

Post-Conflict Peacebuilding

Political Science 390

Fall 2006

Professor: Dr. Carolyn Shaw
Class: M/W/F 10:30-11:20 LH 104
Office hours: T/Th 11:00 - 12:00 ; M/W 12:00 - 1:00 ; or by appt.
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Course Description

This course examines peacebuilding, reconstruction and reconciliation in the aftermath of violent international and civil conflicts. The primary aim is to understand how states and groups can best prevent war from reoccurring. To that end, the course evaluates a range of post-war political, social and security arrangements and institutions, and the role of foreign intervention, in reducing or eliminating the sources of violence. The main questions investigated include: Why do some peace settlements last while others fall apart? Is the establishment of democratic institutions and practices necessary for lasting peace? Is foreign intervention necessary for successful peacebuilding? How can the security dilemma best be reduced among hostile states and groups? How can reconciliation among former belligerents best be achieved? The course focuses largely on theoretical considerations of these issues with some empirical cases presented as illustrations.

This course will be taught collaboratively as a Global Learning course at both Wichita State University and Carleton University, Ottawa Canada. Students will interact regularly with their peers at the other institution via the internet and videoconferencing.

Educational Objectives

This class is not structured like a traditional lecture and exam class. It is designed to be highly interactive and dynamic. It is my firm belief that students learn a lot more when they actively engage the course material through discussions, role playing, and analytical writing, rather than simply taking notes on it. Students can learn from each other as well as the professor and will be encouraged to do so. By the end of the course students should have a deeper understanding of the challenges and complexities of peacebuilding. Students should be able to discuss specific cases where elements of peacebuilding have succeeded and those where it has failed. Students' own opinions about peacebuilding as a foreign policy goal should also become firmly based on the theoretical and practical literature about peacebuilding.

Technology Requirements

This course is designed to heavily utilize computer technology through an online discussion board, chat sessions, and web based simulation. The instructor will take every opportunity to introduce students to the technology and make sure that it is not difficult to use. The class will work in the social science computer lab during several class periods, but you will need to have regular access to the internet on your own in order to complete assignments on time.

- Ideally you should use the newest version of Firefox (browser) this can be downloaded at <http://www.mozilla.com/firefox/>. You can also use Internet Explorer.
- For the simulation, you must allow pop up windows for www.Fablusi.com; Or disengage your popup blocker. For the use of Bb (discussion board and chat room), you must allow pop up windows for www.blackboard.wichita.edu.
- You need to have a "java client": This can be downloaded from: <http://www.java.com/en/download/index.jsp>
- You need to have a Flash player in order to use the chat function in the simulation. This can be downloaded <http://www.adobe.com/> (If you have a new browser that you have downloaded, flash player should already be included in it).

Required texts and readings

Byman, Daniel L. Keeping the Peace: Lasting Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press: 2002. [ISBN: 0-8018-6804-1]

Course Packet for Pol Sci 390.

Blackboard

This course is facilitated by Blackboard, an online web aid accessible to all enrolled students at WSU. The Blackboard page for this course contains a copy of the syllabus, the writing assignment, **student 'homepages'**, current course grades, web links to a variety of topics on conflict resolution, AND most importantly, the online Discussion Board. In order to access this site (www.blackboard.wichita.edu) you need your MyWSU id number and pin number.

Graded Components

1. Attendance	10%	A = 90 - 100
2. Weekly On-line Discussion	20%	B = 80 - 89
3. Simulation		C = 70 - 79
Profile	10%	D = 60 - 69
Individual written assignments	40%	F = 59 or below
Simulation participation	15%	
Sim Eval / Reflections	5%	

1. Attendance: Students are expected to attend class regularly. Attendance will be taken and students will be allowed 6 absences without any deduction of points. After 6 absences, 1 point will be deducted for each absence (total of 10 possible). Students are encouraged to take an active role in class by asking questions and engaging in discussion. There will be opportunities throughout the semester for students to discuss current events as they pertain to the course.
2. Online Discussion Board and Chat Sessions: Students will engage in weekly Blackboard discussions with students from Carleton University in Ottawa Canada. Grading for the weekly on-line discussions will be based partially on quantity (1 or more responses must be posted each week), but mostly on quality. Students are expected to contribute an initial discussion board posting by Weds evening. The posting should address the question that is posed by the instructors and should attempt to draw on the weekly reading assignments and your own responses to these readings. You should read the postings of your classmates, then engage in one (or more) of the scheduled chat room sessions on the weekend. These chat sessions allow students to more fully explore the topic areas and the posted responses of their peers. Students should be respectful of their peers throughout the chat sessions.
3. Simulation Participation: Students will participate in a semester-long web-based role play exercise, beginning September 6 and continuing through December 1. The simulation will require you to work collaboratively with other students, both at WSU and Carleton, to complete a series of assigned tasks, culminating in the drafting of a Plan of Action for peacebuilding in Afghanistan. Participation is mandatory and will be graded. Students are expected to be engaged regularly in the simulation and to complete the assigned tasks as instructed. **On November 28 students will engage in a formal debriefing session with students from Carleton via videoconference.**

Academic Freedom / Respect for Others

Each student is encouraged to participate in classroom and online discussions. In any class that includes discussion of political ideas, there are bound to be many differing points of view. Students may not only disagree with each other, but may also have disparate views from the instructor on sensitive and volatile topics. This is particularly true when including students from abroad that may have different perspectives on events and politics. It is my hope that these differences will enhance class discussion and create an atmosphere where students and instructor alike will be encouraged to think and learn. Therefore, be assured that your grades will not be adversely affected by any beliefs or ideas expressed in class or your assignments. Rather, we will all respect the views of others when expressed in classroom discussions.

Scholastic Dishonesty

As described in the Student Catalog, scholastic dishonesty constitutes a violation of college rules and regulations and is punishable according to the procedures outlined in the Catalog. Scholastic dishonesty includes, but is not limited to, cheating on an exam, plagiarism, and collusion. Plagiarism includes use of another author's words or arguments without attribution. Collusion is defined as the unauthorized collaboration with another person in preparing written work for fulfillment of course requirements. If a student commits any of these actions, I will seek disciplinary action in the form of an academic penalty, including a course grade of 'F'.

Dates	Topics	Assignments	Readings
Aug 18 (Fri)	Introduction/ Overview		
Aug 21 - Aug 25	Foreign Policy Perspectives	Notes on country	Internet research
Aug 28 Mon	Bb Introduction	LH 429 Social Science Lab	
Aug 30 - Sept 1	TBD		
Sept 4 Mon	NO CLASS Labor Day		
Sept 6 Weds	TBD		
Sept 8 Fri	Simulation Introduction	LH 429 Social Science Lab Sim Enrollment	
Sept 11 Mon	Defining Conflict and Peacebuilding		Course Packet readings: Lund, Cousens, and Hampson
Sept 13 Weds	Simulation	LH 429 Social Science Lab Create Profile	
Sept 15 Fri	Defining Conflict and Peacebuilding		
Sept 18 Mon	Causes of Deadly Conflict	Bb discussion/ chat # 1 Defining Pcblgd	Byman Text: Chaps 1-2; Course Packet readings: Byman and Van Evera, Brown, Fearon and Laitin
Sept 19 TUES *	Special Class Mtg 1:45 - 3:00 @ MRC	Video Conference w/ Carleton	
Sept 20 Weds	NO CLASS	Computer lab reserved	
Sept 22 Fri	Causes of Deadly Conflict		
Sept 25 - Sept 29	Causes of Deadly Conflict	Bb discussion/ chat # 2 Deadly conflict	
Oct 2 Mon	Democratization, Peacebuilding and Elections	Bb discussion/ chat # 3 Democratization; 1st Sim Report Due	Course Packet readings: Gleditsch, Mansfield and Snyder, Paris, Pagani;
Oct 4 - Oct 6	Democratization, Peacebuilding and Elections		
Oct 9 Mon	Peace Settlements	Bb discussion/ chat # 4 Pc Settlements PA Sim Critique Due	Course Packet readings: Wagner (in Licklider, ed), Hampson, Walter, Stedman (in Turbulent Peace)
Oct 11 - Oct 13	Peace Settlements		
Oct 16 (M)	NO CLASS October Break	2nd Sim Report Due	
Oct 18 - Oct 20	Power Sharing/Control and Cooptation	Bb discussion/ chat # 5 Power sharing	Byman Text: Chapers 3 -4, (Chap 6 optional); Course Packet readings: Lijphart, Horowitz, Snyder;

Oct 23 Mon	TBD	Bb discussion/ chat # 6 Ambassador PA Critique Due	TBD
Oct 24 TUES	Special Class Mtg 3:00 - 5:00 @ MRC		Ambassador Samad of Afghanistan
Oct 25 Weds	NO CLASS		
Oct 27 Fri	Partition and Identity Manipulation		Byman Text: Chaps 5 and 7; Course Packet readings: Kumar, Kauffman (in Walter and Snyder,eds);
Oct 30 Mon	Partition and Identity Manipulation	Bb discussion/ chat # 7 Partition Sim Conf begins	
Nov 1 Wed	NO CLASS	Computer lab reserved	
Nov 3 Fri	NO CLASS	Computer lab reserved	
Nov 6 Mon	Foreign Intervention and International Trusteeship		Review: Paris (Oct 2), and Fearon and Laitin (Sept 18) Course Packet readings: Chandler, Kaplan, Fukuyama
Nov 8 Weds	Foreign Intervention and International Trusteeship		
Nov 10 Fri	Foreign Intervention and International Trusteeship	Working Group Draft Due	
Nov 13 - Nov 17	Truth and Reconciliation		Course Packet readings: Snyder and Vinjamuri, Akhavan, Huysse-The Process of Reconciliation, Bloomfield-The Context of Reconciliation, Huysse- Justice;
Nov 20 Mon	NO CLASS	Computer lab reserved	Spend time on Sim
Nov 22 Weds	NO CLASS	Computer lab reserved; Final Plan of Action Due	Spend time on Sim
Nov 24 Fri	NO CLASS Thanksgiving		
Nov 27 Mon	Peacebuilding in Perspective	Official Delegate Response Due	Licklider; Byman Text Chap 9
Nov 28 TUES	Special Class Mtg 1:30 - 2:45 @ MRC	Video Conference w/ Carleton	
Nov 29 Weds	NO CLASS		
Nov 30 Fri	Simulation Evaluation	Computer lab reserved Sim Evaluation	
Dec 4 Mon	TBD		
Dec 6 Weds	TBD		Last day of class - No Final Exam

*There are 3 class sessions that meet on Tues afternoon, instead of Weds in order to videoconference with Carleton University. Weds classes are cancelled for these weeks, and during one week Fri class is also cancelled. I cannot require you to attend these Tues sessions, but strongly urge you to do so. I would be happy to provide a letter to your employer if you need to alter your work schedule to attend.

Schedule of Topics and Readings

Readings average 60 pages per week, for a total of 719 pages. Note that some weeks have significantly more readings than others, so plan ahead.

September 11-15

Defining "Peacebuilding"? [29pp. total]

What is peace? What is peacebuilding?

1. Michael Lund, "What Kind of Peace is Being Built? Taking Stock of Peacebuilding and Charting Future Directions," January 2003 (Paper presented at the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) workshop, "What Kind of Peace?" Ottawa, Canada, Sept 30-Oct 1, 2002): 21-24 ("The Results of Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: A Hard Look at What We Know") and 25-29 ("Criteria for Measuring 'Sustainable Peace': A Sliding Scale"). [9pp.]
2. Fen Osler Hampson, "Can Peacebuilding Work?" Cornell International Law Journal 30, no. 3 (1997): 702-5 ("Definitions of Peacebuilding"). [4pp.] *The complete paper is available for free download from http://web.idrc.ca/en/ev-28471-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html.*
3. Elizabeth M. Cousens, "Introduction," in Peacebuilding as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies, ed. Elizabeth M. Cousens and Chetan Kumar with Karin Wermester (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001), 1-16. [16pp.]

September 18-29

Hypotheses on the Causes of Contemporary Deadly Conflict

To prevent wars from reoccurring we first need to understand how they start. These readings provide a range of hypotheses on the sources of deadly conflict. If these theories are right, how should we design peacebuilding strategies to address the various causes? [126pp. total]

1. Daniel Byman and Stephen Van Evera, "Why They Fight: Hypotheses on the Origins of Contemporary Deadly Conflicts," Security Studies 7, no. 3 (Spring 1998): 1-50. [50pp.]
2. Michael E. Brown, "Ethnic and Internal Conflicts: Causes and Implications," in Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict, eds. Chester A Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson with Pamela R. Aall (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001), 209-26. [18pp.]
3. James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War," American Political Science Review 97, no. 1 (February 2003): 75-90. How important are economic and political grievances or ethnic and cultural differences in explaining civil war? [14pp.]
4. Byman, Keeping the Peace, Chapters 1-2 ("Ethnic Conflict in Today's World" and "Causes of Ethnic Conflict"), 1-43. Byman surveys the causes of ethnic conflicts. [44pp.]

September Oct 2 - Oct 6

Democratization and Peacebuilding

For many, peacebuilding and democratization are synonymous. Since "democracies are peaceful," democratic institutions and practices are considered essential to prevent war from reoccurring in war-torn societies. But is democracy in fact necessary or even feasible? [60pp. total]

A. The "Democratic Peace"

1. Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Peace and Democracy," in Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, ed. Lester Kurtz (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999), Vol. 1, 643-52. A summary of the current state of "democratic peace" theory. [10pp.]

B. The Promise and Peril of Democratization

1. Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and War," Foreign Affairs 74, no. 3 (May/June 1995): 79-97. Some important qualifications to the claim that democracy is peaceful. [19pp.]
2. Roland Paris, "Wilson's Ghost: The Faulty Assumptions of Postconflict Peacebuilding," Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict, eds. Chester A Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson with Pamela R. Aall (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001), 765-81. [17pp.]
3. Fabrizio Paganì, "The Peace Process at its Culmination: The Reconciliation Elections" in The Psychology of Peacekeeping, ed. Harvey J. Langholtz (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), 223-36. [14 pp.]

October 9- 13

The Settlement of Deadly Conflict and the Prospects for Peace

How do wars end, and what are the implications for successful peacebuilding? How does the nature of the settlement affect the likelihood of lasting peace? When do negotiated settlements succeed and when do they fail? [67pp. total]

1. Robert Harrison Wagner, "The Causes of Peace," in Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End, ed. Roy Licklider (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1993), 257-63. [7pp.]
2. Fen Osler Hampson, "Why Orphaned Peace Settlements Are More Prone to Failure," in Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict, eds. Chester A. Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson with Pamela Aall (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996), 533-49. [17pp.]
3. Barbara F. Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," International Organization 51, no. 3 (Summer 1997): 335-63. [29pp.]
4. Stephen John Stedman, "International Implementation of Peace Agreements in Civil Wars," in Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict, eds. Chester A Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson with Pamela R. Aall (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001), 737-50. [14pp.]

October 18 - 20

Domestic Political and Institutional Strategies I: Powersharing / Control and Co-optation

What political and institutional arrangements can help lessen mutual insecurity and fear in the aftermath of deadly conflict? What strategies are best able to mitigate long-term security dilemma problems and to promote a self-sustaining peace? Several possible strategies are presented here and in session 6. How do these arrangements work in theory? How have they worked in practice? What are the advantages and disadvantages of each? [128pp. total]

A. Powersharing

1. Arend Lijphart, "The Power-Sharing Approach," in Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies, ed. Joseph V. Monteville (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990), 491-508. The classic statement on powersharing as a solution to ethnic conflict. [18pp.]
2. Donald L. Horowitz, "Making Moderation Pay: The Comparative Politics of Ethnic Conflict Management," in Monteville, Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies, 451-74. A critic of Lijphart offers an alternative form of powersharing. [24pp.]
3. Jack Snyder, From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 273-87 ("Sri Lanka and Malaysia: Opposite Twins") and 296-311 ("Rwanda and Burundi: The Perils of Pluralism and Powersharing"). Snyder takes issue with both Lijphart and Horowitz. Which view of powersharing is most convincing? [30pp.]

B. Control and Co-optation

1. Byman, Keeping the Peace, Chapters 3-4 ("Control Policies" and "Co-optation"), 44-99. If groups can't get along, and separation is not an option, what then is left? Byman discusses two very common, yet little discussed, political and institutional strategies. [56pp.]

Optional:

4. Byman, Keeping The Peace, 125-153 (Chapter 6, "Participatory Systems"). An overview of the powersharing option. [29pp.]

October 23 - 27

Domestic Political and Institutional Strategies II: Partition / Identity Manipulation

Powersharing strategies seek to promote lasting peace by encouraging war-torn groups to cooperate and work together. However, some argue that living together is part of the problem, not the solution. Several prominent alternatives to powersharing are discussed here. [90pp. total]

A. Partition

1. Byman, Keeping The Peace, Chapter 7 ("The Promise and Perils of Partition"), 154-176. If mutual insecurity among groups is the problem, separation may be the solution. An overview of the partition option is discussed here. [23pp.]
2. Radha Kumar, "The Troubled History of Partition," Foreign Affairs 76, no. 1 (January/February 1997): 22-34. The problems with partition. [13pp.]
3. Chaim Kaufmann, "When All Else Fails: Evaluating Population Transfers and Partition as Solutions to Ethnic Conflict," in Civil Wars, Insecurity and Intervention, eds. Barbara F. Walter and Jack Snyder (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1999), 221-49. An answer to Kumar. Are you convinced by the arguments and evidence presented here? [29pp.]

B. Identity Manipulation

1. Byman, Keeping the Peace, Chapter 5 ("Manipulating Ethnic Identities"), 100-124. If identity is a source of violent conflict, and separation is not an option, then why not try to change identities: assimilate many into one, or create an entirely new one? Byman discusses the prospects and tradeoffs of identity manipulation strategies. [25pp.]

October 30 - Nov 3

Peacebuilding in Afghanistan [31pp. total]

Guest Lecture: His Excellency Omar Samad, Ambassador of Afghanistan to Canada.

November 6 -10

Foreign Intervention and International Trusteeship

How important is foreign military and humanitarian intervention to the peacebuilding process? When and how does foreign intervention work best for promoting peace? What problems do foreign interveners face? How much control should outside actors have? What tradeoffs should be made between respect for state sovereignty and the preservation of peace? [50pp. total]

1. Review: Paris, "Wilson's Ghost," from Session 3.
2. Review: James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States," International Security 28, no. 4 (Spring 2004): 5-43. If trusteeship is the answer, how can it be made to work? [39pp.]
3. David Chandler, "Bosnia: The Democracy Paradox," Current History (March 2001): 114-119. Is trusteeship really the answer? Do ends justify means? Chandler charges that international efforts to bring democracy to Bosnia are fundamentally *undemocratic* (and won't bring about peace anyway). [5pp.]
4. Robert D. Kaplan, "Continental Drift: Africa's Dysfunctional Politics," New Republic, 28 December 1992, 15-20. A skeptical view on saving failed states and societies. [6pp.]
5. Francis Fukuyama, "Stateness First," Journal of Democracy 16, no. 1 (January 2005): 84-88. [5 pp.] Lack of state capacity dooms effective democracy building. What is the answer?

November 13- 17

Truth, Justice and Reconciliation

How should war-torn societies deal with war crimes? Is it best to ignore the painful episodes of the past in favor of political stability? Or is long-term stability even possible without confronting the past? What is the best way to achieve reconciliation among former adversaries? Is achieving justice (for example, through war crimes trials and reparations) or "truth-telling" (for example, through truth commissions and historical revision) necessary or desirable for achieving reconciliation? [105pp. total]

1. Jack Snyder and Leslie Vinjamuri, "Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies for International Justice," International Security 28, no. 3 (Winter 2003/04): 5-44. A more skeptical view of the deterrence argument and the general utility of retributive justice as a peacebuilding tool. [40pp.]
2. Payam Akhavan, "Beyond Impunity: Can International Criminal Justice Prevent Atrocities?" American Journal of International Law 95, no. 1 (January 2001): 7-31. Can war crimes trials deter future atrocities and bring about reconciliation? Akhavan says they can. Are you convinced by his evidence and arguments? [25pp.]
3. Luc Huyse, "The Process of Reconciliation," in David Bloomfield, Teresa Barnes and Luc Huyse, *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict: A Handbook* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2003), 19-34. Available for download from the course website. [14pp.]
4. David Bloomfield, "The Context of Reconciliation," in Bloomfield, et al., *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict*, 40-48. Available for download from the course website. [8pp.]
5. Luc Huyse, "Justice," in Bloomfield, et al., *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict*, 97-115. Available for download from the course website. [18pp.]

November 27

Peacebuilding in Perspective

Is successful peacebuilding feasible? What obstacles are faced by war-torn states and outside actors, and how can they best be overcome? What have you learned from the simulation about Afghanistan and peacebuilding more generally? A videoconference debriefing will be held with our colleagues at WSU. [33pp. total]

1. Roy Licklider, "Obstacles to Peace Settlements," in Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict, eds. Chester A Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson with Pamela R. Aall (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001), 697-715. An excellent overview of the challenges of peacebuilding, from settlement to reconciliation. [19pp.]
2. Byman, Keeping the Peace, Chapter 9 ("Dilemmas and Choices"), 213-25. [13pp.]