HSPS and H&P TRIPOS
PART IIB 2022-23
Pol 16 The Politics of Conflict and Peace

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Outline of the Course

This paper explores issues of conflict and peace in contemporary international politics, with a particular focus on conflict and peace in the global south. It considers competing theories and claims about the causes of conflict and the relationship between the state, conflict, development and other international processes. It analyses the range of responses to conflict and how they are justified and focuses on contests over the meanings and practices of peace and peacebuilding. The possibilities and limitations of international institutions, including the United Nations, in ending conflict and maintaining peace are highlighted throughout the paper.

The paper pays particular attention to the connection between local, national, regional and international politics, economy and society. It looks at the ways in which regional and international dynamics may have a bearing on conflict and peace. What is the relationship between seemingly ‘local’ conflicts and the wider political structures in which they are embedded? Do institutions and programmes responding to conflict reproduce and reflect a state-centric system? What are the benefits and limits to existing approaches to peace and conflict? Is the state the primary actor in conflict and in its resolution? How can we best understand the multiple layers of conflict and how they interact? How is political agency exercised?

In Michaelmas, the lectures explore the origins and nature of contemporary conflict, and the relationship between conflict, the state, and the global system. We begin by discussing the contested meanings of concepts of security, war, and conflict, and how these are measured. We then turn to the relationship between globalisation, the state and conflict. Next, we will focus on a number of competing theories and claims about the causes and dynamics of conflict, looking at the state, health, the environment, economies, identities, and gender. Finally we will look at the role of technology and conflict.
We will also have lectures on two case studies to illustrate ideas, approaches, and practices of conflict and peace in diverse settings around the world. One case study will focus on contests over ideas of conflict and peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the African Great Lakes region. The other focuses on forced displacement, gender and identities in the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar. Students are expected to become highly familiar with one of these case study regions.

In Lent, the lectures will focus on peace and peacebuilding. We will start by questioning the concept of peace, and we will critically assess the institutions, ideas and practices underlying peacebuilding efforts. The next lecture will focus on different international and regional actors and their strategies and normative agendas, including China and other ‘new’ actors in peacebuilding. Next, we discuss different ‘responses’ to conflict, including the politics of humanitarian assistance, governance and democratisation, security reform, justice and reconciliation, and post-war economies. The final lecture discusses the possibilities and limits of building peace and transnational advocacy.

We will have one seminar class in Michaelmas and in Lent to discuss some of the key overarching readings. In Michaelmas there will be one seminar on questions of concepts, measurement and indicators. In Lent there will be a seminar class on ‘alternative’ ideas and practices of peace.

In Easter term there will be one revision lecture and one revision supervision.

Aims and Objectives

- to explore a range of ways of understanding possible connections between conflict and peace
- to provide a framework for thinking about the causes of conflict and the connections between local, regional and international processes
- to gain detailed knowledge of conflict and peace in at least one region
- to encourage critical reflection of theoretical assumptions regarding conflict, and peacebuilding, and available models and policy packages
- to teach students how to read closely primary texts such as international treaties, resolutions and official reports

Teaching and Assessment

In Michaelmas, students will have 1 seminar, 2 thematic supervisions, and 1 supervision on a case study.

For the seminar, students should submit two questions sparked by the readings.

For the two thematic supervisions and the case supervision, students should prepare a 2000-2500 word essay.
In **Lent**, students will have **1 supervision on Cambridge and conflict, 2 thematic supervisions and 1 seminar**.

For the supervision on Cambridge-in-Conflict, students should prepare a presentation (more details in the paper guide).

For the thematic supervisions, students should write a 2000-2500 word essay.

For the **Lent seminar**, students should submit two questions sparked by the readings.

**Please note:** Students will have 6 supervisions over the course of the year, plus 1 revision supervision. They should hand in 5 supervision essays throughout the year (4 thematic supervision questions, 1 case study question) and they will do one presentation.

In **Easter** term, we will have one revision lecture and one revision supervision (to discuss mock exam answers)

This paper is assessed by an **undivided** three-hour examination paper, from which students should answer three questions. **At the end of the paper guide, there are some past examination papers and an examiners’ report but please note that some topics change every year.** Students can also find other previous examination papers and examiners’ reports on moodle.

**The practice of conflict and peace: Guest lectures**

There will be two lectures from policy practitioners, to discuss what these ideas and theories look like from the vantage point of policy-makers.

**Doug Chalmers** (former Lt Gen in the UK military) will discuss ‘Conflict in practice: A UK military view’

**Katrin Wittig** (Political Affairs Officer, Office of the Special Adviser to the United Nations SRSG in MINUSMA, Mali) will discuss ‘Peacebuilding in practice’.

There will also be a guest lecturer for the Myanmar case study by: **Than Chit-hsetso (former Chief of Policy Planning Unit at the Department of Political Affairs in the United Nations, and former member of the President of Myanmar’s National Economic and Social Advisory Council)**
### Michaelmas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lectures: Conflict</th>
<th>Case studies</th>
<th>Seminars</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mon 11-12 SG1 and Tues 10-11 SG2</td>
<td>M 11-12 SG1, T 10-11 SG2</td>
<td>ARB room 138</td>
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</table>

1. Introduction: conflict and peace 10 Oct
2. Defining and measuring conflict, war and security 11 Oct
3. Globalisation, economies and contemporary conflict 17 Oct
4. The state and conflict 18 Oct
5. Health, environment and conflict 24 Oct
6. Poverty and inequality and conflict 25 Oct
7. Identities: Ethnicity and conflict 31 Oct
8. Gender: Masculinities, patriarchy and conflict 1 November
9. Technology and conflict, 7 Nov

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<tr>
<th>DR Congo in the African Great Lakes</th>
<th>Seminar 1 (week 2)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Background: 8 Nov</td>
<td>Concepts/ measurement/ indicators</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Post-colonial politics and conflict 14 Nov</td>
<td>Group 1, 17 October M 13-15</td>
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<td>3. Intervention and peace 15 Nov</td>
<td>Group 2, 19 October W 10:30-12:30</td>
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<td>Group 3, 19 October W 14-16</td>
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- **The Rohingya Crisis: Gender, Identities and Forced Migration**
  - Background: 21 Nov
  - Rohingya: 22 Nov
  - Gender, identity and displacement: 28 Nov

**Note:** In Michaelmas, students will have 1 seminar, 2 thematic supervisions, and 1 supervision on a case.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lent lectures: 11am-noon, Mondays (SG1) and Tuesdays (S1)</th>
<th>Lent Seminars ARB room 138</th>
<th>Easter term</th>
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<tr>
<td>10. <strong>Conflict in practice</strong>: A UK military view (Doug Chalmers) <strong>23 Jan</strong></td>
<td>Seminar 2 (week 7) Alternatives to PB and Statebuilding</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
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<td>Peace: 1. The history of peace studies <strong>24 Jan</strong></td>
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<td>Revision lecture</td>
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<td>2. What is peacebuilding? <strong>30 Jan</strong></td>
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<td>Mon 11-1pm</td>
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<td>3. Who keeps the peace and why? <strong>31 Jan</strong></td>
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<td>Room SG1</td>
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<td>4. Politics of humanitarian assistance <strong>6 Feb</strong></td>
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<td>5. Negotiations, mediation and peace agreements <strong>7 Feb</strong></td>
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<td>6. Governance: Democratisation and the governance of divided societies <strong>13 Feb</strong></td>
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<td>7. Security: Ex-combatants and DDR <strong>14 Feb</strong></td>
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<td>8. Society: Justice and reconciliation <strong>20 Feb</strong></td>
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<td>9. Economy: Post-conflict economic policies and development <strong>21 Feb</strong></td>
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<td>10. Limits and alternatives to PB <strong>27 Feb</strong></td>
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<td>11. Peacebuilding in practice (Katrin Wittig) <strong>28 Feb</strong></td>
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**Note:** In Lent, students will have 1 supervision on Cambridge and conflict, 2 thematic supervisions and 1 seminar  
In Easter students will have one revision supervision.
Supervision Questions

Michaelmas thematic supervisions (choose 2)
1. Who profits from conflict?
2. Does sustainable, equitable development prevent conflict? Answer with reference to one or more of: poverty, health, environment.
3. How might a state’s inability to accommodate cultural difference help drive conflict?
4. How does a gendered analysis help our understanding of conflict?
5. How does technology shape conflict and our understanding of conflict?

Case supervision (choose 1)
1. Is the state central to conflict and peacemaking in the DR Congo?
2. What role does gender play in forced migration generally, and in the Rohingya refugee crisis specifically?

Cambridge and conflict supervision (choose 1 presentation topic)

Topic: How is Cambridge connected to conflict or peace?
Read the following articles for ideas about the ways in which the local and global connect, then do your own research for the supervision assignment

Stephanie Stacey, Jesus College to return Benin bronze Okukor to Nigeria, *Varsity*, 27 November 2019.

Assignment: You will conduct research into one way in which Cambridge connects to global conflict or peace. Examples include: ‘conflict minerals’ like coltan in your mobile, the arms trade, the illegal drugs trade, war memorials in Cambridge, objects and statues, advocacy campaigns. You may do the presentation on your own or in a group of 2 or 3. You will present in the supervision (you may use powerpoint if you wish).

Lent thematic supervisions (choose 2)
1. Do changes in the global balance of power influence peacekeeping practice(s)?
2. Is it possible for humanitarian actors to do no harm to the populations they seek to help?
3. Is it important for peace negotiations to include representatives of all armed and non-armed groups?
4. Is peace a matter of appropriate institutions?
5. Should policies targeting ex-combatants prioritise peace or justice?
6. How can war economies be transformed into peace economies?
Seminars (see sections in the paper guide for readings and seminar assignments):

**Seminar 1:** How do debates over definitions and measurement affect the study of comparative political violence and peace? *(Michaelmas)*

**Seminar 2:** Are there alternatives to peacebuilding and statebuilding? *(Lent)*

**READINGS and COURSE MATERIALS**

Both the University Library and the Seeley library hold most of the items listed here. Much of the literature also exists in college libraries. Most of the material is available on-line. Students should make sure that they know how to access journal material through the University Library ejournals portal. Many items that are not available in online journals or as e-books are on the library moodle site (ie- some book chapters).

Books and articles that are strongly recommended are indicated with an asterisk (*). Please note that although this paper guide is very long, students are not expected to do ALL the readings. The list of further readings (items without an asterisk) in each section is for students who wish to go into more depth on a particular topic. Several lecture topics also include a ‘case’ section to highlight the lecture theme in one or two cases. If you are doing a supervision essay on a topic, I would suggest that you read at least one case study reading. Also, many of the readings are relevant for different sections of the paper, so they will turn up in multiple sections of the paper guide.

Lecture powerpoints will be placed on the POL 16 Moodle website.

**General Readings**

These are general readings that deal with the main themes in this paper. I would encourage you to read them at some point in the year.


**MICHAELMAS TERM**

**Conflict: Causes and Dynamics**

*Lecture 1: Introduction: Conflict and peacebuilding*

*What are the key themes of the course? How can we think about these different levels of analysis in thinking about conflict and peace, and what are the interactions between these levels? What is the role of the state? What is the role of ‘outside’ actors in war and peacebuilding?*


*David Keen, Complex Emergencies* (London: Polity 2008), [Ch. 1 on War: M]


**Lecture 2: Defining and Measuring Conflict, War and Security**

What are the differences between ‘conflict’, ‘war’, ‘violence’, peace? Who uses them, and for what purposes? How, if at all, should these phenomena be measured and compared? Should scholars prioritise one of them for research? Why did the term ‘human security’ emerge and to what extent does it represent an alternative to state security or international security?

Please also see Seminar 1 box below for assignment and discussion

*Chris Cramer, *Civil War is not a Stupid Thing: Accounting for Violence in Developing Countries*, Hurst Publishers, 2006. [M: Ch. 2: Categories, Trends and Evidence of Violent Conflict]

*Sally Engle Merry, The Seductions of Quantification: Measuring Human Rights, Gender Violence and Sex Trafficking*, University of Chicago Press, 2016. [M: Ch 1: A World of Quantification]


*Pamina Firchow, Reclaiming Everyday Peace: Local Voices in Measurement and Evaluation after War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018

*Suda Perera, Bermuda triangulation: embracing the messiness of researching in conflict, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 11 (1), 2017


*2022 Global Peace Index:*


http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=|eresources|218247


Italo Brandimarte, ‘Subjects of Quantum Measurement: Surveillance and Affect in the War on Terror’, *International Political Sociology*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ips/olac012

**Human Security (and debates):**


**Seminar 1: Concepts, Definitions and Measurement**

**Seminar readings**
*1) Chris Cramer, Civil War is not a Stupid Thing: Accounting for Violence in Developing Countries, Hurst Publishers, 2006. [Read: Ch. 2: Categories, Trends and Evidence of Violent Conflict]

*2) Sally Engle Merry, The Seductions of Quantification: Measuring Human Rights, Gender Violence and Sex Trafficking, University of Chicago Press, 2016. [Read: Ch 1: A World of Quantification]


You also may want to glance through this report:

2022 Global Peace Index:

Seminar assignment:
After you have done the four readings, please write two questions or observations that have been sparked by one or more of the readings. Please email these to Devon Curtis at least 12 hours before your seminar.

Lecture 3: Globalisation, economies and contemporary conflict
Do the wars of the last three decades represent change from or continuity with historical patterns? How has ‘globalisation’ affected the nature and conduct of political violence, and in what dimensions? Who are the beneficiaries of conflict? What are the broader structures of production and profit in which violent conflicts are embedded? What are the implications of global war industries for our understanding of the dynamics of conflict?

Essay question: Who profits from conflict?

*David Keen, Complex Emergencies, Chapter 2 (London: Polity, 2007)


Rienner, Boulder). This a readable, non-technical exposition of Collier’s thinking. See also the various articles by Collier and Hoeffler that give a more detailed account of their quantitative methodology, for example:


David Wearing, ‘Britain is behind the slaughter in Yemen. Here’s how you could help end it’. *The Guardian*, 6 September 2019

https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/sep/06/britain-slaughter-yemen-planes-bombs-politicians-media?

Campaign Against Arms Trade [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk) : some useful research and arguments on their website.


**Cases**


-David Keen *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone*. James Currey, 2005.


**Lecture 4. The State and Conflict**

Is the state ever a marginal actor in conflict? What role does nationalism play in contemporary conflicts? What does it mean to say a state is ‘failed’ or ‘collapsed’? What are the political implications of the term?

**Essay question:** To what extent is violent conflict driven by a state’s inability to accommodate cultural difference?


Includes:


Christopher Cramer *Civil War is not a Stupid Thing*, chapter 6, ‘Passionate interests’.


**Reports:**

*Fund for Peace, The Fragile States Index 2022, particularly section on ‘Indicators’


United States Agency for International Development, *Fragile States Strategy* (2005),

Department for International Development (DFID), Why we need to work more effectively in fragile states, 2005


**Cases**


Tiitmamer, Nhial "The flaws in Kate Almquist Knopf’s call for trusteeship in South Sudan”. *The Sudd Institute Policy Brief*, 18 October 2016. At: [https://www.suddinstitute.org/assets/Publications/5809bbc36cf6b_TheFlawsInKateAlmquistKnopfsCall_Full.pdf](https://www.suddinstitute.org/assets/Publications/5809bbc36cf6b_TheFlawsInKateAlmquistKnopfsCall_Full.pdf)


**Lecture 5: Socio-economic factors: Health and the environment**

Do particular kinds of endowments or scarcity lead to particular patterns of violence? Is there a relationship between health and conflict? Should environmental degradation be perceived as a threat to security?

**Essay question:** Does sustainable, equitable development prevent conflict? Answer with reference to one or more of: poverty, health, environment.

**Health:**


Ron Labonté and Michelle Gagnon, ‘Framing health and foreign policy’, *Globalization and Health*, 6, 4, 2010,  
https://globalizationandhealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/1744-8603-6-14


Kathryn Bouskill and Elta Smith, Global Health and Security: Threats and Opportunities, Rand Corporation: December 2019


**Reports and other media**


**Environment/ Resources:**


Tobias Ide et al. ‘The past and future(s) of environmental peacebuilding’, *International Affairs*, 97: 1, 2021.


(Also browse other articles in this edition of The Journal of Conflict Resolution.)


Lecture 6: Socio-economic factors: Poverty and inequality
Do poverty, inequality and economic marginalisation lead to rebellion? How do socio-economic issues become politicised? How do development processes interact with conflict?

Essay question: Does sustainable, equitable development prevent conflict? Answer with reference to one or more of: poverty, health, environment.


World Development Report, 2011, Conflict, Security and Development

Wayne Nafziger, Frances Stewart and Raimo Vayrynen (eds), War, Hunger and Displacement: The Origins of Humanitarian Emergencies (Oxford University Press, 2000),


-Charles Tilly, Durable Inequality, University of California Press, 1999.


-Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, Penguin, 1961.


Karim Bahgat et al, Inequality and Armed Conflict: Evidence and Data, Background Report for the UN and World Bank study on Development and Conflict Prevention, 2017.

Lars Cederman, K Gleditsch and Halvard Buhang, Inequality, Grievances and Civil War, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Cases:


**Lecture 7: Identities: Ethnicity, religion and conflict**
What is the role of identity in conflict? Which particular interactions produce ‘ethnic’ or ‘religious’ violence? Is ‘ethnic conflict’ a misleading term? What is the role of national identity in driving conflicts today? How do armed groups seek legitimacy for their struggles?

**Essay question:** How might a state’s inability to accommodate cultural difference help drive conflict?


-Ashutosh Varshney ‘Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict’ in Carles Boix and Susan Stokes (eds), The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics, 2009.


**Cases:**


Justin Pearce (2012), ‘Control, Politics and Identity in the Angolan Civil War’, *African Affairs* 111.444.


Fotini Christia, ‘Following the Money: Muslim versus Muslim in Bosnia’s Civil War’. *Comparative Politics*, Volume 40, Number 4, July 2008, pp. 461-480(20)

Kamala Visweswaran (ed), (2013) Everyday Occupations : Experiencing Militarism in South Asia and the Middle East, De Gruyter Online (eBook). (on politics of identity under military occupation in different conflict areas)


**Lecture 8: Gender: Masculinities, Patriarchy and Conflict**

*How is the production of conflict and violence gendered? Should sexual violence in war be treated differently to other forms of violence? To what extent is ‘patriarchy’ relevant to understanding political violence and conflict?*

**Essay question:** How does a gendered analysis help our understanding of conflict?


*Carol Cohn (ed) *Women and Wars*. Polity Press 2013. [ch. 1]


**Cases:**

Dara Cohen, ‘Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War’, *World Politics*, 65(3), 2013, 383-415


**Lecture 9: Technology and conflict** (Lecturer: Italo Bradimarte)

**Essay question:** How does technology shape conflict and our understanding of conflict?

**Readings**


**Supplementary readings**

You may be interested in seeing this exhibit: *London Imperial War Museum*. War Games: Real Conflicts | Virtual Worlds | Extreme Entertainment. [Free exhibition running until 28 May 2023]


Derek Gregory (2011). From a View to a Kill: Drones and Late Modern War, *Theory, Culture and Society 28*(7-8): 188-215


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**CASES:**

**Case study 1: The Democratic Republic of the Congo in the African Great Lakes region (D Curtis)**

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is often represented as a site of brutal violence, and it is known for its experiences of conflict, high levels of sexual violence, ‘resource wars’ and other forms of atrocities. The DRC has suffered from repeated cycles of violence, and, at times, has been labelled a ‘failed state’. This option will allow students to better understand the violence in the DRC and the surrounding region, and the ways in which local, regional and international drivers of conflict interact. It will question whether the media and policy depictions of conflict in the DRC adequately capture the complexity of politics in the region and the reasons for violence and peace. The module will explore the historical underpinnings of violence in the DRC and how these are connected to wider international processes. The last lecture focuses on responses to conflict in the DRC. It will explore the impact of different peacebuilding initiatives along with the assumptions guiding these peacebuilding activities and transnational activist campaigns.

**Essay question:** Is the state central to conflict and peacemaking in the DR Congo?

**Congo Lecture 1: A brief history of the region**

I would suggest starting with Hochschild’s book. It is an excellent introduction to historical international involvement in the Congo, and provides a gripping account of the colonial period. It will be useful for you to skim at least one of the books outlining the history of the broader Great Lakes region – perhaps Prunier, Lemarchand, or Reyntjens. These are very detailed books- you are certainly not
expected to know all these details, but it will be useful to you to have a broad understanding of background history.

On Congolese history, Young and Turner’s book is a classic, which deals with the colonial underpinnings of conflict in the Congo. Dunn specifically addresses the representation of Congo’s past and present. Nzongola-Ntalaja’s book is good on the end of the Mobutu period and attempts at democratisation. Deibert is a journalist and his book offers an introduction to Congo. Williams addresses the period of the immediate post-independence period in Congo, and the UN peacekeeping mission from 1960-64. The Stearns book is good on the more recent Congo wars and Berwouts examines conflict in Congo since the 2000s.

**Regional Histories (skim through one of these in order to understand regional background)-you do not need to know all the details**


**History of Congo**


*Kevin Dunn, *Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity*, (Palgrave 2003). [http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=%7Ceresources%7C70190](http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=%7Ceresources%7C70190)*


**Congo Lecture 2: Conflict and international relations**

There are contrasting arguments accounting for violence in the DRC. Clark’s edited volume provides a good overview of the regional political dynamics in the 1990s. Explanations for conflict in the DRC tend to focus on economic factors (Schouten, Nest et al., Kabamba, Samset), local political issues (Vlassenroot, Jackson, Autesserre), politics and regional connections (Stearns, Reyntjens). Some authors also focus on the interaction of these factors (Raeymaekers).

There is an excellent blog that students will find interesting for an analysis of current events: [http://congoresearchgroup.org/](http://congoresearchgroup.org/)

*Jason Stearns* *The War that Doesn’t Say Its Name: The Unending Conflict in the Congo*, Princeton University Press, 2021.


*All the President’s Wealth: The Kabila Family Business*, Congo Research Group, July 2017, [https://allthewealth.congoresearchgroup.org/dist/assets/all-the-presidents-wealth-ENG.pdf](https://allthewealth.congoresearchgroup.org/dist/assets/all-the-presidents-wealth-ENG.pdf)


conflits-in-eastern-drc-en-2.pdf

The Dark Side of Congo’s Cobalt Rush, New Yorker, May 2021, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2021/05/31/the-dark-side-of-congos-cobalt-rush


John F. Clark (ed), The African Stakes of the Congo War (Palgrave, 2004). http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=%7Ceresources%7C83632


UN Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of DR Congo, Final Report (16 October 2002), at: http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/db904/AllDocsByUNID/706b89b947e5993dc1256c590052b353


Congo Lecture 3: Peacebuilding and transnational advocacy

The DRC has been the focus of a number of international peacebuilding initiatives and advocacy campaigns. International campaigns have targeted conflict minerals, sexual violence, and environmental conservation. Seay and Baaz/Stern discuss the limitations of these campaigns. A number of authors provide more general critiques of peacebuilding strategies in the DRC. For instance, Autesserre has written extensively on this topic.


Making ends meet around Virunga:
https://cartoonmovement.typepad.com/Making%20ends%20meet%20around%20virunga.pdf


Jeffrey Herbst and Greg Mills, “There is No Congo” Foreign Policy, 18 March 2009; See reply by Timothy Raeymaekers, “Who Calls the Congo”


The ‘Silent Voices’ Bukavu Series blog posts are an excellent collection of reflections on conducting research in the DRC, especially by Congolese researchers: https://www.gicnetwork.be/silent-voices-blog-bukavu-series-eng/

See, for instance, articles by Emery Mudinga, Précieux Mwaka, Anuarite Bashizi, Stanislas Baganda

**Case study 2: The Rohingya Crisis: Forced Migration, Gender, Identities, and Everyday Lives in Bangladesh’s Refugee Camps**

(Farhana Rahman)

Despite significant trends in the effects of forced migration on various groups, there still remains a substantial lack of current knowledge on the everyday lives and subjectivities of the Rohingya community – particularly Rohingya women. In 2017, an escalation of violence in Rakhine State in Myanmar – where the Rohingya largely resided – reached a tipping point, with horrific reports of murder, kidnapping, and rape, resulting forced displacement to Bangladesh and a major humanitarian crisis. This module will explore forced migration processes more generally, and the reasons behind the Rohingya refugee crisis specifically. It will highlight the importance of the role of gender in forced migration and the ways in which Rohingya gender identities, roles, and relations have been affected as a result of displacement. Through the lived experiences and everyday negotiations of Rohingya refugee women, we will problematize deeply embedded gender ideologies regarding women’s place in settings after forced migration.

**Supervision essay question:** What role does gender play in forced migration generally, and in the Rohingya refugee crisis specifically?

**Lecture 1: Guest lecture by Thant Myint-U on the conflict in Myanmar**

*Readings*


Rohingya Lecture 2: Forced Migration and Rohingya Refugees

Readings:


**Rohingya Lecture 3: Gender, Identities, and Rohingya Refugee Subjectivities**

*Readings:*


LENT TERM

Peacebuilding

Lecture 1. Introduction: peace studies
How did peace studies evolve as a distinct area of study? What are the key methodological and theoretic commitments in the field of peace studies, and how have these changed over the past sixty years? How does peace studies relate to the study of international relations?


*Bukavu Series: Invisible Voices in the Production of Knowledge

http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=%7Ceresources%7C83625

**Lecture 2. What is peace? What is peacebuilding?**

*What is peace? Who are ‘peacebuilders’? Can you measure peace? What kinds of goals, interests and assumptions are held by different peacebuilding organisations, and what happens when their visions clash? Is peacebuilding intervention a form of domination? Is there an international peacebuilding ‘culture’?*


-Michael Banks, ‘Four conceptions of peace’ in Dennis Sandole and Ingrid Sandole-Staroste (eds), *Conflict Management and Problem-Solving* (Pinter, 1987) [M]


Short video on ‘Everyday peace indicators’ (Roger MacGinty and Pamina Firchow)

Cases:

Lecture 3: Who keeps the peace and why?
Is the use of force necessary to bring about peace/stability? How has UN peacekeeping evolved? Do ‘new actors’ in peacekeeping and peacebuilding, such as China, approach conflict and peace in different ways?

Essay: Do changes in the global balance of power influence peacekeeping practice(s)?


*Kathleen Jennings, ‘Conditional Protection? Sex, Gender and Discourse in UN


**China:**


**Regional organisations:**

Thierry Tardy, *Hybrid Peace Operations: Rationale and Challenges, Global*
Governance, Vol 20, no 1, 2014


Reports:

*Boutros Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping. Report of the Secretary-General, January 1992


Lecture 4: The politics of humanitarian assistance
Is the work of humanitarian aid agencies based on altruism? Is it possible for humanitarian relief to be neutral? What are the politics of humanitarianism and how has this changed over the last fifty years? What are the consequences of framing populations as ‘victims’?

Essay question: Is it possible for humanitarian actors to do no harm to the populations they seek to help?

*Larissa Fast and Christina Bennett, ‘From the ground up: it’s about time for local humanitarian action’ London: Overseas Development Institute Report, May 2020,

See also related blog posts including:


*Degan Ali and Marie-Rose Romain Murphy, ‘Black Lives Matter is also a reckoning for foreign aid and international NGOs’ blogpost Open Democracy, 19 July 2020.


Ben Barber, “Feeding Refugees, or War? The Dilemmas of Humanitarian


-Alex de Waal, Democratizing the Aid Encounter in Africa’ *International Affairs*, Vol 73, No. 4, October 1997.


**Lecture 5: Negotiations, mediation and peace agreements**

Are peace negotiations best understood as an exercise in bargaining between belligerents? On what basis are participants in peace negotiations chosen? Why do peace agreements so often break down? Is it possible for outsiders to ‘manage spoilers’ in peace processes?

**Essay:** Is it important for peace negotiations to include representatives of all armed and non-armed groups?


Introductory/general readings on mediation:
Jacob Bercovitch, Mediation and Conflict Resolution, The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution, Bercovitch, Kremenyuk, Zartman (eds), 2009


Sean William Kane, Making Peace When the Whole World Has Come to Fight: The Mediation of Internationalized Civil Wars, International Peacekeeping, 2020

On specific aspects of mediation


Julia Palmiano Federer, Julia Pickhardt et al., Beyond the Tracks? Reflections on Multitrack Approaches to Peace Processes, HD/CSS/Swisspeace/FBA, 2019

Dekha Ibrahim Abdi, Simon Mason, Mediation and Governance in Fragile Contexts: Small Steps to Peace, Boulder CO: Kumarian Press, 2019


Other aspects of peace agreements and peace processes

Stephen Stedman, Donald Rothchild and Elizabeth Cousens, Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements (Lynne Rienner 2002). [Intro. pp. 1-40 on M]


**Cases**


Also: podcasts:
The Mediator’s Studio (from Humanitarian Dialogue Centre), [https://www.hdcentre.org/osloforum/podcasts/](https://www.hdcentre.org/osloforum/podcasts/)
There are a number of excellent interviews with mediators on this site.

IPI youtube video on ‘Women mediators: Connecting Local and Global Peacebuilders’ (with Sanam Naraghi-Anderlini and Theresa Whitfield).


**Lecture 6: The Politics of Governance: Democratisation and the governance of divided societies**

Is there an immediate trade-off between democracy and order in highly divided countries emerging from civil war? Is it possible for outsiders to ‘institutionally engineer’ states and societies in order to reach desired outcomes? When, if ever, is partition necessary? Are certain kinds of institutions more conducive to peace?

**Essay:** Is peace a matter of appropriate institutions?

*Anna Jarstad and Timothy Sisk (eds), From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding* (Cambridge University Press, 2008). (see chapter 4)

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-Phil Roeder and Donald Rothchild, eds., Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars (Cornell University Press 2005). [Chapter 1 on M]


Beatrice Pouligny, “Promoting Democratic Institutions in Post-Conflict Societies:


**Lecture 7: Security: Ex-Combatants and DDR**

*Is security and stability the first priority for peacebuilding? Are there tensions between stabilization operations and sovereignty and if so, can these be resolved? Do disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programmes achieve their objectives?*

**Essay:** Should policies targeting ex-combatants prioritise peace or justice?

*Mats Berdal and David Ucko, ‘Introduction to the DDR Forum: Rethinking the Reintegration of Former Combatants’ *International Peacekeeping*, Vol 20, No. 3, 2013. See also case study articles in same issue


Paul Jackson, Shivit Bakrania, Is the Future of SSR non-linear? Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding, 2018


Lilli Banholzer, When do disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes succeed? German Development Institute, Bonn, 2014.

Claire Duncanson, Gender and Peacebuilding. Polity Press, 2016. (see pp 116-123)


**Cases:**


-Christopher Blattman and Jeannie Annan, ‘Child Combatants in northern Uganda: Reintegration Myths and Realities’ in Robert Muggah (ed), *Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, (London: Routledge, 2008). (also see other chapters for other cases).


**Official documents and reports:**


*Lecture 8: Society: Justice and post-war reconciliation*
Can there be anything more than a victor’s justice after conflict? Who benefits from international courts? Is there a trade-off between reconciliation and justice? Do truth commissions succeed in uncovering the truth? How can the transnational dimensions of conflict be addressed in post-war justice and reconciliation initiatives?

**Essay:** Should policies targeting ex-combatants prioritise peace or justice?


*Priscilla Hayner, Unspeakable Truths: Facing the Challenge of Truth Commissions (Routledge, 2002). [e-book]


Andrew Rigby, Justice and Reconciliation: After the Violence (Lynne Rienner, 2001). [M: ch. 1]


**Cases**


And response: Alex de Waal, Writing Human Rights and Getting it Wrong, http://bostonreview.net/world/alex-de-waal-writing-human-rights


**Lecture 9: Economy: Post-Conflict Economic Policies and Development**

To what extent are the governments of countries emerging from conflict constrained in their economic choices? When is post-conflict reconstruction assistance helpful? Which development models are chosen and why?

**Essay**: How can war economies be transformed into peace economies?


Tobias Ide and al, ‘The past and future(s) of environmental peacebuilding’ International Affairs, 97(1), January 2021 (see also other case study articles in the special issue)

Mary Anderson, Do No Harm: How Aid can Support Peace or War. (Lynne Rienner, 1999).


Graham Harrison, The World Bank and Africa: Constructing Governance States,
Lecture 10: The Possibilities and Limits of Peacebuilding, Statebuilding and Transnational Advocacy

What accounts for the success and failure of advocacy campaigns? Is there a trade-off between integrity and influence? Do international campaigns buttress or marginalize local political agency? Are there alternatives to peacebuilding and statebuilding?

*Alex de Waal (ed), Advocacy in Conflict: Critical Perspectives on Transnational Activism, Zed Books, 2015. [see especially ch. 2: M]

*Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics, Cornell University Press, 1998 [Intro on M]

Limits:


Nehal Bhuta, ‘Democratisation, state-building and politics as technology’ in The Role of International Law in Rebuilding Societies after Conflict, edited by Brett Bowden, Hilary Charlesworth and Jeremy Farrall, Cambridge University Press, 2009


**Alternatives?**


**Cases**

http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/the_next_20/2016/09/kony_2012_quickly_became_a_punch_line_but_what_if_it_did_more_good_than.html


| Seminar 2: Are there alternatives to international peacebuilding and statebuilding? | 57 |
Seminar readings:


Seminar assignment: Please send in two questions/ ideas sparked by the readings to Devon Curtis at least 12 hours before the seminar

Revision- there will be a revision lecture in Easter term.


Short video on ‘Everyday peace indicators’ (Roger MacGinty and Pamina Firchow)

POL16 Examination 2022
The Politics of Conflict and Peace

Candidates should answer three questions.

1. Do ideas of war shape ideas of peace?

2. What are the effects of globalisation on conflict? Answer with reference to at least one way in which the University of Cambridge or the City of Cambridge is linked to violent conflict.

3. Are ‘fragile’ states more vulnerable to gendered violence?

4. If environmental change AND/OR global health pandemics are viewed as potential threats to security, does that lead to more promising avenues for peacebuilding?

5. Has the proliferation of actors involved in peace interventions meant that the local dimensions of conflict are more likely to be addressed?

6. To what extent is the logic of humanitarian assistance similar to the logic of liberal peacebuilding?
7. Why do peace negotiations sometimes exclude representatives of ethnic
groups and genders?

8. Do the consequences of power-sharing agreements show the limits of
institutional engineering?

9. Will disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programmes always fail if
the economic interests of former combatants are not prioritised?

10. Is tackling economic inequality always a key feature of post-conflict justice?

11. Does continued violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo show that
there is no solution to the problem of conflict?

12. To what extent is displacement central to the everyday politics of violence in
Colombia?

Other past examinations and examiners’ reports can be found on Moodle.