

SIS496-007/SIS696-006 U.S. Experiments in Peace-Building
Fall 2008
Thursdays, 8:10 p.m.
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Is the U.S. an empire? Can its actions in Iraq be properly described as peace-building?
What about in Afghanistan?

These are some of the questions addressed in the course, which examines U.S. government mechanisms and institutions deployed for international conflict resolution. It begins with a review of the history of peace-building in U.S. diplomacy and confronts the relationship between US power and peace-building, with reference to the debate about “empire.” It evaluates a range of institutions, including the State Department, USAID, Peace Corps, and the U.S. Institute for Peace and examines the interplay between these agencies, military and intelligence institutions, and the White House, as well as conflict resolution NGOs. Cases include Afghanistan, Iraq, Bosnia, Kosovo, Sudan, and Liberia, as well as those developed by the students. The class also studies the role of Congress in supporting peace-building through the authorization and appropriation process and assesses the proposal for creation of a U.S. Department of Peace.

Course Objectives

1. To study how the notion of a peace-building function in the US Government emerged from our national experience and our history. Tied into that question is the image or images that American leaders – and the American people – have adopted of the United States in the international arena. How have those images evolved over 200 years? What kind of continuities and discontinuities do we see?
2. To explore the way international peace-building is built into the functions of different agencies through law and policy.
3. To deepen your awareness that the peace-building function does not operate in some kind of autonomous theater of activity, separate from the rest of US foreign policy. Peace-building does not operate in a vacuum. Peace-building has to be understood as part of a broader foreign policy and national security process. Within this process, peace-building is
 - a. Sometimes highlighted and isolated as a US activity
 - b. Sometimes subordinated to other national security objectives
 - c. Most often an activity that combines elements of diplomacy, military power, availability of funds, and effective public advocacy.
4. To acquaint you with the necessarily multilateral nature of the US peace-building. To be effective, US peace-building requires the mobilization of the energies of other governments, international organizations and NGOs.

Method of Instruction

The course will be conveyed through lectures by the professor and guest speakers, readings, student oral presentations and class discussion. Evaluation of student work will

be through a mid-term examination, oral presentation of the course project, the final paper on the project, a final examination and class participation.

- The mid-term is October 16.
- Each student must submit by September 11 *by e-mail* a proposed paper topic on a case involving a significant US Government effort at peace-building since 1990, with brief outline of the policy objectives, the agencies engaged, international coordination, funding allocated, and evaluation of outcomes.
- Each will make a 10-15 minute presentation of the major points during a class session beginning October 23.
- Papers are due December 4.
- The final examination, December 11, will cover readings, lectures and in-class presentations/discussions.

Grading

The grading system is the letter grade system outlined by the Office of the Registrar. The grade for the course will be determined as follows:

Mid-term exam 15%

Paper 35%

Final exam 35%

Class participation 15%, including your in-class presentation

Reading List

The basic text is Dane F. Smith, *U.S. Peacefare: Bureaucratic Specialization and Coordination in Official Peace-Building* (forthcoming), which will be made available in draft form. Books recommended for purchase are Chester A. Crocker, Fern O. Hampson, Pamela Aall, *Leashing the Dogs of War* (USIP: 2007), Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: Rise and Fall of American Empire* (2004 edition), Charles Kupchan, *The End of the American Era: US Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the 21st Century* (2002), and Joseph Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (Public Affairs, 2004).

Other books and articles are either available at the Bender Library or can be downloaded as indicated below. Generally speaking, USAID documents may be downloaded from www.usaid.gov and State Department documents from www.state.gov.

The professor reserves the right to change reading assignments and the order of the lectures during the course.

Individual Class Assignments - TENTATIVE

August 28 Peace-Building in US Foreign Policy: A Historical Review

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Introduction and Chapter 1; Kupchan, *The End of the American Era*, 160-201; Ferguson, *Colossus*, 33-104; Crocker *et al*, *Turbulent Peace*, xv-xxix

September 4 Peace-Building in the Bush I, Clinton, and Bush II Administrations

Readings:

Kupchan, 202-246; Ferguson, 104-131, 132-166; Eliot A. Cohen, "History and the Hyper-Power," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2004, 49-63; Rothchild and Sisk, "US-Africa Policy: Promoting Conflict Management" in Robert J. Lieber, *Eagle Adrift* (1997), 271-294; White House, *National Security Strategy 2006*, especially 1-8, 12-17. (Can be downloaded as PDF file from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006/nss2006.pdf> .)

September 11 American Power & the Debate over Empire

Paper topics due.

Readings:

Nye, *Soft Power*, 1-98, 127-147; Walter Russell Mead, *Power, Terror, Peace and War* (2003), 24-49.

September 18 American Public Diplomacy

Guest Speaker: William P. Kiehl, Ed.D., President & CEO, PDWorldwide

Readings:

"Public Diplomacy in the Twenty-First Century," An interview with James K. Glassman, Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (Council on Foreign Relations, June 30, 2008 (Download from http://www.cfr.org/publication/16698/public_diplomacy_in_the_twentyfirst_century_rus_h_transcript_federal_news_service.html); Nye, *Soft Power*, 99-123; Christopher W.S. Ross, "Public Diplomacy Comes of Age," *Washington Quarterly*, March 1, 2002. Available online through AU Library.

Department of State and USAID Strategic Plan (FY 2004-2009), 30-32. See http://www.usaid.gov/policy/budget/state_usaid_strat_plan.pdf

September 25 The Foreign Assistance of Peace: USAID

Guest Speaker: Sharon Morris, Director, Washington Office, Mercy Corps; formerly Executive Assistant to the Special Envoy for Sudan, and senior officer in USAID's Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Ch. 6; USAID, *Foreign Aid in the National Interest: Promoting Freedom, Security & Opportunity* (2002), 1-30, 96-112. See <http://www.usaid.gov/fani/> _____, *Nine Principles of Development and Reconstruction Assistance* (Feb. 2005) _____, *U.S. Foreign Aid: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century* (2004)

October 2 The Diplomacy of Peace: The State Department

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Chs. 3-4; Chas. W. Freeman, Jr., *Arts of Power: Statecraft and Diplomacy* (1997), 3-5, 71-131; USIP, *U.S. Negotiating Behavior* (Special Report 94 - 10/02), 1-11. See <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr94.html>

October 9 Mid-Term Exam; Grassroots Peace-Building: The Peace Corps

Readings:

Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, *All You Need is Love: The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960's* (1998), 1-38, 217-259

Lex Rieffel, *Reconsidering the Peace Corps* (Brookings: 12/2003), 1-8. See <http://brookings.edu/comm/policybriefs/pb127.pdf>

Scott Stossel, *Sarge: The Life and Times of Sargent Shriver* (2004), 189-272

October 16 Peace-Building and the US Military I

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Chapter 5; Lawrence Freedman, "Using Force for Peace in an Age of Terror," in *Leashing the Dogs of War*, 245-263; Hans J. Binnendijk & S.E. Johnson, *Transforming Force Stabilization and Reconstruction Operations* (Center for Technology & National Security: 2004), xiii-xix, 53-69, 107-113. Download from http://www.ndu.edu/CTNSP/S&R_book/S&R.pdf .

Student presentations begin.

October 23 Peace-Building and the U.S. Military II

Readings:

Robert C. Orr, "Constructing a Cohesive Strategic International Response," in Orr (ed.), *Winning the Peace: An American Strategy for Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (2004), 19-36; Robert Perito, *The U.S. Experience with Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan: Lessons Identified* (USIP Special Report 152, 2005), 1-15 Download from <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr152.pdf> ; (For further reading on PRTs, see Michael J. Dziedzic & Col. Michael K. Seidl, *Provincial Reconstruction Teams and Military Relations with International and Nongovernmental Organizations in Afghanistan* (USIP Special Report, 2005), 1-14. Download from <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr147.pdf> .)

October 30 Integration of Peace and National Security: The National Security Council

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Ch. 2; Karl F. Inderfurth & Loch K. Johnson (eds.), *Fateful Decisions: Inside the National Security Council* (2004), 107-123, 253-267

David J. Rothkopf, *Running The World: the Inside Story of the National Security Council and the Architects of American Power* (2005), 3-21, 37-60, 109-129, 260-287, 303-343.

November 4 The Study of Peace: US Institute of Peace

Readings:

Rhoda Miller, *Institutionalization of Peace: The Concept of the US Institute of Peace and its Role* (1994), 3-140, 145-156; Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Ch. 7;

November 13 Peace-Building Applied or Misapplied? Afghanistan and Iraq

Readings:

Barnett R. Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan* (2002 ed.), ix-xxxiii, 247-280; Rubin, *Afghanistan's Uncertain Transition from Turmoil to Normalcy* (Council on Foreign Relations, March 2006), 1-40; Bob Woodward, *State of Denial* (2006), 1-337; George Packer, *The Assassins' Gate: America in Iraq* (2005), 1-38, 46-68, 82-148, 180-250

November 20 Funding Peace-Building: The Budget Process & Congress

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Ch. 8; see the brief summary provided by the National Peace Corps Association: www.rpcv.org/pages/sitepage.cfm?id=735
Department of State, FY 2009 International Affairs (Function 150) Budget Request. See <http://www.state.gov/s>; Department of State & U.S. Agency for International Development, FY 2006 Performance Summary, Strategic Goal 1: Regional Stability: Avert and Resolve Local and Regional Conflicts. See especially Conflict Management & Mitigation on <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/41602.pdf>

December 4 Reforms in the Peace-Building Process: A U.S. Department of Peace?
Guest Speaker: A representative of Rep. Kucinich's Office

Papers due.

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Ch. 9; Department of Peace bill, 208th Congress, introduced at each congressional session since 2003 by Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D-OH). (See <http://thomas.loc.gov/> under 208th Congress, Department of Peace)
See also Rep. Kucinich's rationale and summary at <http://kucinich.house.gov/Issues/Issue/?IssueID=1564#Legislation%20to%20Create%20a%20Department%20of%20Peace>