

ILO L 224: Seminar on Peace Operations
Summer, 2009
Professor Moremen

PRELIMINARY SYLLABUS

This course combines a thematic and case study approach to peace operations and their role in maintaining peace and security in the world. We will look at UN and non-UN peace operations, broadly defined to include peacekeeping, peace enforcement and post-conflict peacebuilding. We begin with an introduction to some fundamentals: theories about the nature of conflict; the UN Charter framework; and the types of peace operations. We then explore selected case studies of missions since the end of the Cold War to draw out common themes and to familiarize students with the evolving nature of peace operations. We weave in sessions that specifically address some broader issues, such as the law, policy, and ethics of humanitarian intervention, the role of regional organizations and subcontracting, and transitional justice. At the end of the course, students will participate in an exercise in which they develop and present aspects of an ideal peace-building operation, designed to draw on knowledge garnered from the cases, themes and issues studied earlier.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

This course will include several requirements, more fully described below: (a) completing assigned readings before class and participating in class discussions; (b) preparing journal entries (c) participating in a group presentation and a group exercise; (d) writing a 15-17 page paper, and (e) taking a final exam. Incompletes are strongly discouraged, except for medical or other serious emergency.

- a. Readings and Participation. [10%, including journal entries] Please read the assigned readings before class and be prepared to discuss them in class. Class participation is a required part of the course, and will be considered in determining your grade.
- b. Journal Entries. **For seven of the class sessions**, you will submit a 2 page typed, double-spaced journal entry on some aspect of that week's reading. Rather than a summary of the reading, the journal entry should express your critical thoughts and reactions. **You should submit journal entries in class. If you will be absent, you may submit your journal entry by e-mail. Late entries will be penalized ½ a mark; entries not submitted by the next class will not be graded.**
- c. Class Presentation on a Peace Operation [5%] and Iraq Peacebuilding Exercise [20%] You will make a group presentation to the class on one of the case studies we are examining. You will also prepare a presentation on one aspect of an ideal peace-building program for Iraq toward the end of the class. Further information on the structure of these exercises will be provided. **The Iraq peacebuilding exercise will be held in class on Tuesday, June 23; please plan your schedules accordingly.**

- d. Research Paper. [35%] You will write a 15-17 page research paper on an issue relevant to the class. You will submit a brief (two paragraph) written proposal to me before beginning your paper. **You will submit a final one-page paper proposal, together with an annotated bibliography, in class on June 2. Please see me before that date if you want to discuss a paper topic. Papers will be due on Monday, June 15, at 4 p.m. Late papers will be penalized ½ a grade; papers late by more than one week will receive an additional penalty. You may submit your paper by e-mail, but please also submit a hard copy to me in our next class.**
- e. Final Exam. [30%] There will be a final exam covering the entire class, including all assigned readings.

COURSE MATERIALS: All students are expected to purchase the following books:

- Chester Crocker, Fen Hampson, & Pamela Aall, eds., Leashing the Dogs of War (2007).
- William Durch, ed., Twenty-First Century Peace Operations (2006).
- Michael Byers, War Law: Understanding International Law and Armed Conflict (2005).
- Dobbins, et al., The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building (2007).

OFFICE HOURS AND CONTACT INFORMATION. Office hours: TBA. I am also available after class and by appointment. My e-mail address is moremeph@shu.edu.

GRADING SCALE: The grading scale used for most assignments will be: 93 and above=A; 90-92=A-; 87-89=B+; 83-86=B; 80-82=B-; 77-79=C+; 73-76=C; 70-72=C; 67-69-D+; 63-66=D; 60-62=D-; Below 60=F. Journal entries will be graded on a check, check minus, and check plus basis.

CURRICULUM AND READINGS

Supp = Supplemental readings.

Leashing the Dogs= Crocker et al., Leashing the Dogs of War.

21st C. Peace Operations=Durch, Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations.

Beginner's Guide=Dobbins, et al., The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building.

Session 1 [5/19]: Introduction; Causes of Conflict; Introduction to UN Peace Operations

-Supp:

-David, Internal War, 49 World Pol. 552 (1997).

-Leashing the Dogs: Ch. 1 (Levy); Ch. 6 (Rotberg); Ch. 7 (Ayoob); Ch. 8 (King); Ch. 9 (Gurr); Ch. 13 (Stewart & Brown). Recommended: Ch. 10 (Mansfield & Snyder); Ch. 12 (Collier).

-U.N. Website:

-UN Organizational Chart:

-<http://www.un.org/aboutun/unchart.pdf>.

-Supp:

-Bellamy, et al., Understanding Peacekeeping (2004) pp. 45-55.

-Doyle & Sambonis, Making War & Building Peace, pp. 1-18.

-Durch & Berkman, Restoring and Maintaining Peace: What We Know So Far, in 21st C. Peace Operations, pp. 31-39.

Session 3 [5/21]: Intro to U.N. Peace Operations (continued): The New World Order

- Leashing the Dogs: Urquhart (Ch. 15); Mingst and Karns (Ch. 28, pp. 497-513 only).

-Agenda For Peace, available at <http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html>.

[skim]

-Supp:

- UN Charter, Chapters I, V, VI, VII, and VIII.
- White, Keeping the Peace (1997) Chs. 2, 8.
- Findlay, The Use of Force in U.N. Peace Operations (2002) pp. 1-19.
- Johnstone, Dilemmas of Robust Peace Operations, in Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2006 (2006), pp. 1-8.
- Hampson, The Pursuit of Human Rights. . . ., in UN Peacekeeping . . . (Durch, ed. 1996).
- Johnstone, Rights and Reconciliation in El Salvador in Doyle, Keeping the Peace (1997).

Session 4 [5/26]: Somalia and Rwanda

- Supp:
 - Durch, Somalia, UN Peacekeeping . . . (Durch, ed. 1996).
 - Security Council Resolutions.
 - U.S. Administration Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations (summary of 3 May 1994 Presidential Decision Directive 25), 33 Int'l Legal Materials 705 (1994).
- Power, Bystanders to Genocide, Atlantic Monthly, Sept., 2001, available through Academic Search Premier.
- Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations During the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda, pp. 3-52, available at <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/reports.htm>.
- Kuperman, Rwanda in Retrospect, 79 Foreign Affairs 94 (Jan./Feb. 2000), available through Academic Search Premier.

Session 5 [5/28]: Yugoslavia

- Cousens and Harland, Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 21st C. Peace Operations.
- Supp:
 - Durch and Schear, Yugoslavia, in UN Peacekeeping . . . (Durch, ed. 1996).
 - Betts, The Impossibility of Impartial Intervention, in Crocker et al., eds., Turbulent Peace (2001).
 - Security Council Resolutions on Yugoslavia.
 - Summary of the Dayton Peace Agreement.
 - Dziedzic, Introduction, in Policing the New World Disorder 3 (2002).
 - Schmidl, Police Functions in Peace Operations, in Policing the New World Disorder 19 (Oakley, et al. eds., 2002).
 - Perito, Where is the Lone Ranger When We Need Him? (2004), Chs. 4 and 5.
- Agenda for Peace, Supplement, available at <http://www.un.org/documents/secretariat.htm>. [skim]
- Recommended: Report of the Secretary General: The Fall of Srebrenica, <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/reports.htm>.

PAPER TOPICS DUE IN CLASS JUNE 2

Session 6 [6/2]: Humanitarian Intervention and International Law Regarding the Use of Force—Ethical, Political, and Legal Issues

- Leashing the Dogs: Ch. 16 (Jentleson); Ch. 32 (Wedgwood).
- Int'l Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, The Responsibility to Protect (2001) Synopsis, available at <http://www.iciss.ca/pdf/Commission-Report.pdf>.
- Supp:
 - Smith, Humanitarian Intervention, Ethics and International Affairs (1998).
 - Annan, Two Concepts of Sovereignty, The Economist, 18 Sept. 1999.
 - Report of the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (2004) pp. 61-69.
- Walzer, The Argument about Humanitarian Intervention, Dissent (Winter, 2002), available through Academic Search Premier.
- Review Chs. II, VI and VII of UN Charter from Session 3.
- Byers, War Law (2005), Introduction and Chapters 2, 4, 7, 8. [Recommended: Chs. 3 and 6].
- Recommended: Ken Roth, The War in Iraq: Not a Humanitarian Intervention. <http://hrw.org/wr2k4/download/3.pdf#search=%22kenneth%20roth%20humanitarian%20intervention%22>.

Session 7 [6/4]: The Role of Regional Organizations and Subcontracting

- Diehl (Ch. 30), in Leashing the Dogs,
- Berman and Labonte, Sierra Leone, in 21st C. Peace Operations.
- Roessler and Prendergast, Democratic Republic of the Congo, in 21st C. Peace Operations.
- Supp:
 - Bellamy, et al., Understanding Peacekeeping (2005), Ch. 11 Subcontracting.
 - Barnett, The Limits of Peacekeeping, Spheres of Influence, and the Future of the United Nations, in Collective Conflict Management and Changing World Politics (Lepgold & Weiss, eds. 1998) [skim].
 - Leurdijk, The UN and NATO: The Logic of Primacy, in The United Nations & Regional Security (Pugh & Sidhu, eds., 2003).
- [Reading TBA on Sudan] .

Session 8 [6/9]: Kosovo and East Timor

- Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (Brahimi Report), Executive Summary, available at http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/
- Durch, et al., The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations (2003), Executive Summary, available at <http://www.stimson.org/fopo/pdf/BR-Front.pdf#search=%22The%20Brahimi%20Report%20and%20the%20Future%20of%20UN%20Peace%20Operations%20%22>.
- Dziedzic, Kosovo, in 21st C. Peace Operations.
- The Independent International Commission on Kosovo, The Kosovo Report: Conflict, International Response, Lessons Learned (2000), Executive

Summary, available at

<http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/thekosovoreport.htm>.

-Smith & Dee, East Timor, in 21st C. Peace Operations.

-Supp:

-Mandelbaum, A Perfect Failure: NATO's War Against Yugoslavia, 78 Foreign Affairs 2 (Sept./Oct. 1999) and Steinberg, A Perfect Polemic: Blind to Reality on Kosovo, 78 Foreign Affairs 6 (November/December 1999).

-Strohmeier, Collapse and Reconstruction of a Judicial System: The United Nations Mission in Kosovo and East Timor 95 Am. J. Int'l L. 46 (2001).

Session 9 [6/11]: Prevention and Justice/Rule of Law

-Kritz (Ch. 23), in Leashing the Dogs.

-Supp:

-Bellamy, et al., Understanding Peacekeeping (2004), pp. 250-268.

-Foreign Affairs articles on prevention by Stedman, Lund, Atwood & Stedman (1995).

-Flournoy & Pan, Dealing with Demons: Enhancing Justice and Reconciliation, in Winning the Peace (Orr et al. eds., 2004).

-Putnam, Human Rights and Sustainable Peace, in Ending Civil Wars (Stedman, et al. eds., 2002).

-Martha Minow, Between Vengeance and Forgiveness (1998) [Excerpts: 25-32 and 118-136].

-Cassese, The Role of Internationalized Courts and Tribunals in the Fight Against International Criminality, in Internationalized Courts 3 (Romano, et al., eds., 2004).

-Recommended: Dickinson, The Promise of Hybrid Courts 97 Am. J. Int'l L. 295 (2005).

-Mendeloff, Truth-Seeking, Truth-Telling, and Postconflict Peacebuilding: Curb the Enthusiasm?, 6 Int'l Studies Rev. 355 (2004), available through Academic Search Premier.

PAPERS DUE MONDAY, JUNE 15 AT 4 P.M.

Session 10: [6/16] Afghanistan & Iraq

-Thier, Afghanistan, in 21st C. Peace Operations.

-Supp:

-Saikal, Afghanistan's Weak State and Strong Society, in Making States Work 193 (Chesterman et al., eds., 2005).

-Ignatieff, Nation-Building Lite, NY Times Magazine, July 28, 2002.

-Crocker, Iraq: Going it Alone, Gone Wrong in Winning the Peace (Orr, ed., 2004).

-Dobbins, et al., Iraq, in The UN's Role in Nation-Building (2005).

-Cameron, Making Federalism Work, in Iraq: Preventing a New Generation of Conflict (Bouillon, et al., eds, 2007).

- Chesterman, Transitional Administration, State-Building and the United Nations, in Making States Work (Chesterman, et al., eds., 2005).

Session 11: [6/18] Peacebuilding in Iraq I.

- Dobbins, Beginner's Guide: Forward; Summary; Chapters 2, 6-8, 10.
- Supp:
 - Orr, Constructing a Cohesive Strategic International Response, in Winning the Peace (Orr, et al. eds., 2004)
 - Forman & Patrick, Introduction, in Good Intentions: Pledges of Aid for Postconflict Recovery (Forman & Patrick, eds. 2000).
 - Woodward, Economic Priorities for Successful Peace Implementation, in Ending Civil Wars (Stedman et al. eds., 2002).
 - Spear, Disarmament and Demobilization, in Ending Civil Wars (Stedman et al. eds., 2002).
- Reilly, Post-Conflict Elections: Constraints and Dangers, Int'l Peacekeeping 118 (Summer, 2002), available through Academic Search Premier.

Session 12: [6/23]: Peacebuilding in Iraq II.

- In-class exercise.

Session 13 [6/25] Lessons Learned: US and UN Responses; General Lessons

- National Security Presidential Directive/NSPD-44, Dec. 7, 2005, available at <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/nspd-44.html>.
- DOD Directive 3000.05, Military Support for Stability, Security, Transition, and Reconstruction (SSTR) Operations, Nov. 28, 2005, available at <http://www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/300005p.pdf>
- Leashing the Dogs: Marten (Ch. 34), Ottoway (Ch. 33); Hampson & Mendeloff.
- Supp:
 - Stedman, Policy Implications in Ending Civil Wars (Stedman, et al., eds., 2002).
 - Doyle & Sambanis, Making War & Building Peace (2006), Conclusion.
- Collier, et al., Post-Conflict Risks, Working Paper (2006), available at <http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/workingpapers/pdfs/2006-12text.pdf>.