BOSTON UNIVERSITY
PARDEE SCHOOL OF GLOBAL STUDIES
IR 548 Peacekeeping and State-Building
Spring 2019

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Office hours:

Course Outline

This course analyzes the mixed record of "complex" United Nations-led peacekeeping operations as well as other field operations led by the EU and the OSCE since the end of the Cold War. It begins by considering the history of diplomacy with particular reference to the concept of sovereignty and territorial integrity that has been for centuries the cornerstone of relations among internationally recognized states. We’ll briefly discuss the process of states’ recognition in international relations and the two dominant theories that deal with this issue.

We’ll then discuss how Covenant of the League of Nations tried to keep the peace after World War I and failed to avert the coming of World War II. We’ll address the concept of collective security embodied both in the Covenant and the United Nations Charter. The course then traces the rise of the concept of "traditional" United Nationspeacekeeping based on 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 are summarized.

The remainder of the course considers in detail the history of post-Cold War peacekeeping missions and the growing number of other state-building field operations. After describing the components of a “complex” of those missions, the course examines each of the key issues – national sovereignty v. international responsibility; the new global political commitment - the Responsibility to Protect that is seen by many scholars and diplomats as a cornerstone of a new international system as it doesn’t imply a consent of a state concerned for an intervention to be considered legitimate by international law; attitudes of the parties to the dispute; outside and regional power interest; field missions mandates; “executive-legislative” relations in the United Nations/the EU and other international organizations and so on.

Challenges that field missions face, diversity of their mandates 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. In summing up, the class will make a matrix synthesizing what has been learned.

This is a policy-oriented, seminar-style course, that is based on case studies of the major field operations of the post-Cold War and “9/11” eras. “Primary sources” – notably the Secretary-General’s reports to the UN Security Council, the EU or the OSCE reports 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 international organizations’ 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 Learning Outcomes:**

**By the end of this course:**

- Students will be able to understand how the UN and other international organizations formulate their policies and exhibit a clear understanding of the legal procedure by which international organizations (states) decide on the deployment of peacekeeping and other field operations.

- Students will demonstrate an understanding of the two dominant concepts in international relations that determine character, scope, and success of field operations: one is embodied in the traditional understanding of the state sovereignty whereas another is outlined in the new global political commitment – Responsibility to Protect. They will be able to understand how the concept R2P has changed legal and political circumstances under which states may decide on a peacekeeping operation;

- Students will be able to grasp and through practical simulation explain major challenges confronting field operations and formulate their ideas and proposals how to make field operations more effective and less controversial.

**Course assignments, examinations, and the grade scale:**

1. The final paper - Field Operation Case Study (40% of the grade): Each student will write a paper on one of the operations listed below. The length of the paper is 4000 words for undergraduates; 6000 words 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 substance of the paper: 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 the operation fared. This section should show that the student has read widely about the problem, concentrating on the UN, the EU or the OSCE documents, in particular, their periodic reports and decisions/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. Comparison with a similar operation from the list is also required. 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 ongoing efforts in Afghanistan, Burundi, Congo, Côte d’Ivoire, Cyprus, East Timor, Georgia, Kosovo, Lebanon, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan (and Chad) and Western Sahara.
“Mechanics:” Papers should be clearly footnoted or end-noted and should include a bibliography. Please use sub-headings within the paper.

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/ ISAF  Rwanda (P) – UNAMIR
Bosnia (P) – UNPROFOR  Somalia (P) – UNOSOM I and II
Bosnia (P) – UNMIBH  Central African Republic/Chad – MINURCAT II
Bosnia – The OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina  and II
Croatia (P) - UNPROFOR  India/Pakistan - UNIPOM
Western Sahara ()- MINURSO  Mali - MINUSMA
Guatemala (P) – MINUGUA  Ukraine – the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission/OSCE Project Coordinator in Ukraine/
Kosovo (P) – UNMIK  Observer Mission at the Russian Checkpoints
Kosovo (P) – The OSCE Verification Mission  Gukovo and Donetsk
Kosovo – The EU Mission - EULEX  Moldova - OSCE Mission
Sierra Leone – UNAMSIL  Serbia – OSCE Mission
East Timor – UNTAET/UNMISET  Montenegro – OSCE Mission
Timor Leste - UNMIT  Kazakhstan - OSCE Program Office, Astana
DR Congo – MONUC/MONUSCO  Georgia – OSCE Mission/EU Monitoring Mission
Liberia – UNMIL  Niger/Mali – EUCAP Sahel Niger&Mali/EUTM
Haiti – MINUSTAH  Mali
Lebanon – UNIFIL II  Somalia/CAR – EUCAP Somalia/EUTM Central
Darfur – African Union-UN Hybrid Operation  African Republic
South Sudan – UNMISS  Somalia – EU Navfor/NATO Ocean Shield
Syria - MINUSMA

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.

- 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:
– Mission case study topic choice;
–Outline and preliminary bibliography;
–Final paper submitted electronically;
Please submit the field operation case study by e-mail. The instructor will acknowledge receipt of the paper/exam in good order; if he does not do so, PLEASE FOLLOW UP.
2. Policy paper (25% of the grade): The final is a 3000-word essay which is to be prepared outside of class and which defends one of two propositions: United Nations or the EU field operations are likely to 1) grow in importance as a means or 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 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.... Please submit the final essay by e-mail. The instructor will acknowledge receipt of the paper/exam in good order; if he does not do so, PLEASE FOLLOW UP.

Final Note: The instructor is prepared to discuss with you, read and comment on draft final paper or policy paper. Comments on papers received earlier rather than later are likely to be more thorough.

2. Discussion Groups + reflection paper (900 words) (20% of the grade): Each graduate student enrolled in the course (or if necessary the instructor) will organize and lead a discussion on one of the topics mentioned above on the date given in the schedule below. The topics (in order of appearance in the schedule) are: 1) mandates of missions; 2) big power relations in the UN SC and success of peacekeeping operations; 3) sovereignty vs responsibility (state-building imposed or welcomed); 4) local government(s) and state-building/peacekeeping missions; 5) US-UN relations; 6) reconciliation and transitional justice; 7) big powers vs regional powers vs local government – do big powers understand local problems? Each student will choose (be assigned to) one of the groups. The 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: As indicated in the syllabus, a full class session will be devoted to the each of the seven discussions. The graduate student is the moderator; 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.

Reflection paper:
At the end of each discussion, students will be asked to assume the role of examiners and analyze the discussion and her/his role in it. No footnotes or bibliography are required. Because of the brevity of these papers (900 words), you will need to focus on the essentials. Pay attention to the question, which is different for each debate. Do not waste space reiterating instructions for your role or retelling the decision. Be focused on what you learned from the discussion; examine your role and the quality of your presentation and so on.

The reflection paper following the discussion should sum-up.

Participation: For the discussions to be worthwhile, wide student participation is essential. Students should prepare for every class by doing the assigned readings. For the six 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)
4. Class Participation (15% of the grade): Active participation in classroom discussion. Students are encouraged to participate in class activities. Class discussion and verbal presentations will be an integral part of the course and will account for 15% of the final class grade. Your sharp questions, open-mindedness, and lucid ideas are encouraged and will be reflected in grading.

Students should follow websites of the UN, the EU, and the OSCE. We will often devote some time and discuss an actual international issue upon instructor’s or students’ choice. Be ready to propose an issue for discussion in due time (preferable a class in advance) or to actively contribute to the class discussion. The contribution may include your presentations, questions, comments, thoughts or ideas shared with the professor via email and so on. Students should be prepared for classes and do the required reading in advance.

Participation will be judged on attendance, interventions in class, and in particular during discussion sessions. The instructor will from time to time pass on via e-mail relevant news items to the conversation.

**Grade scale** (students are graded individually):

- **Case study paper (the final paper)** 40% (40 points)
- **Policy paper** 25% (25 points)
- **Discussion** 20% (10 points for presentation + 10 points for reflection paper)
- **Participation** 15% (15 points)

**Instructional format & Course pedagogy**

**Attendance policy:**
Students are expected to attend all classes (two absences will be tolerated). Three unexcused absences and or numerous lateness will be considered in calculating the final grade. Illness or absence due to religious holidays or participation on important BU events is not considered as an unexcused absence if notified in advance by email.

**Missing the discussion will result in a failing grade for the discussion participation. Please e-mail me in advance of any absence.**

**Students with Documented Disabilities**
If you have a disability that requires extra time for exams or any other accommodations, please bring a note from the BU Office of Disabilities Services as soon as possible so that I can make arrangements for reasonable accommodations.

**Academic integrity:**
Class members are expected to maintain high standards of academic honesty and integrity. There is no tolerance for plagiarism. Handing in someone else’s work as your own (even if you worked together as a group) constitutes an example of plagiarism and dishonesty. You are expected to provide citations in papers for all quotations, paraphrases or ideas taken from any source other than your own. Boston
University has very strict standards for intellectual integrity, and punishment for plagiarism is severe, and can include permanent expulsion from the University. Please, see the the University undergraduate Academic Conduct Code at: http://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/

The GRS Academic Conduct Code is at: http://www.bu.edu/cas/current-students/phd-mfa-students/academic-policies-and-conduct-code/

**Readings**

Koops; MacQueen; Tardy; Williams: *The Oxford Handbook of UN Peacekeeping Operations*, Oxford University Press, 2015

Lise Morjé Howard: UN Peacekeeping in Civil Wars, Cambridge University Press, 2009

Béatrice Pouligny: Peace Operations Seen from Below (UN Missions and Local People), Kumarian Press Inc, 2006


Other readings in the schedule are available online or in Blackboard.

Two websites to explore and subscribe to are those of the International Crisis Group [www.crisisgroup.org](http://www.crisisgroup.org) and Security Council Report (affiliated with Columbia University) [www.securitycouncilreport.org](http://www.securitycouncilreport.org) It is worth receiving the electronic news bulletin [unnews@un.org](mailto:unnews@un.org), and useful documentation is available on [www.reformtheun.org](http://www.reformtheun.org)

Brief U.N. fact sheets on missions to be discussed in class can be found on [www.un.org](http://www.un.org).
**Schedule**

**Part One – Background**

The U. N.; “traditional” and “complex” Peacekeeping

Class #1:– The purpose, nature and requirements of the course.

Class #2: – 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, Blackboard, 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](http://history.acusd.edu/gen/text/versaillestreaty/ver001.html)


Reading


Reading
- *Bennett & Oliver*, Chapters 3 and 4, Blackboard
- *Benton*, pp 25-55 and 100-119, Blackboard, Soldiers for Peace folder

Class #5: – 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
- *Durch-UN*, Chapter 1
- *Goulding*, Chapter 2
**Class #6:— The hard part comes.** Setbacks of the mid-1990s in summary. Peacekeeping is cut down to size.

*Reading*


*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: Thursday – National sovereignty. Former Yugoslavia**

*Reading*

-Durch-**UN**, Chapter 6
- **Traub**, Chapter 3

**Class #8:— National sovereignty continued. Former Yugoslavia introduced**

*Reading*

- **Benton**, pp. 187-207, Blackboard

**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 #9: Thursday, – Outside and regional power and NGO engagement – Cambodia**

**Reading**
- *Durch*, 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.

**Class #10: – Mandates (continued) – Somalia; Brahimi Report introduced**

**Reading**
- *Benton*, pp. 158-185, Blackboard
- *Durch-UN*, Chapter 8
- *Durch-Brahimi*, Chapters 1-3
  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*

**Class #11: Thursday: Afghanistan –**


**Reading**
*Durch-21*, Chapter 7
*Traub*, Chapter 9

*Note: Paper outline and preliminary bibliography due*
Class #12 — Mandates (continued) – Discussion Group One

Reading

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 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.


Reading
- Dallaire, Romeo, Shake Hands with the Devil, New York, Carroll & Graf, 2004, Chapter 7, Coureinfo, Rwanda folder
  - Durch-UN, Chapter 9
- Kuperman, Alan J., “Rwanda in Retrospect,” Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb 2000, Blackboard, “Rwanda”
- Riza, S. Iqbal (Chef de Cabinet of Secretary-General), undated interview, Blackboard, “Rwanda”

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

Reading

Class #15:– The Secretariat and the Security Council: Discussion Group Two

Reading

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 #16: – The U.N.’s stake. Bosnia

Reading
- Goulding, Chapter 17

The United Nations and the United States

Troubled relations between the U.N. and "the indispensible 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: – The U.N. and the U.S.: Haiti

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, Blackboard “Haiti”- --
- “Making the Best of an Election in a Failed State,” The Economist, Feb 18, 2096, Blackboard, “Haiti” 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: Sovereignty revisited: East Timor.

Reading
- Brahimi Report, Parts V and VI plus Summary of Recommendations
- Durch-Brahimi, Chapter 5
- L&M, Chapters 5 and 11, Blackboard
Class #19: – Sovereignty revisited (continued). Responsibility to Protect

Reading
- Durch-21, Chapter 6
- Traub, pp 102-107 and 122-127

Class #20 – Sovereignty and “R2P:” Discussion Group Three

Reading
- Evans, Part I

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 #21:– 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, Blackboard, Turmoil and Triumph folder

Class #22:– Outside..... engagement – Discussion Group Four

Reading
- Bartoli, Andrea, “Mediating Peace in Mozambique: The Role of the Community of Saint’Egidio”, in Herding Cats, 209-244, Scanned and distributed
- Durch, Chapter 7
- Crocker, Chester A., High Noon in Southern Africa, Part 1, Blackboard, 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 #23: The U.N. and the U.S. – *Discussion Group Five***

**Reading**
- *Durch-UN*, Chapter 3
- *Goulding*, Chapter 13
- *MacKinnon*, pp 62-123, Blackboard, Evolution of US Peacekeeping Policy under Clinton, **1st Folder**
- *Traub*, Chapters 8 and 21

**Thursday, November 25, No Class – Happy Thanksgiving**

**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. 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 #24: –The High-Level Panel; Sierra Leone, Liberia, The Congo – “The CNN Effect” – *Discussion Group Six***

**Reading**
- *Durch-21*, Chapter 3 and 4
- *Traub*, pp 112-122 and Chapter 20

**Class #25: –Transitional administrations – *Discussion Group Seven***

**Reading**
- *Durch-21*, Chapters 2 and 5
- Traub, pp. 91-102


Reading
- Dobbins, James, “The UN’s Role in Nation-Building: From the Belgian Congo to Iraq,” Survival, Winter 2004, Blackboard, UN and Nation-building folder
- Goulding, Chapter 18 and Epilogue
- Jan Pronk interview, Blackboard, Sudan folder
  Traub, Chapters 12 and 18

Class #27: – Summing up

Reading
- Ayoub, Mohammed, “Third World Perspectives on Humanitarian Intervention,” Global Governance, 10, 2004, Blackboard, UN Intervention Articles folder
- Durch-21, Chapter 8
- Urquhart, Sir Brian et al., “For a U.N. Volunteer Force and Four Replies,” in Taylor, 139-50 Blackboard
- Security Council Report (Columbia University), March 2007 UN Peacebuilding Commission, http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/site/c.gIKWLeMTtSg/b.2549867/k.2C4D/March_2007BRPeacebuilding_Commission.htm