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Diplomacy Syllabi

School of Diplomacy and International  
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Spring 2010

## **US Policy on Stabilization and Reconstruction in Fragile States**

Robert L. Barry Ambassador

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## US Policy on Stabilization and Reconstruction in Fragile States

Semester: Spring 2010

Class Time: Tuesday, 4-6:15 PM

Instructor: Ambassador Robert L Barry

Office Hours: Tuesday, 2-4 PM

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### Course Description:

This course will deal with the new developments in US policy for dealing with failing or fragile states. Earlier references to "nation-building" have been replaced by the term "stabilization and reconstruction" and both the military and civilian sides of government have developed doctrine for dealing with these situations. These doctrines claim to recognize that efforts to remake societies in our image are doomed due to lack of resources and resistance to change in developing nations, though the steps proposed may be quite far-reaching. While lessons learned in conflict situations such as Bosnia, Iraq and Afghanistan will be considered, primary emphasis will be on states now hovering on the brink of collapse. Attention will be paid to innovative tools such as anthropology, as well as to "rule of law," sustainable development and democracy building. The newly released State Department "Quadrennial Review of Diplomacy and Development" will be closely studied as a possible guideline to future policies. The course will include lectures, class discussions, and case studies. There will be input from practitioners, and information will be provided on opportunities in the field as more civilians are sent abroad as direct hires to carry out programs on the ground. A central issue throughout the semester will be the inherent contradiction between stability and changes which come about as a result of reconstruction and development.

### Course Requirements

**Attendance and Participation: (30%)** As this class is interactive in nature, attendance and class participation will be essential to demonstrate familiarity with the reading and class discussion material. Students will be evaluated based on their individual participation in class as well as their ability to function as part of a team.

**Case Study: (30%)** Teams of 2-4 students will do an oral case study of a failing or fragile state, based in part on the nature of the society involved and the question of whether or not solutions based on the current stabilization and reconstruction doctrine are likely to be successful. These case studies should cover governance, economic development, and societal change as well as the security environment. Attention should be paid to a society's capacity to absorb change. These case studies should make

recommendations on specific steps to reverse the process of destabilization. Each team will provide a written summary of its conclusions and recommendations. While students may choose to do case studies of societies they are familiar with from first hand experience, a suitable list of candidates exists in the form of countries where the State Department's Civilian Response Corps has been active: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Chad, Colombia, Democratic republic of Congo, Ecuador, Georgia, Haiti, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Liberia, Nepal, Pakistan, Panama, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Timor Leste (East Timor), and Yemen. As regional differences affect how programs operate please try to pick examples in different parts of the world.

#### Final Paper (40%)

This paper should be an extended essay discussing the various approaches to stabilization and reconstruction discussed in class and in the readings. Discussion should include approaches that did not work and an analysis as to why they fell short. While the main emphasis will be on US programs, interaction with UN and EU programs should be discussed. An important element in each individual case should be the society's capacity to absorb change. Students should avoid the "one size fits all" approach where programs typical of more advanced countries are applied to fragile states with very different institutions.

#### Class policies and Procedures

- Assignments must be completed on time
- If you have to miss class because of an emergency you should let the instructor know and find out what you missed. You are responsible for assignments even if you were not in class when they were made.
- Incomplete grades will not be granted except in case of personal or immediate family illness or emergency
- University policies of academic integrity and standards of acceptable behavior apply.

#### Required Texts

US Institute of Peace and US Army Institute for Peacekeeping and Stabilization Operations: Guiding Principles of Stabilization and Reconstruction, 2009 (on line)

Dobbins, James, Seth G. Jones, Keith Crane, and Beth Cole DeGrasse. The Beginners Guide to Nation Building, Santa Monica, RAND Corporation 2007 (on line)

Ghani, Ashraf, and Clare Lockhart. Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008

US Army Field Manual 3-07 (On line)

US Army-Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual 3-24 (on line)

US Department of State. Civilian Power Quadrennial Diplomacy and development Review, December 16, 2010 (Note- the full document is 240 pages and deserves a close read. The full text is on the internet)

Additional Readings (Most available on the internet)

US Department of State, Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization. Smart Power in Action, 2009 Year in Review, Washington, DC 2010 (on line)

US Department of State, Coordinator for Reconstruction and Development. Civilian Response (quarterly) (on line)

Jones, Seth G. It Takes the Villages; Bringing Change from Below in Afghanistan. Foreign Affairs, May-June 2010 (on line)

Schramm, Carl J. Expeditionary Economics: Spurring Growth After Conflicts and Disasters. Foreign Affairs, May-June 2010 (on line)

Stephenson, Carolyn. Beyond Intractability: More Constructive Approaches to Destructive Conflict, January 2005 (a discussion on this is available on line)

Stewart, Rory. The Prince of the Marshes A first person account by a talented writer inside the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq

Woodward, Bob Obama's Wars This book provides valuable insights into the difficulties of implementing policies of stabilization and reconstruction, and emphasizes the concept of mission creep between stabilization and nation-building.

Class 1 Introduction and Overview

Class meeting January 18

Themes

Welcome, administrative matters, syllabus

General discussion of contradictions between stabilization, reconstruction and development. Dynamics of societies resistant to change, regional differences.

What kind of government is best suited to local conditions – centralized, decentralized, presidential, parliamentary, vertical, horizontal?

Signup for case study.

Class 2 Nation-Building and US Policy

Class meeting January 25

Themes

- USG: We don't do nation building
- Early responses – Germany, Japan, Haiti, Bosnia, Afghanistan, Iraq
- Institutional response, Iraq Coalition Provisional Authority US Army Counterinsurgency doctrine, State Department and USAID efforts to field civilian teams.
- More modest approach – stabilization and reconstruction. Does this really differ from nation-building??
- USAID, State, Defense – different cultures
- “Whole of Government” approach – mobilizing other USG agencies
- What don't Americans understand?? How do European approaches differ?

Guest speaker – Luke Zahner, Foreign Service Officer recently returned from Iraq, dealing with Provincial reconstruction teams

- Readings (all on line)

Guiding Principles, Ch 1-5 and overview of linked components

Civilian Power

US Army Field Manual 7-03

Beyond Intractability: More Constructive Approaches to Destructive Conflict (NGOs and Peacebuilding)

Class 3 , February 1

Themes US Global Development Policy, Coordination with Bilateral and Multilateral Donors

- Current US development policy
- Shifts in emphasis in USAID
- Review of diplomacy and development as a factor in dealing with fragile states
- Coordination with other donors
- Interaction with EU
- Role of NGOs as providers and critics

Readings (all on line)

- Beginners Guide
- Dobbins, James. NATO's Role in Nation-Building. NATO Review, Dec 8 2005
- Fact Sheet: US Global Development Policy, Office of the White House Press secretary, September 22, 2010
- Quadrennial Review of US Diplomacy and Development

Class Four, February 8

## Cultural factors in Stabilization Operations

### Themes

- Understanding one's own culture
- Importance of Language and Ethnic/Tribal Structures
- Interaction with Religion
- Economics and Culture
- Elections and (de)stabilization
- Using Existing Structures for Conflict Resolution

### Readings (all on line)

DARPA (US Department of Defense) and CSIS, Pre and Post Conflict Stability Operations. Summary of Workshop, June 22-23 2004

Ali Wardak, Jirga – A traditional Mechanism of Conflict Resolution in Afghanistan, University of Glamorgan

Religion and development – A New Perspective on Africa, Harvard International Review, 2007,

Antran, Scott Pathways to and From Violent Extremism; The Case for Field Based Scientific Research: Statement Before Senate Armed Services Subcommittee on Emerging Threats and Capabilities, March 10, 2010

Class Five, February 15

### Case Studies (Introduction)

Discussion of three different “fragile states” contexts – Kyrgyzstan, Sudan, Congo

### Themes;

- Geography and influence of outside actors
- Ethnicity
- Governance
- Elections and (de)stabilization
- Education
- Security
- Public health

### Readings:

International Crisis Group. Congo-Stalled Democracy Agenda, 8 April 2010

“ Preventing Implosion in Sudan

“ The Pogroms in Kyrgyzstan

Class Six February 22

Student Presentations on Case Studies

Class Seven March 1

Student Presentations on Case Studies

Note: I will be out of the country on March 8 – no class will be held

Class Eight March 15

Student Presentations on case studies

Class Nine March 22

Summary of Lessons Learned and review of Future Prospects for Stability and Reconstruction

Guest Lecturer (TBC) Ambassador John Herbst, former Coordinator for Stability and Reconstruction, US Department of State

Themes

- Background of S/CRS and Funding Support
- Whole of Government Approach
- Efforts to Deal with Emerging Situations
- Opportunities in Government and NGO sectors - Civilian Response Corps

Readings – Publications of S/CRS, Congressional Testimony of Special Inspectors General for Iraq and Afghanistan Reconstruction (all on line)

Class ten March 29

Review and Class Discussion

Reading: Quarterly Report of Special Inspectors General for Iraq and Afghanistan Reconstruction

Leebaert, Derek: Magic and Mayhem (especially pp 195-280) A skeptical look at efforts to reshape other societies

Guest lecturer Luke Zahner, Foreign Service Officer recently returned from Baghdad

Class eleven April 5

Programs USAID carries out in fragile states

Readings Web site USAID Office of Transitional Initiatives

Guest lecturer