

## PEACE OPERATIONS

SIS 619-005  
Spring 2018

Professor Chuck Call  
IPCR Program, SIS 215  
School of International Service, American University

Email: [call@american.edu](mailto:call@american.edu)  
Tel: 202-885-1693  
Office Hours: Wed. 4:30-6:30, plus by appt.

Peace operations – deployments authorized by multilateral organizations involving deployment of foreign troops and/or civilians – are a crucial element of today’s global peace and security. From Afghanistan and Iraq to South Sudan, from the Congo and C.A.R. to Libya, Mali, Somalia, Lebanon, the Middle East, Colombia, Haiti, West Africa, Bosnia, Kosovo, Central America, Georgia and East Timor, such operations are a key component of international interventions involving troops and the potential use of force. Most countries adhere to the international legal view that such deployments are the only legitimate way to deploy troops into potential combat, unless one’s country is under military attack.

Although United Nations peacekeeping operations (PKOs) are the most prevalent such operations, the African Union, NATO, the EU, the CIS and the OAS have authorized peace operations. Once authorized, sometimes peace operations are organized by Member States as part of Multinational Forces (MNF) under their national commanders (often US, French, UK, or Australian), rather than under UN or regional organizational command.

The perception of peace operations varies wildly, from a useful tool for global security and even US (or Western) interests to those who see them as predatory, sexually abusive and wasteful, to those who see them as unwarranted foreign intervention or even occupation.

This course explores the validity of these contradictory perceptions, examining theoretical and practical debates surrounding international peace operations. It will examine the processes of authorization, financing, planning and force generation of peacekeeping missions, the nature of political missions, the relationship with counterinsurgency and counterterrorism, gender, sexual exploitation and abuse, regional peace operations by the African Union and the European Union, and demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants. It will draw on some cases in depth, including the AU mission in Somalia and the UN missions in South Sudan, Haiti, East Timor, and the Central African Republic. The course will leave you understanding the why, what and how of multilateral peace operations.

LEARNING OUTCOMES. By the end of this course, students should be able to:

- Understand and articulate the main theoretical issues and debates surrounding the deployment of international peace operations
- Analyze at a general level the practical issues surrounding the planning, deployment, financing, operations and evaluation of peace operations.
- Demonstrate familiarity with the mandates, challenges, strengths and weaknesses of several past and current peace operations.
- Critically apply theories to concrete peace operations.
- Enhance their oral and written research skills.

## Course Requirements

### **10% Class Attendance and Participation.**

Attendance is mandatory, and class participation is important. If you wish assistance in enhancing your participation, please let me know. More than one absence or lack of participation in classroom discussions will be reflected in the grade. If you have a genuine emergency please let me know.

This participation grade will also reflect the degree and quality of your participation in class discussions. The grade will also reflect evidence that you have not completed the readings.

**Readings:** Do all of the assigned readings. Otherwise, it will be difficult for you to participate, and you won't get as much out of the discussion. Through Blackboard, the articles and some book chapters should be available electronically. Please read the articles in the order presented below, as I've arranged them with a certain logic in mind.

**Late Paper Policy:** Out of fairness to others, I do not accept late assignments without penalty except in cases of genuine emergency. Late preparatory assignments for the paced research paper will be marked down two-thirds letter grade (e.g., from a B+ to a B-) for each 24 hours they are late. The Final Paper will be marked down one-third letter grade for the first 24 hours late, and an additional one-third letter grade for each subsequent 24-hour period.

**10%. One Seven-minute Oral Presentation of a Week's Readings.** Prepare and present to class an oral presentation on that week's readings. You will sign up to do this.

#### **Each presentation should address these questions:**

- #1. (Very brief): What (in one sentence, perhaps two) is the MAIN argument or point each author is trying to make? What is his or her ultimate agenda (to show X is wrong? To put forth a clear argument?)?
- #2. What is most persuasive in each piece and why? What is not? All readings make omissions, but is there something crucial these authors have missed? If more than one author, which is most persuasive?
- #3. What do these readings tell us about peace operations? How do they contribute (or not) to the big picture?

#### Guidelines for the Oral Presentation:

- The presentation should be 7 or fewer minutes long (I will cut you off).
- It must not be read word-for-word, but presented from notes.
- You may consider visual aids, such as a powerpoint presentation or a diagram. These should **aid**, not **impede**, your presentation.
- Since usually two students will present, try to work with the other student to ensure there is not considerable overlap.
- You will be graded on
  - Accuracy of rendering the readings
  - Persuasiveness (that these are interesting, important and relevant questions)
  - Dynamism & Connection with audience (eye contact, responsiveness to confusion, boredom)

- Insightfulness of your points. Are these the MAIN contributions and weaknesses? What is the importance for our theory and practice of PB?
- Clarity

**35%. Mid-term Assessment of a Peace Operation (9-10 pages). Due Sunday Feb 25, Noon.**

Write a critical evaluation of a peace operation of your choice. It may be a UN, UN-authorized, or non-UN peace operation, past or current. 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. It should be 9-10 pages (double-spaced), excluding bibliography. Email the paper to me by Noon Sunday Feb. 25 (before Session #7). I am happy to offer suggestions for sources.

**45%. Team Practicum-Style Project Evaluating the HIPPO Implementation  
(We will discuss in class)**

### **Session 1. Introduction and Film**

“The Peacekeepers” (83 minutes – a 2005 French documentary on decisionmaking in New York and in Kinshasa aimed at averting mass killings of civilians in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo).

### **Session 2. Peace Operations: The Nuts and Bolts (Jan. 25)**

- Richard Gowan, ‘Ten Trends in Peace Operations’, *Global Peace Operations Review*, (2015) <http://peaceoperationsreview.org/thematic-essays/10-trends-in-peace-operations/>
- Bellamy & Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity 2010), Introduction and chapters 1-2.
- UN Dept of Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines (DPKO: 2008), Chapters 1-5, pp. 8-57.
- Browse through the DPKO website, especially “What is peacekeeping?” & “Financing”; “What we Do” & “Where we Operate.”
- Hisako Shimura, ‘The Role of the UN Secretariat in Organising Peacekeeping’ in R. Thakur & A. Schnabel (eds.), *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* (UN UP, 2001), pp. 46-56.

### **Session 3. Assessment and New Challenges to Peacekeeping (Feb. 1)**

- Jon Karlsrud, “The UN at war: examining the consequences of peace-enforcement mandates for the UN peacekeeping operations in the CAR, the DRC and Mali,” *Third World Quarterly* 36,1 (January 2015), pp. 40-54.
- High-level Independent Panel on UN Peace Operations (HIPPO), *Uniting our Strengths for Peace – Politics, Partnership, and People: Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations*. New York: United Nations. June 2015.
- Sarah Cliffe, “Peace and Security Reforms: Steps in the Right Direction” NYU Center on International Cooperation, short article <http://cic.nyu.edu/publications/un-peace-and-security-reform-cautious-steps-right-direction>
- Charles T. Call, “Knowing Peace when you See it,” *Civil Wars* 2007.
- Downs, G. & S.J. Stedman, ‘Evaluation Issues in Peace Implementation’ in S.J. Stedman, D. Rothchild & E.M. Cousens (eds.), *Ending Civil Wars* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002).
- 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.

Optional Reading: SG Guterres Reform Plan (October 2017)

### **Session 4. An Early Success Story?: El Salvador’s Peace Process**

- Tommie Sue Montgomery, “Getting to Peace in El Salvador: The Roles of the UN Secretariat and ONUSAL,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 37, 4 (Winter), 1995, pp. 139-172.
- Irina Carlota Silber, “Mothers/Fighters/Citizens: Violence and Disillusionment in Post-War El Salvador,” *Gender & History* 16, 3 (Nov) 2004: 561-587.
- Charles T. Call, “Democratization, State-building and the Rule of Law in El Salvador.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 2007.
- Ellen Modie, “Today They Rob You and They Kill You,” chapter in *El Salvador in the Aftermath of Peace: Crime, Uncertainty and the Transition to Democracy*, Univ of Penn Press, 2010.

- Ariane de Bremond, “The Politics of Peace and Resettlement through El Salvador’s Land Transfer Programme: Caught between the State and the Market,” *Third World Quarterly* 28 8 (2007), 1537-1556.

#### **Session 5. Gender and Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (Feb 15)**

- Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley, “Explaining sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping missions: *The role of female peacekeepers and gender equality in contributing countries,*” *Journal of Peace Research*, 2016.
- Expert Mission to Evaluate Risks to SEA Prevention Efforts in MINUSTAH, UNMIL, MONUSCO and UNMISS, 3 November 2013.
- United Nations, Guidance Note of the Secretary-General: Reparation for Conflict-Related Sexual Violence, June 2014.
- [Article on Gender advisors and issues within Peace Ops](#)
- Skim: UN Conduct and Discipline Unit, <http://cdu.unlb.org/>
- [Skim: 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 \(OIOS, June 2015\).](#)

#### **Session 6. South Sudan**

- Hilde Johnson, *South Sudan: The Untold Story from Independence to Civil War*. Tauris, 2016. (whole book)

#### **Session 7. R2P, POC, and the Central African Republic (Mar. 1)**

- Frederic Megret, “Between R2P and the ICC: ‘Robust Peacekeeping’ and the Quest for Civilian Protection, *Criminal Law Forum*; Dordrecht Vol. 26, Iss. 1, (2015): 101-151.
- Spencer Zifcak, “What Happened to the International Community?: R2P and Conflicts in South Sudan and the Central African Republic,” *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, August 2015, pp. 52-86.
- Colum Lynch, “UN Secretary-General Front Runner Faces Internal Uproar,” FP, 26 May 2016 [short article on tensions between UNDP and human rights agenda]
- Louisa Lombard, Chapters from her book *State of Rebellion: Violence and Intervention in the Central African Republic*, Zed, 2016.

#### **Session 8. Regional Organizations: The AU & NATO (Mar. 8)**

- 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](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2015/229)

- K. Coleman. ‘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.
- Paul D. Williams, ‘The African Union’s Peace Operations: A Comparative Analysis,’ *African Security*, 2:2/3 (2009), 97-118.
- Freear, M and de Coning, C 2013 “Lessons from the African Union Mission for Somalia (AMISOM) for Peace Operations in Mali.” *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*, 2(2): 23, pp. 1-11, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5334/sta.bj>
- Alicia P.Q. Wittmeyer, *Foreign Policy*, “What went Wrong in Afghanistan?” compilation of expert views in 2013. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/03/04/what-went-wrong-in-afghanistan/>
- Robert Beljan, “Afghanistan: Lessons Learned from an ISAF Perspective,” *Small Wars Journal*, May 2013. <http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/afghanistan-lessons-learned-from-an-isaf-perspective>

### **Session 9. Terrorism and MINUSMA (Mali) (March 28)**

- Arthur Boutellis and Naureen Cowdry Fink, “Waging Peace: UN Peace Operations confront Terrorism and Violent Extremism,” report of the Int’l. Peace Institute, Oct 2016.
- Mathieu Bere, “Armed Rebellion, Violent Extremism and the Challenges of Intervention in Mali,” *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, Fall 2017, pp. 60-84.
- Stephanie Pezard and Michael Shurkin, “Explaining the Failure of Past Peace Accords,” Chapter 3 in their *Achieving Peace in Northern Mali*, RAND Corp report, 2015.
- “The Primacy of Politics?: Explaining Failure of Past Peace Accords in Mali,”
- UN Secretary-General’s report on MINUSMA, Sept. 2017.
- Fainke, Fakara, and Aguibou Sogodogo. 2015. “Arnaud Akodjenou de la MINUSMA: Notre mandat ne nous permet pas de lutter contre les groupes djihadistes et terroristes.” Maliweb. Google-translated version only, very brief.
- Optional: John Karlsrud, “Towards UN counter-terrorism operations?,” *Third World Quarterly*, 38:6, pp. 1215-1231, 2017.
- Optional: Cedric de Coning, “Is stabilisation the new normal? Implications of stabilisation mandates for the use of force in UN peacekeeping operations,” forthcoming chapter, 2018.

### **Session 10. Transitional Justice – issues and case articles**

- Rama Mani, ‘Conceptions of Justice,’ chapter 2 ONLY of her book *Beyond Retribution: Justice in the Shadows of War*, 2002.
- Lansana Gbire, “The Special Court Rests – for Good,” brief 2014 news article from *Africa Renewal*, on what Special Court of Sierra Leone accomplished.
- Augustine S.J. Park, “Community-based restorative Transitional Justice in Sierra Leone,” *Contemporary Justice Review* 13, 1 (March 2010), pp. 95–119.
- V. Peskin and M. P. Boduszynski, “The Rise and Fall of the ICC and the Politics of Surrogate Enforcement,” *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 2016, 10, pp. 272–291.
- Cyanne E. Loyle, “Transitional justice and political order in Rwanda,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 41:4 (2018), 663-680.
- OPTIONAL: Bert Ingalaere, “From Model to Practice: Researching and Representing Rwanda’s Modernized *Gacaca* Courts,” *Critique of Anthropology* 32(4) (2012), pp. 388–414.

### **Session 11. Diplomacy and Special Political Missions**

**\*\* Prof. Call away at Int'l Studies Assoc. (Apr. 5)**

- Scan website of UN Dept. of Political Affairs “in the field”: <http://www.un.org/undpa/en/in-the-field/overview>
- Richard Gowan and Tristan Dreisbach, “Taking Political Risks: Sustaining Political Missions in Unstable Environments,” essay from 2012 from NYU Center on International Cooperation’s Annual Global Review of Political Missions (5 pp).
- Sascha Fong, “
- Sascha Fong and Adam Day, “Diplomacy and Good Offices in the Prevention of Conflict,” background paper for World Bank/UN report *Pathways for Peace*, May 2017.

**Session 12. DDR, SSR & Haiti**

- Tatjana Stankovic and Stina Tejersen. “Fresh Insights on Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration.” NUPI Report, 2010.
- Johanna Mendelson-Forman, “Security Sector Reform in Haiti,” *International Peacekeeping* 13: 1 (2006): 14-27.
- Rob Muggah, “Revisiting Community Violence Reduction,” Paper prepared for the World Bank/UN report on Conflict Prevention, May 2017.
- M. Schuberth. 2015. A Transformation from Political to Criminal Violence? Politics, Organised Crime and the Shifting Functions of Haiti's Urban Armed Groups. *Conflict, Security and Development*, 15(2), 169-196.
- Kimberly Theidon, “Transitional Subjects: The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia,” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 1: 1 (2007): 66-90.
- OPTIONAL: Chapter 5, Erica Caple James. *Democratic insecurities: violence, trauma, and intervention in Haiti*. Univ of California Press. 2010.

**Session 13. Counterinsurgency & State-building: Afghanistan**

- Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Little America: The War within the War for Afghanistan* (Knopf Doubleday 2012. (whole book)

**Session 14. International Transitional Administration: Bosnia and East Timor**

## SOURCES OF SUPPORT

If you experience difficulty in this course for any reason, please don't hesitate to consult with me. In addition to the resources of the department, a wide range of services is available to support you in your efforts to meet the course requirements.

**Academic Support Center** (x3360, MGC 243) offers study skills workshops, individual instruction, tutor referrals, and services for students with learning disabilities. Writing support is available in the ASC Writing Lab or in the Writing Center, Battelle 228.

**Counseling Center** (x3500, MGC 214) offers counseling and consultations regarding personal concerns, self-help information, and connections to off-campus mental health resources.

**Disability Support Services** (x3315, MGC 206) offers technical and practical support and assistance with accommodations for students with physical, medical, or psychological disabilities. If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please notify me in a timely manner with a letter from the Academic Support Center or Disability Support Services so that we can make arrangements to address your needs.

## ACADEMIC INTEGRITY CODE

All students must adhere to American University's Academic Integrity Code, which you can find at: <http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code.cfm>.

Please take particular note of Section II.A, which lists violations adjudicated under the academic integrity code. They include:

- **plagiarism** (i.e., "the representation of someone else's words, ideas, or work as one's own without attribution...")
- inappropriate collaboration (i.e., "when work that the professor presumes is original to the student is in fact the product of collaboration so close that the originality is no longer individual to the student...")
- dishonesty in examinations (i.e., "the use of inappropriate or unauthorized materials, information, or study aids in a test. Unless the instructor directs otherwise, an examination is assumed to be solely a student's own work. No communication is allowed among students either through voice, written, electronic, or any other form of transmission, nor are students permitted to consult books, papers, study aids, or notes without explicit permission...")
- dishonesty in papers (i.e., "submitting material obtained from another person or company or purchased from either. All papers and materials submitted must be the student's original work unless the sources are cited.")
- **work done for one course and submitted to another** ("This category of violation covers the presentation of the same work in more than one course at any time during a student's academic career without prior consent from both instructor. When incorporating their own past research into current projects, students must cite previous work...")
- "bribes, favors, and threats ... with the purpose of affecting a grade or the evaluation of academic performance and other academic misconduct (which includes "any form of academic deceit has violated the intellectual enterprise of the university...").



## **COURSE CONTENT ADVISORY**

At times we will discuss events that may be disturbing, even (re)traumatizing for some students. If you suspect that specific material is likely to be emotionally challenging for you, I am happy to discuss any concerns you may have before the subject comes up in class, or after class. You may also, if need be, step outside during a class discussion without academic penalty. You will still be responsible for material / discussion you miss, so make sure you get notes from another student or me as needed.

## **EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS**

In the event of a declared pandemic (influenza or other communicable disease), American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence due to illness. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU Web site ([www.prepared.american.edu](http://www.prepared.american.edu)) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/ college-specific information.