

George Mason University

School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR)

CONF 746: Peacebuilding

Semester: Spring 2014
Class Time: Tuesdays, 4:30-7:10 pm
Location: Arlington Campus, Founders Hall
(Rm. 308)
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COURSE DESCRIPTION

The objective of this course is to distill from the appropriate theoretical and practical literature the essential elements of *Peacebuilding* and explore the analytical differences but also substantive overlap and possible linkages between: (a) violent conflict *prevention*; (b) conflict *management*; (c) conflict *settlement*; (d) conflict *resolution* and (e) conflict *transformation*.

The discussion will include types of Peacebuilding such as **reactive** Peacebuilding, which is what 3rd party interveners attempt after the fact of an actual violent conflict involving significant human rights violations -- after "the house has caught on fire" (e.g., Bosnia-Herzegovina during the early 1990s).

In "inductive," reactive Peacebuilding (IRP), members of the "concerned" international community focus initially on one particular type of intervention (in Bosnia, conflict *management* through the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), but if that fails, then move on to other types (in Bosnia, conflict *settlement* through NATO bombing of Serbian forces and then, following the Dayton Peace Accords, *peace enforcement* with the Stabilization Force (SFOR), followed by the Implementation Force (IFOR) and currently the European Union Force (EUFOR). "Inductive," reactive Peacemaking (IRP) may develop into a basis for one possible trajectory toward conflict *transformation* (in Bosnia, through the conflict parties taking the steps necessary to achieve eventual membership in the European Union).

By contrast, **proactive** Peacebuilding is what 3rd party interveners attempt *before the fact* of violent conflict. In this case, interveners design and implement an intervention into a *potential* violent conflict to achieve violent conflict *prevention* -- prevent "the house from catching on fire." If that fails, interveners may then decide on a strategy of partial "inductive," *reactive* Peacebuilding (IRP), moving first to conflict *management* (preventing the fire from spreading) and if that fails, to conflict *settlement* (coercively suppressing the fire). If, however, their initial effort at *proactive prevention* succeeds (e.g., as with the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force [UNPREDEP] in Macedonia), they may then decide to go forward with a strategy of "deductive," *proactive* Peacebuilding (DPP): employing the full array of multi-track, multi-sectorial interventions normally reserved for full "inductive" *reactive* Peacebuilding (IRP), but in which all categories of intervention are designed and implemented from the outset *within* a conflict *transformation* framework.

This course highlights "deductive," *proactive* Peacebuilding (DPP) as one source of effective Regional and Global Governance, especially (but not only) for Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and former Soviet Union: what conflict resolution pioneer John W. Burton refers to as conflict *prevention* and Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall as *Cosmopolitan conflict resolution*. Arguably, it is deductive, *proactive* Peacebuilding (DPP) that constitutes the ultimate antidote to the deep-rooted causes and conditions of global terrorism.

The major premise underlying the course is that "national interest" is *global interest* and vice versa, especially within the current parameters of Globalization and the "Global *Problematique*" - interconnected, interdependent issues that no one state or international actor can adequately address on its own, but only by collaborating with others. Moreover, to achieve any objective along the violent conflict *prevention - transformation* gradient at the local, state, interstate or regional levels, policymakers must pay attention to the global level as well. As Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall (2011, p. 129) put it:

Conflict formations run through our political communities *at all levels*, from the global to the national to the local. Moreover, these conflict formations are *intertwined* ... [Accordingly,] there is no possibility of addressing

local and regional conflicts without also taking the global and international setting into account (emphasis added).

Finally, the course emphasizes that Peacebuilding -- whether reactive ("*minimalist*") or proactive, inductive or deductive ("*maximalist*") -- is a *multilateral* and not a *unilateral* process, even for the world's sole surviving superpower.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. Prerequisites: CONF 501 or 801, or permission of the instructor.

2. Assessment: Students will complete *two* interrelated papers:

- (a) A midterm paper in which students select a current latent or manifest conflict and then, on the basis of all relevant readings, identify the "drivers" - causes and conditions - of that conflict. In their discussions, students will explore which causes/conditions are most important, followed by the next level of importance, etc. (15-20 pages; **40 percent of final grade**; due Tuesday, 18 March 2014).
- (b) A final paper in which students continue the analysis they initiated in their midterm papers and, on the basis of all relevant readings, design a Peacebuilding intervention into their select conflict. In their designs, students will pay careful attention to the various actors participating in the intervention to perform a variety of tasks either at the same time and/or sequenced at different points across time. Finally, students should indicate how optimally they would achieve coordination among those multi-track actors (15-20 pages; **40 percent of final grade**; due 13 May 2014).

NOTE: Since these two (2) papers are meant, among other things, to demonstrate that students have been in the course, *the papers should contain appropriate references to course concepts and the corresponding readings.* For further

clarification -- including about the GMU Honor Code (e.g., avoiding any hint of plagiarism at all costs) -- please feel free to consult with the instructor.

- (c) Students will also present on the readings required for the course (see below list) and, in general, participate in class discussions on the readings (**20 percent of final grade**).

3. Office Hours: Tuesdays, 7:15-8:00 pm and by appointment.

4. Withdrawal: The last day to drop the course without incurring a tuition penalty is Wednesday, 29 January 2014.

REQUIRED READINGS

Students will be asked to read one article, Dennis J.D. Sandole's "A Comprehensive Mapping of Conflict and Conflict Resolution: A Three Pillar Approach," *Peace and Conflict Studies*, December 1998, vol. 5, no.2, pp. 1-30 (which can be accessed online at: <http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/pcs/sandole.htm>); and then the following books:

(1) Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson (2012). *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*. New York: Crown Business/Random House (**ISBN 978-0-30771-922-5**).

(2) Beswick, Danielle and Paul Jackson (2011). *Conflict, Security and Development: An Introduction*. London and New York: Routledge (**ISBN 978-0-415-49983-5**).

(3) Ghani, Ashraf and Clare Lockhart (2009). *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press (**ISBN 978-0-1953-9861-8**).

(4) Jenkins, Rob (2013). *Peacebuilding: From Concept to Commission*. London and New York: Routledge (**ISBN 978-0-41577-644-8**).

(5) Junne, Gerd and Willemijn Verkoren (eds.) (2004). *Postconflict Development: Meeting New Challenges*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers (**ISBN 1-58826-303-7**).

- (6) Kaldor, Mary (2007). *Human Security: Reflections on Globalization and Intervention*. Cambridge (UK) and Malden (MA): Polity Press (ISBN 978-0-74563-854-6).
- (7) Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) Press (ISBN 1-878379-73-9).
- (8) Lederach, John Paul (2010). *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace. (Reprint Edition)*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press (ISBN 978-0-19974-758-0).
- (9) Paffenholz, Thania (2010). *Civil Society & Peacebuilding: A Critical Assessment*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers (ISBN 978-1-58826-672-9).
- (10) Paris, Roland and Timothy D. Sisk (eds.) (2009). *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations*. London and New York: Routledge (ISBN 978-0-41577-629-5).
- (11) Ramsbotham, Oliver, Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall (2011). *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts (3rd Edition)*. Cambridge (UK) and Malden (MA): Polity Press (ISBN 978-0-7456-4974-0).
- (12) Sandole, Dennis J.D. (2010). *Peacebuilding: Preventing Violent Conflict in a Complex World*. Cambridge (UK) and Malden (MA): Polity Press (ISBN 978-0-7456-4166-9).
- (13) Wenger, Andreas and Daniel Möckli (2003). *Conflict Prevention: The Untapped Potential of the Business Sector*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers (ISBN 1-58826-198-0).
- (14) Zelizer, Craig (ed.) (2013). *Integrated Peacebuilding: Innovative Approaches to Transforming Conflict*. Boulder: Westview Press/Perseus Books Group (ISBN 978-0-81339-509-3).

NOTE: Clearly, the course calls for a great deal of reading, but it is the instructor's view that the course demands nothing less than an attempt to be comprehensive in dealing with peacebuilding in the postmodern world.

Course Structure

I. Introduction.

28 Jan: **Facilitating Conflict Analysis and Peacebuilding Design -- Locating Deadly Conflict and Peacebuilding in a Comprehensive Framework: *The Three Pillar Framework* (3PF).**

A Comprehensive Mapping of Conflict and Conflict Resolution: A Three Pillar Approach (3PF)

Pillar 2:	Pillar 1:	Pillar 3:
Conflict Causes and Conditions Individual Societal International Global/Ecological	Conflict Elements Parties Issues Objectives Means Preferred Conflict- Handling Orientations Conflict Environment	Conflict Intervention <u>3rd Party Objectives</u> [Violent] Conflict Prevention Conflict Management Conflict Settlement Conflict Resolution Conflict Transformation <u>3rd Party Means for Achieving Goals</u> Confrontational and/or Collaborative Means Negative Peace and/or Positive Peace Orientations Track 1 and/or Multi-Track Actors and Processes

Read: Sandole (1998), all.
 Sandole (2010), Chs. 1-2.

II. Defining, Critiquing, and Improving Peacebuilding.

4,11,18

& 25 Feb: **Deadly Conflict and Its Antidotes: Peacebuilding and Development.**

A. Peacebuilding in a Nutshell: Political, Social, Economic, and Military Efforts to Prevent, Manage, Settle, Resolve, and/or Transform Deadly Conflict.

- B. State of Deadly Conflict in the World.
 - 1. "New" vs. "Old Wars".
 - 2. The Domestic-Foreign Conflict Nexus.

- C. Failures of Peacebuilding -- Unaddressed Causes and Conditions of Deadly Conflict. Consequences:
 - 1. Conflict Recurrences.
 - 2. Terrorism.

- D. Successes of Peacebuilding.
 - 1. The United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP) in Macedonia.
 - 2. The European Union: Boldest Experiment to Translate Immanuel Kant's Vision of "Perpetual Peace" (*Ewigen Frieden*) into Action.

- E. Enhancement of the Peacebuilding/Development Nexus.
 - 1. Complementing "Minimalist" (Negative Peace) with "Maximalist" (Positive Peace) Peacebuilding.
 - 2. Complementing Peacebuilding "From Above" with Peacebuilding "From Below": Critique of the "Liberal Peace".
 - 3. Complementing "National Interest" with "Global Interest" (*Cosmopolitanism*).
 - 4. Complementing "State Security" with "Human Security".

- F. Role of the United States.
- G. Role of the United Nations.

Read: Beswick and Jackson (2011), All.
 Jenkins (2013), All.

- Junne and Verkoren (2004), Ch. 1.
 Kaldor (2007), All.
 Lederach (1997), All.
 Lederach (2005), All.
 Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall (2011), Chs. 1-4.
 Sandole (2010), Chs. 3-5.
 Wenger and Möckli (2003), Chs. 1-3.

III. Specific Components of Peacebuilding.

4 Mar: State Fragility/Failure & Statebuilding.

- Read:** Acemoglu and Robinson (2012), All.
 Ghani and Lockhart (2009), All.
 Parris and Sisk (2009), All.

11 Mar: Semester Break.

18 Mar: Statebuilding, cont'd.

18 Mar: Midterm Papers Due.

25 Mar: Role of Civil Society.

- Read:** Paffenholz (2010).

1 Apr: Role of the Business Community.

- Read:** Wenger and Möckli (2003), Chs. 4-6.
 McDonald (Ch. 6) in Zelizer (2013).

IV. Multi-Track/Multi-Sectorial Peacebuilding.

8, 15, 22,

& 29 Apr: Cosmopolitan Conflict Resolution & Development: Approaches to Regional and Global Governance.

- Read:** June and Verkoren (2005), Chs. 2-17.
 Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, Chs. 5-20.
 Zelizer (2013), Chs. 1-5, 7-13.

6 May: Integration, Sequencing, and Coordination. Wrapping Up

13 May: Final Papers Due.