International Law and Post-Conflict Reconstruction Policy

Edited by Matthew Saul and James A Sweeney



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International Law and Post-Conflict Reconstruction Policy

The trend for international engagement in post-conflict reconstruction has produced a host of best-practice postulates on topics such as local involvement in decision making, accountability for past atrocities, sensitivity to context, and the construction of democratic institutions of governance. International law has potential relevance for many of these themes, yet the question of how the implementation of best-practice policy recommendations might be affected by international law remains under-examined.

This book offers a fuller understanding of the role of international law in the practice of post-conflict reconstruction. It explores how international legal issues that arise in the post-conflict period relate to a number of strands of the policy debate, including government creation, constitution-making, gender policy, provision of security, justice for past atrocities, rule of law development, economic recovery, returning displaced persons, and responsibilities of international actors.

The chapters of the book work to reveal the extent to which international law figures in the policy of internationally enabled post-conflict reconstruction across a range of sectors. They also highlight the scope for international law to be harnessed in a more effective manner from the perspective of the transition to peace and stability. The book lays out a basis for future policy making on post-conflict reconstruction; one that is informed about the international legal parameters, and more aware of how international law can be utilised to promote key objectives.

Matthew Saul is a post-doctoral research fellow at the University of Oslo, Norway.

James A Sweeney is a Professor of International Law at Lancaster University, UK.

Post-Conflict Law and Justice

International law has great relevance in post-conflict contexts, but the complexity of its role, both as a supporting and restraining factor, can be underestimated. This series explores the role of law, and in particular international law, in securing 'justice' in post-conflict contexts. The remit of the series extends to matters of law connected to, for example: post-conflict legal reforms and the development of constitutions; the establishment of the rule of law; the place of international organisations in post-conflict; peace-keeping; transitional justice mechanisms (including criminal justice); and discussion of *jus post bellum*. It also seeks self-reflexive works on notions of post-conflict justice, transitional justice, and similar.

Series Editors: James A Sweeney, Lancaster University and Matthew Saul, University of Oslo

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Acknowledgments

The development of this volume has been closely linked to several other projects on popular governance of post-conflict reconstruction, and transitional justice, undertaken by Saul and Sweeney.

Saul's work (see Cambridge University Press 2014) has highlighted how international law can help to promote best practice policy in relation to popular engagement in decision-making on matters of reconstruction. But Saul's work has also drawn attention to how the underdeveloped nature of relevant aspects of international law can serve to enable situations where international actors keep individuals with potentially little claim to be representative of the will of the population of the state in authority. The risk that in such situations authority will be exercised in the interest of the governing individuals, rather than the population and situation as whole, necessitates that more attention is given to the issue at the centre of this book: how does international law regulate decision-making on matters of reconstruction following conflict?

The project has also been informed and benefited considerably from Sweeney's scholarly expertise on the topic of the interaction of transitional polices with European human rights law (Routledge 2012), as well as from his practical experiences, including his work as an expert advisor to the Council of Europe in Armenia, Azerbaijan (with the Venice Commission), Georgia, and Kosovo; and his recent work with the judges of the Supreme Court of Ukraine, and the Constitutional and Supreme Courts of Kosovo.

The completion of the volume has been aided through two workshops at which earlier drafts of the chapters were presented. The first workshop was held in Durham in June 2013, and was made possible by the financial assistance of Law and Conflict at Durham (now Law and Global Justice) and Durham Global Security Institute. A second workshop was held under the auspices of the Lancaster Centre for International Law and Human Rights in June 2014, and was made possible by the financial support of Security Lancaster. Many individuals were involved in making these workshops a success, but particular thanks are due to the key administrators Julie Platten (Durham) and Lynne Hargreaves (Lancaster).

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giving us the chance to start a new book series on the topic of post-conflict law and justice, for which we welcome enquires and proposals.

We also extend a special thanks to all of the contributors, not only for agreeing to participate and producing such excellent pieces of work, but for doing so with enthusiasm and an enviable capacity to comply with deadlines, which has made our roles as editors all the more pleasant.

Finally, thanks are due to our respective families, for providing the love, support and encouragement that has been crucial in the realisation of this ambitious project. Matthew Saul dedicates the book to Linn and their little son Scott Nathan who came into the world in April 2014. James Sweeney dedicates the book to Sarah, Grace and Isla.

Matthew Saul, James Sweeney Oslo and Lancaster October 2014

Editors and contributors

Editors

Matthew Saul is a post-doctoral research fellow on the MultiRights project at the University of Oslo, Norway. Previously he was a lecturer at Durham University (UK). Along with co-editor Sweeney and contributor O'Donoghue, he co-founded the research group 'Law and Conflict at Durham'. He is the author of a range of articles on the topic of international law in post-conflict reconstruction, including articles in the Melbourne Journal of International Law, and the Journal of Conflict and Security Law. He is the author of Popular Governance of Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The Role of International Law (CUP 2014). He is also the editor (with French and White) of International Dispute Settlement: New Techniques and Problems (Hart 2010).

James A Sweeney is a Professor of International Law at Lancaster University (UK). His research is about the after-effects of conflict; principally human rights in transitional democracies and the rights of refugees. He is the author of The European Court of Human Rights in the post-Cold War Era: Universality in Transition (Routledge 2012); and co-editor of The Idea of Home in Law: Displacement and Dispossession (Ashgate 2011). His work on the human rights of failed asylum seekers was cited by the House of Lords in the case of R (on the application of M) v Slough BC [2008] UKHL 52, and by the Court of Appeal in R (on the application of SL) v Westminster City Council [2011] EWCA Civ 954. In addition to his academic work, Professor Sweeney has acted as an expert advisor to the Council of Europe in Armenia, Azerbaijan (with the Venice Commission), Georgia, and Kosovo. In March 2011 he delivered human rights legal training to judges of the Ukrainian Supreme Court as part of a UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office project. Throughout 2009 he acted as an expert advisor to the EU's Committee of the Regions as it prepared its Opinion on reforms to the Common European Asylum System. In 2013 he was invited to deliver human rights training to the Kosovo Diplomatic Academy and the Office of the Kosovo Ombudsperson.

Contributors

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Antoine Buyse is a professor of human rights at the Netherlands Institute of Human Rights (SIM) and a member of the Young Academy of the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences. He teaches 'economic, social and cultural human rights' and 'the human rights – conflict nexus'. He is executive editor of the Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights, a member of the editorial board of the Dutch Human Rights Review, and he hosts a weblog about the European Convention on Human Rights. Currently, he is conducting research on the links between freedom of expression and conflict escalation, funded by the Dutch Organisation on Scientific Research.

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Lisa Mardikian is a PhD candidate at the University of Bristol. Lisa has a degree in law (2009) and a masters degree in international law (2010) from the

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Pádraig McAuliffe is a senior lecturer at the University of Liverpool. In 2009, he was awarded his doctorate for his research on the Special Panels for Serious Crimes in East Timor. His monograph on transitional justice and the rule of law was published by Routledge in 2013. He held a visiting research fellowship at the University of California, Los Angeles in 2007. From 2008 to 2009, Pádraig worked as a researcher in the Legal Division of the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs. He is a contributor to the Oxford Reports on International Criminal Law and convenes the annual Scottish Early Careers Research Colloquium with Dr Stephanie Switzer.

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Dustin Sharp is Assistant Professor at University of San Diego, Kroc School of Peace Studies. He teaches courses on transitional justice and international human rights law and advocacy. Sharp's research focuses on the role of law in post-conflict peace-building and the intersection of economic development and human rights. His current work examines critical theories of peace-building and transitional justice. Professor Sharp has over seven years experience working on issues of human rights, transitional justice, and educational development in Sub-Saharan Africa. He has been a regular media commentator on Radio France International, the BBC and Voice of America regarding conflict dynamics in the region. For the last three years, Professor Sharp oversaw the West African Human Rights Training Initiative, a capacity-building programme focusing on local human rights organisations in Côte d'Ivoire. Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. Sharp previously served as an Attorney-Adviser at the United States Department of State where he represented the United States in multilateral treaty negotiations and advised the Bureau of International Organization Affairs on matters concerning United Nations law and international institutional law.

Aisling Swaine completed her doctorate at the Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland in 2012 where she is also currently a Visiting Fellow. Previously, Aisling spent over seven years working full-time in conflict-affected and fragile states (Kosovo, Burundi, Timor-Leste and Darfur, Sudan) for international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the United Nations, an additional seven years as an independent consultant and has spent time in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda and South Africa in this regard. Aisling has authored several academic and policy publications on issues relating to gender violence, women, peace and security and gender and humanitarian action. Aisling continues to consult globally to the United Nations, international donors and NGOs. Aisling is also a Senior Gender Adviser on the United Nations IASC Gender Capacity Roster. She was a Global Fellow at New York University's Law School from September to December 2013, and joined George Washington University's Elliot School of International Affairs as Associate Professor of Practice on Women, Security and Development in January 2014.

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