

Elliott School of International Affairs

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

International Peacekeeping

IAFF 6186 Section O12
3.0 Credits CRN: 92539
Room C-117, 1776 G Street
Wednesday, 5:10-7.00pm
Classes: August 28, 2019 until December 11, 2019

Dr Paul D. Williams
Suite 605-I, 1957 E Street
Office Hours: By appointment
Tel. 202-994-0969 pauldw@gwu.edu

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND LEARNING AIMS

This course aims to provide students with MA-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, use of force, 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.

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 MA-level ability to discuss:

- The role that peace operations play within wider processes of global politics.
- The principal challenges of force generation, organized crime and strategic coordination.
- 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 (28 August)

Part 1: Analyzing Peace Operations

2. Peace Operations 101: Actors, Processes, Funding and Politics (4 September)

3. Peace Operations Doctrine (11 September)

4. Assessing Peace Operations (18 September)

Part 2: Contemporary Debates

5. Force Generation (25 September)

6. Regionalization (2 October)

7. Partnership Peacekeeping: UN-Africa (9 October)

8. Use of Force (16 October)

9. Privatization (23 October)

10. Gender (30 October)

11. Policing (6 November)

12. Organized Crime (13 November)

13. Civilian Protection (20 November)

No Class: Thanksgiving Break, 27-29 November

14. Reflections (5 December)

COURSE ASSESSMENT

Attendance and participation	10%
Policy Memo 1: Mission Challenges (2 pages)	20%
Policy Memo 2: Mission Evaluation (3 pages)	30%
Research Paper (5,000 words, approx. 15 pages double-spaced)	40%

- GWU uses the following grading system for graduate students: *A* Excellent; *B*, Good; *C*, Satisfactory; *F*, Fail; other grades that may be assigned are *A-*, *B+*, *B-*, *C+*, *C-*. Symbols that may appear include *AU*, Audit; *I*, Incomplete; *IPG*, In Progress; *W*, Authorized Withdrawal; *Z*, Unauthorized Withdrawal; *CR*, Credit; *NC*, No Credit. <http://bulletin.gwu.edu/university-regulations/>
- 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.

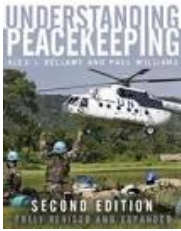
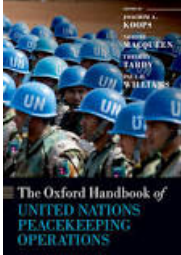
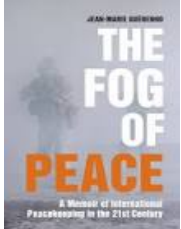
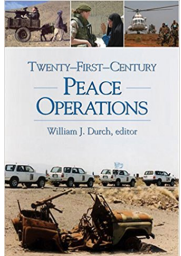
COURSE REQUIREMENTS

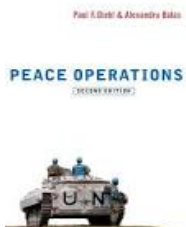
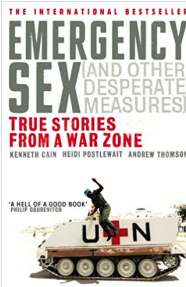
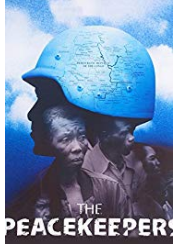

- Attendance and participation (10%): This is a seminar, not a lecture course. Student contributions are thus essential. Students are required to attend all sessions, arrive on time, and be prepared to discuss *at least* the items listed under Required Reading prior to each session.
- Class absence: If you are absent from one of the class seminars, I expect you to e-mail me a 600 words overview and critique of that week's Required Reading.
- Policy Memo 1: Mission Challenges (20%): Choose an ongoing peace operation and analyze its three most important challenges and how to overcome them. The memo should be 2 pages (single-spaced), 12-point font. There is no need to include any references or Bibliography since this is primarily a test of your writing and analytic skills. If the paper exceeds the word limit, the grade will be reduced. Submit one electronic version of the memo (in Microsoft Word) to my e-mail address. Due Class 5: 25 September 2019. [I'm happy to advise on additional sources not listed in the syllabus.]
- Policy Memo 2: Mission Evaluation (30%): Choose any peace operation (ongoing or completed) and evaluate its effectiveness. This may be a UN, UN-authorized, or non-UN peace operation *but it must be a different peace operation than you chose for Memo 1*. Your memo 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 memo should be 3 pages (single-spaced), 12-point font, pages in length, including footnotes but excluding the Bibliography. If the paper exceeds the word limit, the grade will be reduced. Submit one electronic version of the memo (in Microsoft Word) to my e-mail address. Due Class 10: 30 October 2019. [I'm happy to advise on additional sources not listed in the syllabus.] Sources must 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>
- 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 approximately 5,000 words (about fifteen double-spaced, 12-point font, pages in length), excluding the Bibliography. If the paper exceeds the word 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*. Submit one electronic version of the paper (in Microsoft Word) to my e-mail address. Due 5pm (EST) on Friday 13 December 2019. Sources must 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 AND DOCUMENTARIES 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 & Paul D. Williams, <i>Understanding Peacekeeping</i> (Polity/Blackwell, 2nd ed., 2010), www.politybooks.com/up2.</p> <p>An introduction to almost all the issues covered in the course. The 3rd edition is currently in process (expected publication 2020). I will provide you with relevant draft chapters of the 3rd edition via Blackboard. The 2nd edition will still be useful in parts if you're new to peacekeeping but don't feel obliged to purchase it.</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.] [Some copies of the paperback edition are available to purchase from me.]</p>	
<p>Jean-Marie Guéhenno, <i>The Fog of Peace: A Memoir of International Peacekeeping in the 21st Century</i> (Brookings Institution Press, 2015).</p> <p>Memoir of Guéhenno's time as UN Under-Secretary General of UN peacekeeping operations, 2000-2008.</p>	
<p>William J. Durch (ed.), <i>Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations</i> (USIP Press, 2006).</p> <p>Excellent 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 & Alexandru Balas, <i>Peace Operations</i> (Polity, 2nd ed., 2014).</p> <p>A short, reasonable overview of the evolution, organization and challenges facing peace operations, plus a useful perspective on how to evaluate them.</p>	
<p>Kenneth Cain, Heidi Postlewait, Andrew Thomson, <i>Emergency Sex and Other Desperate Measures</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>	
<p><i>The Peacekeepers</i> (Dir. Paul Cowan, 2005) 83 mins</p> <p>An inside look at the UN mission in DR Congo and the workings of UN DPKO.</p> <p>It is freely available to watch here: https://www.documentarystorm.com/the-peacekeepers/</p>	
<p><i>United Nations: Last Station Before Hell</i> (Java Films, 2015) 57 mins</p> <p>Available via Amazon. Trailer here: https://www.amazon.com/Last-Station-Before-Hell/dp/B0734DX6PN</p>	

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

CLASS TOPICS

This reading list is long. But you are not expected to read everything on it. The aim of providing so many references is to give you a reasonable starting point for researching your papers. I am happy to supplement this list with reading suggestions on specific missions—just ask me.

Session 1 (28 August): Introduction, Overview and Administrative Issues

We will go over the syllabus and some of the basics of peace operations including which actors can conduct and authorize peace operations. The following is good introductory reading:

Required Reading

Gowan, R., "Peace Operations" in T.G. Weiss & S. Daws (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations* (Oxford UP, 2nd ed., 2018), pp.420-445. [On Blackboard]

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]

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 [You needn't read the entire report for our 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.]

Useful General Readings on Peacekeeping

SIPRI Yearbooks – Published annually, the essays on "Peace Operations" provide a chronological and thematic overview of multilateral peace operations during the previous calendar year: <https://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2018>

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.

On the History of UN Peacekeeping

Koops, J. et al (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

Diehl, P.F., *International Peacekeeping* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1993 and 1994).

Durch, W.J. (ed.), *Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis* (St Martin's 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).

PART 1: ANALYZING PEACE OPERATIONS

Session 2 (4 September): Peace Operations 101: Actors, Processes, Funding, Politics

- How are UN peace operations created, assembled and deployed?
- How are UN peace operations financed and peacekeepers compensated?
- What are the most contentious political issues generated by peace operations?

Required Reading

Williams & Bellamy, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity, 3rd ed., 2020), Introduction & chapters 1-2.

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

Skim the UN Department of Peace Operations website:

<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/department-of-peace-operations>, especially the “What is peacekeeping?” section.

Session 3 (11 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?

Required Reading

Williams & Bellamy, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity, 3rd ed., 2020), chapters 4-5.

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/DFS: 2008), Intro & chs 2-3.

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

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>

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

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 (18 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?

Required Reading

- Diehl & Balas, *Peace Operations* (Polity, 2nd edn, 2014), ch. 4.
- Diehl, P. & D. Druckman, 'Evaluating Peace Operations' in J. Koops et al (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of UN Peacekeeping Operations* (Oxford UP, 2015), chapter 5.
- Call, C.T. 'Knowing peace when you see it: Setting standards for peacebuilding success,' *Civil Wars*, 10:2 (2008), 173-94.

Recommended Reading

- See the five articles assessing aspects of UN peacekeeping in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 63:7 (August 2019) <https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/jcrb/63/7>

- Lipner, M. and A. Livingstone, *Impact Evaluation and Assessment of UN Peace Operations* (Challenges Forum, Occasional Paper No.6, June 2015),
http://www.challengesforum.org/Global/Reports/Occasional%20Papers/ImpactEvaluationandAssessment_2015_6.pdf
- Downs, G. & S.J. Stedman, 'Evaluation Issues in Peace Implementation' in S.J. Stedman, D. Rothchild & E.M. Couzens (eds.), *Ending Civil Wars* (Lynne Rienner, 2002).
- Diehl, P. & 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.

PART 2: CONTEMPORARY DEBATES

Session 5 (25 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?

Required Reading

Choose any country profile from the *Providing for Peacekeeping* website:

<http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/profiles/> I will ask you to summarize the key points in class.

Williams & Bellamy, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity, 3rd ed., 2020), chapter 12.
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).
- Kathman, J.D. & M.M. Mein, "Who Keeps the Peace? Understanding State Contributions to UN Peacekeeping Operations," *International Studies Quarterly*, 61:1 (2017): 150-62.
- P. Cunliffe, *Legions of Peace: UN Peacekeepers from the Global South* (Hurst, 2013), Introduction.
- 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*, 52:6 (2015): 743-57.
- 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 (2 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?

Required Reading

Williams & Bellamy, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity, 3rd ed., 2020), 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.

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

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

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.]

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.

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).

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: (9 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?

Required 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.D. & 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

- de Coning, C. "Peace enforcement in Africa: Doctrinal distinctions between the African Union and United Nations," *Contemporary Security Policy*, 38:1 (2017): 145-60.
- 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): 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), <https://africacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/ASB25EN-Peace-Operations-in-Africa-Lessons-Learned-Since-2000.pdf>

Session 8 (16 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?

Required Reading

Rudolf, P., “UN Peace Operations and the Use of Military Force,” *Survival*, 59:3 (2017): 161-82.

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>

Williams & Bellamy, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity, 3rd ed., 2020), chapter 15.

“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

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]

“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

Chesterman, S. *The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations* (UN DPET External Study, 2004). [On Blackboard]

On the Force Intervention Brigade in MONUSCO

Tull, D. “The Limits and Unintended Consequences of UN Peace Enforcement: The Force Intervention Brigade in the DR Congo,” *International Peacekeeping*, 25:2 (2018): 167-90.

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)

Session 9: (23 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?

Required 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).

Williams & Bellamy, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity, 3rd ed., 2020), chapter 14.

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]

Spearin, C., 'UN Peacekeeping the International Military and Security Industry', *International Peacekeeping*, 18:2 (2011): 196-209.

Pattison, J., 'Outsourcing the responsibility to protect', *International Theory*, 2:1 (2010): 1-31.

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.

On Executive Outcomes

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

Francis, D., 'Mercenary Intervention in Sierra Leone: Providing national security or international exploitation?', *Third World Quarterly*, 20:2 (1999), 319-38.

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.

On SSTEP vs Boko Haram

Campbell, J. "More on Nigeria's South African Mercenaries," *Council on Foreign Relations*, May 13, 2015, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/more-nigerias-south-african-mercenaries>

Barlow, E. "The Rise, Fall, and Rise Again of Boko Haram," *Harvard International Review*, February 1, 2017, <http://hir.harvard.edu/article/?a=14477>

Nielsen, L. "Private Military Companies in Africa – the Case of STTEP in Nigeria," *Journal of World Development Studies* 2, no. 2 (2016), https://www.academia.edu/30665153/Private_Military_Companies_in_Africa_the_case_of_STTEP_in_Nigeria

Session 10 (30 October): 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?

Required Reading

Karim, S. & K. Beardsley, *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping* (Oxford UP, 2017), chapter 3. [On Blackboard]

Ghittani et al, *ELSIE Initiative for Women in Peace Operations* (2018),

<https://www.dcaf.ch/elsie-initiative-women-peace-operations-baseline-study>

Westendorf, J-K and L. Searle, "Sexual exploitation and abuse in peace operations," *International Affairs*, 93:2 (2017): 365-87.

Recommended Reading

Whalen, J., *Dealing with Disgrace: Addressing Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peacekeeping* (IPI, PPP Study no.15, Aug. 2017) [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]

UN Conduct and Discipline Unit, <http://cdu.unlb.org/>

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.

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.

Code Blue campaign website: <http://www.codebluecampaign.com/>

Annan, K., *Report of the Secretary-General: Women, peace and security*, UN doc. S/2004/814 (13 Oct. 2004).

Session 11 (6 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?

Required Reading

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

Caparini, M., *UN Police and the Challenges of Organized Crime* (SIPRI, 2019), <https://www.sipri.org/publications/2019/other-publications/un-police-and-challenges-organized-crime>

Recommended Reading

Policy: UN Police in Peacekeeping Operations and Special Political Missions (UN DPKO/DFS, February 2014). [On Blackboard]

Dwan, R. (ed.). *Executive Policing: Enforcing the Law in Peace Operations*, SIPRI Research Report No.16. (Oxford UP, 2002), pp.1-10.

Sebastian, S. *The Role of Police in UN Peace Operations* (Stimson Center, 2015) – focus is on protecting civilians, https://www.stimson.org/sites/default/files/file-attachments/CIC-Policy-Brief_3_Sept-2015-Web-REVISED_Jan2016_0.pdf

Durch, W.J., *Police in UN Peace Operations* (Challenges Forum paper, 2014), http://www.challengesforum.org/Global/Forum%20Documents/2014_SGF_Oslo/Backgrounderpaper_Oslo_Dr_Durch.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.

Hansen, A.S. (2002), *From Congo to Kosovo: Civilian Police in Peace Operations* (Oxford UP, 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).

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 (13 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?
- What are “criminalized power structures” and what can peacekeepers do to combat them?

Required Reading

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

Concept Note for UN Security Council Debate: Terrorism and Cross-Border Crime, UN doc. S/2014/869, 19 December 2014 [On Blackboard]

Di Salvatore, J., “Peacekeepers against Criminal Violence—Unintended Effects of Peacekeeping Operations?” *American Journal of Political Science*, Online first 2019. [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>

Dziedzic, M. (ed.), *Criminalized Power Structures: The Overlooked Enemies of Peace* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), Introduction.

Recommended Reading

UN Conduct and Discipline Unit, <http://cdu.unlb.org/>

Boutellis, A. & S. Tiele, “Peace Operations and Organised Crime: Still Foggy?” in C. de Coning & M. Peter (eds.), *UN Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2018), pp.169-89.

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_DRCongo_MONUSCO_OSESG_final_report.pdf

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 (20 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?

Required Reading

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.

Williams & Bellamy, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity, 3rd ed., 2020), chapter 16.

Fjelde, H., L. Hultman & D. Nilsson, “Protection Through Presence: UN Peacekeeping and the Costs of Targeting Civilians,” *International Organization*, 73:1 (2019): 1-31.

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>

Holt, V.K. & G. Taylor with M. Kelly, *Protecting Civilians in the Context of UN Peacekeeping Operations* (UN DPKO/OCHA, 2009), esp. pp.1-16, 209-240.

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

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]

Haass, F. & N. Ansorg, “Better peacekeepers, better protection? Troop quality of UN peace operations and violence against civilians,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 55:6 (2018): 742-58.

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.

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 (4 December): Reflections

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

Come to this session with 1) some answers to these questions; 2) new questions you'd like to discuss; and 3) any specific questions about previous classes that you would like to revisit.