WWS 401a — After the Wars

Ambassador Rick Barton
Fall 2018

Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has intervened militarily in twenty conflicts. The turbulence continues but America and the international community are stuck with ineffectual responses. The task force will assess the performance and review innovative responses as it seeks to improve post-conflict stabilization efforts.

Discussions will focus on historic and current cases, along with recent faith, youth and gender based sectoral initiatives. Pilots, experiments and innovative practices will include mass and social media, popular campaigns, big data and self-directed surveys, and other breakout ideas.

The task force’s foundational model emphasizes improved knowledge of the places and people, integrated strategic coherence, catalytic local action, and real-time measurements of progress. Practitioners and special guests from a range of organizations in conflict zones will join the weekly conversation by Skype and in class as we seek to contribute pragmatic approaches to bring policy and practice together. The task force report will be in the form of recommendations to senior leaders at the UN or in the national security community.

The following requirements are from the Task Force Director’s Manual:

**Written Paper**

Each student will prepare individual junior reports (not to exceed 6,000 words) on a critical element of the class framework and should apply it to a current situation. Students should be prepared to select their preferred topics by the second week of class. Original research will be encouraged including contact with local, U.S., and international figures, plus Princeton faculty. Each junior paper will provide an analysis of the specific issue studied, two or three key strategic recommendations, a practical action plan of next steps, and a bibliography.

By week nine (November 19), a rough draft of the research paper is due. It should be “concise and cogent, analyzing the nature of the particular problem, comparing alternative options and their implications, and marshaling information for informed policy choices and recommendations.” I will provide extensive comments and students should revise their papers and submit them on January 8, 2019.
Briefing Paper
“A draft of a short (one or two-pages, single spaced) briefing paper is submitted at the same time as the written paper. It should provide a summary of the substance of the issue, its political implications, and the available policy options. It can be used by the student as the basis for the oral presentation. It should be revised, after comments are made by the director, and submitted with the final version of the research paper.”

Oral Presentation
“Each junior should make an oral presentation based upon the findings and recommendations of her or his research. These presentations should be strictly timed. The oral presentation cannot detail all the contents of the paper or assume all criticisms. It must single out the significant points, presenting the most persuasive arguments and examples in a well-organized way.

The student should be prepared to answer questions and respond to the concerns and comments of other task force members. The purpose of the question-and-discussion period is to clarify ambiguities, spell out the implications of certain positions, and highlight remaining issues to be addressed.”

The use of graphics, video and other elements will be encouraged. We will work together on refining presentations.

Group Travel Trip
We will travel as a group to New York to meet with the senior leadership of the UN Peace Keeping Operations on Monday December 10, instead of the regular class. This will be the final class presentation based on the Junior Task Force Report.

The Junior Task Force Report
The senior commissioners will prepare a draft report with recommendations and their justifications on how to deal with the focus situation. This report is generally a synthesizing, original statement rather than a compendium of the junior papers. It is intended to blend the juniors' views and recommendations in a creative manner, but with faithfulness to all positions represented. The report may show the interconnection of individual research projects, or it may concentrate on issues that cut across the juniors' papers. The report should remain true to the research but may raise these materials to a more general level.

The task force discusses and debates the draft report and tries to resolve controversial issues, sometimes by formal vote. A minority report is possible.

The final report is then prepared. Appended to the report are the individual juniors’ research papers (completed earlier). The report will be presented and distributed to members of the policy community. It is placed on file in the Princeton University Manuscript Mudd Library, where it will be made available to the academic community and other interested researchers. The final report must also be filed electronically with Jan Burch in the Undergraduate Program Office.

Grades
The weights for grading juniors are as follows:

45% Task Force Research Paper
10% Briefing Paper of Research Paper
15% Oral presentation
30% Participation in the group and teamwork

In addition to their ongoing research, students will spend about two hours per week on assigned readings, with some occasional videos or documentaries, and to stay current with a regular blog or news resource. There will be the expectation that all students remain current on a particular interest and bring the latest developments to the class for an opening round each week.

Guests will visit the class and we will use video links to engage others who are doing extraordinary work.

The Senior Commissioners are PJ Greenbaum pauljg@princeton.edu and Henry Ruehl eruehl@princeton.edu. They will each lead teams that will inform the class about recommended readings. Renee Weist at weist@princeton.edu will provide support for scheduling and administrative issues and is at 609-258-4856.

Please bring a ONE page (hard copy) CV/biography to our first class.

The structure of the class will follow this outline:

**Weekly Readings – Suggestions**
*Please pick one of these (or another) sites each week to identify special products and to stay informed about stabilization issues. We should seek a range of sites, US and foreign, of different ideological stripes, and with as much data as possible.*

**Non-profit and think tank**
- Vision of Humanity: [www.visionofhumanity.org](http://www.visionofhumanity.org)
- Insight on Conflict: [http://www.insightonconflict.org/](http://www.insightonconflict.org/)
- Weekly Wonk: [https://www.newamerica.org/the-weekly-wonk/](https://www.newamerica.org/the-weekly-wonk/)
- AC Hariri Center: [http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/programs/rafik-hariri-center-for-the-middle-east](http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/programs/rafik-hariri-center-for-the-middle-east)

**Twitter**
- @NickKristof
- @Monaeltahawy
- @SultanAlQassemi
- @GlobalVoices
- @ElDailyPost
@HayesBrown
@DavidGrann
@blakehounshell
@BuzzFeedBen
@Thieristan
@LizSly
@Raniaab
@hxhassan
Reuter’s Syria List: https://twitter.com/reuters/lists/syria


Readings: Most of the assigned readings and videos are available on Blackboard e-reserve, thanks to our friends at Stokes. Others have live links. You will be asked to identify additional pieces from your own research or on specific class topics to share with the task force.

Week 1 – September 17 – The World Going to Hell – Overview, Discussion of Research Topics and Class Plan, Review of Hot Spots

A review of the kinds of situations we are encountering, existing conflicts and crises, what we are likely to see in the near future. How should we sort the truly important from the terrifying or worrying? What are some of the pathologies we encounter? Can we build a continuum to better understand what is happening?

Please visit one or more of the following Websites for our first class discussion:

Global Peace Index 2018  http://www.visionofhumanity.org/#/page/our-gpi-findings

Fund for Peace, Fragile States Index 2017
https://issuu.com/fundforpeace/docs/951171705_fragile_states_index_annu


CFR Contingency Planning Memos
http://www.cfr.org/thinktank/cpa/contingencyplanningmemos.html 

Alliance for Peacebuilding  http://www.allianceforpeacebuilding.org/

Social Progress Index  http://www.socialprogressimperative.org/data/spi

Required Reading:
**Fog of Peace**, Jean-Marie Guéhenno – Prologue

**Peace Works – America’s Unifying Role in a Turbulent World**, Rick Barton, Section I and Chapter 1

**Weak Links – Fragile States, Global Threats and International Security**, Introduction, Stewart Patrick

**The Chessboard and the Web – Strategies of Connection in a Networked World**, Introduction, Anne-Marie Slaughter

**Recommended:**

**Power & Responsibility – Building International Order in an Era of Transnational Threats**, Chapter 7, Bruce Jones, Carlos Pascual, and Stephen John Stedman


**Interventions: A Life in War and Peace**, Kofi Annan - Prologue

**All Measures Short of War: The Contest for the Twenty-first Century and the Future of American Power**, Thomas J. Wright – Chapter 1 and Epilogue

**Week 2 – September 24 – What has the U.S. tried? How has it worked?** – *Discussion begins and research topics chosen*

Different kinds of crises, from humanitarian to political alliances, and forms of intervention, and why we have chosen to care. Who is best suited to lead internationally and in each country? A historical review and construction of a prioritization model that describes the different reasons given and which are most important.

What arguments make Americans care and how important is the large percentage that remain skeptical. What should be our national dialogue? What is our international posture and do we have allies? Do we understand the result of our extraordinary effort? Are we ready to make the sacrifice? Do we anticipate the next step, since there is likely to be one?

What can we learn from prior experiences? How do strategic direction, organizational structures and culture come together to produce successes or less? Did we have realistic ambitions?
Can we take these lessons and create a ranking or grading system of critical elements and of prior efforts? Where did the U.S. and the international community succeed, why, and what were the critical factors?

Will the American and other publics support peacebuilding?

**Required Reading:**

*Can Intervention Work?* Rory Stewart and Gerald Knaus – Introduction


*Dereliction of Duty*, H.R. McMaster, Epilogue

*Embracing Defeat*, John Dower, watch the Vimeo [https://vimeo.com/37754928](https://vimeo.com/37754928) (about one hour)

*Peace Works – America’s Unifying Role in a Turbulent World*, Rick Barton, Chapter 2


**Recommended:**

*Democracy by Force*, Karin von Hippel, Introduction: Dangerous Hubris

*U.S. Peacefare*, Dane Smith, Chapter 1 - An American Vocation for Peace-Building

*War and the Art of Governance*, Nadia Schadlow, Introduction, Chpt 1 and Conclusions

*First Great Triumph*, Warren Zimmerman – Chapter 1, The Expansionist Impulse


*Winning the Peace*, (Chapter 11 on Japan, and Appendix 1 tables), Robert Orr editor, CSIS Press 2004

**Week 3 – October 1 – Getting to Know the Place**

Improving our understanding of the situations we care about. Do we know any reliable players? Are we using on the ground knowledge well?

Seizing upon local initiatives and leaders and giving them a greater chance for success.
The 1990’s witnessed an explosion of smaller, more local wars – many of which concluded as major powers changed their approaches. Bosnia and Rwanda and Haiti figured prominently and lessons began to emerge that differed from earlier conflicts.

Classroom Guest: **Bob Gersony, crisis field researcher**

**Required reading:**


“OUR COUNTRY, OUR STORIES: IN NEW MEMOIRS, SYRIANS DESCRIBE LIFE — AND DEATH — IN WARTIME”  

*Peace Works – America’s Unifying Role in a Turbulent World*, Rick Barton, Section II and Chapters 3-4

*The Punishment of Virtue – Inside Afghanistan After the Taliban*, Chapters 30-32, Sarah Chayes

**Recommended:**

*Why Peace Fails*, Charles Call – Chapter 9. Conclusions for Policy and Practice: Can External Actors Build Legitimacy after War?

“Overcoming Obstacles to Peace”, James Dobbins and Laurel Miller, pgs xx-xxxv  
[http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR100/RR167/RAND_RR167.pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR100/RR167/RAND_RR167.pdf)

**Week 4 October 8 –Different Perspectives and New Tools**  
*Discussion continues and research plans are formed, initial bibliography/literature search*

Team Exercises, Additional Research and Class Reports: Women, youth, religion: how to make more of silenced and forgotten majorities to expand understanding? What is the desired role of the military? What of the responsibility to protect and atrocity prevention? What are potential uses of meta data? What of new technologies, video games and crypto-currency? Will activism take on a new face?

**Required reading:**

*The Little Book of Strategic Peacebuilding – A Vision and Framework for Peace and Justice*, Lisa Schirch

[http://everydaypeaceindicators.org/](http://everydaypeaceindicators.org/), Dr. Pamina Firchow

“The Arithmetic of Compassion”, Paul Slovic, NY Times  
[http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/06/opinion/the-arithmetic-of-compassion.html?_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/06/opinion/the-arithmetic-of-compassion.html?_r=0)

“How useful is religion in defusing conflicts? A funder gives big to find out,”


Children at War, Chapters 1,2 and 11, P. W. Singer

Advocacy in Conflict – Critical Perspectives on Transnational Activism, Chapter 12, Alex de Waal editor

Week 5 October 15 – Applying What We Learned and Integrated Strategies—Outline of paper due.

The importance of integrated strategies and doing what matters most well.

**Required Reading:**

**War on Peace,** Ronan Farrow, Pgs 63-67, 78-85, 101-110

“Putting Local Peacebuilders First”, Bridget Moix, Floribert Kazingufu, Building Peace, 2014

“Bringing Down a Dictator”, Otpor student movement in Serbia, 56 minute film

**Peace Works – America’s Unifying Role in a Turbulent World,** Rick Barton, Chapters 5-6

**The World As It Is – A Memoir of the Obama White House,** Chapters 23,24, 31,32, Ben Rhodes

**Recommended:**

**Voices of the Poor – Can Anyone Hear Us,** Deepa Narayan and World Bank 2000, Foreword and Chapter 1, Oxford University, 2000
Week 6 – October 22 – Gaming, Testing and Measuring Progress Discussion continues, bibliographies and planned outside contacts and interviews due.

Baselines, real time measurement, hearing the voices of local people, and adjusting strategies and approaches as a result. The importance of real time evaluation.

Team Exercises and Class Reports: Models for measurement, after action reports, table top exercises and scenarios, red teams and more.

Required Reading:

Peace Works – America’s Unifying Role in a Turbulent World, Rick Barton, Chapters 7


Red Team: How to Succeed by Thinking Like the Enemy, Micah Zenko, Introduction

The Endgame, Michael Gordon and Bernard Trainor, Chapter 28, Let’s Make a Deal


Governance and Nationbuilding: The Failure of International Intervention, Kate Jenkins, William Plowden, Chapters 8-9

Mismeasuring our Lives, Joseph Stiglitz, Amartya Sen – Executive Summary

“GDP is a Bad Measure of our Economy – Here is a Better One”, Georgia Levenson Keohane, TIME, April 19, 2015 http://time.com/3826731/is-gdp-dead/

Pivotal Countries, Alternate Futures – Using Scenarios to Manage American Strategy, Introduction, Michael Oppenheimer

Peace-Building – A Field Guide, Luc Reychler and Thania Paffenholz editors, Chapter 9.4, Matthias Stiefel and Chapter 18, Paffenholz

Week 7 – November 5 – What Will We Next Encounter –
Already the Trump Administration has spoken about increased military action, from N. Korea to Venezuela and Afghanistan/Pakistan. Localized conflicts are growing from Burma to Nigeria, and once stable countries such as Kenya are suffering outbreaks of violence. Longstanding problems like Afghanistan, Central America and Syria continue to confound.

Countering violent extremism, terrorism, individualized chaos, cyber wars, and corruption are emerging challenges. Established forces and elites face a new unknown and prior frameworks and institutions are proving incapable.

What is the current administration thinking and doing about this?

Where should the U.S. engage and what might we do?

**Skype Guests:** Qutaiba Idlibi, Syrian Activist

**Required Reading:**

*Peace Works – America’s Unifying Role in a Turbulent World, Rick Barton, Chapters 8-9*


“Re: War Without End” Ralph Nader letter to the editor, NYTimes Magazine, 9-2-18

The Big Stick, Eliot Cohen, Chapter Seven, Ungoverned Space and the Commons


Recommended:
Fixing Failed States, Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, Chapters 8 and 9.


Between Vengeance and Forgiveness, Martha Minow, Introduction and Chapter 6, Beacon 1998


Corruption, Criminal Justice and Legitimacy, Cheyanne Scharbatke-Church and Diana Chigas, Professors of Practice at the Fletcher School at Tufts University. Article from their blog mini-series on http://www.blog.cdacollaborative.org/how-to-deal-with-the-complexity-of-corruption-four-recommendations-for-programming/


My Share of the Task, Stan McChrystal, Chapter 18

Fog of Peace, Jean-Marie Guéhenno – Chapter 12, Syria – A World Out of Control


The Long Game – How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America’s Role in the World, Derek Chollet, Preface and Chapter 1

“It’s Time for a New Syria Peace Process”, Alexander Bick and Lisa Roman, Foreign Policy, 9-15-17

Recommended:

Week 8 – November 12 - Improve Decision Making; Make the Institutions Productive; Get out of our own way

Group think, limited choices, and a lack of awareness of latest practices impede the U.S. government. What will help to make our leaders, their followers and our institutions more capable?

Bureaucracies and interest groups can stop most anything. What is needed to make sure that headquarters and field operations do not negate each other and to improve coherence, agility, and results? What updating of international organizations is overdue as the UN reaches its 70th birthday and institutional obesity settles in?

Guest: Ambassador Lisa Kubiske

Required Reading:


“The Engineers Lament”, Malcolm Gladwell, New Yorker, May 2015 http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/05/04/the-engineers-lament

Peace Works – America’s Unifying Role in a Turbulent World, Rick Barton, Chapter 10

Stabilization: A New Approach to Whole of Government Operational Planning and Execution, Executive Summary and Introduction, PKSOI, Bill Flavin, Senior Editor 2018

“How can we implement Sustainable Development Goal 16 on institutions?” Brookings, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2015/10/01/how-can-we-implement-sustainable-development-goal-16-on-institutions/

Preventive Engagement – How America Can Avoid War, Stay Strong, and Keep the Peace, Chapter 8, Paul Stares


Recommended:
U.S. Peacefare, Dane F. Smith, Jr., Chapter 9 The Future of U.S. Peace-Building

Team of Teams, General Stanley McChrystal lead, Chapters 1 and 12, Portfolio/Penguin, 2015

Blink, Malcolm Gladwell, Chapter Four, “Paul Van Riper’s Big Victory”

Powering Apollo, James E. Webb of NASA, W. Henry Lambright, Chapter 12 “Legacy”, pgs 214-217

On Watch, Elmo Zumwalt, Preface, Chapter 20, pgs 461-466

“State Department hopes it can find peace among data” http://www.cnn.com/2013/04/30/politics/state-data-analysis/

US Foreign Policy on Transitional Justice, Annie R. Bird, Conclusion

**Week 9 – November 19 – Leadership and Constant Communications** Draft papers and briefing memos are due, oral presentations begin.

Progress must be felt and hope expanded. Information and dialogues are necessary in a media full world.

**Required Reading:**


Peace Works – America’s Unifying Role in a Turbulent World, Rick Barton, Introduction and Chapter 11

**Week 10 – November 26 – Oral presentations continue.**

Presenters: 

**Recommended:**

The Better Angels of our Nature – Why Violence Has Declined, Steven Pinker, Chapter 6, section “Where Angels Fear to Tread”, Viking 2011

Civil Society, Peace and Power, David Cortright, Melanie Greenberg and Laurel Stone, Conclusion

“The Opposite of Hate”, Sally Kohn, Ted Talk 2017 https://www.ted.com/talks/sally_kohn_what_we_can_do_about_the_culture_of_hate

**Week 11 – December 3–** Last oral presentations, discussion of final joint report, recommendations and minority reports. Draft papers returned with comments and individual meetings held.

**Required Reading:**
In Pursuit of Peace – Conflict Prevention and World Order, Noel Lateef editor, “Give Peace a Chance” talk by David Hamburg

Recommended:

"Washington’s Farewell Address: A Foreign Policy of Independence." Samuel Flagg Bemis, American Historical Review (1934) 39#2 pp: 250-268 in JSTOR

Eisenhower and Obama’s farewell address

Preparing for the Twenty-First Century, Paul Kennedy, Chapter 14, First Vintage 1993

Week 12 – December 10 – Class Presentation in New York or Washington and luncheon

January 8 – Paper Submission

January 22 – Grades Submitted