

# POSTCONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM



**White Paper | Final Report:** Syracuse University INSCT-  
U.S. Embassy, Kabul *International Visitor Leadership Program*

## **Transition and Reconstruction in Afghanistan: *Evolving US-Afghan Partnerships***

**By** Nicholas J. Armstrong & Corri Zoli

**January 20, 2012**

**Visiting Partners:** Gov. Mohammad Iqbal Azizi, Laghman Province, Afghanistan;  
Miguel Sapp, U.S. Department of State

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**INSCT**

INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AND COUNTERTERRORISM  
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

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## 1.0 SUMMARY

This report provides an overview of our recent U.S. Department of State/U.S. Embassy-Kabul *International Visitor Leadership Program* grant program, “Transition and Reconstruction in Afghanistan: Evolving US-Afghan Partnerships,” implemented by the Institute of National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT) at Syracuse University.

This intensive two-week program was conceived as a reciprocal project: on the one hand, it provided the Afghan Governor of Laghman Province, Mohammad Iqbal Azizi, opportunities to experience first-hand examples of democratic governance at the federal, state, and local levels in the United States and to engage in robust discussions with politicians, experts, and academics about those experiences. On the other hand, the program was designed to expose U.S. stakeholders in academia, policy, law, and other public diplomacy-related fields to an emergent Afghan leader’s approach and perspectives about Afghan provincial transition and reconstruction processes and partnership with the United States.

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### 1.1 Program Goals:

- 1) The primary goal was for Governor Azizi to return to Afghanistan with applicable lessons in leading and sustaining the ongoing capacity-building efforts in his province.
  - 2) A secondary goal was for Governor Azizi to share his perspectives and experiences with U.S. policymakers, experts, and Syracuse University students and faculty.
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### 1.2 Program Description: 30 October—10 November, 2011

Accompanied by his U.S. State Department counterpart, Mr. Miguel Sapp, from October 30 through November 10, 2011, Governor Azizi participated in a number of speaking engagements and informative and engaged discussions with multiple stakeholders—in the policy, government, and academic communities—in Washington, D.C., and Syracuse, New York (see Section 3.0 below for the full planned itinerary).

While in Washington, D.C., Governor Azizi met with a number of key Congressional members on Capitol Hill, including House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi and New York 25<sup>th</sup> District Representative Anne Marie Buerkle. Likewise, Governor Azizi held meetings with the Mayor of the District of Columbia and officials from other key Executive agencies active in Afghanistan’s development and security, such as the U.S. Department of State, USAID, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Additionally, Governor Azizi participated in symposiums at various universities and at the United States Institute of Peace (USIP).

In Syracuse, New York, Governor Azizi sought to better understand how congressional, state, and local levels of government collectively represent their districts and attend to constituent needs.

**Figure 1. INSCT Staff with Governor Azizi and Miguel Sapp: David Crane, Col. Geoff Stevens, Vice Admiral (ret.) Robert Murrett, INSCT Director William Banks, Governor Azizi, Nick Armstrong, Corri Zoli, and Miguel Sapp**



Governor Azizi witnessed first-hand multiple layers of government at work, meeting again with local leadership of New York's 25<sup>th</sup> Congressional District office, as well as the district offices of Senators Charles Schumer and Kirsten Gillibrand, the Onondaga County Executive, the Syracuse Mayor's office, and the Syracuse Common Council. In this setting, Governor Azizi examined and discussed the responsibilities of state and local governments in administering public services, the different roles of federal and state governments, cooperation between public and private sectors, NY State planning boards and public decision-making and budgeting processes, and emergency response strategies and procedures.

Governor Azizi's visit culminated in a number of speaking engagements, robust discussions, and meetings with academic leaders, faculty experts, and students at Syracuse University. These included meetings with Chancellor Nancy Cantor, Maxwell School Dean and Former Deputy Secretary of State James Steinberg, College of Law Dean Hannah Arterian, and many senior faculty members with research and teaching interests pertaining to Afghan security and development. Following these meetings, Governor Azizi participated in a graduate level course at the Maxwell School, *Fundamentals of Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, a core requirement for students pursuing the INSCT Certificate of

Advanced Study (CAS) in Postconflict Reconstruction. Here, he also had the unique opportunity to meet with three fellow Afghan students pursuing graduate degrees at the Maxwell School.

Finally, Governor Azizi delivered a public lecture and seminar at the Maxwell School and the SU College of Law to the Syracuse University and broader community on security, economic, agricultural and educational developments in Laghman province during his recent tenure.

Upon completion of his visit, Governor Azizi was presented with an Honorary Certificate in Postconflict Reconstruction from Syracuse University's Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT) as a reflection of his accomplishments at home and for his remarkably substantive comments and candid engagement with faculty and students at Syracuse University.

### **1.3 Program Results:**

Results from this program include several research product deliverables: a White Paper on Afghan transition; several academic papers for publication on related topics of postconflict reconstruction and governance; lectures on the substance of the program in Maxwell courses and conferences; and direct data collection from interviews with Governor Azizi and Miguel Sapp.

Additionally, the program resulted in extending, developing, and strengthening professional and policy-oriented academic networks involving policymakers and local public servants in both Washington and Syracuse, NY, respectively; graduate students, including Afghan nationals, pursuing advanced study in postconflict reconstruction, governance, conflict, and policy issues; and lasting connections between academic experts, emergent Afghan leaders, and members of the government and nongovernmental development and aid communities.

## **2.0 BACKGROUND: Transition and Reconstruction in Laghman Province, Afghanistan**

Laghman province is located in eastern Afghanistan, nestled between Kabul province to its west and the border provinces of Nangarhar and Kunar to its east. With an estimated population just shy of 400,000, Laghman is mainly comprised of a Pashtun majority population, with Kuchi nomads residing in the province during the winter months.





Situated in foothills of the Hindu Kush, Laghman is well known for its lushness, as the Alingar and Alinshang rivers run through the province, providing a steady source of water for vegetation and wildlife. A major highway also cuts through the center of the province, connecting Kabul and Jalalabad. Agriculture and trade are key drivers of the local economy.



Figure 2: Panjshir River Valley, which flows into the Kabul River Valley (May 2011), from the vantage point of Ahmad Shah Massoud, the Lion of Panjshir's, Tomb. Image by Master Sgt. Michael O'Connor, U.S. Air Force, ID 110521-F-QG390-372

## 2.1 Why Laghman Province?

Laghman province is currently one of the most stable areas in Afghanistan. Because of its recent progress, last July 2011, NATO initiated a transfer of responsibility to Afghan security forces in the capital district of Mehtar Lam. This initiative marked the first wave of 'transition' to local Afghan control, which also included such other relatively stable districts across Afghanistan as Herat, Mazar-e-Sharif, Janjshir, and most districts in Kabul province. In this respect, Laghman province is a key "test case" in transition, an opportunity to understand the challenges, obstacles, and key progress points in the often long and arduous processes of Afghanistan's transition to a stable society. For Afghans and its committed partners, like the United States, this opportunity for self-assessment, better understanding, and mutual dialogue is an important one.



### ***2.1.1 A Wealth of Natural Resources:***

As a transition test case, Laghman province holds significant potential for the following key issues: (1.) progress in capacity for continued economic growth and development; (2.) advances in security and security force training; (3.) strengthening governance, accountability, transparency, and progress in



Figure 3: Kabul River in Surobi, Afghanistan (2007), Image by Wien Sven Dirks

political and legal institution capacity building; and (4.) gains in developing and strengthening the civilian and civil society sector.

On the issue of development, for instance, Laghman has many natural resources, fertile soil, adequate water supplies for irrigation, appropriate weather conditions for farming—yet, only recently have efforts been made to tap such natural potential by improving irrigation from nearby rivers, providing technical training to local farmers, introducing demonstration plots of new crops, such as wheat and fruit trees, improving local roads and transportation routes, and by providing cold storage facilities in nearby markets. Likewise, home to many magnificent valleys, Laghman holds significant potential for both international tourism and sustainable mining.

### ***2.1.2 Emergent Leadership in Governance:***

Laghman Provincial Governor Mohammad Iqbal Azizi is increasingly being recognized as a newly emergent and effective leader who will continue to play a pivotal role in the region in the coming months, as his province assumes greater independence from the support of NATO security forces.

Azizi assumed the office of the Governor in March 2010, succeeding Lutfullah Mashal. Before taking office, Azizi had served three years as Director of Education in Nangarhar Province, one of Afghanistan's largest and most developed provinces, and prior to that position, he served as Director of Education in Paktika and Wardak Provinces. In this capacity Governor Azizi won acclaim for his program practices—notably, standing up hundreds of new schools, working with local leaders to encourage educational initiatives for girls, and establishing an “open door” policy for dialogue with all members and factions of the community.

In his current position as Governor of Laghman Province, in a very short time, Azizi has won praise for removing the notoriously corrupt Provincial Chief of Police, General Abdul Karim Omaryar, establishing strong working relationships with the new Chief of Police, Ghulam Aziz Gharani, as well as with the National Directorate of Security Chief, Haidor Noor. In the coming months, Governor Azizi is planning on establishing an anti-corruption task force to include representatives from the Governor's office, the Provincial Council, the Prosecutors Office, UNAMA, and the U.S./Coalition.

In many respects, Laghman Province and Governor Azizi's leadership efforts are on the ‘frontline’ of Afghan-led reconstruction. What happens here will not only serve as a model for working out political, development, and reform ‘kinks’ across Afghanistan, but may inform U.S./Coalition strategy toward current and future postconflict states.

**Figure 4. Gov. Azizi with ISAF Commander General David Petraeus, Feb 7, 2011. Image by U.S. Air Force 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt. Chase P. McFarland, Laghman Prov. Reconst. Team**



### ***2.1.3 Systemic Challenges in Northeastern Afghanistan:***

Despite these recent accomplishments, several systemic challenges persist. One primary concern is long term stability, as Laghman province's location is both an economic asset, given its natural resources and waterways, and a security vulnerability. While situated adjacent to more insecure tribal areas along the eastern border of Pakistan and alongside a main thoroughfare for anti-government groups, questions linger as to the sustainability of local Afghan security forces. Additionally, recent security gains appear vulnerable in light of the Haqqani network's and Hezb-e Islami Gulbuddin's persistent use of the northern districts as a major transit hub.

Additional security concerns include: the viability of Taliban reintegration initiatives; the need to adequately address the insurgent presence, including local nonstate armed groups, militias and their leaders, and criminal groups engaged in opium-related smuggling and kidnapping; and mechanisms for sustainable local economic development, including agricultural and rural rehabilitation programs and poverty mitigation.

## **2.2 Why Visit the United States?**

The U.S. Department of State's International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP) uses professional travel and exchange to promote and strengthen increased understanding and dialogue between the United States and emerging foreign leaders. Brief visits to the United States are carefully designed to further support both U.S. foreign policy goals and emerging leaders' professionalization in governance. Typically, these trips include visits to Washington, D.C. and other locations across the country to provide learning opportunities on matters of significance in governance, culture, and social life for the United States and the visitor's home country.

## **2.3 Why the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT) at Syracuse University?**

The Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT) at Syracuse University was established at the College of Law in 2003 by Professor William C. Banks, with support from the Syracuse University College of Law and the Maxwell School of Citizenship & Public Affairs. As a jointly sponsored, interdisciplinary, graduate-level research institute, INSCT is dedicated to law, policy, and social science research, graduate teaching and professional preparation, and policy-oriented public service in national and international security. INSCT draws on the expertise of affiliated faculty to teach and train advanced graduate students in key national and international challenges of security, counterterrorism, postconflict reconstruction, and the rule of law.



### ***2.3.1 INSCT Postconflict Reconstruction (PCR) Program:***

The INSCT Postconflict Reconstruction (PCR) program involves research and educating advanced graduate students in the complexities of postconflict stabilization, reconstruction, and peacebuilding initiatives in the international arena. Doing PCR ‘better and smarter’ requires new knowledge, evaluating what has worked in the past, why certain strategies and recovery processes have proven more effective and durable than others, and how local communities interface with externally-generated peace and statebuilding strategies. The INSCT PCR program aims to train a new cadre of PCR professionals adept at working in conflict, postconflict, and fragile state environments.

A key component of the INSCT PCR program is the Everett Postconflict Reconstruction Speaker Series, which brings an established international expert in PCR to Syracuse University at least once per semester to deliver a public lecture and to engage with graduate students and faculty studying and researching PCR-related issues. Governor Azizi’s participation in this speaker series was an extraordinary opportunity for faculty and students to glean his first-hand experiences in leading reconstruction efforts in Laghman Province and to gain a deeper understanding of the local realities of putting reconstruction plans into practice.

## **3.0 PROJECT COMPONENTS**

### **3.1 Program Overview**

Accompanied by his U.S. State Department counterpart, Mr. Miguel Sapp, from October 30 through November 10, 2011, Governor Azizi participated in a number of speaking engagements and informative discussions with U.S. federal and local government professionals in Washington, D.C. and Syracuse, New York. While in Washington, D.C., Governor Azizi met with a number of key Congressional members on Capitol Hill including House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi and NY 25<sup>th</sup> District Rep. Anne Marie Buerkle. He also held meeting with the Mayor of the District of Columbia and officials from other key Executive agencies active in Afghanistan’s development and security, such as the U.S. Department of State, USAID, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

The program also included venturing to Syracuse to better understand how congressional, state, and local levels of government collectively represent their districts and attend to their constituents’ needs. Here Governor Azizi witnessed first-hand multiple layers of government at work, meeting again with local leadership of New York’s 25<sup>th</sup> Congressional District office, as well as the district offices of Senators Charles Schumer and Kirsten Gillibrand, the Onondaga County Executive, the Syracuse Mayor’s office, and the Syracuse Common Council.



# PROGRAM SCHEDULE

## **Monday, October 31 – Washington, D.C.**

- National Defense University, Near East South Asia Center for Security Studies
- Alex Their and Keetah Salazar-Thompson, Office of Afghanistan and Pakistan Affairs, USAID

## **Tuesday, November 1 – Washington, D.C.**

- Roundtable Discussion: S/SRAP Transition Team, U.S. State Department
- Roundtable Discussion: INL-Counternarcotics and Rule of Law, U.S. State Department
  - Congresswoman Ann Marie Buerkle, New York, 25<sup>th</sup> District

## **Wednesday, November 2 – Washington, D.C.**

- Mayor Vincent Gray, Washington, D.C.
- Jim Morris And Valerie Begley, Stability Operations Division, Foreign Service Institute
- Colloquium Speaker Series Event with Amb. John Jones, George Mason University

## **Thursday, November 3 – Washington, D.C.**

- Roundtable On U.S-Afghan Partnerships In Afghanistan, U.S. Institute Of Peace
  - House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi

## **Friday, November 4 – Syracuse, NY**

- Andrew Maxwell, Chief Of Staff, Syracuse Mayor's Office

## **Monday, November 7 – Syracuse, NY**

- Colleen Deacon, Regional Director, District Office Of Senator Kirsten Gillibrand
  - Nancy Lowery, Director, Office Of Congresswoman Ann Marie Buerkle
    - Onondaga County Executive, Joanie Mahoney
    - Syracuse Common Council Meeting
    - Common Council President Van Robinson
  - Angelo Roefaro, Regional Director, Office Of Senator Charles Schumer
    - Syracuse University Chancellor, Nancy Cantor

## **Tuesday, November 8 – Syracuse, NY**

- Syracuse University College of Law Dean, Hannah Arterian
- Roundtable Meeting With Maxwell School And Law Faculty (Invitation Only)
- Guest Lecture, Maxwell School Class, *Fundamentals Of Post-Conflict Reconstruction*

## **Wednesday, November 9 – Syracuse, NY**

- Professor Robert McClure, Maxwell School
  - Maxwell School Dean, James Steinberg
- Public Lecture: *U.S-Afghan partnerships in Afghanistan*
- Farewell Luncheon, Syracuse University College of Law

In Syracuse, Governor Azizi examined and discussed the responsibilities of state and local governments in administering public services, the different roles of federal and state governments, cooperation between public and private sectors, New York State planning boards and public decision-making processes, budgeting processes, and emergency response strategies and procedures.



Figure 5. Governor Azizi with Syracuse Common Council President Van Robinson

Governor Azizi's visit culminated with a number of meetings and speaking engagements at Syracuse University. He met with university leadership including Chancellor Nancy Cantor, Maxwell School Dean and Former Deputy Secretary of State James Steinberg, College of Law Dean Hannah Arterian, and multiple faculty members with research and teaching interests pertaining to Afghan security and development. Following these meetings, Governor Azizi participated in a graduate course at the Maxwell School, *Fundamentals of Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, a core requirement for students pursuing a Certificate of Advanced Study (CAS) in Post-Conflict Reconstruction. Here he had the unique opportunity to meet with three fellow Afghan students pursuing graduate degrees at the Maxwell School.





Figure 6. Governor Azizi with SU College of Law Dean Hannah Arterian



Figure 7. Governor Azizi with Maxwell School Dean James Steinberg and Miguel Sapp

Finally, Governor Azizi graciously delivered a public lecture to the Syracuse community on recent security, economic, agricultural and educational developments in Laghman province during his tenure. Upon completion of his visit, Governor Azizi was presented with an Honorary Certificate in Postconflict Reconstruction from Syracuse University's Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism as a reflection of his accomplishments at home and remarkably thoughtful and candid engagement with the faculty and students at Syracuse University.



Figure 8. Governor Azizi with Afghan Graduate Students at Syracuse University

## 3.2 Featured Events

### ***3.2.1 INSCT-USIP Roundtable: Transition and Reconstruction in Afghanistan, United States Institute of Peace, Washington, D.C.***

On November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2011, INSCT and the U.S. Institute of Peace co-hosted Governor Azizi for a roundtable discussion on the current transition underway in Laghman province and its immediate and long-term prospects. In this venue Governor Azizi highlighted the biggest achievement thus far as a “regained confidence” among the Afghan people regarding their general outlook toward the nation’s prospects and future governance. Governor Azizi also explained that despite three decades of armed conflict that impacted “every single family,” a now noticeably positive change is evident in how Afghans view their nation and their will to seize control of their future.

While Afghans today are as hopeful for peace and prosperity as ever, there remains, however, a disconnect between the, at times, unrealistic expectations for Afghanistan's rapid development, often on the part of the internal community, and given the realities of just how far the nation still has to go in rebuilding the rule of law and its civil society. Governor Azizi repeatedly stressed the need for patience and a realistic appraisal of development progress, noting that the international community needs to understand that "we [Afghans] didn't start from zero, we started from minus two."

Also, echoing his constituents' sentiments, he expressed great appreciation for the sacrifices made by the United States for his country and welcomed the pending reduction in ground forces. Still, concerns linger over losing international support as the memories of international abandonment following the Soviet withdrawal at the end of the Cold War remain fresh in the minds of his citizens.

### **3.2.2 Everett Postconflict Speaker Series: Evolving United States-Afghan Partnerships in Afghanistan, Maxwell School of Syracuse University**



**Figure 9. Gov. Azizi's lecture at the Maxwell School of Syracuse University**

On November 9<sup>th</sup>, 2011, Governor Azizi delivered an encouraging and insightful lecture on the current situation in Afghanistan, Laghman Province, and his thoughts on the current state and future of an U.S.-Afghan strategic partnership. On the current situation, Governor Azizi noted:

*"My colleagues, Afghanistan has changed in nine years...with great enthusiasm. Women are coming to social life and to politics. The Loya Jirga came and law was created. Constitutional processes came to be made. It was the first time that dreams were to be realized in Afghanistan...then seven million students come to the schools. The enthusiasm, the hunger for education exists in Afghanistan. You will not find this hunger, and this ambition and this enthusiasm for education in any other part of the world...Now there is an organized uniformed army and security forces. Infrastructure is developing. Agriculture is developing. The enemy*

*is becoming more and more marginalized and isolated. People are becoming more and more immune from the radicalization...Colleagues, trust me, the developments and achievements made in these nine years in Afghanistan, I call it a strategic development. Strategic means to me that in a very short period of time, the progress is more than the time and money spent here."*

Yet, Governor Azizi tempered these encouraging highlights by acknowledging that great challenges still lie ahead:

*"Yes, the brutal insurgency is still resistant. Challenges are still here for Afghanistan. The challenges here I found is that the perception about Afghanistan at this part of the world [the West] is too contradictory to the ground realities in Afghanistan. Our progress, our developments, our achievements and our accomplishments and are highly undermined. The second challenge in this part of the world is that expectations are high and patience is low..."*

In closing, Governor Azizi welcomed the ongoing transition to Afghan control in his province and throughout Afghanistan, but cautioned that a long-term partnership is still necessary to ensure the progress made thus far is not reversed. In addition to the ongoing security assistance partnership, Azizi noted a desire for developing a long-term economic partnership that will allow Afghanistan to develop and tap into its natural resources.

*"Afghanistan has very rich mining resources. Trillions of dollars [worth]. Gold is there, copper is there, uranium is there, plutonium is there and so many others...So we very much do not want to be beggars to always be dependent upon others – to be parasites. No colleagues, we want to be a partner, a colleague, and we know that the principles of partnership."*

Following his remarks, Governor Azizi was presented with an Honorary Certificate in Postconflict Reconstruction from the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism. A web link to view the full go minute podcast of Governor Azizi's lecture and discussion at the Maxwell School is can be found on the INSCT webpage at:

<http://insct.syr.edu/events/video/>.



**Figure 10. Governor Azizi Receives an Honorary Certificate in Postconflict Reconstruction**



## 4.0 PROJECT LEADERS AND PARTICIPANTS



Figure 11. Governor Azizi with INSCT Asst. Research Professor Corri Zoli and Research Fellow Nick Armstrong

### 4.1 Distinguished Visitors

#### **Mohammad Iqbal Azizi, Governor, Laghman Province, Afghanistan**

Azizi assumed the office of Governor of Laghman Province in March 2010, succeeding Lutfullah Mashal. In a short time, Azizi has won praise for sacking the notoriously corrupt Provincial Chief of Police General Abdul Karim Omaryar. Additionally, he has established a strong working relationship with the new Chief of Police, Ghulam Aziz Gharani as well as NDS chief Haidor Noor. Azizi seeks to establish an anti-corruption task force including representatives from the Governor's office, Provincial Council, Prosecutors Office, UNAMA, and the Coalition. Before taking office, Azizi served three years as Director of Education in Nangarhar Province, one of Afghanistan's largest and most developed. Earlier he served as Director of Education in Paktika and then in Wardak Province. Sadly, while in Paktika, his mother and brother were killed by a bomb intended for him. He earned a Master's degree in International Relations from the Karachi University in 2000 and a Bachelor's degree in Political Science from Baluchistan University. He is married with two children. His native language is Pashto, and he is proficient in English and Dari, and competent in Urdu.

**Miguel Sapp, Task Force Senior Civilian, U.S. Department of State, Afghanistan**

Mr. Sapp currently serves as the Task Force Senior Civilian for the 45<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigade in Qarghah'i, Afghanistan. Prior to this position he was the Provincial Reconstruction Team Civilian Lead in Mehtar Lam, Afghanistan. He serves as a Foreign Service Officer for the Department of State and is the Embassy's Senior Representative in Laghman Province. Prior to joining the Department of State, Sapp served for 28 years as a U.S. Army Officer, with two tours in Iraq, one in Haiti, and retired at the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. His numerous awards and decorations include the Bronze Star, Defense Meritorious Service Medal, Combat Action Badge and Parachutist Wings. In his first tour he was assigned as the Chief of Civil Military Operations for the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment in Tal' Afar, Iraq during 2005-2006, and was later assigned to the Multi-National Corps-Iraq in the C9 Civil-Military Section. As part of the surge in 2007 Sapp served as the Senior Rule of Law Advisor on Provincial Reconstruction Team Diyala. Sapp graduated from Syracuse University in 1982 with a bachelor's degree in Political Science and Speech Communications, in December 1988 earned a Juris Doctor from the Syracuse University College of Law, and in May of 1989 earned a Master's degree in Public Administration from the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. Sapp is an active member of the District of Columbia and Pennsylvania Bars and has served as an attorney for several federal agencies and state offices, focusing on civil rights, employment law, and criminal law.

## **4.2 Project Leaders**

**Nick Armstrong, Research Fellow, Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT); Ph.D. Candidate, Maxwell School of Syracuse University**

Nick Armstrong joined the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism at Syracuse University as a Research Fellow in 2008. His research lies in the areas of international security and public management with a focus on statebuilding, security sector reform, and complex peace and stability operations. Nick currently leads INSCT's program on Postconflict Reconstruction. In 2010, Armstrong was selected as a non-resident Fellow with the U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) at the U.S. Army War College. From 2000-2007, Armstrong was an active duty U.S. Army Officer, leaving the service at the rank of Captain. He has led units at the platoon and battery levels and held staff assignments at the infantry battalion and division levels, including service as Aide-de-Camp to the Deputy Commanding General, and subsequently, Speechwriter to the Commanding General, in the 10th Mountain Division. A combat veteran with service in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Bosnia, Armstrong's awards and decorations include the Bronze Star Medal (2), Army Commendation Medal (3), Combat Action Badge, Ranger Tab, and Parachutist and Air Assault badges. Armstrong is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point (BS, '00) and the Maxwell School of Syracuse University (MPA, '08). In addition to his full-time duties at INSCT, Nick is a Ph.D. Candidate in Social Science (International Security Studies) at the Maxwell School. His dissertation examines how partnerships in internationally-led security sector reform and security force assistance programs influence to processes of institutional transfer, including professional norms.



**William C. Banks, Director, Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT), Board of Advisors Distinguished Professor, College of Law and Maxwell School of Syracuse University**

Professor Banks is an internationally-recognized authority in national security law, counterterrorism, and constitutional law. Banks has helped set the parameters for the emerging field of national security law since 1987, co-authoring the two leading textbooks in the field: *National Security Law* and *Counterterrorism Law*. In 2008, Banks was named the College of Law Board of Advisors Distinguished Professor at Syracuse University, where he has been a member of the faculty for over 30 years. *National Security Law* was first published in 1990 and is now in its fourth edition. Banks and his co-authors published *Counterterrorism Law* in 2007 to help define the emerging field of counterterrorism law. Banks has been quoted extensively in the media, including in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Associated Press*, *TIME Magazine*, and on National Public Radio, as well as on camera with appearances on CNN, MSNBC, CBS, C-SPAN, and other networks. Banks has testified before Congress on several occasions, most recently on the subject of targeting suspected terrorists with unmanned aerial vehicles. A graduate of the University of Nebraska (B.A. 1971) and the University of Denver (J.D. 1974, M.S., Law & Society 1982), Banks joined the faculty of the Syracuse University College of Law in 1978. Since 1998, he also has been a Professor of Public Administration in SU's Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. He was named the Laura J. and L. Douglas Meredith Professor for Teaching Excellence in 1998, a College of Law Board of Advisors Professor in 2005, and he became the founding director of the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism at Syracuse University in 2003.

**Corri Zoli, Assistant Research Professor, Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT), College of Law and Maxwell School of Syracuse University**

Zoli is an Assistant Research Professor at the Syracuse University Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs and the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism. Zoli's research lies at the intersection of legal and security studies with focus areas in culture, norms, religion, and identity issues in international security, humanitarian law and asymmetric warfare, and technology. With her Ph.D. in cultural studies, her work adapts new critical methodologies—a concern for cultural interests (ethnicity, religion, ideology, norms, rhetoric, heritage, identity) in world affairs. Zoli co-directs the INSCT Projects on New Battlefields/Old Laws, Islam, International Law, and Postconflict Justice, and Rule of Law in Postconflict Environments. Zoli also has an area specialty in the Middle East and has completed all coursework for the Masters of International Relations and Certificate of Advanced Study in Security Studies from the Maxwell School at Syracuse University. Zoli is currently preparing a book on “strategic identity” in the context of the new war, how states and nonstate actors (often unwittingly) create political identities in implementing their security goals and grand strategies. This project looks at how the Arab *mujahedeen* in the aftermath of the Afghanistan-Soviet wars (1979-1989) became a transnational political identity that was both coherent enough for members to see themselves as brethren but flexible enough to take in recruits across diverse national cultures, tribes, and regions.

**Scott Worden, Senior Rule of Law Adviser, Rule of Law Center of Innovation, United States Institute of Peace (USIP)**

Worden joined USIP as an adviser in the Rule of Law Center of Innovation in 2007. In 2009 he took leave from the Institute to serve as one of the UN appointed international commissioners on the Afghanistan Electoral Complaints Commission for the Presidential and Provincial Council elections. Previously, he served as an adviser to the U.N. Assistance Mission in Afghanistan on human rights and elections issues, as well as to the Afghanistan Joint Election Management Body on the conduct of the 2005 Parliamentary elections. Before serving in Afghanistan, Worden worked with several Cambodian NGOs on legal reform projects, including advocating procedures for the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia to try former Khmer Rouge leaders. He also advised the Cambodian government on drafting its anti-corruption law. An attorney, Worden practiced law for three years with Coudert Brothers in New York, focusing on international litigation. He has received fellowships from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Luce Scholars Program to work in Cambodia. Worden has published several pieces on the transitional justice process in Cambodia and Afghanistan. Worden earned his B.A. from Colgate University and his J.D. from Harvard Law School.

## 5.0 APPENDICES

- 5.1 Poster for Everett Postconflict Reconstruction Speaker Series: Azizi Lecture, Syracuse University, 9 November, 2011, Eggers Hall
- 5.2 Roundtable Discussion: *Transition and Reconstruction in Afghanistan: Evolving US-Afghan Partnerships*, Governor Mohammad Iqbal Azizi, Laghman Province, Afghanistan; Mr. Miguel Sapp, U.S. Department of State, November 3, 2011, USIP, Washington, DC
- 5.3 Biographies for the Roundtable Discussion: Transition and Reconstruction in Afghanistan: Evolving, US-Afghan Partnerships, November 3, 2011, USIP, Washington, DC
- 5.4 Afghanistan: Progress in Peacebuilding, USIP Report, Feb 2011
- 5.5 Précis: Postconflict Justice and Islam, Corri Zoli, Assistant Research Professor, INSCT
- 5.6 INSCT Postconflict Reconstruction Program Overview and Recent Highlights, Summer 2011, Nicholas J. Armstrong, Research Fellow, INSCT



# TRANSITION & RECONSTRUCTION

## Evolving US-Afghan Partnerships

### Mohammad Iqbal Azizi

Afghan Governor, Laghman Province

### Mr. Miguel Sapp, SU Law '88, MPA '89

Director, Laghman Provincial Reconstruction Team, U.S. Department of State

We welcome Afghan Governor Iqbal Azizi of Laghman Province and Mr. Miguel Sapp, Director of the Laghman Provincial Reconstruction Team for a discussion on the evolving nature of U.S and Afghan partnerships. This event is just one part of a two-week program supported and tailored by the U.S. Embassy in Kabul and INSCT to expose Governor Azizi to the U.S. and to provide him with tangible examples of how democratic governance operates in the U.S. on federal, state and local levels.

In addition to this event, Governor Azizi will participate in a number of speaking engagements and informative discussions with elected officials in Washington, D.C. and at their district offices in Syracuse, NY in order to discuss the responsibilities of state and local

governments in administering public services, the different roles of federal and state governments, cooperation between public and private sectors, public decision-making processes, budgeting processes, and emergency response strategies and procedures.

**INSCT**  
INSTITUTE FOR  
NATIONAL  
SECURITY AND  
COUNTERTERRORISM  
SYRACUSE  
UNIVERSITY

### Date

Wednesday  
November 9

### Time

12:00pm-1.30pm

### Where

Eggers Hall  
Room 060  
Global Collaboratory

Part of the  
Everett Postconflict  
Reconstruction  
Speaker Series

*Due to high anticipated  
attendance, this event will  
also be broadcasted in  
Eggers Commons.*



## Roundtable Discussion: **Transition and Reconstruction in Afghanistan: Evolving US-Afghan Partnerships**

### Program Background

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Generously supported by a Department of State grant through the U.S. Embassy-Kabul, this roundtable discussion is just one part of a two-week program tailored to expose Governor Azizi to the U.S. and to provide him with tangible examples of how democratic governance operates on federal, state and local levels. The primary goal is that he may return to Afghanistan with lessons to apply in leading the ongoing capacity-building efforts in his province. A secondary goal of this program is for him to share his perspectives and experiences with U.S. policymakers, experts and Syracuse University students and faculty.

During his two weeks in the U.S., Governor Azizi will participate in a number of speaking engagements and informative discussions with U.S. federal and local government professionals in Washington, D.C., and Syracuse, New York. While in Washington, D.C., Governor Azizi will participate in meetings on Capitol Hill, with U.S. Congressional entities and key Executive agencies, particularly those active in Afghanistan's development and security, such as the Department of State, USAID, and USDA. The proposed program also includes meetings with several members of Congress in Washington, D.C. and then venturing to a home district to better understand how they 1) represent their districts nationally, and 2) attend to constituent needs. In this context, Governor Azizi will examine and discuss the responsibilities of state and local governments in administering public services, the different roles of federal and state governments, cooperation between public and private sectors, NY State planning boards and public decision-making processes, budgeting processes, and emergency response strategies and procedures.

### Key Project Leaders

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#### **William C. Banks**

Director, Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT)  
Board of Advisors Distinguished Professor  
College of Law and Maxwell School of Citizenship & Public Affairs  
Syracuse University

#### **Corri Zoli**

Assistant Research Professor  
Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT)  
College of Law and Maxwell School of Citizenship & Public Affairs  
Syracuse University

#### **Scott Worden**

Senior Rule of Law Advisor  
Rule of Law Center of Innovation  
United States Institute of Peace

#### **Nick Armstrong**

Research Fellow  
Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT)  
College of Law and Maxwell School of Citizenship & Public Affairs  
Syracuse University

#### **Miguel Sapp**

Director  
Laghman Provincial Reconstruction Team  
United States Department of State



## Biographies for the Roundtable Discussion: **Transition and Reconstruction in Afghanistan: Evolving US-Afghan Partnerships** November 3, 2011, USIP, Washington, DC

### Discussants

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#### **Mohammad Iqbal Azizi, Governor, Laghman Province, Afghanistan**

Azizi assumed the office of Governor of Laghman Province in March 2010, succeeding Lutfullah Mashal. In a short time, Azizi has won praise for sacking the notoriously corrupt Provincial Chief of Police General Abdul Karim Omaryar. Additionally, he has established a strong working relationship with the new Chief of Police, Ghulam Aziz Gharani as well as NDS chief Haidor Noor. Azizi seeks to establish an anti-corruption task force including representatives from the Governor's office, Provincial Council, Prosecutors Office, UNAMA, and the Coalition. Before taking office, Azizi served three years as Director of Education in Nangarhar Province, one of Afghanistan's largest and most developed. Earlier he served as Director of Education in Paktika and then in Wardak Province. Sadly, while in Paktika, his mother and brother were killed by a bomb intended for him. He earned a Master's degree in International Relations from the Karachi University in 2000 and a Bachelor's degree in Political Science from Baluchistan University. He is married with two children. His native language is Pashto, and he is proficient in English and Dari, and competent in Urdu.

#### **William C. Banks, Director, Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT), Board of Advisors Distinguished Professor, College of Law and Maxwell School of Citizenship & Public Affairs, Syracuse University**

Professor Banks is an internationally-recognized authority in national security law, counterterrorism, and constitutional law. Banks has helped set the parameters for the emerging field of national security law since 1987, co-authoring the two leading textbooks in the field: *National Security Law* and *Counterterrorism Law*. In 2008, Banks was named the College of Law Board of Advisors Distinguished Professor at Syracuse University, where he has been a member of the faculty for over 30 years. *National Security Law* was first published in 1990 and is now in its fourth edition. Banks and his co-authors published *Counterterrorism Law* in 2007 to help define the emerging field of counterterrorism law. Banks has been quoted extensively in the media, including in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Associated Press*, *TIME Magazine*, and on National Public Radio, as well as on camera with appearances on CNN, MSNBC, CBS, C-SPAN, and other networks. Banks has testified before Congress on several occasions, most recently on the subject of targeting suspected terrorists with unmanned aerial vehicles. A graduate of the University of Nebraska (B.A. 1971) and the University of Denver (J.D. 1974, M.S., Law & Society 1982), Banks joined the faculty of the Syracuse University College of Law in 1978. Since 1998, he also has been a Professor of Public Administration in SU's Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. He was named the Laura J. and L. Douglas Meredith Professor for Teaching Excellence in 1998, a College of Law Board of Advisors Professor in 2005, and he became the founding director of the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism at Syracuse University in 2003.

#### **Miguel Sapp, Director, Laghman Provincial Reconstruction Team**

Sapp is currently serving as the Task Force Senior Civilian for the 45<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigade in Qarghah'i, Afghanistan. Prior to this position he was the Provincial Reconstruction Team Civilian Lead in Mehtar Lam, Afghanistan. He serves as a Foreign Service Officer for the Department of State and is the Embassy's Senior Representative in Laghman Province. Prior to joining the Department of State, Sapp served as a U.S. Army Officer, with two tours in Iraq, one in Haiti, and retired at the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. In his first tour he was assigned as the Chief of Civil Military Operations for the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment in Tal' Afar, Iraq during 2005-2006, and was later assigned to the Multi-National Corps-Iraq in the C9 Civil-Military Section. As part of the surge in 2007 Sapp served as the Senior Rule of Law Advisor on Provincial Reconstruction Team Diyala. In recognition of his 28 years of active and reserve military service, Sapp received the Bronze Star, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal, the Army Commendation Medal with silver oak leaf, the Army Reserve Component Achievement Medal with silver oak leaf, National Defense Service Medal with a bronze star device, the Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal, the Iraq Campaign Medal with two campaign stars, the Korea Defense Service Medal, the Humanitarian Service Medal with bronze star device, the Armed Forces Reserve Medal with silver hourglass M device with 3 numeral, the Joint Meritorious Unit Award with four oak leaves, and the Army Valorous Unit Award, the Combat Action Badge, and Basic Parachutist Wings. Sapp was graduated from Syracuse University in 1982 with a bachelor's degree in Political Science and Speech Communications, in December 1988 earned a Juris Doctor from the Syracuse University College of Law, and in May of 1989 earned a Master's degree in Public Administration from the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. Sapp is an active member of the District of Columbia and Pennsylvania Bars and has served as an attorney for several federal agencies and state offices, focusing on civil rights, employment law, and criminal law.



**Scott Worden, Senior Rule of Law Adviser, Rule of Law Center of Innovation, United States Institute of Peace (USIP)**

Worden joined USIP as an adviser in the Rule of Law Center of Innovation in 2007. In 2009 he took leave from the Institute to serve as one of the UN appointed international commissioners on the Afghanistan Electoral Complaints Commission for the Presidential and Provincial Council elections. Previously, he served as an adviser to the U.N. Assistance Mission in Afghanistan on human rights and elections issues, as well as to the Afghanistan Joint Election Management Body on the conduct of the 2005 Parliamentary elections. Before serving in Afghanistan, Worden worked with several Cambodian NGOs on legal reform projects, including advocating procedures for the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia to try former Khmer Rouge leaders. He also advised the Cambodian government on drafting its anti-corruption law. An attorney, Worden practiced law for three years with Coudert Brothers in New York, focusing on international litigation. He has received fellowships from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Luce Scholars Program to work in Cambodia. Worden has published several pieces on the transitional justice process in Cambodia and Afghanistan. Worden earned his B.A. from Colgate University and his J.D. from Harvard Law School.

**Nick Armstrong, Research Fellow, Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT), College of Law and Maxwell School of Citizenship & Public Affairs, Syracuse University**

As a Research Fellow at INSCT since 2008, Armstrong's research areas include international security and public management with a focus on postconflict statebuilding, security sector reform, and U.S. defense policy. Nick currently leads INSCT's program on Postconflict Reconstruction, which includes a new graduate Certificate of Advanced Study program, an ongoing Speaker Series, and a number of postconflict-related research initiatives. In 2010, Armstrong was selected as a non-resident Fellow with the U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute at the U.S. Army War College. Before joining INSCT, Armstrong was an active duty U.S. Army officer. Over seven years, he held several leadership and staff positions that included combat duty in Afghanistan and Iraq and peacekeeping duty in Bosnia. He also served as Aide-de-Camp to the Deputy Commanding General and Speechwriter to the Commanding General in the 10th Mountain Division and earned U.S. Army Ranger, Airborne, and Air Assault qualifications during his service. Armstrong is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point (B.S.) and the Maxwell School of Syracuse University (M.P.A.). In addition to his duties at INSCT, Nick is concurrently pursuing a Ph.D. in Social Science (Security Studies) at the Maxwell School. His dissertation examines processes of institutional transfer in U.S. security force assistance 'partnerships'.

**Corri Zoli (Moderator), Assistant Research Professor, Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT), College of Law and Maxwell School of Citizenship & Public Affairs, Syracuse University**

Zoli is an Assistant Research Professor at the Syracuse University Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs and the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism, an advanced research center jointly supported by the Maxwell School and the Syracuse University College of Law. Zoli's research lies at the intersection of legal and security studies with focus areas in culture, norms, religion, and identity issues in international security, humanitarian law and asymmetric warfare, and technology. With her Ph.D. in cultural studies, her work adapts new critical methodologies—a concern for cultural interests (ethnicity, religion, ideology, norms, rhetoric, heritage, identity) in world affairs, for instance—to traditional security topics, whether grand strategy, understanding patterns of global conflict, or transnational security issues. Zoli co-directs the INSCT Projects on New Battlefields/Old Laws, Islam, International Law, and Postconflict Justice, and Rule of Law in Postconflict Environments. Zoli also has an area specialty in the Middle East and has completed all coursework for the Masters of International Relations and Certificate of Advanced Study in Security Studies from the Maxwell School at Syracuse University. Zoli is currently preparing a book on “strategic identity” in the context of the new war, how states and nonstate actors (often unwittingly) create political identities in implementing their security goals and grand strategies. This project looks at how the Arab *mujahedeen* in the aftermath of the Afghanistan-Soviet wars (1979-1989) became a transnational political identity that was both coherent enough for members to see themselves as brethren but flexible enough to take in recruits across diverse national cultures, tribes, and regions.

## AFGHANISTAN

### The Current Situation

Nine years since the international intervention, Afghanistan faces considerable obstacles to stability. 2010 marked the deadliest year on record for Afghans and international forces, with more casualties in the first nine months of that year than in the entirety of 2009. The year 2010 also saw declining confidence in the ability of President Hamid Karzai, who was inaugurated for his second term on November 19, 2009, after a highly contested election, to combat corruption and strengthen state security and governance institutions. In the months following his reelection, President Karzai presided over both Afghanistan's first National Peace Jirga, aimed at creating a stable future for Afghanistan by calling for reconciliation with insurgents, and the July Kabul Conference, which brought together the Afghan government, the United Nations, and international partners to outline necessary improvements to development and security initiatives. In addition to these initiatives to move Afghanistan closer to a political solution following three decades of conflict, a 70-member High Peace Council was announced in September 2010 to oversee the reconciliation and reintegration process.

On December 1, 2009, calling our engagement in Afghanistan a "vital national interest," President Barack Obama announced that the U.S. would commit an additional 30,000 troops to the U.S. and allied troops already in theater. The ways in which the U.S. will provide resources towards building effective Afghan security forces and strengthening governance, capacity-building, and agriculture and infrastructure projects may shift in anticipation of the conditions-based troop withdrawals expected to begin in July 2011. Within the context of anticipated troop reductions, the U.S. continues to support Afghan led efforts to achieve political reconciliation and reintegration. The September 2010 parliamentary elections subsequently took on significant importance as a benchmark of Afghanistan's ability to sustain a stable democracy. The elections were carried out despite high security threats, though turnout was low due to voter intimidation, and the number of fraud complaints significantly delayed election results. These complaints fueled the January 2011 political crisis surrounding the seating of the new Parliament, wherein President Karzai called for a delay in seating the newly elected members due to ongoing complaints from losing candidates. The refusal of the new Parliamentarians to accept this delay created optimism that improvements to governance structures may come in 2011.

### Going Forward

To ensure long-term peace and stability in Afghanistan, sustained action in several key areas must be taken. Security concerns need to be addressed as reconstruction efforts cannot be successful under deteriorating security conditions. Good governance and the rule of law must be strengthened as Afghanistan cannot move forward without efficient and effective state institutions and judicial system. Investments in public education and civil society initiatives should include programs that develop indigenous capacities for dispute resolution and peacebuilding. Public awareness of and dialogue about the challenges facing Afghan society are equally important among the international community

of experts and policymakers. USIP is actively addressing these issues through four interrelated goals: strengthening peaceful reconciliation and capacity to mitigate conflict; enhancing the rule of law; improving cooperation for peace, security, and economic development; and increasing understanding and effectiveness of operations in Afghanistan. Above all, a political solution must be found to end the insurgency and provide a more stable foundation on which to build the institutions of the state.

## Strengthening Peaceful Reconciliation and Capacity to Mitigate Conflict

### Afghanistan Reconciliation Support Program

The Afghan government and international community have increasingly accepted the central place of reconciliation within the larger process of political resolution to the conflict in Afghanistan. Afghans cannot live peacefully without sufficient support for this vital process. USIP is conducting a special assessment led by reconciliation experts with knowledge and experience of Afghanistan's history and culture to identify key regions in the country that could be "ripe" for targeted dialogue and reconciliation efforts. This assessment includes discussions with both national government and local stakeholders.

### Network of Afghan Facilitators

In Afghan provinces suffering from poverty, low literacy rates, widespread corruption, and broad cultural divides, USIP's Network of Afghan Facilitators is working to prevent and reduce violence and mediate tribal and community-level conflicts that, if allowed to fester, can become ripe for exploitation by the Taliban, warlords, and other anti-governmental forces. Formed and trained by the Institute's Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding, these Afghan nationals have also resolved family-level disputes involving gender-based violence, helped set up and been involved in active community organizations, such as the Khost Conflict Resolution Commission, and facilitated dialogue for efforts such as USIP's Cross-Border Dialogue Initiative and Afghanistan's National Consultative Peace Jirga.

### Micro-Grants to the Network of Afghan Facilitators

Replicating the highly successful micro-grant program that USIP continues to operate in Iraq, the Institute's Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding provides Micro-Grant funding to members of our Network of Afghan Facilitators for local training, dialogue, conflict resolution, and problem-solving efforts in Afghanistan. Micro-Grants are highly cost-effective—for less than the price of one program using international facilitators, dozens of programs using local Afghan facilitators can be funded, supervised, and monitored. In this way, the initiative strengthens local capacity by helping local actors solve local problems.

### Mediation and Peacebuilding Training for Afghan Religious Leaders

In recognition of the critical role spiritual leaders play in the peacebuilding process, USIP convened fifty Afghan *ulama* and religious scholars for two workshops on conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Religious leaders were taught peacemaking practices, mediation skills, approaches for using Islamic principles of nonviolence, and ways of helping communities confront histories of violence. An international summit on reconciliation focused on peacebuilding in the Islamic context and the responsibilities of mullahs in the twenty-first century was held in Kabul in the summer of 2010. The summit brought together religious scholars from Afghanistan, Egypt, Jordan, and Pakistan.

### Dispute Resolution Program

USIP experts in the Kabul Office are convening and facilitating dispute resolution jirgas on an ongoing basis to address local conflicts in the Afghan provinces of Kunar, Nangarhar, and Kunduz. Project implementers meet with key stakeholders to identify local elders and Islamic legal scholars, or *ulema*, who can resolve local community level disputes. The identified key stakeholders are provided with capacity building training, facilitation training, and other

expertise. These key elders and ulema are documenting the dispute resolution process in collaboration with local offices of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. As of November, 105 disputes were resolved through the direct involvement or facilitation efforts of Commission members. By informing the public about the results of the dispute resolution *jirgas*, USIP hopes to provide lessons learned for resolving disputes in other Afghan provinces and around the world.

## Enhancing the Rule of Law

### Enhancing Capabilities for Transitional Justice in Afghanistan

USIP is undertaking a series of interrelated initiatives to promote justice and accountability for serious abuses that have occurred during the decades of conflict in Afghanistan. These include developing a comprehensive documentation database framework to organize information on past crimes and human rights violations; supporting electoral and administrative vetting processes; and sponsoring a dialogue among Islamic and legal scholars to address the compatibility of Islamic and Western approaches to postconflict justice. USIP will also contribute to the planned reconciliation process with advice on how justice and accountability issues have been addressed in other peace negotiations and how these examples might be applied to the Afghan context.

### Relations Between Formal and Informal Justice Systems

At present, approximately 80 percent of all legal criminal and civil cases in Afghanistan, are resolved outside the formal legal system in community forums, known as *shuras* or *jirgas*. Such forums are generally deemed more accessible, cheaper, less corrupt, and more legitimate than the formal courts. Yet these informal mechanisms can also fail to protect basic rights. As a result, the formal system has an important role to play going forward. USIP has been working since 2003 to establish positive relations between the two systems. USIP is working with the Ministry of Justice and other institutions to create a draft national policy on relations between the formal and informal justice systems. In collaboration with two implementing partners, USIP has also launched pilot projects in four districts of Afghanistan with a focus on establishing concrete relationships between the formal and informal systems. The program will help develop models for collaboration between the two systems to improve the delivery of justice, resolve disputes, and protect basic rights.

### Constitutional Interpretation and Implementation

Afghanistan's success as a stable democratic state depends on the ability of legitimate Afghan authorities to establish and adhere to the rule of law in accordance with its constitution. A new constitution was ratified in 2004, yet fundamental problems concerning its interpretation and implementation remain. USIP is now establishing a new Center on Constitutional Law at Kabul University and aims to provide technical support to the Supreme Court, the Commission for the Supervision of the Implementation of the Constitution, as well as other independent bodies, including the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). USIP is also providing advice to the newly formed Commission on Constitutional Implementation on ways that it may effectively fulfill its mandate.

### International Network to Promote the Rule of Law in Afghanistan

It is essential that rule of law professionals working in Afghanistan are linked to each other and to outside resources that can help provide lessons learned and other information that will respond to the difficult challenges they face. USIP supports the rule of law community in Afghanistan through its International Network to Promote the Rule of Law (INPROL). Specifically, INPROL maintains a clearinghouse of documents related to rule of law challenges in Afghanistan that serves as a read-ahead and an ongoing resource to deploying practitioners. It is also a means of creating virtual handovers in a high-turnover environment. It also allows for members to post rule of law queries online, accessing a pool of 1,500 fellow members from around the world as well as an expert facilitator and research team.

## Priority Grant Competition: Rule of Law

USIP invests in civil society through grants that promote efforts to protect rights, educate the public, and create access to justice. USIP is currently working on a project with the Killid Group to empower the nascent Afghan media to inform the public on human rights abuses, transitional justice, and ending impunity. USIP is also working with the Afghanistan Justice Project (AJP), an organization that holds some of the most extensive documentation of past war crimes in the country. This project aims to update the holdings of the AJP database and to make material from the database and ongoing research available to transitional justice initiatives. In addition, the USIP Grants Program is also working with the Organization of Human Resource Development (OHRD) to strengthen traditional nonviolent dispute resolution mechanisms, enhance the capacity of local community institutions to better understand conflict and its causes, and have increased trust in their ability to deal with conflict. The grant competition has an open deadline and innovative projects are always encouraged.

## Improving Cooperation for Peace, Security, and Economic Development

### Peacebuilding Across Borders: Cross-Border Dialogue Initiative

In partnership with Afghan and Pakistani civil society organizations, USIP's Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding has initiated a series of dialogues among key actors, including traditional leaders, religious leaders, civil society organizations, local government, and businesspeople from both sides of the Afghanistan-Pakistan border to generate confidence building and a common agenda for peacebuilding, development, and security. The dialogue participants have received training in facilitation, negotiation, and advocacy from USIP experts. The initiative culminated in two conferences, one in Islamabad and one in Kabul, at which the dialogue participants and relevant government officials came together to discuss the recommendations developed through the dialogues.

### Leveraging Mobile Phones for Peacebuilding in Afghanistan

A decade ago, mobile phone usage in Afghanistan was almost nonexistent; today there are thirteen million mobile subscribers for a total of twenty nine million citizens. The annual growth rate of subscription is estimated at 53 percent. Expert research and analysis of these trends has been limited, though it is undeniable that the proliferation of instant communication in Afghanistan has opened up new avenues for social change in support of peacebuilding. To explore these trends and opportunities, the Center of Innovation for Science, Technology and Peacebuilding cohosted the event "Can You Help Me Now?: Mobile Phones and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan" with cell phone pioneer Mobile Accord, the National Defense University, the UN-mandated University for Peace, and TechChange. The June 24, 2010, event brought together a cross-section of the leading innovators in the use of mobile phones in difficult environments as well as Afghanistan specialists and government policymakers. The meeting highlighted the potential use of mobile phones in improving governance, countering extremism, and providing essential services. A report providing additional research and analysis on the key points of the discussion was published by USIP in October 2010.

### Responsible Resource Management in Afghanistan's Mining Sector

Afghanistan's mining sector could play a key role in promoting peace and broad-based prosperity if its resources are managed prudently and its accrued revenues used to benefit all citizens. This entails the development of effective monitoring mechanisms, strident anticorruption initiatives, and a commitment to investing in human capacity and infrastructure. USIP's Center for Sustainable Economies focuses on the development of conflict-sensitive approaches to mitigate corruption at all levels of Afghanistan's society, facilitate the development of community-based monitoring mechanisms in Afghanistan's mining sector, and evaluate potential impacts of corporate activity in mining communities.

## Increasing Understanding and Effectiveness of Operations in Afghanistan

### Support to Peacebuilding in Higher Education

The Institute in partnership with Kabul University and the Center for Policy and Human Development (CPHD) in Kabul, helped create Afghanistan's first international peer-reviewed academic research journal, published in Dari, Pashto, and English. After the success of a 2008 "Teaching Peacebuilding" workshop in Kabul for university teachers from all over Afghanistan, USIP is sponsoring a series of similar workshops in the provinces. These workshops are being carried out with our partner, Cooperation for Peace and Unity (CPAU), a prominent think-tank widely recognized as Afghanistan's leading research institution in the area of conflict resolution. USIP has also sponsored a Peace Fellow at UPEACE Costa Rica in a master's program for the academic year 2009–2010 who has returned to Afghanistan to work on peace studies and human development. Finally, USIP is sponsoring the identification and translation of key materials used for teaching peacebuilding and human development by our partners at the University of Kabul.

### Priority Grant Competition: Civil Society Capacity Building for Dialogue and Conflict Resolution

Through its Priority Grant Competition, USIP is helping strengthen the capacity of local communities to analyze and resolve conflicts through peaceful means, integrating best practices in negotiation and mediation with traditional means of conflict resolution. USIP is working on a project with the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPCS) to develop professional foundations for twelve Afghan peace practitioners to conduct and utilize research for peace practice in the Afghan context. USIP is also working with Women & Youth for Peace & Development Organization (WAYPADO) to enhance trust among youth and encourage them to take part in peacebuilding and networking for peace.

### Afghan Fellowship

USIP Fellowships support the work of outstanding scholars, policymakers, journalists, and practitioners. The Jennings Randolph Senior Fellowship Program recruits high quality candidates for fellowships through an extensive process of consultation with the USIP Afghanistan working group, the Afghanistan team lead, and others. Past and current fellows include Mr. Mohammad Masoom Stanekzai, adviser to Afghan President Hamid Karzai, and Ms. Palwasha Hassan, Country Director for Rights & Democracy in Afghanistan.

### Afghanistan, Pakistan, and their Neighbors

Afghanistan's future is tied closely to the future of the broader region and a secure and functioning Pakistan has lasting implications for regional stability. This initiative, in conjunction with the World Bank and New York University's Center on International Cooperation, will entail an examination of the relationship between Afghanistan, Pakistan, and neighboring states, as well as the influence of U.S. policy in regional dynamics. The Institute will commission a series of essays from some of the world's top regional experts, and an edited volume and a series of special reports will be published.



**United States  
Institute of Peace**

1200 17th Street NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
202.457.1700

[www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org)

USIP provides the analysis, training and tools that prevent and end conflicts, promotes stability and professionalizes the field of peacebuilding.

For media inquiries, contact the office of Public Affairs and Communications, [info@usip.org](mailto:info@usip.org) or 202.429.4725





## Post-Conflict Justice and Islam

By Corri Zoli

Indeed, at present, the ‘humanitarian law’ associated with post-conflict justice has come to represent the normative threshold associated with global rule of law.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.0 Overview: Islamic Law, International Law, and Transitioning Societies

Global conflict paradigms have irretrievably changed in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in ways that impact significantly the nature of conflict, peace, and stability.<sup>2</sup> New actors now operate by different rules that make civilians, societies, and states vulnerable in unprecedented ways. Current conflicts are destabilizing—locally, regionally, and internationally—in ways still not well understood, and with important consequences for international security. New interdisciplinary and multi-sector approaches to conflict are thus urgent today, such as integrating civilian and military efforts, prioritizing post-war outcomes in planning (including stabilization in the security realm), improving reconstruction in political and institution building, and advancing peace, reconciliation, and legal reforms.<sup>3</sup> Yet, while “post-conflict reconstruction” approaches to global conflict have now been embraced by government and military leaders, international organizations, and the human rights and development communities, they have only recently become the subject of rigorous academic study—including the efforts of this Institute.<sup>4</sup>

Post-conflict justice, also known as transitional justice, refers to legal and policy reform, institution building, and reconciliation responses during and following armed conflict and political regime change.<sup>5</sup> This project examines post-conflict justice in Muslim-majority nations, where Islamic norms

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<sup>1</sup> Ruti Teitel, Review: *Post-conflict Justice*, ed., M. Cherif Bassiouni (Ardsey NY: Transnational Publishers, 2002), *The American Journal of International Law* 98(4), Oct., 2004: 872-875, 872.

<sup>2</sup> Lotta Harbom and Peter Wallensteen (2010), “Patterns of Major Armed Conflict, 2000-2009,” *Sipri Yearbook 2010* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

<sup>3</sup> See Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World* (Oxford University Press, 2008); Richard Caplan, *International Governance of War-Torn-Territories: Rule and Reconstruction* (Oxford University Press, 2005); Carsten Stahn, *The Law and Practice of International Territorial Administration* (Cambridge University Press, 2008); Jane E. Stromseth, David Wippman and Rosa Brook, *Can Might Make Rights? Building the Rule of Law after Military Interventions* (Cambridge University Press, 2006)

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas J. Armstrong and Jacki Chura-Beaver, “Harnessing Post-conflict Transitions: A Conceptual Primer,” *PKSOI Paper*, Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI), <http://www.insct.syr.edu/Projects/PCR/Post-conflict%20Reconstruction.htm>. For empirical assessments of transitional justice mechanisms and programs, see Hugo van der Merwe, Victoria Baxter, and Audrey R. Chapman (2009), *Assessing the Impact of Transitional Justice: Challenges for Empirical Research*, (Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC).

<sup>5</sup> M. Cherif Bassiouni, ed. (2002), *Post-Conflict Justice, International and Comparative Criminal Law Series* (Ardsey, N.Y.: Transnational Publishers). Van der Merwe et al., (2009) define “transitional justice” as the “societal responses to severe repression, societal violence, and systematic human rights violations that seek to establish the truth about the past, determine accountability, and offer some form of redress, at least of a symbolic nature.” They include initiatives to “overcome” or “manage” conflicts “among contending groups,” as well as “rebuild[ing] the institutional and social infrastructure,” and “promoting] a sense of shared commitment to the new political system.” Such societies are also often “moving away from repressive political systems and dictatorial rule” toward “establishing more democratic forms of governance” (1-2).

complement and compete with international law, local cultural norms and de facto regimes, and where gaps and vacuums in legal authority have occurred. Globally, international humanitarian law and human rights law offer the fundamental norms and guidelines for designing and implementing policies that address past atrocities and ensure fundamental standards of accountability and equity before the law. The law plays an often underappreciated role in post-conflict reconstruction efforts to help challenged societies transition to functional states. Law can provide a sound basis for security and government and it may ensure transparent and equitable processes for remedying grievances and past injustices.

Developing post-conflict justice norms in international humanitarian and human rights law are particularly urgent in Muslim communities for several reasons. Many of the world's present international conflicts and areas of civil unrest are in Muslim majority countries (more than half of the International Committee of the Red Cross's (ICRC) current operations are carried out for conflict victims in the Muslim world—whether prisoners, displaced persons, families of detainees, or other persons requiring aid).<sup>6</sup> Humanitarian, human rights, and post-conflict law are critical instruments for identifying uniform standards for governments and parties to the conflict, for settling disputes, and for undertaking reconstruction efforts. Moreover, Islamic law – and its emphasis on justice – is a cornerstone of Muslim identity and, thus, offers a powerful platform and opportunity for innovating post-conflict justice approaches, particularly in areas of the world where they are most needed.

The purpose of this project—and its first scholar-practitioner workshop in Washington, DC—is to bring a diverse body of participants together to identify through engaged discussion post-conflict justice approaches best suited for Islamic legal contexts and Muslim-majority conflict and post-conflict states. In Afghanistan and Iraq the need for such work has been well demonstrated, particularly by practitioners, given the complexities of invasion, occupation, constitutional, and rule of law challenges.<sup>7</sup> In Afghanistan in particular, accountability for past crimes has been a key demand of the conflict's many victims, and the failure of any comprehensive justice process for past or present violations is a key factor fueling the existing insurgency. Whether in Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan, Lebanon, or Somalia, the challenges to dealing with mass political violence and human rights abuse in a Muslim context remains a dilemma that must be addressed to promote stability in areas where respect for Shari'a is the sine qua non of local legitimacy.

A focus on Islamic approaches to post-conflict justice is an unexplored subset of the larger discussion and analysis that has focused on the role of Islam in the legal, social, and political fabrics of Muslim majority states in the Middle East, East Africa, and Central Asia. In those societies, controversies persist over the substance and interpretation of *shari'a*, its legal status, scope and territory of authority, its tension with international legal norms and obligations, the increasing centralized control of *shari'a* by the state, and the fraught status of diverse communities. Those communities that disavow dominant interpretations of *shari'a*, find themselves excluded from a government's "moral community," or are bound to a religious legal system under which they have no role as participants.<sup>8</sup> Such issues may become barriers to transitioning from conflict-ridden states to stable regimes and societies. Moreover, analysts have begun to link problems of Islamic legal pluralism or the use of *shari'a* norms as political rather than religious measures to heightened political and social factionalism and even broad-based violence and extremism.

What has yet to be addressed, however, is what Islamic legal principles may offer to aid transitional justice approaches in conflict or post-conflict settings, particularly for communities with either strong or longstanding Islamic norms in their legal systems -- especially for governments facing

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<sup>6</sup> International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), *Debate on humanitarian law, policy and action: protection of victims of armed conflict under Islamic law and international humanitarian law* (29 Jun 2006), <http://www.icrc.org/web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/htmlall/islamic-law-ihl-feature-010606?opendocument>

<sup>7</sup> Baderin, Mashood A. (2009) '9/11, The US-Led War on Iraq and the Future of Collective Security Law: With an Insight from Islamic Law.' In: Morgan, M J, (ed.), *The Impact of 9/11: The Day that Changed Everything?* Palgrave Macmillan. See programmatic work at the International Human Rights Law Institute (IHRLI) at DePaul University College of Law

<sup>8</sup> See Christopher Ford, "Siyar-ization and its Discontents: International Law and Islam's Constitutional Crisis," *International Law and Islamic Law*, ed., Mashood Baderin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008): 19-54;

intertwined legal, security, and political challenges. Critical ancillary questions include how to incorporate bottom-up approaches to transitional justice that have cultural, historical, and political relevance to local populations, with top down approaches focused on imported legal and procedural norms that lack local ‘context’. Likewise, if human rights law in particular is moving towards uniform standards, are these standards compatible with Islamic law?

Addressing these questions in this project will involve working through several analytical issues:

- Developing an integrated approach to post-conflict justice measures, such as special tribunals or truth commissions
- Comparing those mechanisms to other PCR solutions, including better integration of civil-military relations and political power-sharing mechanisms.
- Articulating why the law, including Islamic law, is pivotal to states transitioning from war to peace and understanding the situation-specific interdependence of transnational justice programs, domestic legal reform, and security infrastructure.
- Moving beyond anecdotal literature toward empirical models for evaluating post-conflict legal reform efforts by identifying the core questions to ask and the factors affecting outcomes, as recent work has done at the United States Institute for Peace (USIP) Rule of Law Center.<sup>9</sup>
- Redressing the gap in research contemplating the challenges for diverse Muslim communities and governments attempting to conduct post-conflict justice reform within an Islamic legal framework.
- Overall, the approach will be to identify key gaps in post-conflict societies that are a legacy of past violence and abuse, identify and explain how Islamic justice principles would suggest filling these gaps, compare these approaches with the current “toolkit” of transitional justice and governance mechanisms and, based on this comparison, propose new methods and approaches that synthesize Islamic legal norms and current practice.

## **2.0 Program Priorities for the Scholar-Practitioner Workshop (Fall 2010, Washington, DC)**

**2.1 Defining Topics:** The research team will bring together scholars and practitioners on the issue of *Post-conflict Justice in Islam* for a day-long workshop in Washington, DC in the fall 2010. The several problems for discussion include these:

1. Defining post-conflict justice for Islamic legal contexts: contributions from Islamic jurisprudence
2. Opportunities in post-conflict justice and transition: the special role of law in Islam
3. Integrating legal reform with security sector infrastructure in Muslim majority conflict and post-conflict settings
4. Balancing domestic and international legal obligations: *shari’a* in domestic, regional, and international legal contexts

**2.2 Orienting Questions:** We identify several common questions consistently raised by practitioners in the process of developing transitional justice programs on the ground and by researchers undertaking scholarly and evaluative inquiry of these regions and programs. We have tried to prioritize questions that go to the core of expert and stakeholder concerns, represent abiding issues, apply to multiple locations, and shape a baseline set of approaches relevant for creative and critical discussion.

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<sup>9</sup> See the Margarita S. Studemeister Digital Collections in International Conflict Management at USIP <<http://www.usip.org/library/truth.html>> and the Transitional Justice Data Base Project at the University of Wisconsin-Madison <<http://sites.google.com/site/transitionaljusticedatabase/home>>. Hugo van der Merwe, Victoria Baxter, and Audrey R. Chapman, *Assessing, The Impact of Transitional Justice: Challenges for Empirical Research* (USIP Press Books, 2009). Debate over “transitional” or “post-conflict” justice terminology hinges on the concern that “transitional” presumes a progressive teleology, the assumption that “countries moving away from a problematic past will necessarily make the transition toward democracy and stability, when in fact few actually do so” (van der Merwe et al., 2009: 2). Also see Thomas Carothers (2002), “The End of the Transition Paradigm,” *Journal of Democracy* 13(1): 5-21.

1. Are the standard tools of the post-conflict justice toolkit, such as the truth commission or vetting mechanisms, Islamic? Is the post-conflict transition rubric suitable to Muslim communities and Islamic norms?
  - How do local applications of *shari'a* law bear on post-conflict justice uses of evidence, testimony, truth-telling, amnesty, and victimhood?
  - What does justice mean under Islamic law? Is it compatible with international notions of justice?
  - Are there particular legal complexities in post-conflict Muslim states, and are their available best practices or lessons learned for dealing with these?
2. In the absence of government mechanisms for resolving disputes, do local practices and existing cultural frameworks, including Islamic norms, provide usable methods and models?
  - Is it possible to develop local control over dispute and justice mechanisms without ceding more power and influence to local rivals or warlordism?
  - Numerous recent examples, especially in Afghanistan, show that widely-recognized international human rights norms play almost no role in guiding government decision-making and policy processes particularly in the critical post-conflict arena of setting up effective governance systems, whether choosing accountable cabinet members to institutionalizing a functional judiciary. Is humanitarian law an alternative? Is Islamic law of war principles more suitable for rebuilding Muslim-majority post-conflict states?
  - How do the presence/absence, legacy, and variation/fragmentation of older or religious-based institutions of justice or tribal/customary legal principles challenge the implementation of Islamic legal norms to address humanitarian law violations?
3. Do transitional justice initiatives depend upon political will in the Muslim world? Where do individuals in a Muslim community go to register their grievances in Islamic legal terms? Are political authorities responsive or accountable to these venues?
  - Where are the special inquiries within Islamic legal institutions investigating Muslim on Muslim violence, such as in Darfur, Sudan?
  - Is there public support in Muslim societies for enforcing international norms, including IHL and post-conflict tribunals?
  - Are Muslim states and organizations willing to enforce Islamic norms and rules?
  - Are there strategies and means for promoting compliance that have worked? Does the impetus for compliance need to come from Muslim sources (not the international community)?
  - Tensions in integrating Islamic and international norms, tribal justice procedures with established legal systems?
4. Do Islamic legal principles recognize or imply a tradeoff between peace and justice in the context of post-conflict reconciliation? How do rights of individuals compare with rights of communities in addressing questions of redress? What obligations do states and governments have in Islamic societies to address the needs of both?
  - Does this initiative help to contemplate culturally-inflected approaches in implementing the rule of law more generally? Does it suggest methods for factoring in culture and religion in political and government institution building, legal and security sector reform?
  - What defines progress in integrating cultural awareness into post-conflict strategies and legal reform? What available models are being used, for instance, at the Center for Law and Military Operations (CLAMO), Center for Army Lessons Learned (CALL), etc.?<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Anthony Cordesman, *The Afghan War: Metrics, Narratives, and Winning the War*, CSIS, 7 Jun 2010, <http://csis.org/publication/afghan-war-metrics>; Center For Law And Military Operations, *Legal Lessons Learned From Afghanistan And Iraq: VII, Full Spectrum Operations*, (2 May 2003 – 30 June 2004); CALL Handbook 09-37, *Small-Unit Operations in Afghanistan: Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures* (2009); Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) to the United States Congress, [April 30, 2010 Quarterly Report to Congress](#).

### ***2.3 Approach and Methodology: Defining Post-conflict Justice beyond the Five Pillars Approach***

We also intend to advance post-conflict justice methodologies by bringing together respective academic research and practitioner strengths and experiences. This means, first and foremost, critically reflecting on the received wisdom of the five pillars approach—security, governance, rule of law, economics, and social wellbeing—for defining success, resource allocation, and organizational planning in post-conflict reconstruction operations.<sup>11</sup> In many respects, Muslim-majority conflict and post-conflict contexts and Islamic legal norms expose the limits of this dominant methodological approach and challenge the assumption of separate state, social, and cultural functions, including religion. Afghanistan, Iraq, and many Sub-Saharan nations, for instance, likewise, challenge the virtue of prioritizing traditional truth and reconciliation processes over and above, for instance, legal and security sector reform and infrastructure development.

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<sup>11</sup> Lora M. Carroll, John V. Farr, and Timothy A. Trainor, “Weighted Scoring Model for Resource Allocation in Post-conflict Reconstruction,” *Journal of Infrastructure Systems* 14(3): 169-177 (September 2008).



# POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM



## Program Overview and Recent Highlights

**Summer 2011**

**Nicholas J. Armstrong**  
Research Fellow, INSCT

# INSCT Program on Postconflict Reconstruction

## Overview

Made possible through the generous support of David F. Everett (S.U. College of Law '76) and the Everett Foundation, the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism's Program on Postconflict Reconstruction (PCR) is a specialized interdisciplinary program centered on three distinct goals:

- **to prepare graduate and law students** for professional work in a wide range of postconflict and international development environments;
- **to conduct rigorous, cutting edge academic research** in pursuit of improved postconflict reconstruction policy and program implementation; and
- **to engage with the growing community of experts and professionals** in the PCR field in order to train and mentor new talent, inform and participate in ongoing research, and to build a strong, collaborative professional network of INSCT alumni to facilitate in future PCR efforts.



## Purpose

Since the end of the Cold War, the international community has engaged in 22 major operations aimed at stabilizing nations emerging from internal conflict and constructing effective, legitimate governmental institutions in order to secure an enduring peace. Yet, as the mixed record of accomplishment demonstrates, Postconflict Reconstruction in fragile states is a profoundly complex undertaking, fraught with challenges and contradictions. Doing PCR 'better and smarter' requires new knowledge about what has worked in the past, why certain strategies and recovery processes have proven more durable than others, and how local culture, history, and experiences interface with externally generated peacebuilding and statebuilding strategies. Likewise, successful PCR also requires a cadre of professionals and experts inculcated in this knowledge.

## Major Activities and Recent Highlights

INSCT's PCR program is organized around three major activities: a specialized Certificate of Advanced Studies (C.A.S.) program for graduate and law students; an ongoing guest speaker series; and scholarly research. Brief descriptions of these efforts are provided below with highlights from the past academic year.

### Certificate of Advanced Study (C.A.S.) in Postconflict Reconstruction

Recently approved by the New York State Department of Education, the Certificate of Advanced Study Program in Postconflict Reconstruction provides **graduate and law** students with a documented concentration and familiarization with the major aspects of PCR, the various dimensions and goals of postconflict work, the types of actors that conduct it, the trade-offs and dilemmas they face, and the lessons learned from its application across various settings. This Certificate offers the analytical tools to help students be successful in public service careers in the fields of PCR and international development. The program requires that students complete of three courses and an internship or capstone experience with an organization engaged in the PCR field. The interdisciplinary nature of the certificate program provides students the opportunity to participate in a combination of specialized coursework in any of the following areas of specialization:

- Providing Humanitarian Relief
- Promoting Reconciliation and Peacebuilding
- Assuring Security and De-militarizing Politics
- Building Institutional Capacity
- Building the Rule of Law
- Building Civil Society



### Certificate Program Highlights (2010-2011)

- **2011 C.A.S. in Postconflict Reconstruction Graduates:** INSCT offered this new certificate to students for the first time during the 2010-11 academic year. **18 graduate students** earned the certificate, greatly surpassing our expectations for its inaugural year.
- **Internships:** A core requirements for all certificate students is to complete an internship or capstone project with an organization that works on postconflict reconstruction issues. Recent and current certificate students have interned with

organizations such as Minority Rights Group (London); the Near East Foundation (Syracuse); Human Rights First (NYC); and the U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (Carlisle, PA).

- **PKSOI Interns (2011):** INSCT recently partnered with the U.S. Army's Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) to send at least one of its certificate students each year to work as an intern at PKSOI at the Army War College. This summer and fall, respectively, INSCT is pleased to send certificate students Kari Kietzer (MA-IR '11) and Dan Stillman to PKSOI. Selections for this internship program are competitive.



#### **Kari Kietzer (EMIR '11)**

Kari Kietzer is a recent graduate of the Maxwell School's new Executive Masters in International Relations (EMIR) where she focused her studies on U.S. foreign policy and global development.



#### **Daniel Stillman (JD/IR '12)**

Daniel is currently a dual degree candidate at the College of Law and Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, pursuing a Juris Doctorate (JD) and Master of Arts in International Relations (MAIR) respectively. In addition, he is pursuing certificates of advanced legal and graduate study in National Security and Counterterrorism Law, Security Studies, Postconflict Reconstruction, and Global Law and Practice.

- **MPA Capstone Project (2011):** In May 2011, six graduate students, as part of their capstone requirement and under the guidance of INSCT Director William Banks, worked jointly with the **U.S. Department of Justice's** International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP) and the **U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute** (PKSOI) to research and prepare a report comparing best practices in military and civilian training models for building police capacity in Indonesia and the Philippines.
- **New INSCT Faculty:** INSCT is pleased to welcome new faculty member **Dr. Azra Hromadzic**. Professor Hromadzic's expertise in cultural anthropology and peace and conflict in the Balkans importantly brings greater disciplinary breadth and regional knowledge to our growing PCR program.





## David F. Everett Postconflict Reconstruction Speaker Series

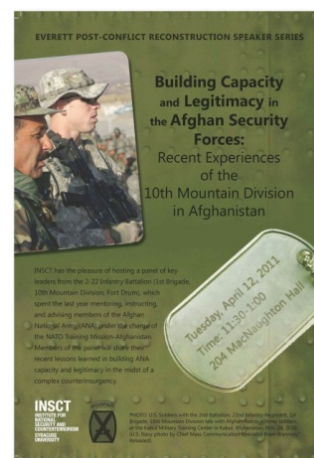


Once per semester, INSCT hosts an established expert who has worked in PCR internationally to deliver a lecture and to meet with students in the program. Speakers present to the SU campus audience and engage in informal meetings with graduate students from the program, faculty, and INSCT staff to discuss and debate the pressing challenges and complexities of PCR. A central purpose of the Speaker Series is for INSCT to deepen its network of affiliated experts and professionals from which graduate and law students may develop internship and career opportunities.

### *PCR Speaker Series Events (2010-2011)*

#### **“Building Capacity and Legitimacy in the Afghan Security Forces: Recent Experiences of the 10th Mountain Division in Afghanistan”**

On April 12, 2011, INSCT hosted a panel of key leaders from the 2-22 Infantry Battalion (10th Mountain Division, Fort Drum), which spent the last year training, mentoring, and advising members of the Afghan National Army (ANA) under charge of the NATO Training Mission-Afghanistan. Members of the panel will share their recent lessons learned in building ANA capacity and legitimacy in the midst of a complex counterinsurgency.



#### **“The Role of NGOs in Postconflict Zones”**

Rudy von Bernuth

Vice President and Managing Director,  
Save the Children

On Nov. 30, 2010, Rudy Von Bernuth from Save the Children discussed his experiences over the past 40 years in international development, directing emergency relief programs and response efforts in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Croatia, Iraq, Rwanda, Sudan and Tajikistan, among others. Von Bernuth supervises all programs and policies related to emergency response, humanitarian assistance and food assistance.



## Research Initiatives in Postconflict Reconstruction

Over thirty years of international experimentation with statebuilding and stability operations has resulted in both important successes and notable failures in postconflict stabilization, reconstruction, and peacebuilding. INSCT's growing portfolio reflects these imperatives in the following three research initiatives: Postconflict Research Database, Postconflict Transitions, and Postconflict Justice and Islam.

### Postconflict Research Database

INSCT's Postconflict Research Database Project is aimed at addressing



the knowledge management challenges of conducting interdisciplinary research and lesson drawing on postconflict reconstruction. The project consists of two overarching, yet interrelated, activities: the construction of a publically accessible database of PCR literature citations and abstracts indexed by conflict and topic area; and the qualitative analysis of existing postconflict literature using content analysis techniques.

- **Project Update:** To date, INSCT has compiled a large sample (500+) of bibliographic entries and abstracts or in-text summaries of articles, books, book chapters, and case reports that address contemporary postconflict issues. After developing a coding scheme based on conflict-country and major postconflict themes, we coded each entry in a Microsoft Access database. INSCT is now in the process of searching for external support to develop a web-based repository for this data and to conduct a qualitative analysis on the sample. Further details and updates on this project were recently outlined in an INSCT white paper, **"Developing Tools for Postconflict Research and Practice."**

### Postconflict Transitions Initiative

'Postconflict transitions' are crucial political and societal processes that unfold as a state recovers from internal conflict. A critical postconflict transition is that between foreign actors and host nation counterparts working toward complete and self-reliant local control over the full range of state functions. In collaboration with the U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) at the U.S. Army War College, INSCT is examining the underlying challenges and dynamics of these transitions.

- **Project Update:** On November 16-18, 2010, INSCT co-sponsored the conference, "Transitions: Issues, Challenges, and Solutions," with the U.S. Army's Peacekeeping & Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) at the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, PA. The event provided an opportunity for participants from academia, the military services, civilian agencies and non-governmental

organizations to discuss stability issues that arise when empowering host nation governments and civil societies during transition from crisis or conflict. INSCT and PKSOI published the following monograph that served as a guiding document for the conference.



**Harnessing Post-conflict Transitions: A Conceptual Primer.**  
(2010). Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute.

**Nicholas J. Armstrong**, Research Fellow, INSCT  
**Jacqueline Chura-Beaver**, Research Fellow, PKSOI

## Transitional Justice and Islam Initiative

This project, in collaboration with INSCT's Islam and International Humanitarian Law Initiative, is a research program situated at the intersection of debates over PCR and the role of Islam in the legal, social, and political fabrics of Muslim majority states, the interpretation of *Shari'a*, and its tensions with international legal norms and obligations. Postconflict justice, also known as 'transitional justice', refers to legal and policy reform, institution building, and reconciliation responses during and following armed conflict. This project examines postconflict justice in contexts involving Islamic legal norms, exploring areas in which Islamic norms both complement and compete with international law, local cultural norms and regimes.

- **Project Update:** The U. S. Institute of Peace (USIP), International Institute of Higher Studies in Criminal Sciences (ISISC), and INSCT have begun a project to assess the conformity of internationally recognized practices of postconflict justice for international crimes to the *Shari'a*. On November 5, 2010, INSCT, USIP and ISISC co-sponsored a workshop at the Beacon Hotel in Washington, D.C. that brought together a group of Islamic and legal scholars to the U.S. to make a preliminary assessment of their compatibility. This important discussion resulted in the publication of the following report.



**"Analyzing Post-Conflict Justice and Islamic Law."**  
(2011). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace.

**Scott Worden**, Senior Rule of Law Adviser, USIP  
**Shani Ross**, Research Fellow, INSCT  
**Whitney May Parker**, Research Fellow, INSCT  
**Sahar Azar**, Research Assistant, INSCT

## Other Recent PCR Publications



**“Post 9-11 Stability Operations: How U.S. Army Doctrine is Shaping National Security Strategy.”** (2010). *PRISM Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 1.

**Corri Zoli**, Research Fellow, INSCT

**Nicholas J. Armstrong**, Research Fellow, INSCT

## Postconflict Reconstruction Program Information

For more specific information or questions about this growing academic and research program, please contact Research Fellow and PCR program director, Nick Armstrong or visit our website below.



**Nick Armstrong**

Research Fellow, INSCT

[narmstro@maxwell.syr.edu](mailto:narmstro@maxwell.syr.edu)

**INSCT Postconflict Reconstruction Website:**

<http://insct.syr.edu/projects/postconflict-reconstruction/>



The Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism is dedicated to interdisciplinary teaching, research, and public service focused on important national and global problems of security and terrorism. INSCT is based at Syracuse University and jointly sponsored by the University's College of Law and Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs.

© 2010 Institute for National Security  
and Counterterrorism  
Syracuse University  
MacNaughton Hall, Suite 402  
Syracuse, NY 13344-1030  
**PHONE:** 315.443.2284  
**FAX:** 315.443.9643  
**WEB:** [insct.syr.edu](http://insct.syr.edu)