BUILDING PEACE and DEMOCRACY
POLITICAL SCIENCE 3520
Winter 2016

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

In the decades after World War II the number of countries that adopted democracy increased steadily – to the point that dictators had almost become an endangered species. This trend has now slowed, and in some places reversed. This reflects the fact that the transition to democracy is not an easy one. The process is just as likely to fail as it is to succeed, particularly when a country is just coming out of conflict, and therefore where trust is lacking, infrastructure is destroyed, and anger and desire for revenge are the dominant emotion. What is involved in moving a country from conflict toward sustainable peace and embedded democracy? That is the focus of this course.

This course will follow the trajectory of an imaginary country (using real world examples!) that has been at conflict and is now teetering at the moment when peace and democracy are possible. The course will examine questions such as the following: At what point should peace agreements occur? What steps should be taken to disarm and demobilize combatants and get them back into civilian life? How can refugees and IDPs be returned home and accommodated? What priority should be placed on justice and what form should it take? Can international courts play a useful role in punishing those who have perpetrated crimes during the conflict? What exactly is democracy, and what does it involve? What is involved in a constitution-writing process? How can a suitable electoral system be built? What role can civil society play in the transition to democracy? What are the economic priorities in a society that is rebuilding after conflict? Can outsiders help the transition to democracy or must the process be indigenous? The answers to these questions are fundamental to the success of political entities just coming out of conflict but the answers are often rushed in the transition. We will examine these and other questions in an attempt to understand the process of ending conflict and building a democracy out of the ruins.

The course is designed as part lecture and part seminar. Students will do some work in groups and are expected to participate in discussions.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of the course students should be able to:
• explain the general process and elements of peace negotiations;
• outline the early steps that must be taken to move on after conflict;
• describe different types of justice;
• explain the importance of civilian control of the military;
• outline the different definitions of democracy;
• explain the elements of democratic governance;
• describe the difficulties of making the transition from war/conflict to democracy; and
• discuss contemporary efforts to move from conflict to democracy in the news.

REQUIRED READINGS

There is no required textbook – some of the readings are available on BBL, but most are available online. Required readings are listed in the section "Class Schedule and Readings" below. Students are expected to read the readings for each class. **If you have a problem accessing a reading, please talk to the professor**.

PLAGIARISM

Dalhousie University defines plagiarism as "the submission or presentation of the work of another as if it were one's own." Penalties for plagiarism can be severe. All students should read the Policy on Academic Integrity contained in the Dalhousie University Calendar or on the Dalhousie website. Ignorance of such policies is no excuse for violations.

Dalhousie University subscribes to SafeAssign a computer-based service which checks for originality in submitted papers. Any paper submitted by a student at Dalhousie University may be checked for originality to confirm that the student has not plagiarized from other sources. The Dalhousie Senate has affirmed the right of any professor to require that student papers be submitted in both written and electronic format, and to submit any paper to a check such as that performed by SafeAssign. **Plagiarism is considered a serious academic offence which may lead to loss of credit, suspension or expulsion from the university, or even to the revocation of a degree**. It is essential that there be correct attribution of authorities/sources from which facts, statistics and exact words and opinions have been derived.

As a student, you are required to keep an electronic copy of any paper you submit, and the course professor may require you to submit that electronic copy on demand. Copies of student papers checked by this process will be retained by SafeAssign.

STUDENT ACCESSIBILITY SERVICES

Students with disabilities are encouraged to register at the Student Accessibility Services (SAS) office if they wish to receive academic accommodations. To do so, students can phone (494-2836), email, visit the Mark A. Hill Accessibility Centre or the website (www.studentaccessibility.dal.ca). All forms are now available on the website. Please note that the onus is on the student, not on the professor, to make the arrangements to write exams at the SAS office.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. SHORT ASSIGNMENT #1 (20%) (DUE 28 JANUARY 2016)
CRITICAL ARTICLE REVIEW
Select one of the two readings listed below and write a 1,200-2,000 word (4-6 double-spaced pages) *critical* article review. Note that a critical review means that you read it with a questioning mind and examine the merits/shortcomings of its argument and assumptions rather than summarizing it.

> Edward Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 4 (1999), 36-44, available on BBL (in the file of readings for Class 3, The End of Conflict)

> **OR**

> Rosemary Nagy, "Transitional Justice as Global Project: Critical Reflections," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (2008), pp. 275-289, available on BBL (in the file of readings for Class 11, Types of Justice)

2. SHORT ASSIGNMENT #2 (20%) (DUE 25 FEBRUARY 2016)
OPTION A: WRITE A CRITICAL REVIEW
Select one of the two readings listed below and write a 1,200-2,000 word (4-6 double-spaced pages) *critical* article review.

> Hans Agné, "Is Successful Democracy Promotion Possible? The Conceptual Problem," *Democratization*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2014), available on BBL (in the file of readings for Class 16, Democracy)

> **OR**

> Benjamin Reilly, "Post-Conflict Elections: Constraints and Dangers," *International Peace-keeping*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2002), available on BBL (in the file of readings for Class 18, Elections)

OPTION B: WRITE A SPEECH
For this option students will receive more instructions in class. The assignment will be about the military in a country that is democratizing, and students will write a speech for the Minister of Defence. This speech will be made by the Minister to the leading members of the military and is supposed to convince them that in a democracy the military must be subordinate to civilian authorities.

3. TERM ESSAY (30%) (Due 24 March 2016)
Students will write an essay on a topic provided by the professor. The essay will be 2,000 to 3,000 words (8-10 pages double-spaced). Students are expected to submit a hard copy, but to keep an electronic version just in case. **Late essays will be penalized at 2% per day**. A selection of topics is provided at the end of this syllabus. This essay is designed to be a research paper so students should consult a number of academic sources and include a bibliography. Full citations are expected.

4. FINAL EXAM (30%) (as scheduled by the Registrar)
The final exam will be scheduled by the Registrar during the exam period of **9-23 April 2016. Do not make plans to leave Halifax until the exam schedule has been posted**. Students are expected to be at the exam in the time scheduled – unless students can provide an acceptable written doctor's note. The exam will include material from lectures, readings and discussion in class. The format will be explained by the professor in class.

EVALUATION METHODS
Written assignments – excluding the final exam – will be marked based on a combination of several criteria. The first criterion is the cognitive element. This means the intellectual thinking that is displayed in the assignment; in other words the ideas and the evidence that the student presents, and the ability to explain, analyse and interpret information and provide evidence that promotes an argument. The second criterion is the mechanical element. This means that students will be assessed for their writing ability, use of language, correctness of grammar and spelling, effective organization of the assignment, and use of quotations, references and citations.

Assignment	Due Date	Worth
Article Review	28 January 2016	20%
Article Review/Speech	25 February 2016	20%
Term Essay	24 March 2016	30%
Final Examination	scheduled by Registrar (9-23 April)	30%

MARKING SCHEME

A+ = 87+	B = 72 - 75%	C- = 59 - 61%
A = 81 - 86%	B- = 69 - 71%	D = 50 - 58%
A- = 78 - 80%	C+ = 66 - 68%	F = 0 - 49%
B+ = 76 - 77%	C = 62 - 65%	

Dalhousie Grade Scale

A+ = 90+	B = 73 - 76%	C- = 55 - 59%
A = 85 - 89%	B- = 70 - 72%	D = 50 - 54%
A- = 80 - 84%	C+ = 65 - 69%	F = 0 - 49%
B+ = 77 - 79%	C = 60 - 64%	

CLASS SCHEDULE AND READINGS

<u>WEEK 1: INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT</u>

<u>CLASS 1: INTRODUCTION</u>
(5 January 2016)

<u>CLASS 2: CONTEXT</u>
(7 January 2016)

Institute for Economics and Peace, *Positive Peace Report 2015*, "Section 1: About Positive Peace" [BBL]

Sheila A. Smith, "Rethinking Asia's Postwar Settlement," Council on Foreign Relations, 5 August 2015, available online

<u>WEEK 2: FROM WAR TO PEACE</u>

<u>CLASS 3: THE END OF CONFLICT</u>
(12 January 2016)

Edward Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 78, No. 4 (1999), 36-44 [BBL]

Jon Lee Anderson, "Death of the Tiger," *The New Yorker*, 27 January 2011, available online

Interesting But Not Required
Roland Paris, "Review Essay: Afghanistan: What Went Wrong?" *Perspectives on Politics*, American Political Science Association, 2013

James Meek, "Worse than a Defeat," *London Review of Books*, Vol. 36, No. 24 (18 December 2014), available at www.lrb.co.uk/v36/n24/james-meek/worse-than-a-defeat

<u>CLASS 4: PEACE NEGOTIATIONS</u>
(14 January 2016)

Evan Hoffman and Jacob Bercovitch, "Examining Structural Components of Peace Agreements and their Durability," *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Summer 2011), 399-426 [BBL]

Sung Yong Lee, "Patterns of National Factions' Strategic Moves in Peace Negotiations: A Perception-oriented Typology," *Civil Wars*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (2013) [BBL]

Ramzi Badran, "Intrastate Peace Agreements and the Durability of Peace," *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (2014), 193-217 [BBL]

Interesting But Not Required
Juliette R. Shedd, "When Peace Agreements Create Spoilers: The Russo-Chechen Agreement of 1996," *Civil Wars*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (June 2008), pp. 93-105 [BBL]

Janine di Giovanni, "The Man With the Toughest Job in the World," *The Guardian*, 30 July 2015, available online

International Crisis Group, "Statement on a Political Deal for Libya," 12 December 2015, available online

International Crisis Group, "The Day After Tomorrow: Colombia's FARC and the End of Conflict," Latin America Report No. 53, 11 December 2014, available online

WEEK 3: PEACE AGREEMENTS

CLASS 5: ANALYSING HISTORIC AGREEMENTS
(19 January 2016)

The Versailles Treaty 28 June 1919

Camp David Accord, 1978

Dayton Peace Accord, 1995

Good Friday Agreement (The Belfast Agreement), 10 April 1998

NOTE: all of these treaties are available through The Avalon Project at Yale University, You must scroll through the list of 20th century treaties to find these treaties, available at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/20th.asp

Interesting But Not Required
Christopher S. Chivvis, "The Dayton Dilemma," *Survival*, Vol. 52, No. 5 (2010), pp. 47-74 [BBL]

CLASS 6: GUEST SPEAKER
(21 January 2016)

WEEK 4: MOVING ON FROM CONFLICT

CLASS 7: DDR PROGRAMS
(26 January 2016)

Robert Muggah, "Innovations in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Policy and Research," NUPI Working Paper 774, Small Arms Survey, 2010 [BBL]

United Nations, DDR Program, "Chapter 2.2: Post-Conflict Stabilization, Peace-building and Recovery Frameworks," no date [BBL]

United Nations, DDR Program, "Second Generation Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: Practices in Peace Operations," 2010 [BBL]

Interesting But Not Required
International Crisis Group, "Central African Republic: The Roots of Violence," Africa Report No. 230, 21 September 2015

CLASS 8: RE-LOCATING THE DISLOCATED
(28 January 2016)

Guido Ambroso, "The End of History? Conflict, Displacement and Durable Solutions in the Post-Cold War Era," Research Paper No. 207, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 2011 [BBL]

Alexander Betts, "Human Migration will be a Defining Issue of this Century. How Best to Cope?" *The Guardian*, 20 September 2015

Interesting But Not Required
United Nations, Text of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees [BBL]

Jake Silverstein, "The Displaced," *The New York Times Magazine*, multimedia series, starting 5 November 2015

WEEK 5: DEALING WITH THE LEGACIES OF CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

CLASS 9: DEALING WITH THE TRAUMA
(2 February 2016)

Kenneth Miller and Andrew Rasmussen, "War Exposure, Daily Stressors and Mental Health in Conflict and Post-conflict Settings," *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 70 (2010) [BBL]

Jonathan I. Bisson, "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder," *Occupational Medicine*, Vol. 57 (2007), pp. 399-403 [BBL]

Interesting But Not Required
Annie Sparrow, "Syria's Polio Epidemic: The Suppressed Truth," *The New York Review of Books*, 20 February 2014

CLASS 10: AMNESTY AND PEACE?
(4 February 2016)

Louise Mallinder, "The Role of Amnesties in Conflict Transformation," in Cedric Ryngaert (ed.), *The Effectiveness of International Criminal Justice*, Antwerp: Intersentia, 2009 [BBL]

Lavinia Stan, blog post, "The Urge to Purge: The Case For and Against Lustration," 11 March 2011, available at https://laviniastan.wordpress.com/2011/03/11/the-urge-to-purge-the-case-for-and-against-lustration/

WEEK 6: JUSTICE

CLASS 11: TYPES OF JUSTICE
(9 February 2016)

David A. Crocker, "Reckoning with Past Wrongs: A Normative Framework," 2004, School of Public Policy, University of Maryland [BBL]

Rosemary Nagy, "Transitional Justice as Global Project: Critical Reflections," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (2008), pp. 275-289 [BBL]

Priscilla B. Hayner, "Introduction and Chapter 1, Confronting Past Crimes," in *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions*, New York: Routledge, 2011 [BBL]

CLASS 12: INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE
(11 February 2016)

Rebecca Devitt, "Justice and Peace: The Role of International Tribunals in Transitional Justice," E-International Relations, 2012 [BBL] [beware of typos!]

Paul Willis, "The Trials and Tribulations of the ICC," OpenCanada.org, 16 April 2015 [BBL]

Steven R. Ratner, "Accountability and the Sri Lankan Civil War," *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 106 (2012) [BBL]

Interesting But Not Required

The International Military Tribunal for Germany, Contents of the Nuremberg Trials Collection, Yale Law School, The Avalon Project, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/imt.asp

International Crisis Group, "Statement on the UN Sri Lanka Investigation Report," Brussels, 18 September 2015

STUDY WEEK (WEEK 7), 15-19 FEBRUARY 2016

WEEK 8: GETTING THE MILITARY INTO THE BARRACKS (AND OUT OF POLITICS)

CLASSES 13 AND 14
(23 and 25 February 2016)

Samuel P. Huntington, "Reforming Civil-Military Relations," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (1995), pp. 9-17, available online (via Dal libraries)

James Burk, "Theories of Democratic Civil-Military Relations," *Arms Forces and Society*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Fall 2002), pp. 7-29 [BBL]

Albrecht Schnabel and Hans Born, "Security Sector Reform: Narrowing the Gap Between Theory and Practice," Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2011 [BBL]

Interesting But Not Required

International Crisis Group, "Reform and Security Strategy in Tunisia," Middle East and North Africa Report No. 161, 23 July 2015 [BBL]

WEEK 9: GOVERNANCE AND DEMOCRACY

CLASS 15: GOVERNANCE
(1 March 2016)

Francis Fukuyama, "States and Democracy," *Democratization*, Vol. 21, No. 7 (2014), 1326-1340 [BBL]

Michael Bell, "Middle East Realities and Western Responses," Policy Paper, Canadian Global Affairs Institute, August 2015

Michael Ignatieff, "Are the Authoritarians Winning?" *The New York Review of Books*, 10 July 2014, available at http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2014/07/10/are-authoritarians-winning/

CLASS 16: DEMOCRACY
(3 March 2016)

Samuel P. Huntington, "Democracy's Third Wave," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1991), pp. 12-34 [BBL]

Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, N0. 4 (November 2003) [BBL]

Hans Agné, "Is Successful Democracy Promotion Possible? The Conceptual Problem," *Democratization*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2014) [BBL]

Interesting But Not Required
Juha Saunavaara, "Enforced Democratization in Japan: Lessons for Iraq and Afghanistan," *Democratization*, Vol. 21, No. 6 (2024), pp. 1074-1090 [BBL]

Nassim Nicholas Taleb and Gregory F. Treverton, "The Calm Before the Storm: Why Volatility Signals Stability and Vice Versa," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2015, available through Dalhousie libraries

International Crisis Group, "Somaliland: The Strains of Success," Africa Briefing No. 113, 5 October 2015, available online

WEEK 10: CONSTITUTIONS AND ELECTIONS

CLASS 17: WRITING CONSTITUTIONS
(8 March 2016)

Jennifer Widner, "Constitution Writing and Conflict Resolution," *The Round Table*, Vol. 94, No. 381 (September 2005) [BBL]

Hanna Lerner, "Constitution-writing in Deeply Divided Societies: The Incrementalist Approach," *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2010) [BBL]

Julia Strasheim and Hanne Fjelde, "Pre-Designing Democracy: Institutional Design of Interim Governments and Democratization in 15 Post-Conflict Societies," *Democratization*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2014), pp. 335-358 [BBL]

Interesting But Not Required
International Crisis Group, "Thailand's Lengthening Roadmap to Elections," Asia Report No. 274, 10 December 2015 [BBL]

CLASS 18: ELECTIONS
(10 March 2016)

Benjamin Reilly, "Post-Conflict Elections: Constraints and Dangers," *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2002) [BBL]

Thomas Edward Flores and Irfan Nooruddin, "The Effect of Elections on Postconflict Peace and Reconstruction," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 74, No. 2 (April 2012), available online

Pippa Norris, "Choosing Electoral Systems: Proportional, Majoritarian and Mixed Systems," *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1997), pp. 297-312 [BBL]

Gary Bland, Andrew Green and Toby Moore, "Measuring the Quality of Election Administration," *Democratization*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2013), pp. 358-377 [BBL]

Fair Vote Canada, "Why Proportional Representation? A Look at the Evidence," no date [BBL]

Interesting But not Required
International Crisis Group, "The Myanmar Elections: Results and Implications," Asia Briefing No. 147, 9 December 2015 [BBL]

Michael Wahman, "Democratization and Electoral Turnovers in sub-Saharan Africa and Beyond," *Democratization*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2014), pp. 220-243 [BBL]

WEEK 11: RULE OF LAW AND THE COURTS

CLASS 19: RULE OF LAW
(15 March 2016)

Louise Arbour, "Building an Independent Judiciary: Process and Perceptions," International Crisis Group, 2 September 2013, available at www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/speeches/2013/arbour-building-an-independent-judiciary

UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General, "The Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies," UN, 23 August 2004, available online

Interesting But Not Required
International Crisis Group, "The North Caucasus: The Challenges of Integraton (III), Governance, elections, rule of Law," Europe Report No. 226, 6 September 2013 [BBL]

Tina Mavrikos-Adamou, "Rule of Law and the Democratization Process: The Case of Albania," *Democratization*, Vol. 21, No. 6 (2014), pp. 1153-1171 [BBL]

CLASS 20: POLICE, COURTS, PRISONS
(17 March 2016)

International Crisis Group, "The Future of the Afghan Local Police," Asia Report No. 268, 4 June 2015, available online

Masha Gessen, "The Cops Who Would Save a Country," *Foreign Policy*, 8 September 2015, available at http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/08/cops-that-would-save-a-country-ukraine-patrol-police-maidan/

Azam Ahmed, "The Hardest (And Most Important) Job in Afghanistan," *The New York Times*, 4 March 2015

WEEK 12: ECONOMIES AFTER CONFLICT

CLASS 21: CORRUPTION
(22 March 2016)

Daniel Stockemer, Bernadette LaMontagne and Lyle Scruggs, "Bribes and Ballots: The Impact of Corruption on Voter Turnout in Democracies," *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2011) [BBL]

Institute for Economics and Peace, *Peace and Corruption 2015*, available at www.visionofhumanity.org/sites/default/files/Peace%20and%20corruption.pdf

Interesting But Not Required
Oliver Bullough, "Welcome to Ukraine, the Most Corrupt Nation in Europe," *The Guardian*, 6 February 2015, available online

Mathew Shaer, "Can Amateur Journalism Bring Justice to Rio's Favelas?" *The New York Times*, 18 February 2015

CLASS 22: KICKSTARTING THE ECONOMY
(24 March 2016)

Peacebuilding Initiative, "Economic Recovery Strategies: Key Debates and Implementation Challenges," and "Economic Recovery Strategies: Strategies and Models," April 2009, available online

Interesting but Not Required
Matthieu Aikins, "Afghanistan: The Making of a Narco-State," *Rolling Stone*, 4 December 2014, available at www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/afghanistan-the-making-of-a-narco-state-20141204

WEEK 13: CIVIL SOCIETY

CLASSES 23-24: CIVIL SOCIETY
(29 and 31 March 2016)

Peacebuilding Initiative, "Civil Society: "Definitions and Conceptual Issues," and "Civil Society: Key Debates and Implementation Challenges," April 2009, available online

Jeffrey Sachs, "Chapter 8: Investing in Social Capital," in John Helliwell, Richard Layard and Jeffrey Sachs (editors), *World Happiness Report 2015* [BBL]

Sarbeswar Sahoo, "Civil Society and Democratization: A Counter-Case from India," *Democratization*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (2014), pp. 480-500

Interesting But Not Required
Andrew Green, "Video Killed a Star Charity: The Downfall of Invisible Children," OpenCanada.org, 5 November 2015

Veronique Dudouet, "Surviving the Peace: Challenges of War-to-Peace Transitions for Civil Society Organisations," Berghof Report No. 16, Berghof Foundation, November 2007

WEEK 14: LAST THOUGHTS

CLASS 25: LAST THOUGHTS AND REVIEW
(5 April 2016)

Term Research Essay

Students will write an essay on one of the following topics. The essay will be 2,500 to 3,000 words (8-10 pages double-spaced). Students are expected to submit a hard copy, but to keep an electronic version just in case. **Essays are due 24 March 2016. Late essays will be penalized at 2% per day**.

Students are expected to make an argument – that is, the essay should not just describe or summarize but make an argument about the topic or issue. An argument means that you are trying to convince me of your point of view, and it also means that you must pick a side (and not give points for both sides).

This essay is designed to be a research paper so students should consult at least five academic sources and include a bibliography (which should be single-spaced and in alphabetical order according the last name of the author/editor). Full citations are expected – preferably footnotes or endnotes. And remember that plagiarism is not acceptable. If you are uncertain about how to use citations, consult the professor, or writing centres on campus.

Topics

1. Are amnesties necessary in order to arrive at a peace settlement?

2. Is local justice the most appropriate way to deal with people who have committed war crimes during conflict?

3. Is an authoritarian government better at guiding a country out of conflict than a democratic one? Why? Why not?

4. Can the type of electoral system that is adopted in a country that is coming out of conflict exacerbate tensions and lead to a return to conflict? How? Why?

5. It is unrealistic to expect combatants to disarm in a situation where there is a lack of trust. Disarmament programs are therefore not going to work.

6. Many people in the West have high opinions of civil society organizations and believe that they are a force for democracy. Is this an accurate assessment of CSOs in post-conflict states?

7. Is an external guarantor necessary to implement a successful peace agreement? Why?

8. In the immediate post-conflict society, ex-combatants should receive special attention/programs to reintegrate them back into society.