

# Post-War Peacebuilding

## SIS 519.002

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American University  
School of International Service  
Spring 2009  
Monday 5:30 – 8:00 pm  
Ward 4

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Office Hours: Tuesday 3-4:30;  
Thursday 5:30-6:30

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### Course Description and Objectives

This course will examine current issues in post-war peacebuilding. Attempts to transition to sustainable peace after decades of conflict are difficult and complicated by recurrent violence in many societies, such as in Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, East Timor, and Mindanao (Philippines). Often, initial peace agreements were signed, but have not held or been relevant for certain parties to the conflict. Societies that have been more successful in negotiating an end to inter-group violence, such as South Africa, Northern Ireland and Cambodia, struggle to balance the long-term demands of justice with the imperatives of peace. In all of these contexts, efforts are complicated by the need to rebuild economic, political and societal structures devastated by conflict.

Different actors employ different strategies in the post-war environment in order to consolidate peace. In this course, we will examine three basic strategies to consolidate peace that have very different points of entry into the peacebuilding process: 1) humanitarian response, emergency interventions; 2) relational (societal) reconstruction, and 3) state institutionalization. These strategies possess both strengths and weaknesses, which we will explore in analyzing the theory that underpins the strategy as well as concrete cases and instances of implementation. Of these strategies, the third— peacebuilding through state institutions – is the most developed, and the one on which we will spend most of our time. We will use four “sectors” of programming involved in state building (governance, security, justice, and the economy) as focal points for our analysis of state building.

In this course, students will become familiar with peacebuilding actors, organizations, terminology and strategies. Students will gain an understanding of the central issues and challenges in post-war peacebuilding – both in terms of theory and practice. Students will apply sector-specific analyses to post-war peacebuilding contexts and make recommendations for peacebuilding strategies. Students will assess tensions, dilemmas and the competing demands of people and groups in transitional environments. Finally, students will further develop their skills in analytical writing.

## Required Textbooks

- Call, Charles T. with Vanessa Wyeth. 2008. *Building States to Build Peace*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Lederach, John Paul. 2005. *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Peacebuilding*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Paris, Roland. 2004. *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

## Course Requirements and Expectations<sup>1</sup>

Analytical papers	25%
Participation	15%
Simulation analysis papers	10%
Case Analysis:	
Individual report	30%
Group report	20%

**Participation (15%):** In this class we will seek to create a respectful, engaged and lively learning atmosphere. Classes will include a mix of lectures, small group and larger group discussions, videos and analysis, as well as simulations and presentations. Students are expected to attend all classes and take an active role in discussions, simulation exercises and the group presentation. Please arrive on time and be prepared to participate in a professional manner (solving problems, cooperating with classmates, meeting deadlines, and generally contributing positively, etc.).

### What am I looking for in good class discussion?

- Evidence of careful reading and preparation, including factual details (please do all of the assigned readings for class, otherwise it will be difficult for you to participate and you won't put get as much out of the discussion);
- Contributions that are logically consistent, original and use relevant evidence;
- Comments that are clear, enthusiastic and respectful;
- Comments that contribute and are appropriate to the discussion, such as building-on other's ideas, providing constructive criticism, asking constructive, analytical questions, or otherwise showing that you were listening carefully to others.

It is your responsibility to be informed of changes in reading requirements and schedule. This is best accomplished by checking the Blackboard website regularly. The Blackboard website contains external links and e-reserve for readings noted below. I will update the syllabus as the class progresses as required.

**Analytical Papers (25%):** Students are expected to hand-in five, 2-page (double-spaced) papers that analyze elements of the class readings assigned for five classes over the term. The analytical

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<sup>1</sup> My thanks to Maryann Cusimano-Love (Catholic University) and Chuck Call (American University) for some of the ideas that have influenced this syllabus.

papers should very briefly summarize elements in the readings, highlight points you find interesting and articulate analytical questions regarding the substance of the argument – that is, questions for which the answers would help us to understand the argument or subject matter in greater depth. Use the handout on analytical thinking to guide your papers.

**Simulation Analysis (10%):** Students will take part in two in-class simulations and write an analysis of each for the class. Simulations are an opportunity to put theoretical ideas to the test! The short papers (3-4 pages, double-spaced for undergraduate students, 8-10 pages for graduate students) will analyze experiences in the simulation as they relate to key theories, ideas and arguments about peacebuilding contained in the required readings (cite the readings and include a brief bibliography – not included in page count). The simulation papers are due at the start of class the following week (Simulation 1 Paper due March 2; Simulation 2 Paper due April 13).

**Case Analysis:** Students will work in small groups of four or five in order to analyze and make recommendations for a specific post-war peacebuilding case. The purpose of this assignment is to provide a thorough review of the intervention strategies being pursued in your respective sector in a given country (e.g. through UN documents, government, or NGO documents) and make specific recommendations for how to improve the interventions. The cases to be analyzed are: Sierra Leone, Burundi, Liberia, Nepal, Haiti and Afghanistan. Each individual will analyze a particular sector of state building (security, governance, justice, economy) or the “relational” approach for a given case. Each of the sectors must be covered in the groups, so no two people in one group can cover the same sector.

- I) **Individual Report (30%)** Each member of the small group is required to write an individual report analyzing a specific sector for the country (10 pages double-spaced for undergraduate students, 15-17 pages for graduate students; bibliography not included in the page count). The individual reports should contain a brief overview of the conflict, and an overview and analysis of the intervention to date in your sector (based on a “desk study” of field reports, projects documents as well as any secondary analysis available). You should assess the degree to which there is a unified approach, how well international strategies are coordinated or harmonized, to what degree it is locally owned, and the relationship of the activities to the overall goal of peacebuilding (are activities addressing sources of conflict?). Additional questions you might ask are: is sequencing applied if appropriate? Are the resources adequate? Have there been setbacks that require a rethinking of the approach? Provide concise set of recommendations for the government in order to improve the interventions within your respective sector. Due: April 6.
  
- II) **Group report (20%)** The group report will contain two parts:
  - 1) **Summary Document** – This is a short executive summary of your collective work as a group. It should include a brief introduction to the case as well as separate sub-sections that briefly review each sector and present key recommendations per sector. The report should be 5-6 pages (double-spaced) if you have four sectors covered; or 6-7 pages (double-spaced) if you have four sectors plus a relational strategy analysis. Due: April 20.

2) **Group Presentation** –Groups will present their case, their sector analyses and recommendations to class in the final two classes of the semester. Each team member is expected to present their respective sectors’ findings and key recommendations. Teams will have approximately 30 minutes for presentations, and 15 minutes for Q&A.

**Paper Deadline Policy:** All papers are due at the start of the class. Papers not turned in at the beginning of the class for which they are due will lose 1/3 of a grade (e.g. a B+ becomes a B) and further mark penalties will be incurred over time, except in cases of genuine emergency. Please make a note of the dates on the syllabus and plan your work accordingly!

**Academic Integrity:** Students are expected to follow the standards of academic integrity set forth by the University. Violations of academic integrity will not be treated lightly, and disciplinary actions will be taken. Please see me if you have any questions about what constitutes a violation of academic integrity. You can read the University’s full Academic Integrity Code here: <http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code/htm>

**Grading Policy:** "F": Failing work. "D": Lack of fundamental knowledge of the material but sufficient knowledge for a passing grade. "C": Satisfactory knowledge of the basic information or data presented in the course. This is primarily knowledge of the "facts" or content and involves memorizing details and material. "B": Good ability to explain how certain issues and events are related to one another according to explanations currently held in the field; sees relationships between events and theories and can reproduce arguments. "A": Excellent, independent and original thinking and/or creative work.

## Course Outline

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**January 12 Introduction**

Review syllabus  
Overview course core themes  
Analytical thinking/writing (for assignments)

**January 19 NO CLASS – MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. DAY**

**January 26 After War Ends**

Challenges and difficulties confronted in the aftermath of war

Required Reading:

- Him, Chanrithy. 2000. *When Broken Glass Floats: Growing Up Under the Khmer Rouge*. New York: WW Norton & Co. Chapters 13-16 (pp.240-270). (Library Reserves)
- Dower, John W. 2000. *Embracing Defeat*. New York: WW Norton & Co. Introduction and Chapter 1 (pp.19-64). (Library Reserves)
- Luttwack, Edward N. 1999. “Give war a chance.” *Foreign Affairs*, 78, 4, pp.36-44. (Blackboard: External Links)

## **February 2 Conflict is the Beginning of Peace<sup>2</sup>**

Explore how framing the problem and the conflict frames peacebuilding strategies and points of entry.

### Required Reading:

- Paris. 2004. *At War's End*. Introduction, Chapters 1 and 2 (pp.1-51)
- Call & Wyeth. 2008. *Building States*. Chapter 1 (pp.1-22).
- Lederach. 2005. *The Moral Imagination*. Thoughts for a Preface and Chapter 1 (pp.vii-xi,1-2)
- Kenneth Menkaus. 2008. "Somalia: Governance vs. Statebuilding" in Call & Wyeth, pp.187-215.

## **February 9 Peacebuilding Point of Entry 1: Emergency Response**

Humanitarian response and peacebuilding; field practice and "Do No Harm;" Strengths and weaknesses of peacebuilding that emerges from and builds upon humanitarian emergency response work

### Required Reading:

- Leonhardt, Manuela. 2001. "The challenge of linking aid and peacebuilding" in *Peacebuilding: A Field Guide*. Luc Reyhler & Thania Paffenholz (Eds). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. (pp.238-245) (Blackboard: E-Reserves)
- Anderson, Mary B. (Ed). 2000. *Options for Aid in Conflict: Lessons from Field Experience*. Cambridge, MA: CDA. Table of Contents, Introduction, Section I through Section VII (pp. 5-85). (Blackboard: External Links)
- Richmond, Oliver. 2005. "The dilemmas of subcontracting the liberal peace" in *Subcontracting Peace: the challenges of NGO Peacebuilding*. VT: Ashgate. (pp. 19-35) (Blackboard: E-Reserves)
- Neufeldt, Reina, Sarah McCann & Jaco Cilliers. 2000. *Explicit and Implicit Peacebuilding: Catholic Relief Services in Mindanao, Philippines and Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Cambridge, MA: Reflecting on Peace Practice Project. (Blackboard: External Links)

## **February 16 Point of Entry 2: The Relational Core**

Relational networks, imagination, critical yeast, sagacity and serendipity in peacebuilding

### Required Reading:

Lederach. 2005. *The Moral Imagination*. Chapters 2-11 (pp.7-129).

## **February 23 Simulation I: Peacebuilding at the Community Level**

Muki Gamba simulation

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<sup>2</sup> This title is inspired by a small book "Conflict as the beginning of peace: and other stories written by fieldworkers," edited by Philip Visser, produced by CRS/Indonesia, in Jakarta, Indonesia.

**March 2 Point of Entry 3: The State – Governance**

Restoring/building institutions of governance; democracy and the liberal peace thesis; strengths, challenges and dilemmas in practice

Required Reading:

- Paris. 2004. *At War's End*. Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 8 (pp.55-96, 135-148).
- Katia Papagianni. 2008. "Participation and state legitimation" Chapter 3 in Call and Wyeth (Eds) *Building States* (pp.49-71)
- Sarah Cliffe and Nick Manning. 2008. "Practical approaches to building state institutions" Chapter 8 in Call and Wyeth (Eds) *Building States* (pp.163-184)

**March 9 NO CLASS – SPRING BREAK**

**March 16 Point of Entry 3: The State – Security and Order**

Demobilization and reintegration; demilitarization, policing and state stability; military professionalization; legitimacy; priorities and sequencing; strengths, challenges and dilemmas in practice

Required Reading:

- Barnett R. Rubin. 2008. "The politics of security in postconflict statebuilding" Chapter 2 in Call and Wyeth (Eds) *Building States* (pp.25-47).
- William Reno. 2008. "Bottom-up statebuilding?" Chapter 7 in Call and Wyeth (Eds) *Building States* (pp.143-161)
- Marcus Cox. 2008. "Bosnia and Herzegovina: the limits of liberal imperialism" Chapter 11 in Call and Wyeth (Eds) *Building States* (pp.249-270)
- Paris. 2004. *At War's End*. Chapter 6 (pp.97-111).
- Stanley, William D. & Charles T. Call. 2008. "Military and Police Reform after Civil Wars" in John Darby and Roger MacGinty (Eds) *Contemporary Peacemaking*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Chapter 21 (pp.300-312). (Blackboard: E-Reserves)

**March 23 Point of Entry 3: The State – Justice and the Rule of Law**

Tensions of post-war transitions; accountability for war crimes and crimes against humanity; strengths, challenges and dilemmas in practice

Required Reading:

- Erik Jensen. 2008. "Justice and the rule of law" Chapter 6 in Call and Wyeth (Eds) *Building States* (pp.119-142)
- Bosire, Lydia. 2006. *Overpromised, Underdelivered: Transitional Justice in Sub-Saharan Africa*. ICTJ. (Blackboard: External Links)
- Hayner, Priscilla. 2007. *Negotiating Peace in Liberia: Preserving the Possibility for Justice*. Geneva: HD Centre and ICTJ. (Blackboard: External Links)  
Video: *Gacaca: Living Together Again in Rwanda*

- March 30**      **Point of Entry 3: The State - Economy**  
Economic issues and solidifying peace; actors, strategies and contributions; strengths, challenges and dilemmas in practice
- Required Reading:
- Michael Carnahan and Clara Lockhart. 2008. "Peacebuilding and public finance" Chapter 4 in Call and Wyeth (Eds) *Building States* (pp.73-102).
  - Paul Collier. 2008. "Postconflict economic policy" Chapter 5 in Call and Wyeth (Eds) *Building States* (pp. 103-117).
  - Mike McGovern. 2008. "Liberia: the risks of rebuilding a shadow state" Chapter 14 in Call and Wyeth (Eds) *Building States* (pp. 335-361).
  - Paris. 2004. *At War's End*. Chapters 7 and 9 (pp.112-134, 151-178).
- April 6**            **Simulation II: Sequencing Options for Post-War Institutional Peacebuilding**  
Munia
- April 13**         **Dilemmas in Transition**  
Time horizons of change; end goals; UN-led state administration; ethical concerns
- Required Reading:
- Lederach. 2005. *The Moral Imagination*. Chapters 12 and 15 (pp.131-149, 171-177)
  - Paris. 2004. *At War's End*. Chapter 10 (pp.179-211)
  - Call. 2008."Building States to Build Peace" Chapter 15 in Call and Wyeth (Eds) *Building States* (pp. 365-388).
  - Edith Bowles and Tanja Chopra. 2008. "East Timor: Statebuilding revisited" Chapter 12 in Call and Wyeth (Eds) *Building States* (pp. 271-302).
- April 20**         **Group Presentations**
- April 27**         **Group Presentations and Conclusion**