

SIS419-011/SIS619-011 U.S. Experiments in Peace-Building  
Fall 2010  
Thursdays, 8:10 p.m.  
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202-882-3021

**Is the U.S. an empire? Can its actions in Iraq and Afghanistan be properly described as peace-building?**

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, including the debate about “empire.” It evaluates a range of institutions, including the National Security Council, the State Department, the Defense Department, USAID, Peace Corps, and the U.S. Institute of Peace. It examines the interplay among these agencies and the development of the interagency process, as well as cooperation with peace-building NGOs. Cases include Afghanistan, Iraq, Bosnia, Kosovo, Sudan, and Liberia, plus 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 history and national experience. Tied to 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 occur in a vacuum. It 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.

**Learning Outcomes**

Students will be able to

*Describe* in general terms the historical emergence of a peace-building function in the U.S. Government;

*Present* alternative theories about whether the U.S. is an “empire” with respect to peace-building.

*Distinguish* the peace-building functions of key U.S. agencies;

*Analyze* strengths and weaknesses of the coordination process taking place among the agencies;

*Identify* possible reforms to the peace-building process within the U.S. Government;

*Explore* modalities for more effective multilateral cooperation in peace-building.

### **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 7.
- Each student must submit by September 9 *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 21.
- Papers are due December 2.
- The final examination, December 9, will cover readings, lectures and in-class presentations/discussions.

### **Grading**

The grading system is as follows:

93-100	A
90-92	A-
87-89	B+
83-86	B
80-82	B-
77-79	C+
73-76	C
70-72	C-
67-69	D+
63-66	D
60-62	D-
Below 60	F

The grade for the course will be determined as follows:

Mid-term exam 15%

Paper presentation 10%  
 Final paper 30%  
 Final exam 35%  
 Class participation 10%

### **Academic Integrity Code**

Standards of academic conduct are set forth in the University's Academic Integrity Code. By registering, you have acknowledged your awareness of the Academic Integrity Code ( <http://www.american.edu/provost/registrar/regulations/reg80.cfm> ), and you are obliged to become familiar with your rights and responsibilities as defined by the Code.

Violations of the Academic Integrity Code will not be treated lightly, and disciplinary actions will be taken should such violations occur. Please see me if you have any questions about the academic violations described in the Code in general or as they relate to particular requirements for this course.

### **Emergency Preparedness For Disruption Of Classes**

In the event of an emergency, American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of an emergency, students should refer to the AU Student Portal, the AU Web site ([www.prepared.american.edu](http://www.prepared.american.edu)) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/ college-specific information.

### **Early Warning Notices**

Undergraduate students may receive Early Warning Notices within the first month of classes. These notices are designed for you to contact your faculty, receive assistance, and develop strategies to improve your performance in the class. Please note that you should seek help throughout the semester when you have questions, fail to submit an assignment, fail to attend class, or receive an unsatisfactory grade.

### **Reading List**

The basic text is Dane F. Smith, Jr., *U.S. Peacefare: Organizing American Peace-Building Operations* (Praeger: 2010). 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 on Blackboard or can be downloaded as indicated in the assignments spelled out below. Generally speaking, USAID documents may be downloaded from [www.usaid.gov](http://www.usaid.gov) and State Department documents from [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov).

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

### Individual Class Assignments

August 26 Peace-Building in US Foreign Policy: A Historical Review

#### Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Ch. 1 (pp.1-26); Kupchan, *The End of the American Era*, 160-201; Ferguson, *Colossus*, 33-104; Crocker *et al*, *Turbulent Peace*, xv-xxix

September 2 Peace-Building in the Bush I, Clinton, and Bush II Administrations

#### Readings:

Kupchan, 202-246; Ferguson, 104-131, 132-166; White House, *National Security Strategy 2010*, especially 1-26, 37-48. (Can be downloaded from [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf) .

September 9 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 16 American Public Diplomacy

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

#### Readings:

Nye, *Soft Power*, 99-123; four web articles suggested by our speaker:

William P. Kiehl, "Foreign Affairs for the 21st Century", *Perspectives*, Vol. II Issue 1, January 2010

<http://www.layalina.tv/Publications/Perspectives/WilliamKiehl.html>

\_\_\_\_\_, "Addressing the Foreign Policy Challenge," *Foreign Service Journal*, October 2009

[http://www.pdworldwide.com/uploads/Addressing\\_the\\_Public\\_Diplomacy\\_Challenge.pdf](http://www.pdworldwide.com/uploads/Addressing_the_Public_Diplomacy_Challenge.pdf)

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Case for Localized Public Diplomacy" (2008)

[http://pdworldwide.com/uploads/The\\_Case\\_for\\_Localized\\_Public\\_Diplomacy.pdf](http://pdworldwide.com/uploads/The_Case_for_Localized_Public_Diplomacy.pdf)

Government Accountability Office, *Engaging Foreign Audiences: Assessment of Public Diplomacy Platforms Could Help Improve State Department Plans to Expand Engagement* (July, 2010)

<http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d10767.pdf>

September 23 Integration of Peace and National Security: The National Security Council

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Ch. 2 (27-54); Ivo H. Daalder and I.M. Destler, “In the Shadow of the Oval Office: the Next National Security Adviser,” *Foreign Affairs* (January-February 2009), 114-129; Karl F. Inderfurth & Loch K. Johnson (eds.), *Fateful Decisions: Inside the National Security Council* (2004), 107-123, 253-267

September 30 The Diplomacy of Peace: The State Department

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Ch. 3 (55-83); 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/resources/us-negotiating-behavior> (USIP published a much more detailed study in 2010, which you may wish to look at. However, the shorter piece from 2002 covers the main points we will examine.)

October 7 Mid-Term Exam; Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction & Stabilization (S/CRS)

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Ch. 4 (84-106). Check out the S/CRS website at [www.crs.state.gov](http://www.crs.state.gov), particularly mission, introduction to the civilian response corps, and S/CRS around the world.

October 14 The Foreign Assistance of Peace: USAID

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Ch. 6 (131-158); J. Brian Atwood, M. Peter McPherson, and Andrew Natsios, “Arrested Development: Making Foreign Aid a More Effective Tool,” *Foreign Affairs* (November-December 2008), 123-132; Noam Unger & Margaret L. Taylor, *Capacity for Change: Reforming U.S. Assistance Efforts in Poor and Fragile Countries*, Brookings and CSIS, available at [http://www.brookings.edu/reports/2010/04\\_aid\\_unger.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/reports/2010/04_aid_unger.aspx); Interagency Conflict Assessment Framework, available at <http://www.crs.state.gov/index.cfm?fuseaction=public.display&shortcut=C6WW>

Student presentations begin.

October 21 Peace-Building and the US Military

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Chapter 5 (107-130); Lawrence Freedman, “Using Force for Peace in an Age of Terror,” in *Leashing the Dogs of War*, 245-263; Robert Perito, *The U.S. Experience with Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Iraq and Afghanistan* (USIP, 2007), available at <http://www.usip.org/resources/us-experience-provincial-reconstruction-teams-iraq-and-afghanistan>

October 28 The U.S. Institute of Peace

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Ch. 7 (159-183); Rhoda Miller, *Institutionalization of Peace: The Concept of the US Institute of Peace and its Role* (1994), 3-140, 145-156

November 4 The Peace Corps

Readings:

Scott Stossel, *Sarge: The Life and Times of Sargent Shriver* (2004), 189-272;  
Lex Rieffel, *Reconsidering the Peace Corps* (Brookings: 12/2003), 1-8. See  
<http://brookings.edu/comm/policybriefs/pb127.pdf>; Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, 222-231

November 11 Peace-Building Applied or Misapplied? Afghanistan and Iraq

Readings:

Richard N. Haass, *War of Necessity, War of Choice: A Memoir of Two Iraq Wars* (2009),  
168-266; Fotini Christian and Michael Semple, "Flipping the Taliban," *Foreign Affairs*  
(July-August 2009), 34-45

November 18 Funding Peace-Building: The Budget Process & Congress

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Ch. 8 (184-209); Cindy Williams and Gordon Adams,  
"Strengthening Statecraft and Security: Reforming U.S. Planning and Resource  
Allocation" (MIT Security Studies, Occasional Paper, June 2008), 57-101, available at  
[http://web.mit.edu/ssp/Publications/working\\_papers/OccasionalPaper6-08.pdf](http://web.mit.edu/ssp/Publications/working_papers/OccasionalPaper6-08.pdf) ; Also  
peruse Department of State, FY 2011 International Affairs (Function 150) Budget  
Request at <http://www.state.gov/s/d/rm/c6112.htm> .

November 25 Thanksgiving. No Class.

December 2 Reforms in the Peace-Building Process: A U.S. Department of Peace?

Papers due.

Readings:

Smith, *U.S. Peacefare*, Ch. 9 (210-221); Department of Peace bill, 111<sup>th</sup> Congress,  
introduced at each congressional session since 2003 by Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D-OH).  
(See <http://thomas.loc.gov/> under H.R. 808IH, 111<sup>th</sup> 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>

December 9 Final Examination