

**Princeton University**

**WWS594Q Policy Analysis:  
International Peace Operations**

Woodrow Wilson School  
Graduate Program  
Spring Term (I) 2008  
Fridays: 1:30-4:30  
Location: TBD

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**Course description**

UN peace operations activity is presently at an all-time high, with over 100,000 troops, police and civilians deployed in 20 operations, including in Sudan/Darfur, the DRC, Lebanon, Liberia, Kosovo, Haiti and Afghanistan. Have reform efforts to date equipped the UN to handle this level of activity effectively? What are the common challenges these operations face? What is the role of regional organizations? This seminar will examine international peace operations in the post-Cold War era, especially from the practitioner's perspective. Current and former senior UN officials will be brought in to discuss specific cases; assignments will include preparation of policy recommendations for discussion with these officials.

**The visit to Haiti**

The seminar will begin with a trip to Haiti, from January 20-26, 2008, to obtain first-hand familiarity with a peacekeeping operation (MINUSTAH). Participation in pre-trip preparations and the trip itself is a requirement. Briefing materials and terms of reference for the trip will be made available to students six weeks in advance of departure. The class will produce a report providing an assessment of the main challenges facing the peacekeeping operation, along with policy recommendations to address them. Senior staff of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations will react to the report in Week 2 of the course. Amb. Lakhdar Brahimi, who has headed several UN peace operations, including in Haiti in the mid-1990s, will join the trip.

**Evaluation**

Grading will be on the basis of the Haiti Trip Report (20 percent), four (of the five) short writing assignments (no more than 2 pages each) due before each class (40 percent), a final take-home exam in the form of an op-ed (20 percent) and class participation (20 percent).

## **PRE-DEPARTURE PREPARATIONS (November 29, 2007 to January 20, 2008)**

### **Required reading**

#### *Haiti Specific*

- Internal briefing papers from DPKO (to be provided):
  - Country Profile (1 page)
  - MINUSTAH Facts and Figures (2 pages)
  - Background information on the Ministerial Cabinet of Prime Minister Jacques-Edouard Alexis (5 pages).
  - Background note on the parliament (3 pages).
  - Background note on the economic situation (1 page).
  - BIOs of senior government officials and MINUSTAH leadership (8 pages).
  - DPKO After-Action Review, “Integrated Operations to Curb Gang Activities in Cite Soleil, Martissant, and Gonaives, 6 November 2007 (7 pages).
  - ICTJ Assessment Mission Report, “Reforming the HNP: Initiating the First Steps”, 4 April 2005 (28 pages).
  - ICTJ Follow-up Report, 10 August 2005 (7 pages).
  - Annual Report on the Haitian National Police Reform Plan, August 2007 (67 pages).
  - Papers on the current humanitarian and development challenges (TBD)
- All official UN documents related to the UN peacekeeping efforts in Haiti from 1993-present are available at <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/minustah>. It is recommended to skim as much of the material on the website as possible. Required material available at this site are the following:
  - background, mandate, and facts and figures pages (10 pages in total);
  - First “Report of the Secretary-General on the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH)”, S/2004/300, dated 16 April 2004, which recommends the concept of operations, structure and mandate of the mission (34 pages).
  - Report of the Security Council Mission to Haiti (13-16 April 2005) (S/2005/302), 6 May 2005 (21 pages).
  - Last “Report of the Secretary-General on the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti”, S/2007/503, 22 August 2007 (24 pages)
  - All Security Council resolutions on Haiti (9 total) from 2004 to present.
- Felix Ulloa, *200 years of Elections and Constitutions* (2004) (93 pages).
- Chapter 6 on “Haiti” by David M. Malone and Sebastian von Einsidel in Mats Berdal and Spyros Economides eds. *United Nations Interventionism, 1991-2004* (2007) (pp. 168-192).
- Chapter on Haiti in Roland Paris, *At War’s End* (2004).
- Report of the ICG, “Consolidating Stability in Haiti,” 18 July 2007 [http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/latin\\_america/21\\_consolidating\\_stability\\_in\\_haiti.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/latin_america/21_consolidating_stability_in_haiti.pdf) (32 pages).
- Robert Perito, “Haiti: Hope for the Future”, USIP (12 pages). <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr188.pdf>

### ***General background on UN peace operations relevant for Haiti Trip***

- Organizational Charts for the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/DPKOchart.pdf>, and the Department of Field Support (DFS) <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/DFSchart.pdf>
- “The Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations” (“Brahimi Report”), A/55/305-S/2000/809, 21 August 2000, <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/lessons> (74 pages).
- “UN Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines” (Capstone Doctrine Draft 3 of 29 June 2007) (54 pages) <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/lessons>
- Ian Johnstone’s “Peacekeeping Literature Review No. 4,” dated August 2005 (33 pages). <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/lessons/>
- Ian Johnstone, “Dilemmas of Robust Peace Operations,” *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2006* (12 pages).
- Salman Ahmed, Paul Keating and Ugo Solinas, “Shaping the future of UN peace operations: Is there a doctrine in the house?” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Volume 20, Issue 1, March 2007, pp. 11-28.
- Espen Barthe Eide et al, *Report on Integrated Missions: Practical Perspectives and Recommendations*, Independent Study for the Expanded UN ECHA Core Group (May 2005), pp. 1-37
- Ashraf Ghani, Clare Lockhart and Michael Carnahan, “An Agenda for State-building in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century” *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* (2006) 30:1, pp. 101-123.

### **Suggested additional reading**

- Nancy and Robert Heinl, *War in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People 1492-1995* (2005).
- Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, Pamela Aall eds *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World* (2007).
- Trevor Findlay, *The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations* (2002)
- Alex Bellamy, Paul Williams and Stuart Griffin, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (2004), Chapter 2 “Peacekeeping and Global Politics,” pp. 11-33.
- Michael Doyle, “The John W. Holmes Lecture: Building Peace,” *Global Governance* 13 (2007), pp. 1-15.
- Virginia Page Fortna, “Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War” *International Studies Quarterly* (2004) 48, 269-292.

### **WEEK ONE: THE HAITI TRIP REPORT**

All trip members will be required to submit their input to the Report Coordinator (a designated class member) by January 30, 2008. The Report Coordinator will synthesize all input and circulate a consolidated draft text to me and all course participants by COB February 5. The first class on Friday, February 8, will be dedicated to discussing the report and agreeing on revisions to it.

## **WEEK TWO: PLACING HAITI IN CONTEXT**

The UN peacekeeping operation in Haiti is only one of 16 current UNPKOs. There are also several other operations run by NATO (in Kosovo and Afghanistan), the European Union (in Bosnia and soon in Chad) and the African Union (in Darfur and Somalia). Week Two will be dedicated to obtaining a basic familiarity with the current challenges and trends in peace operations and identifying missions most in peril.

### **Required reading**

- *The Annual Review on Peace Operations* (2008). Read the editor's strategic summary (8 pages); skim all the cases.
- "Evaluating Strategies" by Stephen Stedman and George Downs in Elisabeth Cousens, Donald Rothchild and Stephen Stedman eds, *Ending Civil Wars* (2002).
- "Dueling Over Darfur" ('a human rights activist, John Prendergast, and an Africa scholar, Alex de Waal, disagree—vehemently—on the best way to help Sudan') at [www.newsweek.com/id/69004](http://www.newsweek.com/id/69004)(8 pages)
- "A Strategy for Comprehensive Peace in Sudan", *International Crisis Group*, Africa Report No. 130, 26 July 2007, pp. 1-27.
- Chapter 4 on "The Democratic Republic of the Congo" in William Durch ed, *Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations* (2006) (89 pages).
- Short news articles on latest developments in Kosovo, Lebanon, Afghanistan and Somalia (TBD).

### **Writing Assignment**

- Draft a one-page note to the USG/DPKO taking a position on whether he should dedicate any significant personal attention to Haiti over the next six months, mindful of the demands of the other missions. Due: COB Wednesday, 13 February.

### **Invited Guest**

- Jean-Marie Guéhenno, the current UN Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, will react to the Haiti Report and the notes to him.

### **WEEK THREE: THE FALL OF SREBRENICA**

The United Nations maintained a virtual monopoly on the conduct of peacekeeping operations from 1948-1995. The over-running of the UN-designated 'safe-area' of Srebrenica, Bosnia, in July 1995, set in motion events that would eventually lead to an overhaul of the global architecture for peacekeeping. This week will be dedicated to examining the causes and consequences of this "UN failure."

#### **Required reading**

- "The Report of the Secretary-General on the Fall of Srebrenica", A/54/549, dated 15 November 1999 available at <http://pbpu.unlb.org/pbpps/Library/Srebrenica%20Final.pdf> (113 pages).
- Chapter 9, "Bosnia: Using Force Among the People", in Rupert Smith's *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (2007), pps. 334-374.

#### **Suggested additional reading**

- "Supplement to an Agenda for Peace" (1995), paras. 1-22, 33-36 and 77-80 (10 pages) (<http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agsupp.html>)
- David Rieff, *Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West* (1996)
- David Owen, *Balkan Odyssey* (1997).
- David Rohde, *End Game: The Betrayal and Fall of Srebrenica, Europe's Worst Massacre Since World War II* (1998).
- Chuck Sudetic, *Blood and Vengeance: One Family's Story of the War in Bosnia* (1998).
- Carl Bildt, *Peace Journey: The Struggle for Peace in Bosnia* (1998)
- Richard Holbrooke, *To End a War* (1999).
- Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (2003).

#### **Writing Assignment**

- The Secretary-General has approved the body of the report on the Fall of Srebrenica, but feels the existing "Assessment" section is too long and is not sufficiently clear on issues of accountability. Re-draft the "Assessment" section accordingly, in two pages or less (single-spaced, 12 pt. Times New Roman, 1" margins). Due: COB Wednesday, 20 February.

## **WEEK FOUR: THE POLITICS OF PEACEKEEPING REFORM, 2000-2007**

Debate on the “Brahimi Report” at the UN Millennium Summit, held in September 2000, commenced a concerted effort to reform the UN’s peacekeeping machinery. This week will be dedicated to the key reforms proposed, the Member States’ response to them, the status of their implementation, and external critique of their impact and relevance. The class lecture will focus particular attention on the political context for reform.

### **Required reading**

- Skim the report of the Secretary-General on the Implementation of the Recommendations of the Panel on Peace Operations, A/55/502, 20 October 2000 (27 pages) <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/lessons/> (go to “Peacekeeping Reform”).
- John Bolton, “The Millennium Summit and Current US Policy on UN Peacekeeping”, Testimony before the House Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, September 20, 2000 (9 pages).  
[http://www.aei.org/publications/pubID.17076,filter.all/pub\\_detail.asp](http://www.aei.org/publications/pubID.17076,filter.all/pub_detail.asp)
- Security Council resolution 1327 (2000), 13 November 2000 (5 pages)
- *Report of the General Assembly’s Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations*, A/C.4/55/6, 4 December 2000 (6 pages)  
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/ctte/N0077902.pdf>
- Skim *Implementation of the Recommendations of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Panel on UN Peace Operations*, A/55/977, 1 June 2001 (92 pages).  
<http://pbpu.unlb.org/pbps/Library/SG%20Report%201%20June%202001.pdf>
- “Executive Summary” by William Durch et al, the Henry L. Stimson Center, “The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations” (2003) (pp. 15-27),  
<http://www.stimson.org/fopo/pdf/BR-CompleteVersion-Dec03.pdf>
- Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, "What Future for Peace Operations? Brahimi and Beyond," *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 2004), pp.183-212.
- Jean-Marie Guéhenno, “Peace Operations 2010”, Memo to all staff (2005). (4 pages).
- “SG’s Guidance on Integrated Missions” dated 9 February 2006 (6 pages)  
<http://pbpu.unlb.org/pbps/Library/Note%20of%20Guidance%20on%20Integrated%20Missions%202006.pdf>
- Short piece summarizing the Peacebuilding Commission (TBD).
- Short piece on SG Ban Ki-Moon’s 2007 proposal to reorganize peacekeeping (TBD).
- Michael Lipson, “A Garbage Can Model of Peacekeeping,” *Global Governance* (13) 2007, pp. 79-97.

### **Writing Assignment**

- Prepare one-page of “talking points” (example to be provided) on “MINUSTAH: A Case Study in Reform”, highlighting: a) 2-3 key reforms proposed in 2000 that have now been implemented to meaningful effect; b) 1-2 reforms clearly not yet implemented but still desperately needed; and, c) 1-2 reforms not yet even contemplated but clearly warranted. It should be submitted by COB 27 February.

## **WEEK FIVE: A CASE STUDY IN REFORM: RESPONDING TO SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE COMMITTED BY PEACEKEEPERS**

### **Required reading**

- Secretary-General's Bulletin, "Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Abuse," ST/SGB/13/2003, 9 October 2003, (3 pages).  
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/CDT/reforms.html>
- Kate Holt, "Sex and Death in the Heart of Africa," *The Independent*, May 25, 2004.
- Jane Holl Lute, Assistant-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Press Briefing, 22 November 2004. Watch video clip (37 minutes) available at bottom of:  
<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=12623&Cr=democratic&Cr1=cong>
- Report of the Secretary-General's Special Advisor, Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid al-Husseini "A comprehensive strategy to eliminate future sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations," A/59/710, 24 March 2005. (41 pages).  
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/ctte/CTTEE.htm>
- *Report of the General Assembly's Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations*, A/59/19/Add.1, 11 April 2005 (7 pages).  
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/ctte/CTTEE.htm>
- Refugees International, "Must Boys be Boys? Ending Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Missions," November 18, 2005 (44 pages).  
<http://www.refugeesinternational.org/content/issue/detail/6976>
- "DPKO's Comprehensive Strategy on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse", 2007, (2 pages). <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/CDT/strategy.html>
- "Accused Members of Sri Lankan Battalion in Haiti to be Repatriated," Statement issued by Spokesperson for the Secretary-General, 2 November 2007. (1 page).  
<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sgsm11254.doc.htm>

### **Writing Assignment**

- Senior UN officials are frequently asked in press encounters about what the UN is doing to address the issue of sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping operations. Draft the suggested "line" they should take in the form of 5-6 short bullet points, 1 page max. This should be submitted by COB 7 March.

### **Invited Guests**

- Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid Al-Husseini, current Jordanian Ambassador to the US.
- Dr. Jane Holl Lute, Officer-in-Charge of the UN Department of Field Support (TBC)
- Anna Shotton (former Policy Adviser to Prince Zeid), DPKO

*Prince Zeid and Dr. Lute will not only discuss their experiences with tackling this issue, but the challenge of peacekeeping reform at the UN in general, from the perspective of the Member States and the Secretariat, respectively.*

## **WEEK SIX: CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP OF PEACE OPERATIONS**

This final week will be dedicating to examining the role played, the dilemmas confronted and the political judgements made by civilian leadership of peace operations on the ground.

### **Required Reading**

- Chapters on Lebanon, Cambodia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Timor-Leste and Iraq in Samantha Power, *Chasing the Flame: Sergio Vieira de Mello and the Perils of Idealism* (2008), (Available from Barnes and Noble on February 14, 2008). (approx. 150 pages).
- Jock Covey, Chapter 4 on the “The Custodian of the Peace Process” and Chapter 5 on “Making a Viable Peace: Moderating Political Conflict”, in Covey, Dziedzic, Hawley eds. *Quest for Viable Peace : International Intervention and Strategies for Conflict Transformation* (2005), pp. 77-123.
- Salman Ahmed and Lakhdar Brahimi, “Seven Deadly Sins of Mediation”, to be published in the *Annual Review on Peace Operations* (2008).
- Skim Fafo-Report 66 “Command from the Saddle: Managing United Nations Peace-building Missions” (1999). (66 pages). <http://www.fafo.no/pub/rapp/266/266.pdf>

### **Writing Assignment**

- Imagine that the author of *Chasing the Flame* has asked the USG/DPKO whether he would be willing to write a positive statement about the book to appear on the back cover. The USG in turn has asked you to review the portions of the book related to peacekeeping and advise whether he should agree. (This is not uncommon for a political affairs officer to be asked to do). Prepare a one-page note to the USG giving your recommendation along with the proposed text for the back cover (three to four sentences maximum), should you advise in favor. Your note should include an assessment of what light the book sheds on UN peacekeeping.

### **Invited Guest**

- Scott Malcolmson is currently the Foreign Editor of *New York Times Magazine*. He was formerly the Policy Adviser and Speechwriter for the late Sergio Vieira de Mello, and Editor of the Op-Ed page at the *New York Times*.

## **“TAKE-HOME EXAM”**

Prepare an Op-Ed piece (850 words) on UN peacekeeping, drawing on any of the themes or specific operations covered during the class. You should feel free to be as supportive or critical of UN peacekeeping as you like. Though not required, you may wish to draw also from material not covered in the class, as provided below. The only requirements are that the piece should be well-argued, topical, easily pegged to current events and reflect what you actually think.

### **Useful additional references**

#### ***Journals***

The following journals often contain articles on peace operations: *African Security Review*, *Cooperation and Conflict*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *Global Governance*, *International Organization*, *International Peacekeeping*, *International Security*, *International Studies Review*, *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Intervention and State-Building*, *Journal of Peace-building and Development*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Max Planck United Nations Yearbook*, *Security Dialogue*, *Survival*, *Third World Quarterly*, *Washington Quarterly* and *World Policy Journal*.

#### ***Websites***

The UN website ([www.un.org](http://www.un.org)), in addition to the official documents, contains good summaries of past and current operations. Other websites of international organizations involved in peace operations include [www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int), [www.oas.org](http://www.oas.org), [www.osce.org](http://www.osce.org), [www.ecowas.int](http://www.ecowas.int), <http://europa.eu.int>, and [www.africa-union.org](http://www.africa-union.org). Useful websites of non-governmental organizations include, [www.securitycouncilreport.org](http://www.securitycouncilreport.org), [www.effectivepeacekeeping.org](http://www.effectivepeacekeeping.org), [www.ceip.org](http://www.ceip.org), [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org), [www.una-usa.org](http://www.una-usa.org), [www.reliefweb.int](http://www.reliefweb.int), [www.crisisweb.org](http://www.crisisweb.org), [www.icg.org](http://www.icg.org), [www.stimson.org](http://www.stimson.org), [www.humansecurityinstitute.ca](http://www.humansecurityinstitute.ca). For summaries of news reports on peace operations, see [www.unwire.org](http://www.unwire.org).

#### ***Recent Books on Peace Operations and Conflict Management in General (2005-)***

- Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, Pamela Aall eds *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World* (2007).
- Teresa Whitfield, *Friends Indeed? The United Nations, Groups of Friends, and the Resolution of Conflict* (2007).
- Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (2007).
- Victoria Holt and Tobias Berkman, *The Impossible Mandate? Military Preparedness, the Responsibility to Protect and Modern Peace Operations* (2006).
- William Durch ed, *Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations* (2006).
- Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace* (2005).
- James Dobbins, *The UN's Role in Nation-Building: From the Congo to Iraq* (2005).