

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
Department of International Relations

IR 548 - United Nations Peacekeeping

Fall 2007

T/Th 8-930 am

Kenmore Classroom Building (KCB) 102

Instructor: Charles Dunbar, 617 353-5633, cf dunbar@bu.edu

Office Hours: T 2-3 pm, W: 9 am-noon, Th 10-11 am, or by appointment, 152 Bay State Road, Room 337

COURSE SUMMARY

This course analyzes the mixed record of "complex" United Nations peacekeeping operations since the end of the Cold War. It begins by considering the history of collective attempts at dealing with international conflict with particular reference to the Covenant of the League of Nations and that organization's efforts to keep the peace after World War I and to avert the coming of World War II. It addresses the concept of collective security embodied both in the Covenant and the United Nations Charter and the limited utility of that concept in the context of the Cold War. The course then traces the rise of the concept of "traditional" United Nations peacekeeping based three principles: *first*, that the parties had agreed to stop fighting and to involve the United Nations in keeping that peace; *second*, that the United Nations and its personnel on the ground should be neutral as to the substance of the conflict; and *third*, that UN peacekeepers would use minimal force in carrying out their mission. Examples of "traditional" peacekeeping operations are briefly considered, and the rise and checkered history of "complex" missions is summarized.

The remainder of the course considers in detail the history of post-Cold War peacekeeping missions. After describing the components of a "complex" peacekeeping mission, the course examines each of the key issues – national sovereignty v. international responsibility; attitudes of the parties to the dispute; outside and regional power interest; peacekeeping mission mandates; "executive-legislative" relations in the United Nations; and the attitude of the United States – that determine whether a particular mission succeeds or fails. The "mediagenicity" of peacekeeping problems and the role of personalities are also considered. Later in the course, the key issues are revisited in the light of a number of ideas and proposals for the reform of peacekeeping operations - notably a report presented to the Secretary-General in August 2000 by a panel of senior experts and a proposal by two senior diplomats for addressing the issue of national sovereignty. In summing up, the class will make a matrix synthesizing what has been learned.

This is a policy-oriented course that is based on case studies of most of the major peacekeeping missions of the post-Cold War and "911" eras. "Primary sources" – notably the Secretary-General's reports to the Security Council on the progress of past and ongoing operations and the reform proposals just mentioned – complement readings from books, scholarly articles and press reports and analyses. As opportunities people with on-the-ground experience with peacekeeping will address the class. The purpose is to give an understanding of the daunting problems confronting United Nations-led efforts to prevent armed conflict before it starts, to contain and end such conflicts once they have begun, and to create conditions in which an enduring and just peace can be maintained. Many experts are pessimistic that the United Nations can succeed in accomplishing what is generally recognized as its primary mission. The reasons for this pessimism need to be understood and proposals for reform measured against them.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1, Peacekeeping Operation Case Study: Each student will write a paper on one of the peacekeeping operations cited below and discuss her/his research in a 15-minute presentation to the class. The length of the paper is 10-15 pages for undergraduates; 20-25 pages for graduate students. All, and particularly

graduate students, should strive to produce an essay that could be expanded into an article for publication. Graduate students will be expected to lead a discussion on one of the principal subjects of the course.

The Paper (40% of the grade): The paper should be in three parts. ***First***, there should be a summary account of the situation the mission was designed to address and how operation fared. This section should show that the student has read widely about the problem, concentrating on United Nations documents, in particular the periodic reports of the Secretary-General and Security Council resolutions. Secondary sources will also be useful for gaining an in-depth understanding of the environment surrounding the operation. ***Second***, the paper should analyze the operation, highlighting elements that caused it to succeed or to fail. Comparisons with other peace operations discussed in the course would be welcome. ***Third***, the conclusion of the paper should be a "lessons-learned" section and point out what, if any, relevance the success or failure of the operation might have to the ongoing efforts in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Congo, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Kosovo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, or even Western Sahara

“Mechanics:” Papers should be clearly footnoted or end-noted and should include a bibliography. Extra credit of between one and two percentage points will be given for annotated bibliographies. Please use sub-headings wherever possible. Paragraphs should have a topic sentence followed by sentences that serve only to develop the point made by the topic sentence. If you have a new thought, start a new paragraph. Kudos for simple, direct prose; a small word is often better than a big one. The text should be double-spaced within one-inch margins, top, bottom and sides and set in 12-point type.

The Presentation (10% of the grade): *Case studies are the heart of this course, and the presentations are therefore important both for the presenter and the audience. As just noted, the presentation accounts for 10% of the grade, and a good final essay will require familiarity with the cases presented. Students should know and be prepared to discuss each case prior to its presentation. The instructor will, of course, take into account the degree of preparation, which will be dictated by whether the presentation comes early or late in the semester. Because of the size and location of the class, it is unlikely that power-point presentations will be feasible.*

Organization: The size of the class requires that most presentations be grouped, and some group better than others. Natural groupings are the three in southern Africa – Angola, Mozambique and Namibia; two in West Africa – Liberia and Sierra Leone; and two in Latin America – Central America and El Salvador. Transitional administrations in which the mission was mandated to run the country temporarily – UNTAC in Cambodia, UNTAES in Croatia, UNMIT (as UNTAET) in East Timor, and UNMIK in Kosovo – can be grouped two and two.

All students presenting in a group should meet together, first among themselves and then with the instructor shortly before the presentation, to identify and go over themes that are common to their presentations and that should therefore be highlighted in the presentation. Graduate students will each lead a group presentation; the instructor will lead the rest.

Note: Students are strongly encouraged to distribute an outline, map and other helpful documentation, if possible a day or so prior to the day of their presentation; the instructor will distribute such material electronically provided he receives it at least a day before the presentation. Kudos for presentations that are lively, and great kudos for suggesting to the instructor a “killer” article that all could usefully read in preparation for the presentation.

List of Missions: A listing of countries that have hosted past (P) and current (C) peacekeeping missions, together with the acronyms of the missions, follows. Each student should choose a mission for her/his case study and advise the instructor by e-mail:

Afghanistan (C) – UNAMA*
Angola (P) – MONUA

Bosnia (P) – UNPROFOR*
Cambodia (P) – UNTAC *

Central America (P) – ONUCA
 Congo (P) – ONUC
 Congo (C) – MONUC*
 Cote d'Ivoire (C) – UNOCI
 Croatia (P) – UNTAES
 Cyprus (C) – UNFICYP
 East Timor (C) – UNMIT*
 Ethiopia and Eritrea (C) – UNMEE
 El Salvador (P) - ONUSAL
 Haiti (C) – MINUSTAH
 Kosovo (C) - UNMIK*

Lebanon (C) – UNIFIL
 Liberia (C) – UNMIL
 Mozambique (P) – ONUMOZ
 Namibia (P) – UNTAG
 Rwanda (P) – UNAMIR*
 Sierra Leone (P) – UNOMSIL*
 Somalia (P) – UNOSOM I and II*
 Sudan (C) – UNMIS (the South)
 Sudan (C) – UNMIS (Darfur)
 Western Sahara (C) – MINURSO

Notes:

- *Some missions have been re-established one or more times with different names and acronyms. Either the current acronym, or that of the largest past mission, has been used.*
- *Two papers could be written about missions marked with asterisk . There should be at least one paper about each of these missions and one each on UNMIS in southern Sudan and UNMIS in Darfur.*
- *The above list is not exhaustive. Students with a particular interest in a mission not listed should e-mail the instructor and give reasons for choosing another mission. A full list of missions can be found at www.un.org (Click Peace and Security, then Peacekeeping, then Current Operations at the top of the screen or Past Operations at the bottom.)*

Due dates:

- *Thursday, September 20 – Topic Choice*
- *Thursday, October 11 – Outline and preliminary bibliography*
- *Friday, December 15, 900 am –Final paper submitted electronically*

3. Final Essay (40% of the grade): The final is a 5-10-page essay, 10-15 for graduate students, to be prepared outside class, and defending one of two propositions: United Nations peacekeeping is likely to: 1) grow in importance as a means of resolving inter and intrastate conflict; or 2) remain, at best, a marginal option chosen only as a matter of political expediency by member states unwilling to engage seriously in seeking a solution to the problem. The essay should seek to synthesize lessons to be drawn from the peace missions and to weigh the relevance of critiques and proposals for reform covered in the course. Footnotes/endnotes are optional but welcome. Other requirements and suggestions in the “mechanics” paragraph above apply. Successful papers will show the students’ grasp of the required readings; graduate students should show that they have read more widely than the required readings.

Due date: *Essays are due at 5:00 pm on the date set for the final examination.*

Note: *Please submit the term paper and final take-home examination in Microsoft word attachments to e-mails or, as a last resort, embedded in an e-mail text. The instructor will acknowledge receipt of the paper/exam in good order; if he does not do so, **PLEASE FOLLOW UP.***

3. Class Participation (10% of the grade): Active participation in classroom discussion. Students should follow via the media and www.un.org the evolution of the major ongoing peacekeeping operations – Afghanistan, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, East Timor, Kosovo, Lebanon, Liberia and Sudan – the continuing debate about the U.N.’s role in conflict resolution. 5-10 minutes will be reserved at the start of most classes for discussion, and the instructor will from time to time pass on via e-mail relevant news items to leaven the conversation.

Quizzes: A ten-minute, one-question quiz at the end of each of the first three parts of the course. These will be informally graded and counted as part of the overall grade for participation.

Final Note: *The instructor is prepared to read and comment on draft case studies and final papers. Because of end-of-semester grading deadlines, comments on papers received earlier rather than later are likely to be more thorough.*

READINGS

Six books are available at Barnes & Noble and on reserve at Mugar Library

Bellamy, Alex *et al*, Understanding Peacekeeping, London: Polity, 2004. Cited in SCHEDULE as **Bellamy**, also in Courseinfo, see also Understanding Peacekeeping folder

Durch, William J *et al*, The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations, Washington DC: The Stimson Center, 2003. Cited in SCHEDULE below as **Durch-Brahimi** . Also available on line at <http://www.stimson.org/fopo/pdf/BR-CompleteVersion-Dec03.pdf>

_____, Editor, Twenty-First Century Peace Operations, Washington DC, United States Institute of Peace, 2006. Cited in SCHEDULE below as **Durch-21**

_____, Editor, UN Peacekeeping, American Politics, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s, NY:: St. Martin's Press, 1996. Cited in SCHEDULE below as **Durch-UN**

Goulding, Marrack, Peacemonger, Baltimore MD, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. Cited in SCHEDULE below as **Goulding**

Traub, James, The Best Intentions, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006. Cited in SCHEDULE below as **Traub**, see also Courseinfo, The Best Intentions... folder

There are several readings from International Organizations, Principles and Issues, Seventh Edition by A. LeRoy Bennett and James K. Oliver, Upper Saddle River NJ, Prentice Hall, 2002. Cited in SCHEDULE below as **Bennett & Oliver**. Students with a particular interest in international organizations and the United Nations system may want to buy it. The readings from it are on Courseinfo.

Other readings in the schedule are available on line or in Courseinfo. Two websites to explore and subscribe to are those of the International Crisis Group www.crisisgroup.org and Security Council Report (affiliated with Columbia University) www.securitycouncilreport.org It is worth receiving the electronic news bulletin unnews@un.org , and useful documentation is available on www.reformtheun.org

Brief U.N. fact sheets on missions to be discussed in class may be found on www.un.org. Click on Welcome, then Peace and Security, then Peacekeeping, then the acronym of the missions which are divided into current or past operations and then by world region on the website. *Students should read and bring with them to class the fact sheets for cases on the day each is presented in class.*

Plagiarism: What It Is and Why It Is Important

In college courses, we are continually engaged with other people's ideas: we read them in texts, hear them in lecture, discuss them in class, and incorporate them into our own writing. As a result, it is very important that we give credit where it is due. Plagiarism is using others' ideas and words without clearly acknowledging the source of that information.

To avoid plagiarism, you must give credit whenever you use:

- another person's idea, opinion, or theory;
- any facts, statistics, graphs, drawings—any pieces of information—that are not common knowledge;
- quotations of another person's actual spoken or written words; or
- paraphrase of another person's written or spoken words.”

The foregoing quotation is taken from the website of the Writing Tutorial Services at Indiana University. For more information, see www.indiana.edu/~wts/wts/plagiarism.html

Most people do not want to plagiarize. It would seem easy to avoid doing so, yet some scholars have learned to their cost that “honest” plagiarism is sometimes easier to commit than they thought. In any case, students should expect honest and dishonest plagiarism to be seen in the same harsh light by the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences to whom all suspected cases will be referred. Thus, *if in doubt, add a footnote*, and in the meantime read the Boston University Code of Conduct.

A Code of Conduct link follows <http://www.bu.edu/cas/academics/programs/conductcode.html>

SCHEDULE

Note: Important semester “drop-dead” dates are in the following link: <http://www.bu.edu/reg/dates/>

PART ONE – BACKGROUND

THE U. N.; “TRADITIONAL” AND “COMPLEX” PEACEKEEPING

Class #1: Tuesday, September 4 - The purpose, nature and requirements of the course.

Class # 2: Thursday, September 6 – Global governance: theoretical foundations.

Reading

- Karns, Margaret P. and Karen A. Mingst, Global Governance, Boulder CO Lynne: Reiner, 2004
Chapters 1 and 2, Courseinfo

Note: The instructor will be absent; Professor Selin will teach the class.

Class #3: Tuesday, September 11 - Collective security in a world of nation states. From Westphalia to 1919 via the alliance system. The League of Nations

Reading

- **Bennett & Oliver**, International Organizations: Principles and Issues, Chapters 1 and 2, Courseinfo, International Principles and Issues folder, hereafter **Bennett & Oliver**
- Benton, Barbara, Soldiers for Peace, hereafter **Benton**, pp 11-23, handout
- Covenant of the League of Nations, <http://history.acusd.edu/gen/text/versaillestreaty/ver001.html>
- Lloyd, Lorna, “The League of Nations and the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes,” *World Affairs*, Spring 1995, Courseinfo. in UN Intervention Articles folder

Class #4: Thursday, September 13 - The United Nations: Origins. The Charter. Security Council deadlock. The origins and principles of “traditional” UN peacekeeping – agreement between the parties and neutrality of peacekeepers. ONUC in the Congo; a preview of coming attractions.

Reading

- **Bennett & Oliver**, Chapters 3 and 4, Courseinfo
- **Benton**, pp 25-55 and 100-119, Courseinfo, Soldiers for Peace folder
- Charter of the United Nations, Bennett & Oliver pp 472-497, also <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>

Class #5: Tuesday, September 18 - The dawn (rebirth) of “complex U.N. peacekeeping - amid high hopes following the end of the Cold War and the expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait; "assertive multilateralism" and “An Agenda for Peace” Peace operations taxonomy, peacekeeping mission structure

Reading

- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, *An Agenda for Peace*, <http://www.un.org/docs/SG/agpeace.html>.
- *Durch-UN*, Chapter 1
- *Goulding*, Chapter 2

Class #6: Thursday, September 20 – The hard part comes. Setbacks of the mid-1990s in summary. Peacekeeping is cut down to size. *Quiz*

Reading

Bellamy, Part 1, Courseinfo, Understanding Peacekeeping folder.

Note: Paper assignments should be made by this date.

PART TWO – THE PROBLEMS

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

Dilemmas inherent in dealing with intra-state conflict in a nation-state-based world; national sovereignty as the bedrock of world order; restrictions on preventive diplomacy; non-governmental organization (NGO) and media pressure to "do something" forces responses that are often late and/or ill-conceived; permanent Security Council members can remain "above the law" (Russia in Chechnya, China in Tibet).

Class #7: Tuesday, September 25 – National sovereignty.

Reading

- Lyons, Gene M. & Michael Mastanduno, Eds., Beyond Westphalia?: State Sovereignty and International Intervention, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, Chapter 1, Courseinfo, UN Intervention Articles folder, Beyond Westphalia Chap 1 document (last document in the folder), hereafter *L&M*
- Powers, Samantha, A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide, New York: Basic Books, 2002, pp. 443-473, Courseinfo, A Problem from Hell folder

Class #8: Thursday, September 27 – National sovereignty continued. Former Yugoslavia introduced

Reading

- Goldstone, Richard J., “Whither Kosovo? Whither Democracy?,” *Global Governance*, Apr-June 2002 – e-journals and Courseinfo, “Kosovo” folder
- Taylor, Paul, Sam Daws and Ute Adamczick-Gerteis, Eds, Documents on Reform of the United Nations, Brookfield VT: Dartmouth Publishing Co., 1997, pp. 3-25, Courseinfo, Documents on Reform of the United Nations folder, hereafter *Taylor*
- *Traub*, Chapter 3
- Zimmermann, Warren, Origins of a Catastrophe, NY: TTimes Books, 1999, Preface, Chap 1, Courseinfo, Origins of a Catastrophe folder

OUTSIDE AND REGIONAL POWER ENGAGEMENT

Engagement of regional and outside powers determines the success or failure of peacekeeping missions: depending on its nature, their active involvement can be positive or negative; their lack of interest reduces the chance of success; worse, their active self-interest, over-engagement or vested interest/stake in the hostilities can ensure the failure; in Sierra Leone, outside-power indifference, a less-than-successful

intervention by the major regional power (Nigeria), and a stake in continued hostilities by the regime in neighboring Liberia have so far defeated efforts to end a gruesome conflict.

Class #9: Tuesday, October 2 – Outside and regional power engagement – Western Sahara.

Reading

- Crocker, Chester A., “The Varieties of Intervention: the Conditions of Success,” in Crocker, Chester A., *et al*, Editors, Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict, Washington, D.C., United States Institute of Peace, 1996, Courseinfo, UN Intervention Articles folder
- *Goulding*, Chapter 12

Class #10: Thursday, October 4 – Outside and regional power engagement (continued) - Cambodia

Reading

- Durch-UN*, Chapter 5
- Goulding*, Chapter 14

MANDATES FOR PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS

A "clear, credible and achievable" mandate is essential to the success of a peacekeeping mission; perils of the shift from a humanitarian to a peace-building mandate - "mission creep;" the two faces of ambiguity - without an ambiguous mandate, it can be hard to start a mission, but starting with an ambiguous mandate is likely to create problems later; Chapter VI and VII; status of forces and rules of engagement.

Tuesday, October 9, No class (University follows Monday Schedule)

Class #11: Thursday, October 11 – Mandates. Somalia

Reading

- *Benton*, pp. 158-185, Courseinfo
- *Durch-UN*, Chapter 8
- *Taylor*, pp 41-62, Courseinfo

Note: Paper outline and preliminary bibliography due

Class #12: Tuesday, October 16 – Mandates (continued) Cambodia revisited

Reading

- *Durch-Brahimi*, Chapters 1-3
- *Durch*, William, *U.N. Peace Operations and the “Brahimi Report,”* The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2001 <http://www.stimson.org/fopo/pdf/peaceopsbr1001.pdf#search=%22u.n.%20response%20to%20brahimi%20report%22>. *Note: This link is a useful summary of the Brahimi report*
- United Nations, *Report of the Panel of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, A55/305 S/2000/809, 21 August 2000, Executive Summary and Parts I and II (hereafter *Brahimi Report*), search for “Brahimi Report” using Google, http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/.

"EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE" RELATIONS - THE SECRETARIAT AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Secretary-General's limited role in the Charter grows to leader of executive branch; Secretariat lacks resources to guide and backstop peacekeeping missions; excessive Secretariat caution in its approach to the Council; wavering Council commitment to "staying the course" on peacekeeping missions; the dangers of consensus building.

Class #13: Thursday, October 18 – The Secretariat and the Security Council. Rwanda.

Reading

- Dallaire, Romeo, Shake Hands with the Devil, New York, Carroll & Graf, 2004, Chapter 7, Courseinfo, Rwanda folder
- *Durch-UN*, Chapter 9
- Gourevitch, Michael, “The Genocide Fax,” *The New Yorker*, May 11, 1998, Courseinfo, “Rwanda”
- Kuperman, Alan J., “Rwanda in Retrospect,” *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2000, *Courseinfo*, “Rwanda”
- Power, Samantha, “Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwanda Tragedy Happen,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, September Courseinfo, and 2001, Courseinfo, “Rwanda”
- Riza, S. Iqbal (Chef de Cabinet of Secretary-General), undated interview, Courseinfo, “Rwanda”

Class #14: Tuesday, October 23 – The Secretariat and the Security Council. Rwanda (continued)

Reading

- Johnstone, Ian, “Role of the Secretary-General: the Power of Persuasion Based on Law,” *Global Governance*, Oct-Dec 2003, Courseinfo, “Secretary General” folder
- United Nations, *Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda*, 15 Dec 1999, <http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/documents/RwandaReport1.htm>, Pt II

THE UNITED NATIONS' INSTITUTIONAL STAKE IN PEACEKEEPING

The U.N. is considered the servant of its members. Failure of the Secretariat and the Security Council to recognize and seek to preserve the organization’s own stake in the outcome peacekeeping can damage its credibility. This problem was in the news as the Secretary-General agonized about being involved in Iraq.

Class #15: Thursday, October 25 – The U.N.’s stake. Bosnia

Reading

- *Benton*, pp. 187-207, Courseinfo
- *Durch-UN*, Chapter 6
- *Goulding*, Chapter 17

Class #16: Tuesday, October 30 – The U.N.’s stake. – Bosnia (continued)

Reading

- Holbrooke, Richard, “The Road to Sarajevo,” in, Crocker, Chester A., Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, editors, Herding Cats. pp. 337-343, *Courseinfo*
- United Nations, *Report of the Secretary General Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 53/35 (1998) of 30 Nov 1998 - Srebrenica Report*, <http://www.haverford.edu/relg/sells/reports/UNSrebrenicareport.htm>, paragraphs 467-506

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE UNITED STATES

Troubled relations between the U.N. and "the indispensable power;" history - North-South, Zionism is racism and other issues sour relations; "Somalia syndrome" begets inaction in Rwanda; the dues and peacekeeping assessment issue; still the "1000-pound gorilla" remains the key peacekeeping player.

Class #17: Thursday, November 1 – The UN and the U.S.: Haiti. Quiz

Reading

- *Brahimi Report*, Parts III-IV
- *Durch-Brahimi*, Chapters 3 and 4

- Girard, Phillippe R., Clinton in Haiti, NY:: Palgrave, 2004, Chaps 2, 5 and 11, Courseinfo "Haiti"- --
- "Making the Best of an Election in a Failed State," *The Economist*, Feb 18, 2006, Courseinfo, "Haiti"
- MacKinnon, Michael G., The Evolution of U.S. Peacekeeping Policy Under Clinton, Portland OR: Frank Cass, 2000 (hereafter *MacKinnon*), pp vii-61 (Skim Chapter 1), 124-139, and 152-159. Courseinfo, The Evolution of U.S. Peacekeeping Policy under Clinton, 2nd FOLDER

PART THREE – THE SOLUTIONS?

In addition to considering further peacekeeping case studies, the final part of the course revisits some of the issues previously discussed and points out ways in which those issues have been addressed or managed in some complex peacekeeping missions. The course also analyzes various reform proposals, including the United Nations effort to comply with the Brahimi report recommendations.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY – REVISITED

With Serbia's sovereignty having been breached following the failure of the talks at Rambouillet, the United Nations has been given an opportunity to build peace in Kosovo under NATO's umbrella; lip service is still paid to Serbian sovereignty, but restoring the status quo will be hard.

Class #18: Tuesday, November 6 – Sovereignty revisited – East Timor.

Reading

- *Brahimi Report*, Parts V and VI plus Summary of Recommendations
- *Durch-Brahimi*, Chapter 5
- Martin, Ian and Alexander Mayer-Rieckh, "The United Nations and East Timor: From Self-Determination to State Building," *International Peacekeeping*, Spring 2005, Courseinfo, "East Timor"
- *L&M*, Chapters 5 and 11, Courseinfo
- *Traub*, pp. 102-109 and 122-129

Class #19 Thursday, November 8 – Sovereignty revisited (continued). The Evans-Sahnoun proposal

Reading

- *Durch-21*, Chapter 6
- Evans, Gareth and Mohammed Sahnoun, "Intervention and State Sovereignty: Breaking New Ground," *Global Governance*, Apr-Jun 2001, Courseinfo,
- Goldstone, Anthony, "Peculiarities of an Incomplete State," *Global Governance*, March 2004, Courseinfo, "East Timor"
- *Traub*, pp 102-107 and 122-127

OUTSIDE AND REGIONAL POWER ENGAGEMENT – REVISITED

If regional and outside powers have a high interest in resolving a conflict, the chances of success for a U.N. peacekeeping mission improve dramatically. In Cambodia, the long civil war had produced a stalemate which outside and regional powers saw it in their best interest to end. Although a major party to the dispute - the Khmer Rouge - withdrew from the elections process, outside pressure sustained the U.N. mission in carrying out its mandate. In Mozambique, a smooth hand-off to the U.N. after years of U.S.-led negotiations produced an unalloyed peacekeeping success. Peace has been built, and Mozambique has passed a milestone by holding its second national election and having the losing side accept the results

Class #20: Tuesday, November 13 – Outside and regional power engagement – Southern Africa

Reading

- *Durch-UN*, Chapter 4
- *Goulding*, Chapter 10

- Shultz, George, Turmoil and Triumph, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993, Chap. 50, Courseinfo, Turmoil and Triumph folder

Class #21: Thursday, November 15 – Outside and regional power engagement – Sthrn Africa (cont)

Reading

- Bartoli, Andrea, "Mediating Peace in Mozambique: The Role of the Community of Saint'Egidio", in Herding Cats, 207-244, **HANDOUT**
- *Durch*, Chapter 7
- Crocker, Chester A., High Noon in Southern Africa, Part 1, Courseinfo, High Noon in S Africa folder
- *Goulding*, Chapter 11

THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED NATIONS – REVISITED

The contention between the U.S. and the U.N. about the nature of the latter's involvement has obscured a generally good working relationship that has developed in Afghanistan.

Class #22 Tuesday, November 20 – The U.S. and the U.N. Central America; the Secretariat's Response to the Brahimi Report, Quiz

Reading

- *Durch-UN*, Chapter 3
- *Goulding*, Chapter 13
- *MacKinnon*, pp 62-123, Courseinfo, Evolution of US Peacekeeping Policy under Clinton, **1ST FOLDER**
- *Traub*, Chapters 8 and 21

Thursday, November 22, No class, Happy Thanksgiving

PART FOUR – THE FUTURE OF UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING

The final sessions of the course consider reform proposals and the prospects for their being carried out. Given its many predecessors, are the Secretary-General's "high-level panel" report on reform of peace operations, and its sequel, "déjà vu all over again?" What can be done to break the "satisficing" pattern of "ambiguous, inconsistent, and under-funded mandates" and subsequent "shocked" public criticism of the UN by mandate-issuing governments when things go wrong. A matrix of conditions present and of problems faced in by 25 peace missions is examined in an effort to discern patterns of success and failure.

Class #23: Tuesday, November 27 – Political missions. "Unconventional complex peacekeeping" The High-Level Panel Report. Peacekeeping perspectives, Afghanistan

Reading

- Castillo, Graciana del, "Afghanistan: the Way Forward," *Global Governance* Apr-June 2003, e-journals
- *Durch-21*, Chapter 7
- *Traub*, Chapter 9
- *Report of the High-Level Panel*, pp.1-7, Parts I-IV, IX-XVI, XIX-XX, plus relevant parts, Annex I, p 78 <http://www.un.org/secureworld/report.pdf>.

Class #24: Thursday, November 30 – "Rising from the ashes?" Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone

Reading

- *Durch-21*, Chapter 3 and 4
- Paes, Wolf Christian, "The Challenges of Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration in Liberia," *International Peacekeeping*, Vol 12, No 2, Summer 2005, pp 253-261, **Courseinfo, Liberia folder**
- *Traub*, pp 112-122 and Chapter 20

Class #25: Tuesday, December 4 – Transitional administrations. Former Yugoslavia

Reading

- Caplan, Richard. “International Authority and State Building: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina.” *Global Governance*, (2004), p 53-65, Courseinfo, Bosnia folder
- Cockell, John, “Civil-Military Responses to Security Challenges in Peace Operations: Ten Lessons from Kosovo, *Global Governance*, Oct-Dec, 2002, Courseinfo, “Kosovo” folder
- **Durch-21**, Chapters 2 and 5
- Griffin, Michelle, “Building Peace through Transitional Administration,” *International Peacekeeping*, Winter 2004, Courseinfo “UN Intervention Articles” folder
- **Traub**, pp. 91-102
- Yannis, Alexandras, “The U.N. as Government in Kosovo, *Global Governance*, Jan-March 2004, Courseinfo, “Kosovo” folder

Class #26: Thursday, December 6 – Ways of the future. Sudan. the Matrix distributed. Challenges

Reading

- Dobbins, James, “The UN’s Role in Nation-Building: From the Belgian Congo to Iraq,” *Survival*, Winter 2004, Courseinfo, UN and Nationbuilding folder
- Doyle, Michael W., “War Making and Peace Making: The United Nations’ Post-Cold War Record,” in *Turbulent Peace*, pp. 529-560, Courseinfo
- **Goulding**, Chapter 18 and Epilogue
- Jan Pronk interview, Courseinfo, Sudan folder
- Traub**, Chapters 12 and 18

Class 27: Tuesday, December 11 – Summing up

Reading

- Ayoub, Mohammed, “Third World Perspectives on Humanitarian Intervention,” *Global Governance*, 10, 2004, Courseinfo, UN Intervention Articles folder
- **Bellamy**, Part 4 and Conclusion
- **Durch-21**, Chapter 8
- Urquhart, Sir Brian et al., “For a U.N. Volunteer Force and Four Replies,” in **Taylor**, 139-50 Courseinfo
- Security Council Report (Columbia University), March 2007 UN Peacebuilding Commission, http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/site/c.glKWLeMTIsG/b.2549867/k.2C4D/March_2007BRPeacebuilding_Commission.htm
- Traub, James, “Making Sense of the Mission,” *The New York Times Magazine*, April 11, 2004, Courseinfo, Making Sense of the Mission folder

“Attachment:” Link to peace operations summary <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/bnote.htm>.