

Elliott School of International Affairs

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

International Peacekeeping

IAFF 6186 Section 12
3.0 Credits CRN: 88192
Classes: August 30, 2017 until December 11, 2017
Room C-106, 1776 G Street
Wednesday, 5:10-7.00pm

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Office Hours: By appointment
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LEARNING AIMS

This course aims to provide students with a Masters-level knowledge of the political debates about contemporary international peace operations, including those conducted by the United Nations and regional organizations such as the African Union and European Union. The roles peacekeepers can play in implementing peace agreements and protecting civilians in cases of warfare and atrocities has been hotly disputed for decades. This course analyzes the crucial political and organizational dynamics as well as some of the major contemporary debates about international peace operations. It will enable students to critically assess the strengths and limitations of these missions. Part 1 explores several fundamental questions about peace operations: What are they? What are they for? Who conducts them? How should we evaluate them? Part 2 then addresses some of the principal ongoing debates that are shaping contemporary peace operations around the world. Topics covered include force generation, the role of regional security organizations and private security companies, gender issues, policing, civilian protection, organized crime and partnership peacekeeping. The course will also encourage students to develop a realistic empathy for the constraints that confront decision-makers in complex environments characterized by uncertainty and limited resources. The learning and teaching objectives of the course are thus subject specific and general. The latter include the development of oral and written skills through class discussion and written assignments.

UNIVERSITY RESOURCES AND POLICIES

Academic Integrity

- Students are expected to abide by the University's "Code of Academic Integrity," available at <https://studentconduct.gwu.edu/academic-integrity>

Support for Students Outside the Classroom

- Any students that think they might need to use the University's Disability Support Services should follow the instructions found here: <https://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/>
- Any students that think they might need to use the University's Mental Health Services can find details here: <https://counselingcenter.gwu.edu/>

In case of emergencies

- In the case of an emergency, the University's Emergency Operations Plan can be found here: https://campusadvisories.gwu.edu/sites/campusadvisories.gwu.edu/files/downloads/GW_Emergency_Operations_Plan.pdf

Out-of-Class and Independent Learning Guidelines

- In a 15-week semester, including exam week, students are expected to spend a minimum of 100 minutes of out-of-class work for every 50 minutes of direct instruction, for a minimum total of 2.5 hours a week. A 3-credit course should include 2.5 hours of direct instruction and a minimum of 5 hours of independent learning or 7.5 hours per week. More information about GW's credit hour policy can be found at: provost.gwu.edu/policies-forms

LEARNING OUTCOMES

At a general level, by the end of the course students should:

- Be able to develop their understanding of the broader theoretical issues and debates relevant to international peace operations such that they can engage these questions independently.
- Have the ability to relate the conceptual ideas discussed on the module to the specific case studies.
- Have developed their research, written and oral communication skills.

The subject-specific objectives involve attaining a Masters level ability to discuss:

- The role that peace operations play within wider processes of global politics.
- The principal challenges of force generation.
- The place of military force in addressing political crises.
- The ethical and legal issues shaping peace operations.
- The role of the UN and regional organizations.
- The role of private actors in international peace and security.
- The role of gender dynamics in shaping peace operations.

COURSE OVERVIEW AND SCHEDULE

1. Introduction and overview (30 August)

Part 1: Analyzing Peace Operations

2. Peace Operations 101: Actors, Processes, Funding and Politics (6 September)
3. Peace Operations Doctrine (13 September)
4. Assessing Peace Operations (20 September)

Part 2: Contemporary Debates

5. Force Generation (27 September)
6. Regionalization (4 October)
7. Partnership Peacekeeping: UN-Africa (11 October)
8. Use of Force (18 October)
9. Privatization (25 October)
10. Gender (1 November)
11. Policing (8 November)
12. Organized Crime (15 November)
- No Class: Thanksgiving Break, 22-25 November**
13. Civilian Protection (29 November)
14. Reflections (6 December)

COURSE ASSESSMENT

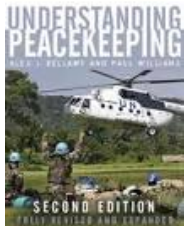
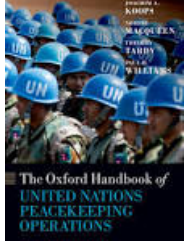
Attendance and participation	20%
One Midterm Essay (10-12pp)	30%
One Research Paper (18-20pp)	50%

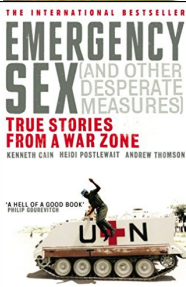
COURSE REQUIREMENTS

- Attendance and participation (20%): This is a seminar, not a lecture course. Student contributions are thus essential. Students are required to attend all sessions, arrive on time, and be prepared to discuss *at least* the items listed under Essential Reading prior to each session.
- Midterm Essay 1 (30%): Write a critical evaluation of a peace operation of your choice. This may be a UN, UN-authorized, or non-UN peace operation. It may be ongoing or completed. Your paper should set out the criteria that you will use to assess the operation, why they are appropriate for this mission, and the extent to which the operation succeeded in meeting them. The paper should be ten-twelve (10-12) double-spaced, 12-point font, pages in length, excluding the Bibliography. If the paper exceeds the page limit, the grade will be reduced. Students should submit one electronic version of the paper (in Microsoft Word) to my e-mail address. **Due Class 8: 18 October 2017.** [I am happy to advise on additional sources not listed in the syllabus.]
- Research Paper (50%): Devise and answer a research question of your choice connected to one of the contemporary debates discussed in the class. Exact questions MUST be agreed with Professor Williams. The paper should be eighteen-twenty (18-20) double-spaced, 12-point font, pages in length, excluding the Bibliography. If the paper exceeds the page limit, the grade will be reduced. *The substance of the paper should show evidence of your having read the relevant required readings from the class.* Students should submit one electronic version of the paper (in Microsoft Word) to my e-mail address. **Due 5pm (EST) on Friday 15 December 2017.**
- Late papers will be penalized one-third of the grade per working day (from A to A-, from A- to B+, etc.) Incompletes will not be allowed, except in the case of truly dire emergencies. Save and print your work regularly as you write. Problems with technology are not an acceptable reason for late work.
- Sources should be cited using a recognized system of referencing, preferably:
 - Chicago http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html or
 - Harvard <http://openjournals.net/files/Ref/HARVARD2009%20Reference%20guide.pdf>

RECOMMENDED TEXTS ON PEACE OPERATIONS

There is no single book that covers all the material in this course – you need to read widely. If you want to purchase some good introductions to the subject I recommend the following, especially if you have not studied peace operations before:

<p>Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, <i>Understanding Peacekeeping</i>. 2nd edition. (Polity/Blackwell, 2010), www.politybooks.com/up2.</p> <p>An introduction to almost all the issues covered in the course. If you're new to peacekeeping, start here. The website contains extra case studies, information and web-links.</p>	
<p>Joachim Koops et al (eds.), <i>The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations</i> (Oxford University Press, 2015).</p> <p>A comprehensive overview and analysis of every UN peacekeeping operation 1947-2013 plus several thematic/analytical chapters. [No MINUSCA!]</p> <p>[Paperback edition is available to purchase from PDW.]</p>	

<p>Jean-Marie Guehenno, <i>The Fog of Peace: A Memoir of International Peacekeeping in the 21st Century</i> (Brookings Institution Press, 2015).</p> <p>Memoir of Guehenno’s time as UN Under-Secretary General of UN peacekeeping operations.</p>	
<p>William J. Durch (ed.), <i>Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations</i> (USIP Press, 2006).</p> <p>The best available case study material of peace operations (up to 2005) in Bosnia, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kosovo, East Timor and Afghanistan.</p>	
<p>Paul Diehl and Alexandru Balas, <i>Peace Operations</i> (Polity, 2nd edition, 2014).</p> <p>This short book gives a reasonable overview of the evolution, organization and challenges facing peace operations, as well as a useful perspective on how to evaluate them.</p>	
<p>Kenneth Cain, Heidi Postlewait, Andrew Thomson, <i>Emergency Sex and Other Desperate Measures: A True Story From Hell on Earth</i> (Miramax/Ebury 2004).</p> <p>One of the few memoirs written by “ordinary” UN peacekeepers – two Americans and a New Zealander – who ended up working in UN peacekeeping operations during the 1990s for very different reasons.</p>	

OTHER USEFUL GENERAL RESOURCES ON PEACE OPERATIONS

The *Providing for Peacekeeping Project* – this is a project I co-manage with IPI and the University of Queensland, Australia. It is mainly concerned with understanding the UN’s force generation process and how to develop more effective peace operations in the field. It now contains roughly 70 country profiles and 30 thematic studies as well as UN data:

<http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/>

Global Peace Operations Review – a useful website from New York University with good data and essays analyzing recent UN and non-UN peace operations: <http://peaceoperationsreview.org/>

Trevor Findlay, *The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations* (Oxford UP for SIPRI, 2002). This excellent book on the evolution of the use of force in peace operations, contains very good case study discussions, and is now freely available and posted on Blackboard.

International Peacekeeping (Taylor & Francis) journal. The longest-running (since 1994) academic journal dedicated to issues related to international peace operations. Access available through Gelman Library E-journals.

CLASS TOPICS

This reading list is long. You are not expected to read everything on it but all the readings listed are relevant. The aim of providing more rather than less references is to give you a reasonable starting point for your research papers in particular. I am happy to supplement this list with reading suggestions on specific missions – just ask me.

Session 1 (30 August): Introduction, Overview and Administrative Issues

We will go over the syllabus and some of the basics of peace operations. I suggest the following as good introductory reading.

- Gowan, R., 'Ten Trends in Peace Operations', *Global Peace Operations Review*, (2015), <http://peaceoperationsreview.org/thematic-essays/10-trends-in-peace-operations/>
- Jones, B., 'The UN Security Council and Crisis Management' in C. Crocker et al (eds.), *Managing Conflict in a World Adrift* (USIP Press/CIGI, 2015), pp.311-29.
- Koops, J. et al, 'Introduction' in J. Koops et al (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* (Oxford University Press, 2015). [On Blackboard]
- Bellamy A. and P. Williams, 'Trends in Peace Operations, 1947-2013' in J. Koops et al (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* (Oxford University Press, 2015). [On Blackboard]
- [You needn't read the entire report for the Introductory session but it is THE key report of the last 15 years on peace operations so make sure you read it all at some stage.] Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (#HIPPO), *Uniting Our Strengths for Peace: Politics, Partnership and People* (16 June 2015): http://www.un.org/sg/pdf/HIPPO_Report_1_June_2015.pdf

Useful General Readings on Peacekeeping

- Williams, P.D., 'Peace Operations' in R.A. Denmark et al (eds.), *The International Studies Encyclopedia. Volume IX* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp.5551-5578. [On Blackboard]
- Fortna, V.P. & L.M. Howard, 'Pitfalls and Prospects in the Peacekeeping Literature,' *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11 (2008), 283–301.
- Paris, R. 'Broadening the study of peace operations', *International Studies Review*, 2:3 (2000), 27-44.
- Diehl, P.F., *International Peacekeeping* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1993 and 1994).
- Fortna, V.P., *Does Peacekeeping Work?* (Princeton UP, 2008).
- Doyle, M.W. & N. Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace* (Princeton UP, 2006).
- Diehl, P.F., 'Forks in the Road: Theoretical and Policy Concerns for 21st Century Peacekeeping', *Global Society*, 14:3 (2000), 337-60.
- Durch, W.J. (ed.), *Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis* (St Martins Press, 1993).
- Durch, W.J. (ed.), *UN Peacekeeping, American Policy and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (Macmillan, 1996).
- Goulding, M., *Peacemonger* (John Murray, 2002).
- Goulding, M., 'The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping', *International Affairs*, 69:3 (1993), 451-64.
- Diehl, P., 'Peacekeeping Operations and the Quest for Peace', *Political Science Quarterly*, 103:3 (1988), 485-507.

PART 1: ANALYZING PEACE OPERATIONS

Session 2 (6 September): Peace Operations 101: Actors, Processes, Funding and Politics

- Which actors can conduct peace operations?
- How are UN peace operations created, assembled and deployed?
- How are UN peace operations paid for?

- What are the most contentious political issues generated by peace operations?

Essential Reading

Bellamy & Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity 2010), Introduction and chapters 1-2.

United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines (DPKO: 2008), chapters 4-5.

Read through the UN DPKO website, especially “What is peacekeeping?” and “Financing peacekeeping”:

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peacekeeping.shtml> and

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/financing.shtml>

Recommended Reading

Shimura, H., ‘The Role of the UN Secretariat in Organising Peacekeeping’ in R. Thakur & A. Schnabel (eds.), *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* (UN UP, 2001).

Durch, W.J. (ed.), *Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis* (St Martins Press, 1993), esp. chapters 1-2.

Holt, V.K. & G. Taylor with M. Kelly, *Protecting Civilians in the Context of UN Peacekeeping Operations* (UN DPKO/OCHA, 2009), chapter 3.

Session 3 (13 September): Peace Operations Doctrine

- What did the so-called Brahimi Report (2000) identify as the major weaknesses of the UN’s approach to peacekeeping?
- What are the main strengths and weaknesses of the UN’s 2008 guidelines and principles for peacekeeping (capstone doctrine)?
- What did the #HIPPO conclude was the most sensible way forward for UN peace operations?
- What should be the principal purposes of peace operations?

Essential Reading

Bellamy & Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity, 2010), chapter 4.

Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations [The Brahimi Report] (UN: 2000), Executive Summary + Summary of Recommendations.

United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines (DPKO: 2008), Intro & chs 2-3.

#HIPPO, *Uniting Our Strengths for Peace* (June 2015), chapter 2.

Durch, W.J. & M. England, ‘The Purposes of Peace Operations’, in *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations* (2009), pp.9-19 http://peaceoperationsreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/2009_annual_review.pdf

Recommended Background Reading

Boutros-Ghali, B., *An Agenda for Peace* (UN, 1992), at http://www.unrol.org/files/A_47_277.pdf *The Supplement* (Feb. 1995) is at <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/50/plenary/a50-60.htm>

Discussions of the Brahimi Report

White, N.D., ‘Commentary on the Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (The Brahimi Report)’, *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, 6:1 (2001), 127-46.

Gray, C., ‘Peacekeeping after the Brahimi Report: Is there a Crisis of Credibility for the UN?’, *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, 6:2 (2001), 267-88.

Schnabel, A. & R. Thakur, ‘From *Agenda for Peace* to the Brahimi Report: Towards a New Era of UN Peace Operations?’ in R. Thakur & A. Schnabel (eds.), *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* (UN UP, 2001), pp. 238-55.

Malone, D. & R. Thakur, ‘UN Peacekeeping: Lessons Learned?’, *Global Governance*, 7 (2001), 11-17.

Bellamy, A.J. & P.D. Williams, ‘Thinking anew about peace operations’, *International Peacekeeping*, 11:1 (2004), 1-15.

Guehenno, J.-M., 'The UN Post-Brahimi', *Journal of International Affairs*, 55:2 (2002), 489-500.
Bruce Jones et al, *Building on Brahimi: Peacekeeping in an era of strategic uncertainty* (New York: Center on International Cooperation, April 2009).

Discussions of the #HIPPO Report

Von Einseidel, S. and R. Chandrum, 'The High Level Panel and the Prospects for Reform of UN Peace Operations', 14 July 2015, <http://cpr.unu.edu/the-high-level-panel-and-the-prospects-for-reform-of-un-peace-operations.html>
Goetz, A.-M. and R. Jenkins, 'Missed Opportunities: Gender and the UN's Peacebuilding and Peace Operations Reports', July 2015, <http://ht.ly/QkJEY>
Gowan, R., 'Technical fixes not enough to shore up UN peacekeeping', *World Politics Review*, 22 June 2015, <http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/16049/technical-fixes-not-enough-to-shore-up-u-n-peacekeeping>
Arnault, J. 'A background to the HIPPO', August 2015 <http://peaceoperationsreview.org/thematic-essays/a-background-to-the-report-of-the-high-level-panel-on-peace-operations/>

Session 4 (20 September): Assessing Peace Operations

- What are peace operations for?
- What criteria should we use to evaluate peace operations?
- What does "success" and "failure" mean in relation to peace operations?
- Whose voices should determine the answers to these questions?

Essential Reading

Diehl and Balas, *Peace Operations* (Polity, 2nd edn, 2014), chapter 4.
Diehl, P. and D. Druckman, 'Evaluating Peace Operations' in J. Koops et al (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of UN Peacekeeping Operations* (Oxford UP, 2015), chapter 5. [On Blackboard]
Downs, G. & S.J. Stedman, 'Evaluation Issues in Peace Implementation' in S.J. Stedman, D. Rothchild & E.M. Couzens (eds.), *Ending Civil Wars* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002).
Call, C.T. 'Knowing peace when you see it: Setting standards for peacebuilding success,' *Civil Wars*, 10:2 (2008), 173-94.

Recommended Reading

Lipner, M. and A. Livingstone, *Impact Evaluation and Assessment of UN Peace Operations* (International Forum for the Challenges of Peace Operations, Occasional Paper No.6, June 2015), http://www.challengesforum.org/Global/Reports/Occasional%20Papers/ImpactEvaluationandAssessment_2015_6.pdf
Diehl, P. and D. Druckman, *Evaluating Peace Operations* (Lynne Rienner, 2010).
Fortna, V.P., *Does Peacekeeping Work?* (Princeton UP, 2008).
Diehl, P. *Peace Operations* (Polity, 2008), pp.118-22.
van der Lijn, J. 'Success and Failure of UN Peacekeeping Operations: UNMIS in Sudan,' *Jrnl of International Peacekeeping* 14 (2010): 27-59.
Druckman, D. et al., 'Evaluating Peacekeeping Missions', *Mershon International Studies Review*, 41:1 (1997), 151-65.
Druckman, D. & P. Stern, 'Perspectives on Evaluating Peacekeeping Missions', *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 4:1 (1999).
Bellamy A.J. & P.D. Williams, 'Who's Keeping the Peace? Regionalization and Contemporary Peace Operations', *International Security*, 29:4 (2005), 171-179.
Bratt, D., 'Assessing the success of UN peacekeeping missions', *International Peacekeeping*, 3:4 (1996), 64-81.

PART 2: CONTEMPORARY DEBATES

Session 5 (27 September): Force Generation

- Why do states provide peacekeepers?
- Is it possible to construct a persuasive general theory of force generation for peace operations?
- What are the main challenges facing the UN's force generation process?

Essential Reading

Bellamy, A.J. & P.D. Williams (eds.), *Providing Peacekeepers* (Oxford UP, 2013), Intro. & chs 19-20. [On Blackboard]

Read any **TWO** country profiles of your choice from the *Providing for Peacekeeping* website:

<http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/profiles/>

P. Cunliffe, *Legions of Peace: UN Peacekeepers from the Global South* (Hurst, 2013), Introduction. *Current and Emerging Uniformed Capability Requirements for UN Peacekeeping* (UN DPKO/DFS internal document, May 2017). [On Blackboard]

Recommended Reading

Bellamy, A.J. & P.D. Williams (eds.), *Providing Peacekeepers* (Oxford UP, 2013), chs 2-18.

Kathman, J.D. & M.M. Mein, "Who Keeps the Peace? Understanding State Contributions to UN Peacekeeping Operations," *International Studies Quarterly*, 61:1 (2017), pp.150-62.

Smith, A. & A. Boutellis, *Rethinking Force Generation: Filling the Capability Gaps in UN Peacekeeping* (IPI, PPP Study No.2, May 2013), <http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/project/rethinking-force-generation/> Bove, V. and L. Elia, 'Supplying Peace: participation in and troop contribution to peacekeeping missions', *Journal of Peace Research*, 48:6 (2011): 699-714.

Uzoni, G., 'Refugee flows and state contributions to post-Cold War UN peacekeeping missions', *Journal of Peace Research*, OnlineFirst 8 June 2015, <http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/early/2015/06/07/0022343315574353.abstract>

Stojek, S.M. and J. Tir, 'The supply side of United Nations peacekeeping operations: Trade ties and United Nations-led deployments to civil war states', *European Journal of International Relations*, 21:2 (2015): 352-76.

Session 6 (4 October): Regionalization

- Do regional organizations make good peacekeepers? What about the EU and AU?
- What are the main advantages of regional organizations participating in peace operations?
- What are the main disadvantages?
- What should be the appropriate relationship between the UN and regional organizations in matters of international peace and security?

Essential Reading

Bellamy & Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity, 2010), chapter 13.

Diehl, P.F. 'New Roles for Regional Organizations' in C. Crocker et al (eds.), *Leashing the Dogs of War* (US Institute of Peace, 2007), pp.535-51.

Williams, P.D., 'Global and Regional Peacekeepers: Trends, Opportunities, Risks and a Way Ahead', *Global Policy*, 8:1 (2017), pp.124-29.

Koops, J.A. & T. Tardy, 'The UN's Inter-Organizational Relations in Peacekeeping' in Koops et al (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of UN Peacekeeping Operations* (Oxford UP, 2015), pp.60-77. [On Blackboard]

Recommended Reading: General

- Report of the Secretary-General, *The role of regional and subregional arrangements in implementing the responsibility to protect* (UN doc. A/65/877-S/2011/393, 28 June 2011). [Skim entire report.]
- Job, B.L., 'The UN, Regional Organisations and Regional Conflict' in R.M. Price & M. Zacher (eds.), *The UN and Global Security* (Palgrave, 2004), pp.227-43.
- Coleman, K., *International Organisations and Peace Enforcement* (Cambridge UP, 2007).
- Zaum, D. (ed.), *Legitimizing International Organizations* (Oxford UP, 2013).
- Durwood, R., 'Security Council authorisation for regional peace operations: a critical analysis', *International Peacekeeping*, 13:3 (2006), 350-65.
- Diehl, P.F. & Y-I. Cho, 'Passing the Buck in Conflict Management: The Role of Regional Organizations in the Post-Cold War Era', *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 12:2 (2006), 191-202.
- Wilson, G. 'UN Authorized Enforcement: Regional Organizations versus 'Coalitions of the Willing'', *International Peacekeeping*, 10:2 (2003), 89-106.
- Bellamy A.J. & P.D. Williams, 'Who's Keeping the Peace? Regionalization and Contemporary Peace Operations', *International Security*, 29:4 (2005), 157-95.
- Williams, P.D., 'Regional Arrangements and the Use of Force' in C. Crocker et al (eds.), *Managing Conflict in a World Adrift* (USIP Press/CIGI, 2015).
- Sarooshi, D., *The UN and the Development of Collective Security* (Oxford UP, 2001), chapter 6.
- Forman, S. & A. Grene, 'Collaborating with Regional Organizations' in D. Malone (ed.), *The UN Security Council* (Lynne Rienner, 2004), pp.295-310.
- Jones, B. with F. Cherif, *Evolving Models of Peacekeeping: Policy Implications and Responses* (UN: Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit External Study, 2004).

Recommended Reading: Specific Regions

- Menon, A., 'European Defence Policy from Lisbon to Libya,' *Survival*, 53:3 (2011), 75-90.
- Giegerich, B. & W. Wallace, 'Not Such a Soft Power: The External Deployment of European Forces', *Survival*, 46:2 (2004), 163-82.
- Menon, A., 'Empowering Paradise? The ESDP at Ten,' *International Affairs*, 85:2 (2009), 227-46.
- Pugh, M. & W.P.S. Sidhu (eds.), *The UN and Regional Security: Europe and Beyond* (Lynne Rienner, 2003).
- Howe, H. 'Lessons of Liberia: ECOMOG and Regional Peacekeeping', *International Security*, 21:3 (1996-97), 145-76.
- Dobson, H.J., 'Regional Approaches to Peacekeeping Activities: The Case of the ASEAN Regional Forum', *International Peacekeeping*, 6:2 (1999), 152-71.
- MacFarlane, S.N., 'Regional Peacekeeping in the CIS' in R. Thakur and A. Schnabel (eds.), *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* (United Nations UP, 2001), pp.77-99.
- Adebajo, A., *Building Peace in West Africa* (Lynne Rienner, 2002).
- Allison, R., 'Regionalism, regional structures and security management in Central Asia', *International Affairs*, 80:3 (2004), 463-483.
- MacFarlane, S.N. & T.G. Weiss, 'The UN, Regional Organizations and Human Security: Building Theory in Central America', *Third World Quarterly*, 15:2 (1994), 277-95.

Session 7: (11 October): Partnership Peacekeeping – the United Nations and Africa

- What should a strategic partnership between the UN and the AU look like?
- What are the main characteristics of the UN-AU relationship?
- How might UN-AU relations on peace operations be improved?
- What are the most constructive roles that external partners can play to support this partnership?

Essential Reading

- Report of the UNSG, *Partnering for Peace: Moving towards partnership peacekeeping* (UN doc. S/2015/229, 1 April 2015), http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2015/229
- Williams, P. and S. Dersso, *Saving Strangers and Neighbors: Advancing UN-AU Cooperation on Peace Operations* (IPI Policy Paper, Feb. 2015), <http://www.ipinst.org/2015/02/saving-strangers-and-neighbors-advancing-un-au-cooperation-on-peace-operations>
- World Peace Foundation, *African Politics, African Peace* (July 2016), <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/~media/Fletcher/Microsites/African%20Peace%20Missions/Report/WPF%20African%20Politics%20African%20Peace.pdf>

Recommended Reading

- Coleman, K. 'Innovations in 'African solutions to African problems': the evolving practice of regional peacekeeping in sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 49:4 (2011): 517-45.
- De Coning, C. et al (eds.), *The Future of African Peace Operations* (Zed Books, 2016).
- Williams, P.D. & A. Boutellis, "Partnership peacekeeping: Challenges and opportunities in the United Nations–African Union Relationship," *African Affairs*, 113:451 (2014), pp.254-78.
- Boutellis, A. and P. Williams, *Peace Operations, the African Union and the United Nations* (IPI Policy Paper, April 2013), <http://www.ipinst.org/publication/policy-papers/detail/395-peace-ops-the-african-union-and-the-un-toward-more-effective-partnerships.html>
- Gelot, L., L. Gelot and C. de Coning (eds.), *Supporting African Peace Operations* (Nordic Africa Institute, Policy Dialogue No.8, 2012), especially Exec. Summary, chs 1 and 7. <http://nai.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:559425/FULLTEXT01.pdf>
- Williams, P.D., *Enhancing U.S. Support for Peace Operations in Africa* (Council on Foreign Relations Special Report No.73, May 2015), <http://www.cfr.org/peacekeeping/enhancing-us-support-peace-operations-africa/p36530>
- Williams, P.D., *Peace Operations in Africa: Lessons Learned since 2000* (ACSS Security Brief No.25, July 2013).

Session 8 (18 October): Use of Force

- When should peacekeepers use military force?
- What are the limits to "robust" peacekeeping?
- What types of operations are best suited to using military force?
- What are the central lessons of the Force Intervention Brigade in MONUSCO?
- Is MINUSMA's new mandate in SCR2295 (29 June 2016) sensible?

Essential Reading

- Findlay, T. *The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations* (Oxford UP for SIPRI, 2002), Introduction (pp.1-19) & Conclusions (pp.351-90). [On Blackboard]
- Karlsrud, J., 'The UN at War', *Third World Quarterly*, 36:1 (2015): 40-54. Open Access <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01436597.2015.976016>
- Chesterman, S. *The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations* (UN DPET External Study, 2004). [On Blackboard]
- "The Intervention Brigade of MONUSCO: Lessons Learned," UN doc. S/2015/1040, 28 December 2015. [On Blackboard]
- UN Security Council Resolution 2295 (29 June 2016). [On Blackboard]

Recommended Reading

- 'UN Peacekeeping and the Use of Force' special issue of *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 37:5 (2014): 665-792.
- Berdal, M. & D. Ucko, 'The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations', *RUSI Journal*, 160:1 (2015): 6-12.

Tardy, T. 'A Critique of Robust Peacekeeping in Contemporary Peace Operations', *International Peacekeeping*, 18:2 (2011): 152-67.

Nadin, P. et al, *Spoiler Groups and UN Peacekeeping* (IISS Adelphi Paper Series, Issue 449, 2014).

Sartre, P., *Making UN Peacekeeping More Robust* (IPI, August 2011), https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/ipi_epub_robustpeacekeeping.pdf

On the Force Intervention Brigade in MONUSCO

Cammaert, P. & F. Blyth, *The UN Intervention Brigade in the DRC* (IPI, July 2013), <https://www.ipinst.org/2013/07/the-un-intervention-brigade-in-the-democratic-republic-of-the-congo>

Sheeran, S. & S. Chase, *The Intervention Brigade: Legal Issues...* (IPI, November 2014), https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/ipi_e_pub_legal_issues_drc_brigade.pdf

Force Intervention Brigade: A Sea Change for UN Peace Operations? (Challenges Forum Brief, 2014), [https://www.pksoi.org/document_repository/Lessons/Force_Intervention_Brigade_\(7-Mar-2014\)-LMS-2418.pdf](https://www.pksoi.org/document_repository/Lessons/Force_Intervention_Brigade_(7-Mar-2014)-LMS-2418.pdf)

Tull, D., *UN Peacekeeping and the Use of Force: The Intervention Brigade in Congo is No Model for Success* (SWP Comments 20, April 2016), https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/comments/2016C20_tll.pdf

Session 9: (25 October): Privatization

- What should be the UN's position on the use of PMCs in violent conflicts?
- What are the main arguments 'for' and 'against' the UN hiring the services of PMCs?
- What are the main services provided by PSCs in peace operations?
- To what extent should the UN privatize peace operations?

Essential Reading

Singer, P., 'Corporate Warriors', *International Security*, 26:3 (2001/02), 186-220.

Singer, P. *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry* (Cornell UP, 2003), chapter 4.

[Read the above two pieces if you've not studied PSCs before.]

Singer, P. 'Peacekeepers Inc.', *Policy Review*, No. 119 (2003).

Bellamy & Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity, 2010), chapter 14.

Howe, H.M., *Ambiguous Order: Military Forces and African States* (Lynne Rienner, 2001), chapter 5.

Peruse the International Stability Operations Association website: <http://www.stability-operations.org/>

Recommended Reading

Pingeot, L. *Dangerous Partnership: Private Military & Security Companies and the UN* (New York: Global Policy Forum June 2012). [On Blackboard]

Brooks D. & G. Laroia, 'Privatizing Peacekeeping', *National Interest*, Issue 80 (2005), 121-25.

Shearer, D., *Private Armies and Military Intervention* (Adelphi Paper 316, 1998).

Spearin, C., 'Private Security Companies and Humanitarians' *International Peacekeeping*, 8:1 (2001), 20-43.

O'Brien, K.A., 'Military-Advisory Groups and African Security: Privatized Peacekeeping?', *International Peacekeeping*, 5:3 (1998), 78-105.

Hukill, T., 'Should Peacekeepers Be Privatized?', *National Journal*, 36:Issue 20 (2004), 1526-27.

Lawyer, J., Military Effectiveness and Economic Efficiency in Peacekeeping: Public Versus Private, *Oxford Development Studies*, 33:1 (2005), 99-106.

Cilliers, J. & P. Mason (eds.), *Peace, Profit or Plunder? The Privatisation of Security in War-Torn African Societies* (Pretoria: ISS, 1999).

- Reno, W., 'The New Role for Private Armies in Inter-state 'Peace-Making' Relations,' *International Politics*, 37:1 (2000), 57-74.
- Avant, D., *The Market for Force: The Consequences of Privatizing Security* (Cambridge UP, 2005).
- Musah, A-F. & Fayemi, K. (eds.), *Mercenaries: An African Security Dilemma* (Pluto Press, 2000), esp. chapter on Sierra Leone.
- Francis, D., 'Mercenary Intervention in Sierra Leone: Providing national security or international exploitation?', *Third World Quarterly*, 20:2 (1999), 319-38.
- Thomson, J., *Mercenaries, Pirates and Sovereigns* (Princeton UP, 1994).
- Shearer, D., 'Outsourcing War', *Foreign Policy* (Fall 1998), 68-81.
- Harding, J., 'The Mercenary Business: 'Executive Outcomes'', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 71 (1997), 87-97.
- Howe, H., 'Private Security Forces and African Stability: The Case of Executive Outcomes', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 21:3 (1998), 301-22.
- Brooks, D., 'Messiahs or Mercenaries? The Future of International Private Military Services', *International Peacekeeping*, 7:4 (2000).
- Aning, K.E., 'Whither Africa's Security in the New Millennium: State- or Mercenary-induced stability?', *Global Society*, 15:2 (2001), 149-71.
- Leander, A., 'The Power to Construct International Security: On the significance of private military companies', *Millennium*, 33:3 (2005), 803-26.
- Leander, A. & R. van Munster, 'Private Security Contractors in the Debate about Darfur', *International Relations*, 21:2 (2007), 201-16.

Session 10 (1 November): Gender

- To what extent are peace operations gendered?
- Do peace operations make some local people more insecure? If so, how?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of peacekeeping being carried out by soldiers?
- Why do some people sexually exploit and abuse other people?
- What can be done to stop peacekeepers engaging in sexual exploitation and abuse?

Essential Reading

- Bellamy & Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity, 2010), chapter 16.
- Karim, S. & K. Beardsley, *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping* (Oxford University Press, 2017), chapter 3. [On Blackboard]
- Nordas, R. & S.C.A. Rustad, "Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by Peacekeepers: Understanding Variation," *International Interactions*, 39:4 (2013): 511-34.
- Expert Mission to Evaluate Risks to SEA Prevention Efforts in MINUSTAH, UNMIL, MONUSCO and UNMISS*, 3 November 2013 [On Blackboard]

General Reading

- UN Conduct and Discipline Unit, <http://cdu.unlb.org/>
- Dharmapuri, S., *Not Just a Numbers Game: Increasing Women's Participation in UN Peacekeeping* (PPP Study, No.4, July 2013), http://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/ipi_epub_not_just_a_numbers_game.pdf
- OIOS Evaluation Report, *Evaluation of the Enforcement and Remedial Assistance Efforts for Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by the United Nations and Related Personnel in Peacekeeping Operations* (OIOS, June 2015). [On Blackboard]
- Heineken, L., 'Are women 'really' making a unique contribution to peacekeeping?' *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, 19:3-4 (2015): 227-48.
- Karim, S. & K. Beardsley, "Explaining Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Peacekeeping Missions," *Journal of Peace Research*, 53:1 (2016): 100-115.

- Karim, S. & K. Beardsley, 'Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing: Token Gestures or Informed Policymaking?' *International Interactions*, 39:4 (2013): 461-88. Special Issue of *International Peacekeeping*, 17:2 (2010).
- Berber, B. et al, 'Peacekeeping, Compliance with International Norms, and Transactional Sex in Monrovia, Liberia,' *International Organization*, 71:1 (2017): 1-30.
- Whitworth, S., *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping* (Lynne Rienner, 2004), esp. Intro, chs 3 and 5. *Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations* (DPKO, Best Practices Unit, 2004). At <http://pbpu.unlb.org/pbpu/genderpack/Chapters/GRP%20pdf%20files/GRP%20Full%20Version.pdf>
- Goetz, A-M. and R. Jenkins, 'Missed Opportunities: Gender and the UN's Peacebuilding and Peace Operations Reports', July 2015, <http://ht.ly/QkJEY>
- Code Blue campaign website: <http://www.codebluercampaign.com/>
- Annan, K., *Report of the Secretary-General: Women, peace and security*, UN doc. S/2004/814 (13 Oct. 2004).
- Higate, P., *Gender and Peacekeeping: Case Studies the DRC and Sierra Leone* (Pretoria: ISS, Research Monograph 91, 2004). At www.iss.org.za/pubs/Monographs/No91/Contents.html

Session 11 (8 November): Policing

- What is the rule of law?
- Why do peace operations need police officers?
- What can police officers do that soldiers can't?
- When should peace operations engage in executive policing?

Essential Reading

- Bellamy & Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity, 2010), chapter 17.
- Stromseth, J., D. Wippman & R. Brooks, "What is the Rule of Law?" in Stromseth et al., *Can Might Make Rights?* (Cambridge UP, 2006), chapter 3, 56–84.
- Durch, W.J. and M. Ker, *Police in UN Peacekeeping: Improving Selection, Recruitment and Deployment* (PPP study No.6, Nov. 2013), http://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/ipi_e_pub_police_in_un_peacekeeping.pdf
- Dwan, R. (ed.). *Executive Policing: Enforcing the Law in Peace Operations*, SIPRI Research Report No.16. (Oxford UP, 2002), pp.1-10.

Recommended Reading

- Policy: UN Police in Peacekeeping Operations and Special Political Missions* (UN DPKO/DFS, February 2014). [On Blackboard]
- Durch, W.J., *Police in UN Peace Operations* (Challenges Forum paper, 2014), http://www.challengesforum.org/Global/Forum%20Documents/2014_SGF_Oslo/Backgroundpaper_Oslo_Dr_Durch.pdf
- Schmidl, E., 'Police Functions in Peace Operations: An Historical Overview' in R. Oakley, M. Dziedzic & E. Goldberg (eds.), *Policing the New World Disorder* (NDU Press, 1998), pp.19-40.
- Sebastian, S., *The Role of Police in UN Peace Operations* (Henry L. Stimson Center, September 2015), https://www.stimson.org/sites/default/files/file-attachments/CIC-Policy-Brief_3_Sept-2015-Web-REVISED_Jan2016_0.pdf
- Call, C.T. and M.N. Barnett, 'Looking for a Few Good Cops: Peacekeeping, Peacebuilding and CIVPOL', *International Peacekeeping*, 6:4 (1999), 43-68.
- Smith, J.G., V.K. Holt & W.J. Durch, *Evaluating UN Capacity to Support Postconflict Policing and Rule of Law, report no. 63*. (Washington DC: Henry L. Stimson Center, 2007). See also the updated version of August 2010: http://web.me.com/dmlast/Research/Military_& Police_files/Durch-UN%20Policing.pdf

- Smith, J.G., V.K. Holt & W.J. Durch, *From Timor-Leste to Darfur: New Initiatives for Enhancing UN Civilian Policing Capacity* (Henry L. Stimson Issue Brief, August 2007).
- Hansen, A.S. (2002), *From Congo to Kosovo: Civilian Police in Peace Operations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Adelphi Paper No. 343).
- Tanke Holm, T. and E. Barth Eide (eds.), *Peacebuilding and Police Reform* (Frank Cass, London, 2000). Special issue of *International Peacekeeping*, 6:4 (1999).
- Merlingen, M. & R. Ostrauskaite, 'ESDP Police Mission', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 10 (2005), 215-35.
- Rethinking the Relationship Between Peace Operations and Organized Crime* special issue of *International Peacekeeping*, 16:1 (2009).
- Thruelsen, P.D. 'Striking the Right Balance: How to rebuild the Afghan National Police', *International Peacekeeping*, 17:1 (2010), 80-92.
- Agordzo, B.K. 'Filling the 'Security Gap' in Post-Conflict Situations: Could formed police units make a difference?', *International Peacekeeping*, 16:2 (2009), 287-94.
- Perito, R.M., 'Police in Peace and Stability Operations: Evolving US Policy and Practice', *International Peacekeeping*, 15:1 (2008), 51-66.

Session 12 (15 November): Organized Crime

- What are the main challenges posed to peacekeeping operations by organized criminal activity?
- How can peacekeeping operations better use technology to combat organized crime?
- How can we stop peacekeepers engaging in organized crime?

Essential Reading

- 'Concept Note for UN Security Council Debate: Terrorism and Cross-Border Crime', UN doc. S/2014/869, 19 December 2014 [On Blackboard]
- Kemp, W., M. Shaw, and A. Boutellis, *The Elephant in the Room: How can peace operations deal with organized crime?* (IPI, June 2013), <http://www.ipinst.org/2013/06/the-elephant-in-the-room-how-can-peace-operations-deal-with-organized-crime>
- [Skim whole report] UNEP-MONUSCO-OSESG, *Experts' background report on illegal exploitation and trade in natural resources benefitting organized criminal groups*, 15 April 2015, http://postconflict.unep.ch/publications/UNEP_DR Congo MONUSCO OSESG final report.pdf
- Andreas, P., *Blue Helmets and Black Markets* (Cornell UP, 2008) – read his short summary essay On Blackboard.

Recommended Reading

- UN Conduct and Discipline Unit, <http://cdu.unlb.org/>
- M. Shaw and W. Kemp, *Spotting the Spoilers: A guide to analyzing organized crime in fragile states* (IPI, 2012), <http://www.ipinst.org/2012/03/spotting-the-spoilers-a-guide-to-analyzing-organized-crime>
- Cockayne, J. and D. Pfister, *Peace Operations and Organised Crime* (GCSP and IPI, Geneva Paper, No.2, 2008).
- UNPOL Transnational Crime <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/sites/police/initiatives/transcrime.shtml>
- Dorn, W.A., *Smart Peacekeeping: Toward Tech-Enabled UN Operations* (Providing for Peacekeeping No.13, 2016), <https://www.ipinst.org/2016/07/smart-peacekeeping-tech-enabled>
- Dorn, W.A., *Keeping Watch: Monitoring, Technology and Innovation in UN Peace Operations* (UN UP, 2011), chapters 4 and 10.
- Cockayne, J. and A. Lupel, Special issue of *International Peacekeeping* on organized crime and peace operations, 16:1 (2009), pp.1-168.
- UN DPKO, *Human Trafficking and United Nations Peacekeeping* (DPKO Policy Paper, March 2004), <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/news/documents/DPKOHumanTraffickingPolicy03-2004.pdf>
- Mendelson, S.E., *Barracks and Brothels: Peacekeepers and Human Trafficking in the Balkans* (Washington DC: CSIS, February 2005), <http://csis.org/publication/barracks-and-brothels>

Andreas, P., *Blue Helmets and Black Markets* (Cornell UP, 2008). And a short summary essay On Blackboard.

Session 13 (29 November): Civilian Protection

- How detailed should mandates be in relation to civilian protection?
- What is required to protect civilians in practice?
- What lessons can we draw from recent peace operations?

Essential Reading

Holt, V.K. & G. Taylor with M. Kelly, *Protecting Civilians in the Context of UN Peacekeeping Operations* (UN DPKO/OCHA, 2009), pp.1-16, 209-240 + Case Study: MONUC, pp.241-290.
Hultman, L., J. Kathman and M. Shannon, “United Nations Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection in Civil War,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 57: 4 (2013): 875–91.
OIOS Report, *Evaluation of the implementation and results of protection of civilians mandates in United Nations peacekeeping operations* (UN doc. A/68/787, 7 March 2014),
http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/68/787
UNMISS, *Protection of Civilians Strategy*, internal document, 15 September 2014 [On Blackboard]

Recommended Reading

Protection of Civilians: Implementing Guidelines for Military Components of UN Peacekeeping Missions (UN DPKO/DFS, February 2015),
<http://pksoi.army.mil/default/assets/File/POC%20Guidelines%20for%20UN%20Military%20Component.pdf>
Draft Guidelines for the Protection of Civilians in African Union Peace Support Operations (AU doc. 2010), <http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/draft-au-poc-guidelines-english.pdf>
Wilmot, H. et al (eds), *Protection of Civilians* (Oxford UP, 2016).
There are several articles on different aspects of PoC and different missions in *Stability* journal:
<http://www.stabilityjournal.org/> [Search the archive]
Bellamy, A.J. and P.D. Williams, ‘The new politics of protection? Côte d’Ivoire, Libya and the responsibility to protect’, *International Affairs*, 87:4 (2011): 825-50.
Sewall, S. et al., *Mass Atrocity Response Operations* (Harvard Kennedy School and PKSOI, 2010),
http://carrcenter.hks.harvard.edu/files/carrcenter/files/maro_handbook.pdf
Kelly, M. with A. Giffen, *Military Planning to Protect Civilians: Proposed guidance for UN peacekeeping operations* (Stimson Center, Sept. 2011),
http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/3_-_Military_Planning_To_Protect_Civilians_2011.pdf
Giffen, A. *Addressing the Doctrinal Deficit: Developing Guidance to Prevent and Respond to Widespread and Systematic Attacks Against Civilians* (Stimson Center, Spring 2010),
http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/1_-_Addressing_the_Doctrinal_Deficit_2010.pdf
Holt, V.K. & T. Berkman, *The Impossible Mandate? Military Preparedness, the Responsibility to Protect and Modern Peace Operations* (Stimson Center, 2006), chapters 1-3, 8-9.
Wills, S., *Protecting Civilians: The Obligations of Peacekeepers* (Oxford UP, 2009).
Findlay, T., *The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations* (SIPRI, 2002), chapter 9.
Holt, V.K. & J.G. Smith, *Halting Widespread or Systematic Attacks on Civilians* (Stimson Center, 2008).
UK Government Strategy on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict (FCO-DFID-MOD, 2010). At
www.fco.gov.uk/resources/en/pdf/about-us/our-publications/ukstrategy-protect-cvilians-arms-conflict

Session 14 (6 December): Reflections

- Reflect!
- What challenges have we missed?
- What reforms could make peace operations more effective?

Come to this session with some answers to these questions and any specific questions about previous classes that you would like to revisit.