

Post-War Peacebuilding
SIS-519-004
Spring 2008, Thursdays, 11:20-2:00
Room: Watkins 102

Professor Charles T. Call
IPCR Program
School of International Service, American University

Email: call@american.edu

Tel: 202-885-1693

Office Hours: Tuesdays 3-6 pm; Thursdays, 2:15-3:15 pm, 8:15-9:15 pm, or by appt.

Office Location: 202 Clark

How do societies in conflict or emerging from violent conflict develop the state structures and social relationships not to revert to armed conflict? How can societies achieve not just stability but also sustainable peace and justice? What is the appropriate marker for “peacebuilding” for such societies? What, if any, positive role can external actors play?

This course addresses issues of building peace in war-torn societies. Although the course addresses a range of political, military, economic and social challenges, it focuses more on the intersection of these challenges with institutions of the state. After examining the importance of the question and the competing conceptual approaches to both “peacebuilding” and “state-building,” the course examines four separate sectors (“pillars”) around which institutionalizing peace are organized: security; justice and reconciliation; governance and participation; and social and economic issues. Additional themes and case studies will allow us to go into more depth into these issues, with topics/case studies chosen in conjunction with the class.

By the end of this course, you should know the main approaches to post-war peacebuilding; understand how these issues intersect with the state and state-building challenges; and be able to apply diverse perspectives in analyzing a concrete case.

In addition, this course should improve your analytic skills. You should emerge from the course a more critical and analytic reader of texts. Your capacity to write analytically and persuasively should also improve.

Required Books Available at the Bookstore:

- John Paul Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 2005).
- Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What to Do About It*, (Oxford Univ Press, 2007).
- Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict* (Cambridge Univ Press, 2004).
- Francis Fukuyama, *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ Press, 2004).

Course Requirements

- 10%: Class participation
- 20%: Seminar Presentation and Reading Review
(10% Three-page question-analysis; 10% 5-minute class presentation)
- 15% Interview presentations in teams (Week 8)
- 20% Five-page book review (due Monday, March 31)
- 35%: Researched paper on a post-war challenge of a selected country

(10%) Participation: Attendance is mandatory, and class participation is important. If you wish assistance in enhancing your participation, please let me know. More than one absence or lack of participation in classroom discussions will be reflected in the grade.

Readings: Do all of the assigned readings. Otherwise, it will be difficult for you to participate, and you won't get as much out of the discussion. Through Blackboard, the articles and some book chapters should be available electronically. Please read the articles in the order presented below, as I've arranged them with a certain logic in mind.

(10%) Three-page Question-Analysis. On one occasion of your choosing (but signed up on a schedule set on the second week of class), you will do the following:

- (a) Prepare three questions for the class and e-mail them to the entire class (including me) no later than Monday noon before class.
- (b) Write a 2-3 page (no more than 3 pages ever!) "Question-Analysis" of the 3 questions (single-spaced, 12-point font) handed to me at the start of class on the week's readings. Try to answer each question in 2/3 of a page.
- (c) Attach an annotated bibliography (provide 2-4 sentences on each source) listing at least 5 additional sources for the topic (I can help with suggestions). At least four of these sources must be articles or books that are not solely web-based (a journal article you access via web is OK, but unpublished items like Wikipedia wouldn't count).
- (d) You will be graded on
 - a. the "quality" (admittedly more subjective than some assignments) of your questions. I.e., to what extent do your questions provide insights into the readings? Help us rise above them and see the issues in a new light? Help us explore the implications of these readings?
 - b. The clarity of the writing; the effectiveness of the writing
 - c. Linkages to the readings, as well as to the course themes
 - d. The accuracy of the interpretation of the readings

(10%) 5-minute Question-Analysis Oral Presentation. Prepare and present to class an oral presentation on that week's readings, drawing on your three questions.

Guidelines for the Oral Presentation:

- The presentation should be 5 minutes long (maximum 7 mins.).
- It must not be read word-for-word, but presented from notes.
- It must address the three questions you posed.
- You may consider visual aids, such as a powerpoint presentation or a diagram. These should **aid**, not **impede**, your presentation.

- Since two students will present some days, check with the other student to make sure that your questions do not considerably overlap.
- You will be graded on
 - Persuasiveness (that these are interesting, important and relevant questions)
 - Dynamism
 - Clarity
 - Connection with audience (eye contact, responsiveness to confusion, boredom)

(15%) Interviews with practitioners and presentation of results. You will break into teams of 3-5 persons focusing on a particular country among the following: Haiti, Guinea-Bissau, DRC, East Timor, Liberia, Afghanistan. You will also focus on a particular constituency: development agencies, diplomatic agencies, UN agencies, IFIs, military actors, non-governmental organizations/contractors, and national governments (beneficiary populations would be optimal, but access to these will be difficult). Each student will choose one group of actors and conduct two interviews with a practitioner/policymaker in this area (no overlap with interviewees, please). If you can schedule interviews with practitioners working on your country, all the better, but this is not required. Then in Week 8, students will present their findings from the interviews organized by group (i.e., by actor, not country). The interviews should focus on the understanding the actors have of their work, the main conceptual challenges they face, & the main operational challenges they face (these may be coordination, human resources, money, counterparts, etc.). The presentations will each be about 20 minutes per group (so 5-8 mins/person). There is no written component to this assignment.

(20%) Book Review. You will write a 5-page book review. They are due at 5 pm on Monday, March 31. For each, you will choose one book from the course or from a list I will provide (You can request my approval for alternative books). The following guidelines should apply:

- (a) Provide an analysis of the book, not a description. But provide enough information about the book so that someone who has not read it is not lost. This is an art, and difficult.
- (b) Be critical – even if you end up agreeing with the author and liking the book. Perhaps this means being critical of others...
- (c) Make an argument! The argument will be based on:
 - a. Statement of the author's purpose
 - b. Assessment of how well the purpose is achieved
 - c. Evidence supporting your assessment
- (d) Base your argument on what is there, not on what you wish were in the book.
- (e) Quote with care.
- (f) Structure your paper with an introductory and concluding paragraph.

(35%) Research Paper on one aspect of post-war peacebuilding in your specific country.

You will research and write a paper on one particular sector or challenge in post-war peacebuilding for the country assigned/selected by you. This could be on a particular sector (security, economy, etc), on a particular challenge (regional autonomy or the rights/presence of a third minority) or the role of a specific actor (e.g., the UN peacekeepers, or human rights advocates). You must conduct research outside of class sources for this paper. There must be an ARGUMENT (and consideration of counterarguments) in this paper, with evidence deployed to support the argument. The topic must be approved by me by end of class on March 20. The research paper is due on Friday, April 25, at 11:59 pm.

Late Paper Policy: Out of fairness to others, I do not accept late assignments without penalty except in cases of genuine emergency.

* **Question-Analysis** are due at the beginning of class for the day of those readings. If you are more than five minutes late, the paper will be downgraded by one-third a letter grade (eg, B to B-). Late Question-Analysis will be downgraded by a full letter grade per day after!

* Late **Book Reviews** and **Desk Reviews** will be downgraded *one-third a letter grade for the first hour, and a full letter grade thereafter, up to 24 hours later, after which papers will not be accepted without more severe penalty.*

Background Reading: Some Basics on War and Peace after the Cold War and 9/11

- Robert Kaplan, “The Coming Anarchy,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, February 1994.
- Secretary-General’s High-Level Panel Report on Threats, Challenges and Change, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, “Synopsis” of the Entire Report (no para numbers), plus all of Part I (para. 1-43). (hereafter “HLP Report”) (UN website, or www.globalpolicy.org/reform/initiatives/panels/high/1202report.pdf).
- **Recommended:** Kalevi Holsti, Preface and Chapters 1 & 2, in his *The State, War and the State of War* (New York: Cambridge Univ Press, 1996; pp. xi-xiv, 1-40).

Week 1 (Jan. 17) Introduction to the Course and to One Another
Video: “The Peacekeepers” (1.5 hours)

Week 2 (Jan. 24) Building upon What?: The Aftermath of War

- John W. Dower, “Introduction” & “Chapter1: Shattered Lives”, *Embracing Defeat* (Norton, 2000), pp. 19-64.
- Stephen Ellis, *The Mask of Anarchy* (NY: NYU Press, 1999), pp. 1-17.
- Edward N. Luttwak, “Give War a Chance”, *Foreign Affairs*. 78, 4 (Jul/Aug 1999), pp. 36-44.
- Marion Ciborski, “Guatemala: We Thought It was Only the Men They Would Kill,” in Anne Barstow (ed), *War’s Dirty Secret* (Pilgrim Press, 2000), pp. 124-138.

Week 3 (Jan. 31) Three Views of Peacebuilding – #1. Society-Centered PB

- John Paul Lederach, Chapter 3 on “Reconciliation: The Building of a Relationship,” in his *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (USIP Press, 1997) pp. 23-35.
- John Paul Lederach, *The Moral Imagination* (180 pp.!)
- Recommended: Charles T. Call, “The Problem of Peacebuilding,” 6-page memo prepared as consultant for officials of the UN Department of Political Affairs, August 2004.

Week 4 (Feb. 7) Three Views of Peacebuilding – #2. Polity-Centered PB

- Michael W. Doyle and Nicolas Sambanis, “International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis,” *American Political Science Review* 94, 4 (December 2000), pp. 779-801.
- Roland Paris, *After War’s End*. “Introduction” and Chapters 1-3, Chapters 9-11, “Conclusion”. Plus we’ll divvy up case studies among the class: Two chapters each.

Week 5 (Feb. 14) Three Views of Peacebuilding – #3. Economy-Centered PB

- Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What to Do About It*, (Oxford Univ Press, 2007).
- James Fearon, “Primary Commodity Exports and Civil War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, 4: 483-507. (2005)
- If you have not read it: Paul Collier et al, *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, Chapter 3 (pp. 53-91).

Week 6 (Feb. 21) Practical Approaches to Peacebuilding & State-Building

- Sarah Cliffe and Nicholas Manning, “Building State Institutions after Conflict,” in Charles T. Call and Vanessa H. Wyeth, *Building States to Build Peace* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, forthcoming).
- US State Dept Office of Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization. Essentials Matrix, <http://www.state.gov/s/crs/rls/52959.htm> (pdf version on Blackboard)
- Anneke Galama and Paul von Tongeren, “Summary of International Conference *Toward Better Peacebuilding Practice*, October 24-26, 2001, Soesterberg, The Netherlands,” in their *Toward Better Peacebuilding Practice* (Utrecht: European Centre for Conflict Prevention, 2001), pp. 13-41.
- United Nations Transitions Group “Framework for Conflict Analysis,” 2005.
- Recommended: World Bank, “Operational Approaches and Financing in Fragile States,” International Development Administration, June 2007.

Week 7 (Feb. 28) Thinking More about State-building

- Max Weber, definition of the state, excerpted from *Politics as a Vocation* (1919).
- Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa* (Princeton, 2000), Chapter 1 “The Challenge of State-Building in Africa”, pp. 9-32.
- Fukuyama, *State-Building*, pp. ix-xi, 1-42, 92-122.
- Charles T. Call, “Building States to Build Peace?: A Critical Analysis,” *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* (forthcoming, 2008 -- based on the conclusions to my edited volume).

Week 8 (Mar. 6) Presentation of Interview Results. Each team will present its interview results.

**** March 10-14: Spring Break, No Class!**

Week 9 (Mar. 20) Pillar I. Institutionalizing Security

- Barnett Rubin, “The Politics of Security in Internationalized State-Building Efforts,” in Charles T. Call with Vanessa Wyeth (eds), *Building States to Build Peace* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, forthcoming 2007).
- UNDP Bureau on Conflict Prevention and Recovery, “Justice and Security Sector Reform: A Conceptual Framework for BCPR,” August 2002 (27 pp.).
- Charles T. Call, ‘Conclusion,’ in *Constructing Security and Justice After War* (USIP Press, 2007).
- Tracy Fitzsimmons, “Engendering a New Police Identity?” *Peace Review* 10(2) 1998:269-274.
- Ron West, “Lawyers, Guns and Money: Post-Conflict Police and Justice Reform in East Timor,” chapter in *Constructing Security and Justice After War*.

**** March 27: No Class, Int’l Studies Association Conference**

Monday, March 31, 5 p.m. Book Reviews Due to call@american.edu

Week 10 (Apr. 3) Pillar II. Institutionalizing Justice and Human Rights

- Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence* (Boston : Beacon Press, c1998). Chapters 1, 2 & 3 (pp. 1-51).
- Rama Mani, *Beyond Retribution: Seeking Justice in the Shadows of War* (New York: Polity Press, 2002), Chapters 2 & 3.
- Annalise Acorn, “Chapter 1. The Seductive Vision of Restorative Justice,” (pp. 1-26) and “Epilogue: Restorative Utopias; ‘The Fire with Which We Must Play’,” (pp. 160-164) in her *Compulsory Compassion: A Critique of Restorative Justice* (Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press, 2004).
- Video: “Gacaca: Living Together Again in Rwanda”

Week 11 (Apr. 10) Pillar III. Institutionalizing Governance

- Katia Papagianni, “Participation and State Legitimation,” in *Building States to Build Peace*
- Tim Sisk, “Democratization and Peacebuilding” in Crocker et al, *Turbulent Peace* pp. 785-800.
- Jarat Chopra and Tanja Hohe, “Participatory Intervention,” *Global Governance* 10, 3 (Jul-Sep 2004), pp. 289-305.
- Richard C. Crook, “Strengthening Democratic Governance in Conflict-Torn Societies: Civic Organisations, Democratic Effectiveness, and Political Conflict,” Brighton, Sussex: Inst. of Development Studies, February 2001, Summary plus pp. 1-7 only.
- Robert Orr, “Governing when Chaos Rules,” *Washington Quarterly*, Aut. 2002.

Week 12 (Apr. 17) Pillar IV. Institutionalizing Social and Economic Capacity

- John Dower, *Embracing Defeat* Chapter 17, “Engineering Growth,” pp. 527-546, (and if you have time “Epilogue: Legacies, Fantasies, Dreams”, pp. 547-564, an excellent account of the end of the long US occupation].
- Susan Woodward, “Economic Priorities for Peace Implementation,” Policy Paper Series on Peace Implementation, International Peace Academy, October 2002.
http://www.ipacademy.org/PDF_Reports/ECONOMIC_PRIORITIES.pdf
- Michael Carnahan and Clare Lockhart, “Peacebuilding and Public Finance,” chapter in *Building States to Build Peace*
- Dan Baum, “Nation-Builders for Hire,” *New York Times Magazine*, 22 June 2003.

Week 13 (Apr. 24) BEING the State: The International Transitional Administration in East Timor

- Simon Chesterman, “You the People: The UN, Transitional Administrations and State-Building,” IPA Briefing Paper, November 2003.
http://www.ipacademy.org/PDF_Reports/YOU_THEPEOPLE2.pdf
- Jarat Chopra, “The UN’s Kingdom of East Timor,” *Survival* 42,3 (December 2000), pp. 27-39.
- Hansjorg Strohmeyer, “Collapse and Reconstruction of a Judicial System: The UN Missions in Kosovo and East Timor,” *American Journal of International Law* 95, 1 (January 2001), pp. 46-63.
- Edith Bowles and Tanja Hohe, “East Timor: State-Building after Independence,” chapter in *Building States to Build Peace*.
- RECALL earlier Timor-related chapter on police & justice reform by Ron West.

Week 14 (May 5): Review and Discussion. Readings TBA