

Prague Peacebuilding intensive course (December 2009)

Professor David Chandler (University of Westminster, London). Email: D.Chandler@wmin.ac.uk

Debating Liberal Peace(building)

Today there appears to be a consensus that international peacebuilding missions have achieved limited success on the ground due to their liberal frameworks and practices. This critique is often posed critically in terms of liberal (or neoliberal or biopolitical) attempts to develop, democratise or secure the borderlands of the West or in more policy-related terms as a result of overambitious attempts to impose liberal models of democracy and the market upon non-liberal societies. This course will study some of these debates around the 'liberal' nature of peacekeeping interventions in the context of the dominant discourses of security, war and the crisis of liberal thinking in our globalized and complex, interdependent world. It will suggest that through considering these debates, liberalism emerges as a central motif for both critics and apologists and that through these debates a new framework for understanding policy interventions is emerging.

Background reading:

Chandler, D. *Hollow Hegemony: Rethinking Global Politics, Power and Resistance* (London: Pluto, 2009).

Key readings:

Coker, C. *War in an Age of Risk* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009).

Douzinas, C. *Human Rights and Empire: The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Duffield, M. *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

Foucault, M. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008).

Kaldor, M. *Human Security: Reflections on Globalization and Intervention* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

North, D. *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Paris, R. *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Paris, R. and Sisk, T. (eds.) *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding* (London: Routledge, 2009).

1. Introduction: The Problematization of Liberal Peace

In this session we focus on the problematization of the liberal peace as a framework for lowering expectations of what it is possible to achieve through external intervention: as apology. Here the emphasis on the difference between the liberal interveners and the non-liberal nature of those subject to intervention is the key to the critique of the export of liberal assumptions and the study of concrete cases emphasises the importance of taking into account the 'local' and the importance of 'hybridity'.

Key readings:

Paris, R. and Sisk, T. 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion' in Paris, R. and Sisk, T. (eds.) *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding* (London: Routledge, 2009). (available in course documents).

Chandler, D. 'The Uncritical Critique of Liberal Peace' (forthcoming, draft available from *Millennium* paper). <http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/papers/Millennium%20Liberal%20Peace.pdf>

Barnett, M. and Zürcher, C. 'The Peacebuilder's Contract: How External Statebuilding Reinforces Weak Statehood', in Paris and Sisk (eds) *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding*, pp.23-52. (available in course documents)

Additional readings:

Paris, R. *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Paris, R. 'International Peacebuilding and the 'Mission Civilisatrice'', *Review of International Studies*, 28:4 (2002), pp.637-656.

Zakaria, F. *The Future of Freedom; Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003).

Kahler, M. 'Statebuilding after Afghanistan and Iraq', in Paris and Sisk (eds) *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding*, pp.287-303.

Ignatieff, M. *Empire Lite: Nation-Building in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan* (London: Vintage, 2003).

Richmond, O. *The Transformation of Peace* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 2005).

Richmond, O. and Mac Ginty, R. Special Issue 'The Liberal Peace and Post-War Reconstruction', *Global Society*, 21:4, (2007).

Roberts, D. 'Hybrid Polities and Indigenous Pluralities: Advanced Lessons in Statebuilding from Cambodia', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 2:1, (2008), pp.63-86.

Roberts, D. 'The Superficiality of Statebuilding in Cambodia; Patronage and Clientelism as Enduring Forms of Politics', in Paris and Sisk (eds) *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding*, pp.149-169.

Pugh, M. 'The Political Economy of Peacebuilding: A Critical Theory Perspective', *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 10:2, (2005) pp.23-42.

Pugh, M., Cooper, N. and Turner, M. (eds) *Whose Peace? Critical Perspectives on the Political Economy of Peacebuilding* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 2008).

Essay question: What is the dynamic behind the peacebuilding critique of liberalism?

2. Liberal Peace and Human Security?

In this session we assess the dominant framings of the development of peacebuilding in the 1990s, either as an extension of liberal universalism, in discourses of cosmopolitanism, global civil society and human security and the critique of liberalism as an extension of regulatory control, articulated around the defence of the 'human' but reinforcing and institutionalizing new global hierarchies of power.

Key reading:

Chandler, D. 'Critiquing Liberal Cosmopolitanism?: The Limits of the Biopolitical Approach', *International Political Sociology*, 3:1, (2009), pp.53-70.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/IPS%20-%20Global%20Cosmopolitanism.pdf

Additional reading:

Duffield, M. *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

Douzinas, C. *Human Rights and Empire: The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Kaldor, M. *Human Security: Reflections on Globalization and Intervention* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

Kaldor, M. *Global Civil Society An Answer to War?* (Cambridge, Polity, 2003).

Chandler, D. 'Human Security: The Dog that Didn't Bark' (review article), *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (2008), pp.427-438.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Security%20Dialogue%20-%20Human%20Security%20I.pdf

Chandler, D. 'New Rights for Old? Cosmopolitan Citizenship and the Critique of State Sovereignty', *Political Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 2, 2003, pp.339-356.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Political%20Studies%20-%20Cosmo%20Citizenship.pdf

Essay Question: In what ways could the extension of the peacebuilding agenda in the 1990s be seen as liberal?

3 Liberal Peace and Approaches to War

In this session we continue the theme of the liberal drive to domination and control, articulated particularly strongly in the view of unending war.

Key reading:

'War without End(s): Grounding Global War', *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2009), pp.243-262.

[http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Security%20Dialogue%20-%20War%20without%20End\(s\).pdf](http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Security%20Dialogue%20-%20War%20without%20End(s).pdf)

Additional readings:

Hardt, M. and Negri, A. *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (London: Penguin, 2005.)

Jabri, V. *War and the Transformation of Global Politics* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 2007).

Hardt, M. and Negri, A. *Empire* (Harvard University Press, 2000).

Jahn, B. 'The Tragedy of Liberal Diplomacy: Democratization, Intervention, Statebuilding (Part I)', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 1:1 (2007), 87-106 and 'The Tragedy of Liberal Diplomacy: Democratization, Intervention, Statebuilding (Part II)', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 1:2 (2007).

Reid, J. and Dillon, M. *The Liberal Way of War: Killing to Make Life Live* (London: Routledge, 2009).

Duffield, M. *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

Chandler, D. 'Human Security II: Waiting for the Tail to Wag the Dog: Rejoinder to Ambrosetti, Owen and Wibben', *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (2008), pp.463-469.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Security%20Dialogue%20-%20Human%20Security%20II.pdf

Essay Question: Do you agree with the assertion that liberal peace leads to unending war?

4 Problematizing the Liberal Paradigm

In this session we consider some alternative perspectives on the debate which suggest that the liberal paradigm of development, democratization and control is in crisis. This crisis is understood differently by different commentators: some locating the problems within the collapse of the geo-political and ideological meanings of the Cold War; some in the domestic sphere of political disengagement; and some in the globalizing world which makes policy-makers much more aware of the limitations of their power and the risks and unintended consequences of acting.

Key readings:

Chandler, D. 'Risk and the Biopolitics of Global Insecurity' (review article), *Journal of Conflict, Security and Development*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2010). (draft available, see course documents)

Chandler, D. 'The Security-Development Nexus and the Rise of "Anti-Foreign Policy"', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Vol.10, No.4, (2007), pp.362-386.
http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/JIRD%20-%20Security%20Development.pdf

Recommended readings:

Coker, C. *War in an Age of Risk* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009).

Laidi, Z. *A World without Meaning: Crisis of Meaning in International Politics* (London: Routledge, 1998).

Hammond, P. *Media, War and Postmodernity* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Furedi, F. *Invitation to Terror: The Expanding Empire of the Unknown* (London: Continuum, 2008)

Chandler, D. 'Hollow Hegemony: Theorising the Shift from Interest-Based to Value-Based International Policy-Making', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3, Special Issue: Theorising the International, September 2007, pp. 703-723.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Millennium%20-%20Hollow%20Hegemony%20published.pdf

Chandler, D. 'Culture Wars and International Intervention: An 'Inside/Out' View of the Decline of the National Interest', *International Politics*, Vol. 41, No. 3, 2004, pp.354-74.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/International%20Politics%20-%20Culture%20Wars.pdf

Chandler, D. "Rhetoric without Responsibility: The Attraction of "Ethical" Foreign Policy', *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 2003, pp.295-316.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/BJPIR%20-%205.3%20Rhetoric%20Responsibility.pdf

Essay Question: Are we witnessing the collapse of the liberal paradigm of peacebuilding, if so, why?

5 The Post-Liberal Paradigm

This session focuses on the policy implications of the critique of the liberal paradigm and focuses on the institutionalist critique of liberal assumptions which appears to be increasingly the basis for international policy-making and considers the insights into the rise of institutionalism provided by Foucault's work on the rise of these approaches in post-war Germany, in which many central concepts of the classical liberal framework became transformed as autonomy (the basis of classical liberal framings of democracy, sovereignty and the market) was seen to be problematic.

Key readings:

Foucault, M. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008). (see course documents)

North, D. *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). (see course documents)

Additional readings:

Chandler, D. 'The EU and Southeastern Europe: The Rise of Post-Liberal Governance', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (2010). (forthcoming, draft available, see course documents).

Chandler, D. 'R2P or Not R2P? More Statebuilding, Less Responsibility', *Global Responsibility to Protect*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2010). (forthcoming, draft available, see course documents).

Harrison, G. 'Post-Conditionality Politics and Administrative Reform: Reflections on the Cases of Uganda and Tanzania', *Development and Change*, 32:4, (2001), pp. 634–65.

Essay Question: In what ways does the institutionalist approach fundamentally question the liberal paradigm?

6 Conclusion: What do we do when we Critique the Liberal Peace?

In this session we will sum up and address any unaddressed issues as well as considering further matters of methodology, critique, meaning, apologetics and how policy-makers seek to negotiate the new framings of policy-making.