

## PAPER II

### PEACEMAKING AND PEACE-BUILDING

This paper seeks to ground students in the best practices of peacemaking between and within states, and peace-building as a preventive mechanism and a means of post-conflict reconstruction. It focuses on case studies that show both what works and what not to do; and combines lectures with simulations in order to deepen the analytical capacities of students as well as to provide them with a range of peacemaking skills in the field. This paper surveys peace-building initiatives from World War II onwards and looks at the lessons learned for nation, state and institution-building in deeply divided societies. It also asks who the most useful actors are, what combination of local, national and international resources are required, and what are the most effective peace-building mechanisms.

#### **Unit I: Introduction to Peacemaking and Peace-Building**

1. Kant's "Perpetual Peace", Gandhi's *Ahimsa* and *Satyagraha*
2. Peacemaking by states – diplomacy, negotiations and intervention
3. The Peace-Building Debate
4. The UN Peace-Building Commission, Key Issues

#### **Unit II: Elements of a Sustainable Peace Process**

1. Essential Conditions
  2. End Goals, Roadmaps, Phases
  3. Ownership and Accountability
- (Case studies: Northern Ireland, India-Pakistan-Kashmir)

#### **Unit III: Peace Agreements**

1. Limited Peace Agreements
  2. Incremental Peace Agreements
  3. Comprehensive Peace Agreements
- (Case studies: Nagaland, Bosnia & Kosovo)

#### **Unit IV: Post-Conflict Reconstruction**

1. Nation-Building vs. State-Building
  2. The Development Debate
  3. Civil Society Institutions
- (Case studies Marshall Plan, Indian constitutional debates, UN PBC in Sierra Leone and Burundi)

#### **Unit V: Stabilization and Prevention**

1. Rapid Reaction and Pro-action
  2. Collective Security – Role of Regional Organizations and Powers
  3. Regional and International Lessons Learned
- (Case studies: Balkans Stability Pact, AU and ASEAN)

Simulations: Northern Ireland (Last Round of Belfast Agreement negotiations), Kashmir (Centre-State Relations, PM's Working Group) or Bosnia (Renegotiating the Constitution)

## **READINGS**

### **UNIT I Introduction to Peacemaking and Peace-Building**

- 1.1 Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*, pp 1-28.
- 1.2 MK Gandhi, *Selected Readings*
- 1.3 Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse & Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts*, pp. 159-184, Polity Press.
- 1.4 Pierre du Toit, “Rules and Procedures for Negotiated Peacemaking” in John Darby & Roger MacGinty edited *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*, pp. 65-76, Palgrave Macmillan.
- 1.5 Keating, Tom & Knight, W. Andy, ‘Introduction: Recent Developments in Postconflict Studies—Peacebuilding and Governance. In Keating, Tom & Knight, W. Andy, (eds) 2004, *Building Sustainable Peace*, Academic Foundation, New Delhi. Pp. XXXI-LXII.
- 1.6 UN General Assembly, 59<sup>th</sup> session Agenda items 45-55, *In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all*, Report of the Secretary-General, Addendum Peacebuilding Commission. May 2005.
- 1.7 Takasu, Yukio 2005, ‘Supporting Countries in Transition from War to Sustainable Peace and Development, in UN Peacebuilding Architecture’. [www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding/](http://www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding/)
- 1.8 Peace building Fund Updates, UN Peacebuilding Fund, Bulletin no. 3, 18 March 2008.
- 1.9 Kuhne, Winrich, Security From Peacekeeping to Postconflict Peacebuilding. In Reyhler, Luc & Paffenholz, Thania (eds) 2001, *Peace-Building: A Field Guide*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London. Pp. 376- 388.

### **Unit II: Elements of a Sustainable Peace Process**

- 2.1 John Darby & Roger MacGinty, “Conclusion”, *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*, pp. 256-275, Palgrave Macmillan.
- 2.2 David A. Lake & Donald Rothchild, “Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict” in Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote, Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller Eds. *Theories of War and Peace*, pp 292-326, The MIT Press.
- 2.3 William Zartman, “The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments” in John Darby & Roger MacGinty edited *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*, pp. 19-29, Palgrave Macmillan.
- 2.4 Marie Joelle Zahar, “Reframing the Spoiler Debate in Peace Processes” in John Darby & Roger MacGinty edited *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*, pp. 114-124, Palgrave Macmillan.
- 2.5 Virginia Gambia, “Managing Violence: Disarmament and Demobilization” in John Darby & Roger MacGinty edited *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*, pp. 125-136, Palgrave Macmillan.
- 2.6 General Sumbeywo, “The Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan”, in Radha Kumar and Rajneesh Verma (ed.), *Peace Agreements and After*, Delhi Policy Group, 2006
- 2.7 George Mitchell, *Making Peace*, University of California Press, 2001
- 2.8 Roger Mac Ginty, “The Role of Symbols in Peacemaking” in John Darby & Roger MacGinty edited *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*, pp. 235-255, Palgrave Macmillan.
- 2.9 Radha Kumar, *Making Peace with Partition*, Penguin Books, 2005
- 2.10 PR Chari and S Chandran, *Four Conflicts and a Peace Process*, Brookings 2009

### Unit III: Peace Agreements

- 3.1 Gharekhan, Chinmaya R., 2006, *The Horseshoe Table: An Inside View of the UN Security Council*, Pearson Longman, New Delhi. Pp. 213-257.
- 3.2 Yawanarajah, Nita and Julian Ouellet, "Peace Agreements", In Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess edited, *Beyond Intractability*, pp 1-4, pp 84-86, Ceasefire pp 27-29, CBMs pp 46-49, Substantive Provisions pp 52-54, Security Guarantees, pp 66-70 Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder,  
[http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/structuring\\_peace\\_agree/](http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/structuring_peace_agree/)
- 3.3 UN Protected Areas in Croatia, [www.partitionconflicts.com](http://www.partitionconflicts.com), Naga Ceasefire Agreements (from Hydari to statehood)
- 3.4 Michael Krepon, "Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia" in P.R. Kumaraswamy edited *Security Beyond Survival*, pp. 218-234, Sage Publications.
- 3.5 Josef Goldblat, *Arms Control: The New Guide to Negotiations and Agreements*, Sage Publications.
- 3.6 Timothy D. Sisk, "Power-sharing After Civil Wars: Matching Problems to Solutions" in John Darby & Roger Mac Ginty edited *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*, pp. 139-150, Palgrave Macmillan.
- 3.7 The Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement, [www.nio.gov.uk](http://www.nio.gov.uk) Patten Commission Report, Monitoring Commission Reports, Human Rights Commission Reports, [www.nio.gov.uk](http://www.nio.gov.uk)
- 3.8 India-Pakistan agreements, from 1949 ceasefire agreement to 2006 Joint Mechanism
- 3.9 Balkans conflict trajectory and peace process, [www.partitionconflicts.com](http://www.partitionconflicts.com), Dayton Agreement and Annexes, [www.partitionconflicts.com](http://www.partitionconflicts.com)
- 3.10 Independent International Commission on Kosovo, *The Kosovo Report*, [www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/thekosovoreport.htm](http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/thekosovoreport.htm)
- 3.11 The Bonn Agreement. [www.unama-afg.org](http://www.unama-afg.org), <http://www.unama-afg.org/docs/Docs.htm>

### UNIT IV: Post Conflict Reconstruction

- 4.1 Post Conflict Reconstruction Task Force, CSIS.  
<http://www.csis.org/images/stories/pcr/framework.pdf>
- 4.2 Hippler, 'Violent Conflicts, Conflict Prevention and Nation-Building –Terminology and Political Concepts'. In Jochen Hippler (Ed.) 2005, *Nation-Building – A Key Concept for Peaceful Conflict Transformation?*, London, pp. 3-14.
- 4.3 Stephenson, Carolyn, 'Nation-Building'. In Burgess, Guy and Burgess, Heidi (eds) 2005, *Beyond Intractability*, Conflicts Research Consortium, Boulder Co.  
[www.beyondintractability.or/essay/nation\\_building](http://www.beyondintractability.or/essay/nation_building)
- 4.4 Fukuyama, Francis 2004, *State Building: Governance and World Order in the Twenty-First Century*, Profile Books, New Delhi. Pp. 1-57, 124-141.
- 4.5 Suhrke, Astri, 2006, 'When More is Less: Aiding Statebuilding in Afghanistan', FRIDE Working Paper 26.
- 4.6 Barakat, Sultan (ed.) 2005, *After the Conflict: Reconstruction and Development in the Aftermath of War*, I. B. Tauris, London. Pp. 7-32.
- 4.7 Kapila, Mukesh & Wermester, Karin, 'Development and Conflict: New Approaches in the United Kingdom'. In Hampson, Fen Osler & Malone, David M. (eds) 2002, *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UNSystem*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London. Pp. 297-320.
- 4.8 UN Secretary-General's High Level Panel on New Threats and Challenges, Sections III-IV.
- 4.9 UNDP Annual Report 2006, Pp. 2-30.

- 4.10 Cleves, Patricia, Colletta, Nat & Sambanis, Nicholas, 'Addressing Conflict: Emerging Policy at the World Bank'. In Hampson, Fen Osler & Malone, David M. (eds) 2002, *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London. Pp. 321-355.
- 4.11 Save-Soderbergh, Bengt & Lennartsson, Izumi Nakamitsu, 'Electoral Assistance and Democratization'. In Hampson, Fen Osler & Malone, David M. (eds) 2002, *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London. Pp. 357-377.
- 4.12 Evans, Mark, 'Post-war Reconstruction and Public Administration'. In Barakat, Sultan (ed.) 2005, *After the Conflict: Reconstruction and Development in the Aftermath of War*, I. B. Tauris, London. Pp. 191-212.

## **UNIT V: Stabilization and Prevention**

- 5.1 Sriram, Chandra Lekha & Wermester, Karin, 'Preventive Action at the United Nations: From Promise to Practice?'. In Hampson, Fen Osler & Malone, David M. (eds) 2002, *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London. Pp. 381-389.
- 5.2 Barakat, Sultan, Connolly, David & Large, Judith. 'Can Proactive Humanitarianism Create Sustainable Solutions? Challenges to Third-Party Intervention in Aceh'. In Barakat, Sultan (ed.) 2005, *After the Conflict: Reconstruction and Development in the Aftermath of War*, I. B. Tauris, London. Pp. 67-86.
- 5.3 Conflict Prevention & Civilian Crisis Management: Rapid Reaction Mechanism. [http://ec.europa.eu/external\\_relations/cfsp/cpsm/rrm/index.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/cfsp/cpsm/rrm/index.htm)
- 5.4 Creating a Rapid Reaction Mechanism, Council Regulation (EC) No 381/2001 of February 2001. Official Journal of the European Communities.
- 5.5 Rapid Reaction Mechanism- Policy advice, mediation and reconciliation Programme, Information Note to the Council, European Commission, Brussels, 02-05-2005; Rapid Reaction Mechanism- Kick-start of the Political, Economic and Social Reconstruction Process of Afghanistan and the Neighbouring Countries in the post-Taliban Era, Information Note to the Council, European Commission, Brussels, 7 December 2001; Rapid Reaction Mechanism Sri Lanka/ Support to the Cease Fire Agreement'; Information Note to the Council, European Commission, Brussels, 12-09-2002.
- 5.6 Hogan, Michael J., 2002, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. Pp. 26-53, 88-134.
- 5.7 Balkans Stability Pact – Brief Backgrounder, [www.partitionconflicts.com](http://www.partitionconflicts.com); Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. SCSP Constituent Document Cologne, 10 June 1999. <http://www.stabilitypact.org/constituent/990610-cologne.asp>; Pact for South Eastern Europe. Working Table I: Democratisation and Human Rights: Task Forces. <http://www.stabilitypact.org/wt1/default.asp>; Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. Working Table III: Security Issues. Task Forces. <http://www.stabilitypact.org/wt3/default.asp>; Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. Police Task Force: Task Force Status: Since 2000- still active. <http://stabilitypact.org/police/default.asp>
- 5.8 UN Peacebuilding Commission. Burundi configuration, 30 July 2007. PBC/1/BDI/4 with Annex Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding in Burundi.
- 5.9 UN Peacebuilding Commission. Sierra Leone configuration: Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework, 3 December 2007. PBC/2/SLE/1.; Peacebuilding Commission

- Informal Country-Specific Meeting on Sierra Leone, Chair's Summary Note, March 18, 2008. UN General Assembly Security Council. Peacebuilding Commission second session, Sierra Leone configuration, 20 June 2008. PBC/2/SLE/8.
- 5.10 UN Transitional Administration for East Timor (UNTAET). Mandate, Background, Facts and figures, United Nations documents, Map. <http://www.un.org/peace/etimor/etimor.htm>
- 5.11 Chesterman, Simon, 'East Timor'. In Berdal, Mats & Economides, Spyros (eds) 2007, *United Nations Interventionism 1991-2004*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. Pp. 192- 216.
- 5.12 Peou, Sorpong, 'Collaborative Human Security? The UN and Other Actors in Cambodia'. In Caballero-Anthony, Mely & Acharya, Amitav (eds) 2005, *UN Peace Operations and Asian Security*, Routledge, London. Pp. 88-103.
- 5.13 Rubin, Barnett R., Ghani, A., Maley, W., Rashid, A., & Roy, Olivier, 'Afghanistan: Reconstruction and Peacemaking in a Regional Framework', paper for the Federal Government of Switzerland.
- 5.14 Jalali, Ali A, 'Rebuilding Afghanistan's National Army', *Parameters*, Autumn 2002. Pp. 72-86.