

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
Department of International Relations

IR 548 - United Nations Peace Operations

Fall 2013

Friday: 100-400 pm

152 Bay State Road, IRC 220

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Office Hours: Fridays 1115-1245, 156 Bay State Road, Rm 202; or by appointment; or via Skype

COURSE SUMMARY

This course analyzes the checkered past and uncertain future of "complex" post-Cold War United Nations peace operations. It begins with a quick look at the history of collective efforts to resolve conflicts between and among political entities and considers the many failures and occasional successes of the doctrine of collective security, embodied in the League of Nations Covenant and the U.N. Charter, in efforts "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." ns 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 ("the holy trinity," in the words of former U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold): 1) that there be a peace to keep; 2) that peacekeepers be neutral as to the substance of the conflict; and 3) that UN peacekeepers use minimal force in carrying out their mission. The continuing influence of "the holy trinity" in situations where it is irrelevant is stressed as the history of "complex" peace operations is summarized.

The bulk of the course is devoted to a study of post-Cold War "complex" peace operations. After a general description of the nature and components of such operations, a number are considered in detail within the framework of seven issues: 1) national sovereignty v. international responsibility, including the "Responsibility-to-Protect" (R2P) doctrine ; 2) mandates assigned to peace operations, normally by the Security Council; 3) the attitude of outside and regional powers and organizations; 4) Security Council-Secretariat relations; 5) the UN and the U.S.; 6) the history and role of transitional administrations; and 7) "mediagenicity" (also called the "CNN effect"). Other issues important for peace operations (the role of personalities and of so-called "friends groups" 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 peace operations. Notable among these are the report presented to the Secretary-General in August 2000 by a panel of senior experts led by Lakhdar Brahimi, a senior U.N. diplomat, and a proposal by two other senior diplomats (Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun) on the responsibility of states to protect the people they govern (R2P"). Finally, special attention will be paid to the expanding cooperation between the U.N. and the African Union, to the organization's role in the large international operation against Somali and West African pirates, and to a possible role for peace operations in Libya, Syria and Yemen.

This is a policy-oriented course based on case studies of many of the major peace operations 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. 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.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1, Peace Operation Case Study (40% of the grade): Each student will write a paper on one of the peace operations cited below and inform the instructor by e-mail of her/his three preferred operation

(listed in order of preference *by September 16*. **The length of the paper should be 3600-4500 words for undergraduates and 6000-7500 words for graduate students.**

Substance of the paper: The paper should be in three parts. The *first* should summarize in 600-900 words the situation the operation sought/seeks to address. Use an appendix or chronology for additional material. The *second* should describe the mission's mandate and give an analytical account of what it did and did not accomplish and whether it succeeded or failed. This section, the longest of the three, should show that the student has read widely about the problem, *concentrating on United Nations documents generally and in particular the periodic reports of the Secretary-General and the relevant Security Council resolutions*. Secondary sources will also be useful for gaining an in-depth understanding of the issues that affect(ed) the work of the mission. Comparisons with other peace operations discussed in the course would be welcome. The *third* section should focus on "lessons-learned" and on what, if any, relevance those lessons might have to ongoing efforts in Afghanistan, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Haiti, Liberia, Mali, South Sudan, Sudan and Western Sahara.

"Mechanics:" Papers should be footnoted or end-noted with page numbers wherever possible. The student should make it easy as possible for the instructor to find specific references cited. There should also be a bibliography. Depending on the quality of the annotations, one or two percentage points may be added to the grade assigned to papers for annotated bibliographies.

Please use sub-headings within the paper. Paragraphs should have a topic sentence followed by sentences that serve only to develop the point made in the topic sentence. If you have a new thought, start a new paragraph. Kudos for simple, direct prose; a small word is very often better than a big one.

List of Missions: A list of countries that host or have hosted peace operations, together with the acronyms of the missions follows. Those marked with an asterisk* will be discussed extensively in class. Somali Pirates are not a conventional peace operation. Each student should choose a mission for her/his case study and advise the instructor by e-mail:

Current Missions

Afghanistan – UNAMA* M SG/SC US-UN
 Congo – MONUSCO* GRINGO
 Côte d'Ivoire – UNOCI
 Haiti – MINUSTAH GRINGO US-UN MG
 Kosovo – UNMIK* GRINGO S TA
 Liberia – UNMIL GRINGO
 Libya – UNSMIL M
 Mali – MINUSMA, M, GRINGO,
 Somali Pirates* S, M, SG-SC, US-UN, MG
 Somalia (UNPOS) “ “
 South Sudan – UNMISS* M S
 Sudan (Darfur) – UNAMID* GRINGO SG/SC
 US-UN MG
 Timor Leste – UNMIT* S TA GRINGO
 Western Sahara – MINURSO M S GRINGO

Past Missions

Angola – MONUA GRINGO, M, US-UN
 Bosnia – UNPROFOR* S M SG/SC MG
 Bosnia – UNMIBH* S TA
 Cambodia – UNTAC * GRINGO TA
 Central America – ONUCA SC/SG
 Congo – ONUC* SG/SC
 Croatia – UNTAES S TA
 El Salvador – ONUSAL SC/SG
 Mozambique – ONUMOZ* GRINGO
 Namibia – S UNTAG TA US-UN
 Rwanda – UNAMIR* M GRINGO SG/SC
 Sierra Leone – UNOMSIL* GRINGO
 Somalia – UNOSOM I and II* M US-UN MG
 Sudan – UNMIS* M S

Notes:

The letters after most missions highlight points about that mission that are/were significant: GRINGO= great/regional power and inter-and non-governmental involvement; M=mandate; MG="mediagenicity;" SG /SC=Secretary-General- Security Council relations; S=sovereignty

(including Responsibility to Protect – R2P); TA=transitional administration; and US-UN=US-UN relations. See second paragraph of the syllabus and Discussion Groups paragraphs immediately below for more about these points.

- *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.*
- *There should be at least one paper about each mission marked with an asterisk**
- *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 Operations under UN Offices, then Current or Operations on the left of the screen.)*

Due dates (all material should be submitted electronically:

- *Thursday, September 19, noon – Mission case study topic choice*
- *Thursday, October 10, noon – Outline and preliminary bibliography*
- *Monday, December 9, 9 am –Final paper*

2. Discussion Groups (20% of the grade): Each graduate student enrolled in the course will organize a group of two or three undergraduates and with them lead a power-point-aided discussion on one of the topics mentioned above on the date given in the schedule below. The instructor will organize the remaining discussions. The topics (in order of appearance in the schedule) are: mandates (M), SG-SC relations (SG-SC), sovereignty (S), great and regional power and inter-governmental- and non-governmental-organization engagement (GRINGO), UN-US relations (UN-US), transitional administrations (TA), and “mediagenicity” (MG). Each undergraduate should choose, in order of preference, one of the groups. Choice should be based on the student’s interest in a particular mission and/or in one of the discussion topics.

Organization of discussion groups: Half a class session will be devoted to the each of the seven discussions. Graduate students and the instructor are the moderator(s); undergraduate roles could include: presenter, audio-visual material, handout, research, and post-session summarizer. Each session will open with a five-ten minute introduction by the graduate student and a 15-minute (maximum) PowerPoint-aided talk by the presenter. The remainder of each session will be devoted to discussion in which the undergraduates in the group other than the presenter should make informal comments, based at least in part on what bearing the peace operation that is the subject of her/his mission papers has on the topic.

Participation: *For the discussions to be worthwhile, wide student participation is essential. All students should prepare for every class by doing the assigned readings. For the discussion sessions, students should also be prepared to join the discussion. Their participation in the sessions will be a specific component of their overall participation grade (See 4. below)*

3. Final Essay (30% of the grade): The final is a 2400-3600 word essay, – 3000-4500 words for graduate students – which is to be prepared outside class and which defends one of two propositions: United Nations peace operations are likely to: 1) grow in importance as a means or resolving inter and intrastate conflicts; or 2) remain, at best, a marginal option chosen only as a matter of political expediency by member states unwilling and/or unable 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 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 Wednesday, December 11

Note: Please submit the term paper and final take-home examination electronically in Microsoft Word format (PDF is also acceptable, but Word allows the instructor to type comments as he reads the

*papers) as 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.***

4. 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, and Sudan in particular) and send articles to the instructor for distribution to the class. 5-10 minutes will be reserved at the start of most classes for discussion, during which students who send articles should brief the class on them. Participation will be judged on attendance, articles sent and briefed, interventions in class, (*and in particular during discussion sessions*) and quizzes. The instructor will from time to time pass on via e-mail relevant news items to leaven the conversation.

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

Seven books are available at Barnes & Noble

Bellamy, Alex *et al*, Understanding Peacekeeping, Second Edition, London: Polity, 2010. Cited in SCHEDULE as *Bellamy*

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*

_____, 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*

Evans, Gareth, The Responsibility To Protect, Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2008. Cited in SCHEDULE below as *Evans*

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 Blackboard Learn, 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 Blackboard Learn.

Other readings in the schedule are available on line or in Blackboard Learn. 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 on the website.

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.

SCHEDULE

Note: Important semester “last days to...” are:

- Last day to ADD Classes Monday, September 16, 2013
- Last day to DROP Classes without a 'W' grade, Tuesday, October 7, 2013
- Last to change from “credit” to “audit” status, “ ”
- Last day to DROP classes with a 'W' grade Friday, November 8, 2013

PART ONE – BACKGROUND

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

Class #1: *September 6* – The purpose, nature and requirements of the course. The nature, scope and significance of U.N. peacekeeping. View and discuss the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation film: “The Peacekeepers”

No assigned reading. It would be useful to study fact sheets linked below and printed at end of syllabus.

- <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/factsheet.shtml>
- <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/bnote010101.pdf>

Class #2: *September 13* – Global governance: theoretical foundations. Guest Speaker: Professor Henrik Selin, International Relations, Boston University. Bio: <http://people.bu.edu/selin/> (invited) From the origins of collective security to the League of Nations via Westphalia

Reading

- ***Bennett & Oliver***, International Organizations: Principles and Issues, Chapters 1 and 2, Blackboard Learn, 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>

- Karns, Margaret P. and Karen A. Mingst, Global Governance, Boulder CO Lynne: Reiner, 2004 Chapters 1 and 2, Blackboard Learn
- Lloyd, Lorna, "The League of Nations and the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes," *World Affairs*, Spring 1995, Blackboard Learn in UN Intervention Articles folder

Class #3: September 20 – The United Nations: Origins. The Charter. Security Council deadlock. The origins and principles (“holy trinity”) of “traditional” UN peacekeeping: 1) agreement between the parties; 2) neutrality of peacekeepers] and 3) minimum use of force. ONUC in the Congo; a preview of coming attractions. **The dawn (rebirth) of “complex U.N. peacekeeping** - high post-Cold War hopes: the expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait; "assertive multilateralism;" "An Agenda for Peace," overview of early successes in Namibia, Cambodia and Central America. Peace operations taxonomy

Reading

- **Bellamy**, Part 1
- **Bennett & Oliver**, Chapters 3 and 4, Blackboard Learn
- **Benton**, pp 25-55 and 100-119, Blackboard Learn, Soldiers for Peace folder
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, *An Agenda for Peace*, <http://www.un.org/docs/SG/agpeace.html>
- Charter of the United Nations, Bennett & Oliver pp 472-497, also <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>
- **Durch-UN**, Chapter 1
- **Goulding**, Chapter 2

Reminder: Paper topics should have been selected and approved by September 23

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 organizations (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 #4: September 27 – National sovereignty – Former Yugoslavia

Reading

- **Benton**, pp. 187-207, Blackboard Learn
- **Durch-UN**, Chapter 6
- Lyons, Gene M. & Michael Mastanduno, Eds., Beyond Westphalia?: State Sovereignty and International Intervention, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, Chapter 1, Blackboard Learn, UN Intervention Articles folder (last document in the folder), hereafter **L&M**
- Power, Samantha, A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide, New York: Basic Books, 2002, pp. 443-473, Blackboard Learn, A Problem from Hell folder
- United Nations, *Report of the Secretary General Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 53/35 (1998) of 30 Nov 1998 - Srebrenica Report*, <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N99/348/76/IMG/N9934876.pdf?OpenElement>
- **Traub**, Chapter 3
- Zimmermann, Warren, Origins of a Catastrophe, NY: Times Books, 1999, Preface, Chap 1, Blackboard Learn, Origins of a Catastrophe folder

OUTSIDE AND REGIONAL POWER AND NGO 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 #5: October 4 – “GRINGO.” Transitional Administrations; Cambodia and Kosovo – Discussion Group One (TA)

Reading

- Caplan, Richard. “International Authority and State Building: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina.” Global Governance, (2004), p 53-65, Blackboard Learn, Bosnia folder
- Cockell, John, “Civil-Military Responses to Security Challenges in Peace Operations: Ten Lessons from Kosovo,” Global Governance, Oct-Dec, 2002, Blackboard Learn, “Kosovo” folder
- 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, Blackboard Learn, UN Intervention Articles folder
- *Durch-UN*, Chapter 5
- *Durch-21*, Chapters 2 and 5
- *Goulding*, Chapter 14
- Griffin, Michelle, “Building Peace through Transitional Administration,” *International Peacekeeping*, Winter 2004, Blackboard Learn “UN Intervention Articles” folder
- Yannis, Alexandras, “The U.N. as Government in Kosovo,” Global Governance, Jan-March 2004, Blackboard Learn, “Kosovo” folder

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.

Class #6: October 11 – Mandates – Somalia, Afghanistan; Brahimi Discussion Group Two (M)

Reading

- *Benton*, pp. 158-185, Blackboard Learn
- *Durch-UN*, Chapter 8
- *Durch-Brahimi*, Chapters 1-2
- 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/

Reminder: Outlines and preliminary bibliographies of mission papers due

“EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE” RELATIONS - THE SECRETARIAT AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL

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

Class #7: October 18 – The Secretariat and the Security Council – Rwanda. Guest Speaker: Professor Timothy Longman, Director of the African Studies Department, Boston University (invited). Bio: <http://www.bu.edu/polisci/people/faculty/longman/>

Reading

- ***Brahimi Report***, Parts III-IV
- ***Durch-Brahimi***, Chapters 3 and 4
- Dallaire, Romeo, *Shake Hands with the Devil*, New York, Carroll & Graf, 2004, Chapter 7, Blackboard Learn, Rwanda folder
- ***Durch-UN***, Chapter 9
- Gourevitch, Michael, "The Genocide Fax," *The New Yorker*, May 11, 1998, Blackboard Learn, "Rwanda"
- Kuperman, Alan J., "Rwanda in Retrospect," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2000, ***Blackboard Learn***, "Rwanda"
- Power, Samantha, "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwanda Tragedy Happen," *The Atlantic Monthly*, September Blackboard Learn, and 2001, Blackboard Learn, "Rwanda"
- Riza, S. Iqbal (Chef de Cabinet of Secretary-General), undated interview, Blackboard Learn, "Rwanda"

Class #8: October 25 – Secretariat and the Security Council: Discussion Group Three (SGSC)Reading

- ***Brahimi Report***, Parts V and VI plus Summary of Recommendations
- ***Durch-Brahimi***, Chapter 5
- ***Goulding***, Chapter 17
- Holbrooke, Richard, "The Road to Sarajevo," in, Crocker, Chester A., Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, editors, *Herding Cats*, pp. 337-343, ***Blackboard Learn***
- Johnstone, Ian, "Role of the Secretary-General: the Power of Persuasion Based on Law," *Global Governance*, Oct-Dec 2003, Blackboard Learn, "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 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 #9: November 1 – Afghanistan, Haiti – Discussion Group Four (UNUS)Reading

- Castillo, Graciana del, "Afghanistan: The Way Forward," *Global Governance* Apr-June 2003, e-journals
- ***Durch-21***, Chapter 7
- Girard, Phillippe R., *Clinton in Haiti*, NY:: Palgrave, 2004, Chaps 2, 5 and 11, Blackboard Learn "Haiti"
- ***Goulding***, Chapter 13
- International Crisis Group: Towards a Post-MINUSTAH Haiti: Making an Effective Transition Latin America/Caribbean Report N°44 – 2 August 2012 [http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/latin-america/haiti/044-towards-a-post-minustah-haiti-making-an-effective-transition.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/latin-america/haiti/044-towards-a-post-minustah-haiti-making-an-effective-transition.pdf)
- "Making the Best of an Election in a Failed State," *The Economist*, Feb 18, 2006, Blackboard Learn, "Haiti"
- MacKinnon, Michael G., *The Evolution of U.S. Peacekeeping Policy Under Clinton*, Portland OR: Frank Cass, 2000, pp vii-139 (Skim Chapter 1) and 152-159. Blackboard Learn, The Evolution of U.S. Peacekeeping Policy under Clinton, Folders 1 and 2,
- Neumann, Ronald, *The Other War*, Washington: Potomac Books, 2009, Chapter 5, Blackboard Learn
- ***Traub***, Chapter 8 and 9

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 #10: November 8 – Sovereignty revisited: Timor Leste, “R2P” – Discussion Group Five (S)

Reading

- *Durch-21*, Chapter 6
- *Evans, Part I*
- Evans, Gareth and Mohammed Sahnoun, “Intervention and State Sovereignty: Breaking New Ground,” *Global Governance*, Apr-Jun 2001, Blackboard Learn
- Goldstone, Anthony, “Peculiarities of an Incomplete State,” *Global Governance*, March 2004, Blackboard Learn, “East Timor”
- Martin, Ian and Alexander Mayer-Rieckh, “The United Nations and East Timor: From Self-Determination to State Building,” *International Peacekeeping*, Spring 2005, Blackboard Learn, “East Timor”
- *Traub*, pp 102-129

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 #11: November 15 – “GRINGO” revisited – Southern Africa – Discussion Group Six (GRINGO)

Reading

- Bartoli, Andrea, “Mediating Peace in Mozambique: The Role of the Community of Saint’Egidio”, in *Herding Cats*, 207-244
- Crocker, Chester A., *High Noon in Southern Africa*, Part 1, Blackboard Learn, High Noon in S Africa folder
- *Durch-UN*, Chapters 4 and 7
- *Goulding*, Chapters 10 and 11
- Shultz, George, *Turmoil and Triumph*, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1993, Chap. 50, Blackboard Learn, Turmoil and Triumph folder

PART FOUR – THE FUTURE OF UNITED NATIONS PEACE OPERATIONS

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? Will the greater quantity of cooperation between the UN and the African Union lead to higher quality peace operations? 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 # 12: November 22 –The High-Level Panel; Congo, Somalia and Piracy off Somalia, Sudan – “The CNN Effect” – Discussion Group Seven (MG)

Reading

- *Durch-21*, Chapter 4
- International Crisis Group, Congo: “Five Priorities for a Peacebuilding Strategy” Africa Report N°150 – 11 May 2009 <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/central-africa/dr-congo/Congo%20Five%20Priorities%20for%20a%20Peacebuilding%20Strategy.pdf>
- International Crisis Group, Somalia: An Opportunity that Should Not Be Missed, Africa Briefing N°87 Nairobi/Brussels, 22 February 2012 <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/horn-of-africa/somalia/b87-somalia-an-opportunity-that-should-not-be-missed.pdf>
- International Crisis Group, ”South Sudan: Compounding Instability in a Unity State” Africa Report N°179 – 17 October 2011 <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/horn-of-africa/sudan/179%20South%20Sudan%20-%20Compounding%20Instability%20in%20Unity%20State.pdf>
- *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>
- Security Council Report: January 2012 Monthly Forecast, “UN-AU Strategic Partnership” http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/monthly-forecast/2012-01/lookup_c_gIKWLeMTIsG_b_7916235.php
- *Traub*, Chapter 20
- U.N. Secretary-General’s Report to the Security Council on Somalia, S2012/283, 1 May 2012 <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N12/319/74/PDF/N1231974.pdf?OpenElement>
- U.N. Secretary-General’s 2012 Report to the Security Council on Piracy off Somalia *FORTHCOMING*

November 29, No Class – Happy Thanksgiving

Class #13, December 6 –The Way Ahead: – Summing up

Reading

- Ayoub, Mohammed, “Third World Perspectives on Humanitarian Intervention,” *Global Governance*, 10, 2004, Blackboard Learn, UN Intervention Articles folder
- Dobbins, James, “The UN’s Role in Nation-Building: From the Belgian Congo to Iraq,” *Survival*, Winter 2004, Blackboard Learn, UN and Nation-building folder
- Doyle, Michael W., “War Making and Peace Making: The United Nations’ Post-Cold War Record,” in *Turbulent Peace*, pp. 529-560, Blackboard Learn
- *Durch-21*, Chapter 8
- *Goulding*, Chapter 18 and Epilogue
- Stimson Center, “Exploiting Synergies for Peacebuilding,” Alix J. Boucher, September 2010 http://www.stimson.org/fopo/pdf/Final_POE_Formatted_9_9_10.pdf
- Security Council Report (Columbia University), March 2007 UN Peacebuilding Commission, http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/site/c.gIKWLeMTIsG/b.2549867/k.2C4D/March_2007BRPeacebuilding_Commission.htm
- *Traub*, Chapters 12 and 18
- Traub, James, “Making Sense of the Mission,” *The New York Times Magazine*, April 11, 2004, Blackboard Learn, Making Sense of the Mission folder
- Urquhart, Brian , “For a U.N. Volunteer Force and Four Replies,” *Taylor*, 139-50 Blackboard Learn

“Attachment:” Fact sheets