

# CONFLICT 746 — PEACEBUILDING

## SPRING 2010

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Meeting Time: Thursday, 4:30 PM –7:10 PM  
Classroom: Truland 335  
Office hours: Thursday 3:00–4:15 PM,  
by appointment, phone call, and walk-in

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### Questions and Goals

*“It is not enough to end the war; we must build the peace. It is not enough to reject the dark past; we must build a bright future.”* – William J. Clinton at Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 30, 1999

How can countries torn apart by physical and structural violence begin to build peace? And how can outsiders help such communities do so? In this course, we will grapple with these two critical questions for 14 weeks. And with good reason: the success (or lack thereof) of peacebuilding efforts in Liberia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mozambique, Sri Lanka, and elsewhere affects the lives of millions of people. Furthermore, these questions are at the core of ICAR’s mission, as well as your practice and research. Yet seeking to understand the process of peacebuilding confronts us with issues of bewildering complexity. How can ex-combatants, particularly child soldiers, be reintegrated into a society that may not trust them? Is democratization the right choice for all post-conflict countries? Does development and humanitarian aid truly assist post-conflict countries?

In particular, I believe we face three challenges in studying peacebuilding. First, we must merge theory, research, and practice. Success in peacebuilding demands that practitioners be informed by sound theory and research. Yet it also demands that theorists and researchers must respond to the realities on the grounds and the needs of practitioners and policymakers. Second, understanding peacebuilding requires the fusion of different academic disciplines. During this course, we will wrestle with questions from macroeconomics, political science, sociology, anthropology, and psychology. For practitioners, this means considering economic, political, and cultural questions and all their interconnections simultaneously, rather than as separate spheres. Finally, the breadth and length of the peacebuilding challenge forces us to think carefully about time and the sequencing of different goals. Should development aid be phased in slowly or quickly? Must we at times sacrifice long-term goals for short-term needs?

For the next 14 weeks, these are our challenges.

## Details: Requirements, Grading, Etc.

*“I cannot give any scientist of any age better advice than this: the intensity of the conviction that a hypothesis is true has no bearing on whether it is true or not. . . . If an experiment does not hold out the possibility of causing one to revise one’s views, it is hard to see why it should be done at all.” - P.B. Medawar*

*“The harder I work, the luckier I get.” - Samuel Goldwyn*

## Prerequisites

CONF 501 and/or 801. All others require my permission, which should be obtained immediately.

## Course Materials

Readings for the course come in three forms. First, the following books are required. They are available for purchase at the Arlington branch of the GMU Bookstore (basement of the Original Building) and via online booksellers. I unfortunately ordered from the GMU Bookstore rather late, so I would recommend buying the books from an online bookseller, if possible:

- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2008. *Does Peacekeeping Work?: Shaping Belligerents’ Choices after Civil War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hartzell, Caroline and Matthew Hoddie. 2008. *Crafting Peace: Power-Sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Settlement of Civil Wars*. State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Paris, Roland. 2003. *At War’s End: Building Peace After Civil Conflicts* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- del Castillo, Graciana. 2008. *Rebuilding War-Torn States: The Challenge of Post-Conflict Economic Reconstruction* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Lederach, John Paul. 1997. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- Moran, Mary H. 2006. *Liberia: The Violence of Democracy*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Second, the majority of the journal articles for the course are available electronically via our Ning site.

Finally, I may assign a few print readings by passing out copies in class.

## Expectations

Given the rigor of the material at hand, the fast-paced nature of our course, and your status as ICAR students, I have high expectations of your effort level and performance in the classroom. This is precisely what is expected of you.

- You will attend every class and arrive on time; there are only fourteen meetings, so missing one means missing a big chunk of material. You will turn off all electronic devices, with the exception of your laptop and only then if used for class and the wireless connection is turned off. You will give class your full attention. I will take attendance in every class. Anything past one absence will begin to affect your grade. Excused absences will be granted rarely and only when requested more than 24 hours in advance, with nearly all excused absences requiring proof (e.g., a doctor's note).
- You will complete all readings *before* the class in question. *Do not fall behind — it will prove very difficult to catch up.* Read carefully and, above all, *think!* Take notes in preparation for assignments and prepare questions you wish to ask in class.
- I will expect you to participate in the intellectual life of our class. There are three ways you can do so:
  - *In class.* This is primarily a discussion course and will include little, if any, lecture from me apart from 15 minutes or so of introductory comments. I will lead discussion by asking questions, pushing you on your answers, encouraging particular students to speak, etc. However, most of the heavy lifting in class will come from you. So be prepared to discuss the issues at hand by reading carefully. Trust me when I say that I value quality over commentary, though, so don't feel a need to speak every possible second.
  - *Online.* You are strongly encouraged to post to the online discussion boards throughout the semester. Each week, I will post our readings and occasionally a few discussion questions. I hope that you will use the discussion boards to ask questions and debate your answers with each other.
  - *In office hours.* I encourage you to come to office hours to review outstanding questions from class or readings, or get advice on your paper. I have found that office hours are best conducted with short appointments, rather than walk-ins. If you are planning on attending, e-mail me and I will make time for you.

## Assignments and Grading

There will be three components to your grade in this course.

- **Participation.** As discussed above, participating in class is required and will be worth **20%** of your grade.
- **Short Response Papers.** You will write 3 short (about 2–3 pages) papers throughout the semester. Each paper will respond to a particular week's readings and hence must be turned in the day of that class (e.g., due on 2/4 if you wish to write on peacekeeping forces). Each short paper will either propose a research questions on that week's readings or discuss the

pros and/or cons of applying that week's readings to practice. If you wish, you may turn in four papers and I will count only your best three. Each paper will be worth 10% of your grade. Together, they will constitute **30%** of your grade. More information on these papers will be forthcoming.

- **Research Paper.** You will write a long paper (about 25–30 pages) that takes one of your short papers and fleshes it out fully, either by applying your policy ideas to a specific case, comparing two or three cases, etc. During **Weeks 13 and 14 (April 29 and May 6)**, you will take about 15 minutes to present your paper and respond to questions from your classmates and me. The paper will be due on **May 10, 2010**. More information on the assignment will be forthcoming. Your presentation of your paper will be worth **15%** of your grade and the paper itself will be worth **35%** of your grade.

I know that many of you are concerned about your grades and I will do everything in my power to help you throughout the course. However, I do have high standards for you, a function of the respect I have for your ability and ambition. Due to that respect, I simply will not allow you to produce work that is below your potential. Therefore, do not expect a high grade for minimal effort. In general, these will be the standards for your written assignments:

- **A:** Excellent work that thinks precisely, creatively and clearly. The research, if necessary for the assignment, is appropriate to the ideas under examination, creative, and exhaustive in nature. The paper is ready to begin the process of being transformed into published research, a Masters thesis, or a doctoral dissertation.
- **A-:** Strong work that does everything an 'A' paper does but not quite as strongly. There are small gaps in the author's thinking and/or research. I would want the author to revise and resubmit the work before she committed to it for a published paper, doctoral dissertation, or Masters thesis.
- **B+:** About average work for a graduate student. The paper contains some strong ideas or research, but suffers from at least one major problem that remains unresolved (e.g., only weak research, ideas not fully thought out, etc.). The work is still several revisions away from being considered as a published paper, doctoral dissertation, or Masters thesis.
- **B:** Work that only barely rises to the standards I set for a graduate student. There may be a core idea that deserves merit, but the author fails to consider that idea fully. There are extensive problems with both the ideas and research.
- **B- or lower:** Failing work. There is virtually nothing deserving about the analysis in the paper. The author fails to develop a central theme or line of research. There are such massive problems in ideas and research that the author cannot expect to pass this class.

We'll talk about standards for specific assignments as they come up.

Extensions are granted only in extreme cases such as illness or other family emergency and only where the student in question has established a track record of completing work on time. In most such cases, I will require certification of the situation. *A student's procrastination in completing his/her work is not a basis for an extension.*

## The Writing Center

The Writing Center is a free writing resource that offers individual, group, and online tutoring. For general questions and comments, please e-mail [wcenter@gmu.edu](mailto:wcenter@gmu.edu) or call 703-993-4491.

## Honor Code and Plagiarism

All George Mason University students have agreed to abide by the letter and the spirit of the Honor Code. You can find a copy of the Honor Code at [academicintegrity.gmu.edu](http://academicintegrity.gmu.edu) and it is reproduced here:

To promote a stronger sense of mutual responsibility, respect, trust, and fairness among all members of the George Mason University community and with the desire for greater academic and personal achievement, we, the student members of the university community, have set forth this honor code. Student members of the George Mason University community pledge not to cheat, plagiarize, steal, or lie in matters related to academic work.

In this class, these requirements mainly pertain to your paper-writing. Plagiarism is the attempt, whether accidental or intentional, to present another's thoughts as your own. It includes but is not limited to the following acts: submitting a paper that someone else wrote; paraphrasing a sentence from another writer without proper citation; failing, even once, to place a quote in quotation marks; so riddling your paper with long quotes of another's work that your paper functionally ceases to be "yours," etc. Note that plagiarism need not be intentional; on the contrary, most cases are the result of carelessness.

All violations of the Honor Code will be reported to the Honor Committee for review. With specific regards to plagiarism, three fundamental and rather simple principles to follow at all times are that: (1) all work submitted be your own; (2) when using the work or ideas of others, including fellow students, give full credit through accurate citations; and (3) if you are uncertain about the ground rules on a particular assignment, ask for clarification. If you have questions about when the contributions of others to your work must be acknowledged and appropriate ways to cite those contributions, please contact me. The punishment for plagiarism ranges from automatic failure of this course to expulsion from the University, depending on the severity of the case.

ICAR requires that all written work submitted in partial fulfillment of course or degree requirements must be available in electronic form so that it can be compared with electronic databases, as well as submitted to commercial services to which the School subscribes. Faculty may at any time submit a student's work without prior permission from the student. Individual instructors may require that written work be submitted in electronic as well as printed form. ICAR's policy on plagiarism is supplementary to the George Mason University Honor Code; it is not intended to replace or substitute for it.

I will circulate materials about avoiding plagiarism, which we will discuss in class.

## Course Outline

*“It is a nuisance, but God has chosen to give the easy problems to the physicists . . . Man is capable of producing more complex behavior than he is capable of understanding. ”*

- Charles Lave and James G. March

*“Everything is connected to everything else.”*

- General Anthony Zinni

After a short introduction to our subject area in Weeks 1 and 2, we will study four interconnected elements of the peacebuilding challenge over the intervening weeks: security, politics, economics, and reconciliation. We'll conclude by discussing ongoing peacebuilding efforts in Liberia and Rwanda, as well as reconsidering the lessons of peacebuilding we have learned over the term.

1. (1/21) Introduction
2. (1/28) The Challenge of Peacebuilding
3. (2/4) Security: Peacekeeping Forces
4. (2/11) Security: Refugees and IDPs
5. (2/25) Security: Ex-Combatants
6. (3/4) Politics: Power-Sharing and Transitional Governments
7. (3/18) Politics: Democracy as a Tool for Peacebuilding
8. (3/25) Economics: Economic Challenges of Peacebuilding
9. (4/1) Economics: Evaluating Economic and Humanitarian Aid
10. (4/8) Reconciliation: An Overview
11. (4/15) Reconciliation: Justice and a Presentation on Darfur
12. (4/22) Peacebuilding in Liberia
13. (4/29) Reconsidering the Challenge of Peacebuilding: Roundtable I
14. (5/6) Reconsidering the Challenge of Peacebuilding: Roundtable II

Please note two features of this outline. First, we will not meet on 3/11, during George Mason's Spring Break. Second, we will not meet on 2/18, as I will be out of town for a conference. As a result, we will meet once more during exam period on 5/6, at which time your paper will be due. Finally, note that I will also miss class on 4/22, during which Patricia Maulden will lead a discussion of peace-building efforts in Liberia.

## Detailed Course Schedule

### Week 1. January 21. Introduction

#### Required Readings:

- Ramsbotham, Oliver, Tom Woodhouse, and Hugh Miall. 2005. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Malden, MA: Polity Press. Chapters 8–10. I assume that you own or easily gain access to this book; if not, please let me know.

### Week 2. January 28. The Challenge of Peacebuilding

#### Required Readings:

- Walter, Barbara F. (1999), “Designing Transitions from Civil War: Demobilization, Democratization, and Commitments to Peace”, *International Security* 24 (1), 127-155.
- United States Institute of Peace. *Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press and the United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute. “Introduction,” “Strategic Framework for Stabilization and Reconstruction,” “Cross-Cutting Principles,” “High-Level Tradeoffs, Gaps and Challenges,” and “Fundamentals of a Comprehensive Approach” (pp. 10–42 as counted by your .pdf reader).
- Collier, Paul, et al. 2003. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. Washington, DC: The World Bank Press and Oxford University Press. pp. 79–88
- Doyle, Michael W and Nicholas Sambanis. 2006. *Making War and Building Peace*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1–2 (pp. 1–68).

### Week 3. February 4. Security: Peacekeeping Forces

#### Required Readings:

- United States Institute of Peace. *Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press and the United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute. “End States: Safe and Secure Environment” (pp. 44–70 as counted by your .pdf reader).
- All of Fortna (2008)

## Week 4. February 11. Security: Refugees and IDPs

### Readings:

- Salehyan, Idea and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2006. “Refugees and the Spread of Civil War.” *International Organization* 6-(2): 335–366.
- Adelman, Howard. 2002. “Refugee Repatriation,” in *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, ed. by Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth M. Cousens. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. pp. 273–302.
- Weiss, Thomas G. 2003. “Internal Exiles: What Next for Internally Displaced Persons?” *Third World Quarterly* 24(3): 429–447.
- Crisp, Jeffrey. 2001. “Mind the Gap! UNHCR, Humanitarian Assistance and the Development Process,” *International Migration Review* 35(1): 168–191.
- Arboleda, Jaior and Elena Corraera. 2003. “Forced Internal Displacement,” in *Colombia: the Economic Foundations of Peace*. Ed. by Marcelo M. Giugale, Olivier Lafourcade and Connie Luff. Washington, DC: World Bank Press. pp. 825–848.
- Romano, David. “Whose house is this anyway? IDP and Refugee Return in Post-Saddam Iraq ” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 18(4): 430–45.

## Week 5. February 25. Security: Ex-Combatants

### Readings:

- Spear, Joanna. 2002. “Disarmament and demobilization,” In *Ending Civil Wars: the Implementation of Peace Agreements*
- Knight, Mark and Alpaslan Özerdem . 2004. “Guns, Camps and Cash: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reinsertion of Former Combatants in Transitions from War to Peace,” *Journal of Peace Research* 41(4): 499–516.
- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy M. Weinstein (2007), “Demobilization and Reintegration,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(4): 531-567.
- Blattman, Christopher and Jeannie Annan. 2008. “Child combatants in northern Uganda: Reintegration myths and realities,” in Robert Muggah, ed. *Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Dealing with Fighters in the Aftermath of War*, Routledge: 103–126.
- Theidon, Kimberly. 2009. “Reconstructing Masculinities: The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Former Combatant,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 31(1): 1–34.
- Beah, Ishmael. *A Long Way Gone*, New York, NY: Sarah Crichton Books. Chapters 15–16 (pp. 126–151). Online



## Week 6. March 4. Politics: Power-Sharing and Transitional Governments

### Readings:

- All of Hartzell and Hoddie (2008)
- Mattes, Michaela and Burcu Savun. 2009. "Fostering Peace After Civil War: Commitment Problems and Agreement Design," *International Studies Quarterly*, 53 (4) 737–759.
- Doyle, Michael W. 2002. "Strategy and Transitional Authority," in *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, ed. by Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth M. Cousens. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. pp. 71–88.

## Week 7. March 18. Politics: Democracy as a Tool for Peacebuilding

### Readings:

- Lyons, Terrence. 2002. "The Role of Postsettlement Elections," in *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, ed. by Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth M. Cousens. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. pp. 215–236.
- Ottaway, Marina. 2003. "Promoting Democracy After Conflict: The Difficult Choices," *International Studies Perspectives* 4(3): 314–322.
- Reilly, Benjamin. 2003 "Post-Conflict Elections: Constraints and Dangers, *International Peacekeeping*," 9(2): 118–139.
- Paris, Roland. 2003. *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflicts* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1–2, 7–8, 10–11 (pp. 13–54, 112–150, 179–211).
- Brancati, Dawn. 2006. "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?" *International Organization* 60(3): 651–685.
- Mansfield, Edward D. and Jack L. Snyder. 2007. "Why Emerging Democracies Go to War," In *Leashing the Dogs of War* ed. by Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall. Washington, DC: USIP Press. pp. 161–176.

## Week 8. March 25. Economics: Economic Challenges of Peacebuilding

### Readings:

- Collier, Paul, et al. 2003. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. Washington, DC: The World Bank Press and Oxford University Press. pp. 11–49

- United States Institute of Peace. *Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press and the United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute. “Sustainable Economy” and “Social Well-Being” (pp. 139–203 as counted by your .pdf reader).
- Woodward, Susan L. 2002. “Economic Priorities for Successful Peace Implementation,” in *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, ed. by Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth M. Cousens. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. pp. 183–214.
- del Castillo, Graciana. 2008. *Rebuilding War-Torn States: The Challenge of Post-Conflict Economic Reconstruction* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Introduction, Chapters 1–4 (pp. 1–47).

## **Week 9. April 1. Economics: Evaluating Economic and Humanitarian Aid**

### **Readings:**

- del Castillo, Graciana. 2008. *Rebuilding War-Torn States: The Challenge of Post-Conflict Economic Reconstruction* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Chapters 5–7, 9, (pp. 51–136, 166–190).
- Flores, Thomas Edward and Irfan Nooruddin. 2009. “Financing the Peace: Evaluating World Bank Post-Conflict Assistance Programs” *Review of International Organizations* 4(1): 1–27.
- Fearon, James D., Macartan Humphreys, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2009. “Can Development Aid Contribute to Social Cohesion After Civil War? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Post-Conflict Liberia,” *American Economic Review: Papers and Proceedings*, 99(2): 287–291.
- Fearon, James D., Macartan Humphreys, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2009. “Evaluating Community-Driven Reconstruction.” *Development Outreach: World Bank Institute* October 2009, pp. 50–52.

## **Week 10. April 8. Reconciliation: An Overview**

### **Readings:**

- Lederach, John Paul. 1997. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

## **Week 11. April 15. Reconciliation: Justice and a Presentation on Darfur by Professor Daniel Rothbart**

### **Readings:**

- Bar-Tal, Daniel. 2000. "From Intractable Conflict through Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation: Psychological Analysis," *Political Psychology* 21(2): 351–365.
- Prendergast, John and Emily Plumb. 2002. "Building Local Capacity: From Implementation to Peacebuilding," in *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, ed. by Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth M. Cousens. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. pp. 327–352.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "Does Truth Lead to Reconciliation? Testing the Causal Assumptions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process." *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(2): 201–217.
- Borer, Tristan Anne. 2003. "A Taxonomy of Victims and Perpetrators: Human Rights and Reconciliation in South Africa," *Human Rights Quarterly*, 25(4): 1088–1116.
- TBA

## **Week 12. April 22. Peacebuilding in Liberia (Patricia Maulden)**

### **Readings:**

- Moran, Mary H. 2006. *Liberia: The Violence of Democracy*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- McGovern, Mike. 2005. "Rebuilding a Failed State: Liberia." *Development in Practice* 15(6): 760–766.
- Sawyer, Amos. 2008. "Emerging Patterns in Liberia's Post-Conflict Politics: Observations from the 2005 Elections," *African Affairs*, 1–23.
- Johnston, Patrick. 2004. "Timber Booms, State Busts: The Political Economy of Liberian Timber," *Review of African Political Economy* 31(101): 441–456.

## **Week 13. April 29. Reconsidering the Challenges of Peacebuilding: Roundtable I**

## **Week 14. May 6. Reconsidering the Challenges of Peacebuilding: Roundtable II**