

Gov't 491: Lessons Learned about Post-Conflict Reconstruction

“Some learn from the problems they have caused..., and come back stronger. Some blame others, lash out and damage themselves further”¹

Paula M. Pickering

Fridays, 1-5

Fall 2008, W&M in Washington D.C.

Office hours: Wednesday 6-7:30 p.m. in the Buchanan; Friday 10:30-12 in the D.C. office & by appointment

This course explores the lessons that practitioners and policy makers are learning about efforts to reconstruct post-conflict states. What factors promote and hinder critical reflection? The course covers different dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction. Classes are organized around visiting speakers who have significant experience as practitioners and/or policy makers on one of more of the dimensions of reconstruction. Dimensions that will be covered include: the implementation of peace settlements; addressing security issues; promoting development; assisting refugee return and reintegration; promoting the rule of law, human rights, and transitional justice; bolstering civil society; building democratic institutions; managing relationships between the U.S. Government, inter-governmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations; cultivating local capacity; and developing and disseminating best practices.

EXPECTATIONS.

In addition to %, grading will be based on the written assignments described below.

- **Active and informed class participation (15%)** Student participation in class discussion and speakers' visits is vital to the success of the seminar. Students are expected to attend class and to participate actively in discussion. This means that students should come to class having completed, and having thought critically about, the required readings. Specifically, students should be prepared to discuss the authors' arguments, the evidence the authors provide, how well the authors' arguments hold up against alternative arguments that you have encountered, and how the readings relate to the speaker's talk and other course readings. They also need to react critically to speakers' discussions.
- **Discussion leaders (25%)** For each speaker, one or more students will be assigned to lead off the discussion by posing the first questions for the topic. These questions must critically analyze a significant topic or two addressed in the assigned readings and/or by the speaker. Toward the goal of stimulating this kind of critical thinking and analysis, student discussion leader questions will be due by the last class period prior to the speaker's visit (usually in class on a Thursday evening prior to a Friday speaking engagement). Part of the discussion leaders' responsibilities will be to help greet and introduce the speaker
- **Discussion rules:** No student may ask more than one question before everyone else who has had a hand up to ask questions has had a chance to do so. The only exception is a brief follow-up question that directly relates to the initial question posed and the speakers response to it. Listening and thinking about others' contributions are important forms of participation as well.
- **Research Paper.** A 15-20 paged research paper in which the student conducts research that investigates various types of sources and data on lessons (not)learned by actors involved in at least one of the major dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction. Students may explore the learning of lessons across time in one post-conflict country or across several post-conflict states. This paper must contain a thesis that is supported by empirical evidence and logical argumentation. Alternative self-generated paper topics require approval by 10/1. The writing of the research paper includes: a several-paged proposal (due 10/10 10%) a full first draft (due 11/7, 20%), a full revision (due 12/10, 20%), and a ten-minute oral presentation in class (10%). The final paper must represent a significant revision of the draft that takes into serious consideration the instructor's comments on the draft. These changes will be highlighted in a 1-paged memo that accompanies your final paper. I will provide more detailed guidelines on each of these assignments in September.

Other Policies:

¹ The *Economist*, July 2008.

No student may pass this class without satisfying each and every segment of the above requirements. Any student who receives a “C-” or better in this course will have satisfied the upper-division writing requirement. Please re-read and follow the Honor Code: <http://web.wm.edu/so/honor-council/honorcode.htm?&=svr=www>. To ensure fairness, I will not accept late papers. During class, computers must be used only for class purposes and cell phones/PDAs must be turned completely off.

REQUIRED BOOKS:

- Mary B. Anderson, *Do No Harm: How Aid can support Peace – or War*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999.
- Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth Cousins, eds., *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, New York: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002.
- Francis Fukuyama, ed., *Nation-building : beyond Afghanistan and Iraq* : Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.

Speaker schedule: all talks will begin at 1 p.m., unless otherwise noted

<u>Date & speaker</u>	<u>Theme</u>	<u>Readings</u>
9/5 Ms. Anne Edgerton, Director of Child Protection and Emergency Response at Christian Children’s Fund, former humanitarian affairs officer for the UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in Congo	The challenge of crafting international intervention & aid to help vs. hurt conflict & post-conflict situations, experiences from Africa	Anderson, <i>Do No Harm</i> , xvii-top xviii; “Introduction,” “Today’s Wars & the Pursuit of Justice,” “Characteristics of Conflict Areas,” & “Norms of Humanitarian Conduct,” chs. 1, 2, 3, 9.
9/12, * 12:30, Ms. Joan Dudik-Gayoso, lecturer, George Washington U & former Director of the State Department’s Office of International Development Assistance 2-4: Library of Congress	Challenges to coordination of development in post-conflict states	Fukuyama, “Nation-building and the Failure of Institutional memory” in Fukuyama, Introduction. U.S. Agency for International Development, “Failed States Strategy,” January 2005, http://www.usaid.gov/policy/2005_fragile_states_strategy.pdf
9/19: Ambassador Jon Glassman, Director for Government Policy, Northrop Grumman Electronic Systems	Cobbling tighter multi-national funding for rebuilding & reforming security forces: Bosnia’s Federation’s Train & Equip program	Call and Stanley, “Civilian Security,” in Stedman, et. al, ch. 11
9/26: Ambassador Jacques Klein, Under-Secretary- General of the United Nations (Ret.)	The complexities and politics of operationalizing a UN peacekeeping mission: the case of Liberia	Jones, “The Challenges of Strategic Coordination,” in Stedman, et. al, ch. 4. Adebajo, “Liberia: A Warlord’s Peace,” in Stedman, et. al, pp. 599-605.
10/1 WEDNESDAY! @ 6, pm. Mr. James “Spike” Stephenson, Director, USAID Mission to Iraq, 2004-5.	USAID’s early efforts in Iraq; inter-agency problems & successes	Diamond, “What Went Wrong & Right in Iraq,” in Fukuyama, ch. 8 Forman, “Striking Out in Baghdad,” in Fukuyama, ch. 9.

<p><u>10/3</u>: Dr. Nick Palarino, Senior Investigator and Policy Advisor, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform</p>	<p>Lessons from Iraqi reconstructions & Implications for Afghanistan</p>	<p>Starr, "Sovereignty and Legitimacy in Afghan Nation-building, in Fukuyama, ch. 5</p> <p>Goodson, "the Lessons of Nation-building in Afghanistan," in Fukuyama, ch. 7</p>
<p><u>10/10</u>: 1 p.m. Ms. Merriam Mashatt, Director of Reconstruction & Stabilization for the International Trade Administration, U.S. Dept. of Commerce</p> <p>3 p.m. Mark Grubb, Program director, Local governance, USAID Kabul</p>	<p>Economic development</p> <p>Lessons about Local governance & local capacity in Afghanistan and Iraq</p>	<p>Mashatt, Employment Generation and Economic Development in Stabilization and Reconstruction Operations, USIP Special Report, 2007</p> <p>Woodward, "Economic Priorities for Successful Peace Implementation," in Stedman, et. al, ch. 7.</p>
<p><u>10/17</u> 1. p.m. Ms. Ann Vaughan, Appropriations Association, Congresswoman Nita Lowey</p> <p>3 p.m. – Mr. Craig Cole, Executive Director, Five Talents</p>	<p>Vaughan: US Congressional aid for post-Conflict reconstruction</p> <p>Cole: NGOs & microfinance</p>	<p>Senator Lugar's Statement for the introduction of S 2127: http://www.thomas.gov/cgi-bin/query/F?r108:1:/temp/~r108IdgAju:e42188: &</p> <p>Flournoy, "National-Building: Lessons Learned & Unlearned," in Fukuyama, ch. 4</p> <p>"Conflict & Post-Conflict Environments: 10 short lessons to make microfinance work," the SEEP network Progress, No. 5, September 2004.</p>
<p><u>10/24</u> Colonel Martin Schweitzer, US Army</p> <p>Dr. Jose Sorzano, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Senior Director for Latin America, 1987-88</p>	<p>Counter-insurgency in Afghanistan</p> <p>US efforts to build market-democracies</p>	<p>Ekbladh, "From Consensus to Crisis," in Fukuyama. Ch.1</p> <p>Weinbaum, "Rebuilding Afghanistan," in Fukuyama, Ch. 6.</p>
<p><u>10/31</u> Dr. John Squier, Senior Program Officer for Russia and Ukraine, The National Endowment for Democracy</p>	<p>Civil society aid</p>	<p>Brown, "The New Ugly Americans? Making Sense of Democracy Promotion in the Former Yugoslavia," in Brown, ed., <i>Transacting Transition: The Micropolitics of Democracy Assistance in the Former Yugoslavia</i>, pp. 1-22.</p> <p>Bunce and Wolchik, "Favorable Conditions and Electoral Revolutions," <i>Journal of Democracy</i>, 2006, http://falcon.arts.cornell.edu/govt/faculty/Bunce%20docs/FAVORABLE%20CONDITIONS.pdf</p>
<p><u>11/14</u>, Mr. John Schafer; Security Coordinator, InterAction</p> <p>Dr. Lee Scwhartz, The Geographer of the U.S. and Director, Office</p>	<p>Improving security for NGOs working in post-conflict settings; NGOs vs. U.S. govt vs. IGOs? complementary?</p> <p>Geospatial tools for guiding humanitarian intervention &</p>	<p>Anderson, "Aid's Impact on Conflict," ch. 5.</p>

of Global Issues, US Department of State	post-conflict reconstruction	
<u>11/18</u> , TUESDAY, 6 p.m, Mr. Gary Russell, Director, Civilian Response Operations, Office of the Special Coordinator for Reconstruction & stabilization, Department of State	Increasing the capacity of the USG's civilian response operations	Review USAID, "failed states strategy"
<u>11/21</u> , 3, p.m. Dr. Stewart Patrick, Senior Fellow & Director, Program on International Institutions & Global Governance, Council on Foreign Relations; Dept. of State's Policy Planning Staff, 2002-5.	Building capacity in the U.S. Government for addressing weak & post-conflict states; learning lessons.	Patrick, "U.S. Policy Toward Fragile States: Toward an Integrated Approach," http://www.cgdev.org/doc/books/White%20House%20and%20the%20World/WHW_CH12.pdf Fukuyama, "Guidelines for Future Nation-builders," in Fukuyama, Conclusion.
<u>11/28</u> (Thanksgiving)		
<u>12/5</u> ; Mr. John Chromy: Senior Vice President, Cooperative Housing Federation International 3 p.m.: Lisa Goldman, Staff Attorney; Staff Counsel and Co-Director, Africa Program, Environmental Law institute	Building local capacity, Grass-roots approaches to aid; 6 obstacles to reconstruction Management of National Resources in post-conflict societies: Timber in Liberia	Anderson; "Food for Work," ch. 7 & "Reflections on the role of aid," ch. 12. Predergast and Plumb, "Building local capacity," in Stedman, ch. 12.