Peace Transitions: Between Statebuilding and Peacebuilding*
 Richard Sandbrook, *Reinventing the Left in the Global South: The Politics of the Possible*
 Lisa Schirch, *Ritual and Symbol in Peacebuilding*
 Ian S. Spears, *Civil Wars in African States: the Search for Security*
 M.D. Toft, *Securing Peace: The Durable Settlements 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 (April 3) (50%). The following list is not exclusive: Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Colombia, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Iraq, Ireland, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Syria, Uganda, Yugoslavia, Zaire (or Congo) and Zimbabwe.

WEEKLY READINGS

I. Introduction (September 11)

II. Peacebuilding: What is it? And why do we need it? (September 18)

Taisier Ali and Robert Matthews, eds.(2004), *Durable Peace: Challenges for Peacebuilding in Africa* (Toronto, Toronto University Press), pp.3-15.

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). Available at: http://www.unrol.org/doc.aspx?n=A_47_277.pdf.

Elizabeth Cousins and Chetan Kumar (2001), eds., *Peacebuilding as Politics* (Boulder; Lynne Rienner), pp. 5-16.

Elisabeth King and Robert Matthews (2012), “A New ‘Agenda for Peace,’” *International Journal*, 67 (2), pp. 275-93.

Roland Paris (2004), *At War’s End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict*, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp.13-39.

III. Components I - Security (September 25)

Alex J. Bellamy (2003), “Security Sector Reform: Prospects and Problems,” in *Global Change, Peace, and Security*, 15 (2), pp. 101-19. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14781150303903>.

Andrew Cooper, John Kirton, Franklyn Lisk and Huny Besada eds.,*Africa’s Health Challenges*, chps.1 and 10.

Joanna Spear (2002), “Disarmament and Demobilization”, in S. Stedman, D. Rothchild and E. Cousins, eds., *Ending Civil Wars*, Boulder:Lynne Rienner, pp. 142-61.

Ursula C, Schroeden and Fairlie Chappuis,” Near Perspectives on Security Sector Reforms: The Role of Local Agency and Domestic Politics, “ *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 21, No.2 (April 2014)

Ian Spears (2010), *Civil Wars in African States*, Boulder: First Forum Press, chp.1.

Barbara Walter (1997), “The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement”, *International Organization*, 51, 3, pp.335-64. (on line).

IV. Components II - Political Arrangements (October 2)

M. Barnett (2006), "Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States After War", *International Security*, 30(4), pp. 87-112. (on line)

Hevina S. Dashwood and Cranford Pratt, "Leadership, Participation, and Conflict Management," Taisier Ali and Robert Matthews, eds., *Civil Wars in Africa: Roots and Resolution*

S. S. Eriksen (2009), "The Liberal Peace is Neither: Peacebuilding, Statebuilding and the Reproduction of Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo", *International Peacekeeping*, 16(5), pp. 652-66. (on line)

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

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

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

V. Component III - Economic Development (October 9)

James Boyce (2000), "Beyond Good Intentions: External Assistance and Peace Building", in S. Forman and Stewart Patrick, eds., *Good Intentions: Pledges of Aid for Postconflict Recovery*, pp. 367-82.

James Busumtwi-Sam, "Development and Peacebuilding", in Ali and Matthews, eds., *Durable Peace*, pp.315-53.

Paul Collier (2007), *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can be Done About It*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chp.2.

A. Wennmann, "Resourcing the Recurrence of Intrastate Conflict: Parallel Economies and Their Implications for Peacebuilding", *Security Dialogue*, 36(4), 2005 (on line).

Susan L. Woodward, "Economic Priorities for Successful Peace Implementation", in S. Stedman, D. Rothchild, E. Cousins, eds., *Ending Civil Wars*, pp. 183-214.

VI. Component IV - Justice and Reconciliation (October 16)

Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015), Volume One: Summary, Introduction, pp.1-22.

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

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.

Elisabeth King (2014), *From Classroom to Conflict in Rwanda* (Cambridge University Press), chapter 5.

M. Mamdani (2001), *When Victims Become Killers*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, Conclusion.

VII. Peacebuilding: An Ideological Project? (October 23)

Amy Chua, *World on Fire*, Introduction and chapter 12.

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

Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen (2010), "The Ideology of peace: Peacebuilding and the War in Iraq," in Oliver Richmond, ed., *Advances in Peacebuilding: Critical Advances and Approaches*, London Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 175-89.

Richard Sandbrook, *Reinventing the Left in the Global South*, chp. 2 (Alternative Visions: Leftist versus Neoliberal Paradigms)

Ian Taylor, "Liberal Peace, Liberal Imperialism: A Gramscian Critique," in Oliver Richmond, ed., *Advances in Peacebuilding*, pp. 154-74

VIII. Parties to Peacebuilding: The Role of the International Community (October 30)

Alex J. Bellamy (2010), "The Institutionalization of peacebuilding: What Role for the UN Peacebuilding Commission," in Oliver Richmond, ed., *Advances in Peacebuilding: Critical Advances and Approaches*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 193-212.

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*, pp. 354-92.

David Chandler (2000), *Bosnia*, Chp. 8 (“The external dynamic of democratization”), pp. 181-99. Pluto Press.

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

Michael Mandelbaum (2016), *Mission Failure: America and the World in the Post-Cold War Era*, Oxford University Press, pp. 1-13, 367-81.

Roland Paris, “The ‘Responsibility to protect’ and the Structural Problems of Preventive Humanitarian Intervention,” *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 21, No. 5, 2014, pp. 569-603.

Stewart Patrick, “The Donor Community and the Challenge of Postconflict Recovery”, in S. Forman and Stewart Patrick, eds., *Good Intentions: Pledges of Aid for Postconflict Recovery*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner (2000), pp. 35-63.

IX. Peacebuilding from the Bottom-Up: The Role of Civil Society (November 13)

C. Chinkin and H. Charlesworth, “Building Women Into Peace: The International Legal Framework”, *Third World Quarterly* 27(5), 2006.

Nathan C. Funk (2012), “Building on what’s already there,” *International Journal*, 67 (2), pp. 391-408.

Caroline Hughes, Joakim Ojendal and Isabell Schierenbeck, “The Struggle versus the Song – the local turn in peacebuilding: an introduction,” *Third World Quarterly*, 36, 5 (2015)

Swanee Hunt and Cristina Posa, “Women Waging Peace”, *Foreign Policy* (May/June 2000)

J.P. Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute for Peace, pp. 37-61.

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

X. The Regional Context (November 20)

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*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, chps. 1 & 2.

Keeysie Studdart, “War Economies in a Regional Context”, International Peace Academy, 2004.

Thomas Tieku (2012), “A pan-African View of a new agenda for peace,” *International Journal*, 67 (2), pp. 373-89.

XI. Case Study: Sudan (November 27)

Taisier M. Ali and Robert O. Matthews (1999), “Civil War and Failed Peace Efforts in Sudan,” in Ali and Matthews, eds., *Civil Wars in Africa: Roots and Resolution*, Montreal: Queens-McGill University Press.

Nicolas Coghlan (2017), *Collapse of a Country: A Diplomat’s Memoir of South Sudan* Montreal, McGill-Queen’s University Press, pp. 245-52,

Richard Cockett (2010), *Sudan, Darfur and the Failure of an African State*, New Haven, Yale University Press, chp. 1.

Francis M. Deng, ed., (2010), *New Sudan in the Making? Essays on a Nation in Painful Search of Itself*, New Jersey, Red Sea Press, chp 3.

Douglas Johnson (2011), *The Root Causes of Sudan’s Civil Wars*, revised edition, James Currey, chp. 9.

“South Sudan: A Civil War by Any Name, *Africa Report*, (No. 217), 10 April, 2014.

XII. A Peacebuilding Strategy (December 4)

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

Severine Autesserre, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention*, pp. 247-74.

Alex J. Bellamy, *The Responsibility to Protect: A Defence*, Introduction and chapter 10.

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*, International Development Research Centre, December 2001, pp.39-45

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