

POST CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION
PPA/IRP 719
Fall 2011

Course Time: Tuesday, 12:30-3:20 pm
Course Room: General: HL 102
Sections: Bertini: Newhouse 2, 275
de Nevers: Newhouse 2, 350

Section 1:

Prof. Catherine Bertini
Office: 351 Eggers Hall
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Office Hours: Tues., 9:30-11:30 or
by appointment

Section 2:

Prof. Renée de Nevers
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443-7093
Wed., 12-2 pm. or by appointment

The goal of this class is to familiarize students with the main concepts of post conflict reconstruction, the various dimensions and goals of post-conflict work, the types of actors that conduct it, the trade-offs and dilemmas they face, and the lessons learned from its application across various settings. The course will devote considerable attention to the applied side of post-conflict reconstruction; that is, the techniques and tools used by international intermediaries (states, IOs and NGOs) as well as local stakeholders to transition societies from violence to sustainable peace. It will also address many of the key issues that frame the debate in post-conflict reconstruction work: the tension between externally and internally generated recovery efforts; the possibilities and weaknesses of formal peace and reconciliation commissions; the challenges of civilian-military cooperation in post-conflict zones; the trade-offs between stability and liberty; and the quest for viable exit strategies for international actors.

The course is cross-listed across two departments and will be team-taught. The first half of each class all students will meet together in plenary session for a formal lecture given by a member of the faculty team or by a guest speaker either from within the Maxwell School or from the applied world of post conflict recovery. During the second half of each class students will meet in their respective course section for discussion of weekly readings and small group work.

Reading Material

1. Books (Available at Follett's Orange Bookstore)

Berdal, Mats. (2009). *Building Peace After War*. London: Routledge

Walker, Peter and Daniel Maxwell. (2009). *Shaping the Humanitarian World*. New York: Routledge.

2. Additional course readings will be posted in electronic form on the course blackboard site. Unless otherwise specified, all readings are required.

Readings may be subject to change, to address developments in some of the cases examined. Students will be notified well in advance of any such changes.

Class Requirements

Two Mid-term Examinations: 50% of final grade (25% each)

There will be two midterm examinations during the course. One will be in-class, on **October 11**, taking up one-half of that course period. The second will be during finals week, on Tuesday afternoon, **December 13**. Time to be determined. These exams are designed to allow students to demonstrate their comprehension of core concepts discussed in the course. The first mid-term will cover the first half of the course, and the second will cover the final half.

Research Paper: 25% of final grade

Each student will choose as a research topic a post-conflict reconstruction case from the period 1990 – 2010. The selected case will be the basis for a research paper in which students will be expected to evaluate how one of the sub-themes covered in the course applies to the case they are examining. For example, one might focus on Mozambique, and evaluate security sector reform efforts there since a peace agreement was signed in 1992.

The research paper will be due at the beginning of class on **November 29**. Unless students have made arrangements with their instructor **in advance**, late papers will be penalized by ½ grade for each day they are late.

Group Presentations: 10% of final grade

Students will also participate in one group project during the term. This will be an analysis and presentation of one of the issues examined during the course. For each topic, the group will be given a specific question to address. The group will be expected to address this question as a means to further knowledge for the class and to provoke discussion. While the course readings for the week will provide a starting point, the groups will be expected to conduct additional research to address their topics well.

Students who are not participating in a presentation are expected to respond to the presentation and to contribute to class discussion following the presentation.

Students will have the opportunity to order their preferences on the topics. Final assignments of groups will be made on September 6, when the first project question will be handed out.

Class Participation: 15% of final grade

The class participation grade will include your record of attendance and the quality of your contributions to class discussion. Students are expected to complete assigned readings prior to the class session, and to be prepared to contribute to discussions about the topics under consideration. Keep in mind that participation involves more than simply talking in class. Some people who voice their opinions freely may actually contribute less than those who say insightful things less frequently. Quantity is not quality.

Two films will be shown outside of class, that students will be expected to attend. These will be discussed in class, and students may find examination questions about them. The two films are "Pray the Devil Back to Hell," and "Rebuilding Hope." One film focuses on the Sudanese "lost boys," and one of the main subjects of the film, Gabriel Deng, will be present at the screening to answer questions. The first film will be shown on **September 20**, at 6:30 pm. The date of the second film is tentatively scheduled for **October 25**, at 6:30 pm. Pizza will be provided at each film.

Accommodation Policy and Academic Honesty

Any student in this course who has a disability that may prevent him or her from fully demonstrating his or her abilities should contact their instructor personally as soon as possible to discuss accommodations necessary to ensure full participation and facilitate your educational opportunities. According to University policy:

"If you believe that you need accommodations for a disability, please contact the Office of Disability Services(ODS), <http://disabilityservices.syr.edu>, located in Room 309 of 804 University Avenue, or call (315) 443-4498 for an appointment to discuss your needs and the process for requesting accommodations. ODS is responsible for coordinating disability-related accommodations and will issue students with documented disabilities Accommodation Authorization Letters, as appropriate. Since accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact ODS as soon as possible."

The Syracuse University Academic Integrity Policy holds students accountable for the integrity of the work they submit. Students should be familiar with the Policy and know that it is their responsibility to learn about instructor and general academic expectations with regard to proper citation of sources in written work. The policy also governs the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments as well as the veracity of signatures on attendance sheets and other verifications of participation in class activities. Serious sanctions can result from academic dishonesty of any sort. For more information and the complete policy, see <http://academicintegrity.syr.edu/academic-integrity-policy/>.

We expect students to abide by Syracuse University's academic rules and regulations. These require students to "exhibit honesty in all academic endeavors. Cheating in any form is not tolerated, nor is assisting another person to cheat. The submission of any work by a student is taken as a guarantee that the thoughts and expressions in it are the student's own except when properly credited to another. Violations of this principle include giving or receiving aid in an

exam or where otherwise prohibited, fraud, plagiarism, or any other deceptive act in connection with academic work. Plagiarism is the representation of another's words, ideas, programs, formulae, opinions, or other products of work as one's own, either overtly or by failing to attribute them to their true source" (*Syracuse University Bulletin* 2003-2004: p. 2).

University policy gives faculty discretion over penalties. However, the University's stated policy is as follows:

"The presumptive sanction for any act of academic dishonesty is the XF grade penalty, accompanied by the transcript notation: "Violation of the Academic Integrity Policy."

"The presumptive penalty for any act of academic dishonesty by a **graduate student** is suspension or expulsion from the university."

We take this extremely seriously. It is **your** responsibility as a student to understand what plagiarism is and how correctly to reference documents and attribute other peoples' arguments that you are citing. If you have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism, see the definition and examples at Syracuse University's website: <http://academicintegrity.syr.edu>. If you have questions about how to make references in papers, consult any of the standard references on writing. It is also **your** responsibility to understand academic dishonesty. These academic rules apply to **all** assignments.

Religious Holiday Observance Policy

SU's religious observances policy, found at http://supolicies.syr.edu/emp_ben/religious_observance.htm, recognizes the diversity of faiths represented among the campus community and protects the rights of students, faculty, and staff to observe religious holy days according to their tradition. Under the policy, students are provided an opportunity to make up any examination, study, or work requirements that may be missed due to a religious observance provided they notify their instructors before the end of the second week of classes. For fall and spring semesters, an online notification process is available through MySlice/Student Services/Enrollment/My Religious Observances from the first day of class until the end of the second week of class.

Course Schedule and Readings:

1. August 30: Course Introduction
2. September 6: The Structure of the International Political System: Implications for Post Conflict Reconstruction
(Renée de Nevers)

Readings:

Mats Berdal, *Building Peace After War*, pp. 11-77.

Jack Levy, "International Sources of Interstate and Intrastate War," in Crocker, Hampson, and Aall, eds., *Leashing the Dogs of War*, pp. 17-38.

3. September 13: Post Conflict Reconstruction on the Ground: Operational Processes and Players
(Catherine Bertini)

Readings:

Peter Walker and Daniel Maxwell, *Shaping the Humanitarian World*, Ch.s 1-3, pp. 13-78.

Mohamed Sahnoun, "Mixed Intervention in Somalia and the Great Lakes," in Jonathan Moore, *Hard Choices: Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1992), pp. 87-98.

Ken Menkhaus, "Somalia: 'They Created a Desert and Called it Peace (building)'," *Review of African Political Economy*, 36:120 (2009), pp. 223-233.

Afare Ebdi Elmi, "Dual Track Policy in Somalia Misses the Point," *Al Jazeera*, June 9, 2011.

4. September 20: Sustainable Peacebuilding: Durability of Peace Agreements and Managing Spoilers

Guest Speaker: Miriam Fendius Elman, Department of Political Science

Group Presentation 1, in Sections

Readings:

Stedman, Stephen John. "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes," *International Security* (Fall 1997), pp. 5-53.

Michaela Mattes and Burgu Savun. "Fostering Peace after Civil War: Commitment Problems and Agreement Design," *International Studies Quarterly* (2009), pp.737-759.

Séverine Autesserre, "DR Congo: Explaining Peace Building Failures, 2003-2006," *Review of African Political Economy* 113 (2007), pp. 423-441.

Jens Narten, "Dilemmas of promoting "local ownership": the case of postwar Kosovo," in Paris and Sisk, *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding*, pp. 252-283.

September 20, 6:30 pm: FILM: "Pray the Devil Back to Hell." Room TBA.

Pizza will be available around 6:15.

5. September 27: Economic Development and Post Conflict Reconstruction

Guest Speaker: John McPeak, Department of Public Administration and International Affairs

Readings:

Berdal, *Building Peace After War*, pp. 77-94.

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Aid, Policy, and Growth in Post-Conflict Societies," *European Economic Review* 48 (2004), pp. 1125-1145.

Paul Collier, "Post-Conflict Recovery: How Should Strategies be Distinctive?" *Journal of African Economies* (April 2009), pp. i99-i131.

James K. Boyce, "Aid and Fiscal Capacity Building in Post-Conflict Countries," in Berdal and Wennmann, *Ending Wars, Consolidating Peace: Economic Perspectives*, pp. 101-120.

Gorlorwulu, "Job Creation in Fragile States through SME Financing: Notes from Post-War Liberia," *Development in Practice*, 21:2 (2011), pp. 295-299.

6. October 4: State-building and Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration
(Renée de Nevers)

Group Presentation 2, in Sections

Readings:

Berdal, *Building Peace After War*, Ch. 2, pp. 95-134.

Civilian Capacity in the Aftermath of Conflict: Independent Report of the Senior Advisory Group, UN, 2011 (40 pp).

M. Knight and A. Ozerdem "Guns, Camps and Cash: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reinsertion of Former Combatants in Transitions from War to Peace." *Journal of Peace Research* **41: 4** (2004), pp. 499-516.

Jonathan Morgenstein, "Consolidating disarmament: Lessons from Colombia's reintegration program for demobilized paramilitaries," USIP Special Report, November 2008 (16 pp).

7. October 11: Security Sector Reform
Guest Speaker: Brian D. Taylor, Department of Political Science

Readings:

Berdal, *Building Peace After War*, pp. 95-120.

Call and Wyeth, *Building States to Build Peace*, ch. 2, pp. 25-48.

The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual (University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 199-235 [chapter on developing host nation security forces].

Sean McFate, "Lessons Learned from Liberia: Security Sector Reform in a Failed State," *RUSI Journal*, 153, 1 (February 2008), pp. 62-66.

Sean McFate, "I Built an African Army," *Foreign Policy*, January 7, 2010 (3 pp).

John. C. Hulsman and Alexis Y. Debat, "In Praise of Warlords," *The National Interest*, (Summer 2006), pp. 50-57.

MID-TERM EXAMINATION: SECOND HALF OF CLASS SESSION

8. October 18: Non-Governmental Organizations in Post Conflict Zones
Guest Speaker: Rudolph von Bernuth, Save the Children

Group Presentation 3, in Sections

Readings:

Walker and Maxwell, *Shaping the Humanitarian World*, Ch. 6, pp. 117-135.

Alexandra Gheciu, "Divided Partners: The Challenges of NATO-NGO Cooperation in Peacebuilding Operations," *Global Governance*, 17:1 (2011), pp. 95-113.

Diana Chigas, "Capacities and Limits of NGOs as Conflict Managers," in Crocker, Hampson, and Aall, eds., *Leashing the Dogs of War*, pp. 553-582.

Alexander Cooley and James Ron, "The NGO scramble: Organizational insecurity and the political economy of transnational action," *International Security* 27, 1 (Summer 2002), pp. 5-39.

Stephen Commins, "Non-state Providers, the state, and Health in Post-Conflict Fragile States," *Development in Practice* 20:4 (2010), pp. 594-602.

9. October 25: Legal Reform and Human Rights in Post Conflict Reconstruction
Guest Speaker: Tara J. Helfman, Syracuse School of Law

Group Presentation 4, in Sections

Readings:

Erik G. Jensen, "Justice and the Rule of Law," in Call and Wyeth, *Building States to Build Peace*, pp. 119-142.

Kirsti Samuels, "Postwar Constitution Building: Opportunities and Challenges," in Paris and Sisk, *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding*, pp. 173-195.

Dean Acheson, "The Arrogance of International Lawyers," American Bar Association Address, May 24, 1968 (10 pp.).

Eric Neumayer, "Do International Human Rights Treaties Improve Respect for Human Rights?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49:6 (2005), pp. 925-953.

Laura Grenfell, "Promoting the Rule of Law in Timor-Leste," *Conflict, Security and Development* 9:2 (2009), pp. 213-238.

October 25, 6:30 pm (Tentative): FILM: "Rebuilding Hope." Room TBA.
Gabriel Deng will be at the screening and will answer questions after the film.
Pizza will be available at 6:15.

10: November 1: Post Conflict Reconciliation after Mass Violence
Guest Speaker: Louis Kriesberg, Department of Sociology

Group Presentation 5, in Sections

Readings:

Louis Kriesberg, "Reconciliation: Aspects, Growth, and Sequences," *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 12:1, (Spring/Summer 2007), pp. 1-21.

Chandra Lekha Sriram and Johanna Herman, "DDR and Transitional Justice: Bridging the Divide?" *Conflict, Security and Development* 9, 4 (December 2009), pp. 455-474.

Bronwyn Anne Leebaw, "The Irreconcilable Goals of Transitional Justice," *Human Rights Quarterly* (February 2008), pp. 95-118.

Philip Gourevitch, "The Life After: Fifteen Years after the Genocide in Rwanda, The Reconciliation defies Expectations," *The New Yorker*, May 4, 2009 (12 pp).

Gearoid Millar, "Assessing Local Experiences of Truth Telling in Sierra Leone: Getting to 'Why' through a Qualitative Case Study Analysis," *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 4:3 (2010), pp. 477-496.

11. November 8: Women and Post Conflict Reconstruction
(Catherine Bertini)

Group Presentation 6, in Sections

Readings:

Gerard de Groot, "Not Just a Women's Issue: Gender and UN Peace Operations," *International Relations and Security Network*, June 2011.

Nicholas D. Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn, "The Women's Crusade," *New York Times Magazine*, August 23, 2009 (13 pp).

Valerie Norville, "The Role of Women in Global Security," *US Institute of Peace Special Report*, January 2011 (16 pp).

12. November 15: Moving Ahead: US Policy toward Post Conflict Reconstruction Now and in the Future

Guest Speaker: James B. Steinberg, Dean, Maxwell School

Readings:

Thomas S. Szayna et al, *Integrating civilian agencies in stability operations*. Summary. RAND Corporation, (2009), (16 pp.).

Susan B. Epstein, "Foreign Aid Reform, National Strategy, and the Quadrennial Review," CRS Report 7-5700, February 15, 2011 (17 pp).

Andrew Natsios, "The Clash of the Counterbureaucracy and Development," Center for Global Development Essay, July 2010, pp. 2-15.

Astri Suhrke, "The Dangers of a Tight Embrace: Externally Assisted Statebuilding in Afghanistan," in Paris and Sisk, *Dilemmas of Statebuilding*, pp. 227-251.

"USAID Continues to Face Challenges in Managing and Overseeing U.S. Development Assistance Programs," [GAO-10-932T](#), July 15, 2010 (17 pp).

Seth Jones, "Stabilization from the Bottom Up," Testimony before the Commission on Wartime Contracting, RAND Corporation, (22 February 2010), (12 pp).

November 22: Thanksgiving Break

13. November 29: Applied Perspectives from the United Nations

Guest Speaker: TBD

RESEARCH PAPER DUE AT BEGINNING OF CLASS

Readings:

Walker and Maxwell, *Shaping the Humanitarian World*, ch.s 4-5, pp. 79-116.

Ejeviome Eloho Otobo, "The New Peacebuilding Architecture: an Institutional Innovation of the United Nations," in Peter G. Danchin and Horst Fischer, *United Nations Reform and the New Collective Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 212-234.

Berdal, *Building Peace After War*, Ch. 3, pp. 135-170.

(Continues)

Soren Jessen-Petersen, "Humanitarianism in Crisis," *U.S. Institute of Peace Special Report*, May 2011 (12 pp).

Malte Brosig, "The Multi-Actor Game of Peacekeeping in Africa," *International Peacekeeping* 17:3 (2010), 327-342.

14. December 6: Why Leadership Matters

Guest Speaker: Margaret Hermann, Director, Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs, Department of Political Science

In-Class Exercise: Next Steps in Libya

Readings:

Margaret G. Hermann and Catherine Gerard, "The Contributions of Leadership to the Movement from Violence to Incorporation," in B. Dayton and L. Kriesberg, eds., *Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding: Moving from Violence to Sustainable Peace* (London: Routledge, 2009) (24 pp).

United Nations Development Programme, *Leadership and Change in Post-Conflict States: A Case Study of Liberia*, 2010.

Colette Rausch, "Helping Libya's New Leaders Move from Euphoria to Reform," U.S. Institute of Peace, August 24, 2011.

SECOND MID-TERM EXAM: TUESDAY, DECEMBER 13, AFTERNOON