

United Nations Peace Operations

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Course Description

In the immediate post-Cold War, United Nations peacekeeping operations were the most visible element of the United Nations and placed the world organization at center stage of international relations. Operation Desert Storm generated wildly exaggerated expectations of the UN as preserver of peace and the rule of law against a formidable military power (Iraq) and a series of UN peace operations generated either some support for the idea of expanded peacekeeping (Cambodia, El Salvador) or profound misgivings by governments, public opinion and the UN itself about its incapacity to prevent aggression and genocide (Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia). The trend has subsided with the political will to engage large sums of money and troops in operation of dubious effectiveness and contested intrusiveness.

This course examines, through a review of the literature and case studies, the political and practical issues of recent and current peacekeeping and other peace and security operations that reflect the changing role of the United Nations in international affairs. The experience gained deserves careful scrutiny to understand whether and to what extent the shifting power relations after 1989 have affected the role and impact of the United Nations with respect to global security and political stability.

The aim of the course is to provide a multi-disciplinary understanding of the political and practical dimensions of UN operations for students who may eventually participate in such missions and for students interested in careers in international peace and security, international organizations, humanitarian action, human rights and international law. The disciplines of political science, international law, strategic studies, public administration, history and international relations are all relevant.

Students taking the course will learn about the different peace-related actions of the United Nations, the inner workings of the peace operations and the political context which determine the options open to the United Nations. The term "peace operations" as used in the course title is preferred over the traditional expression of "peacekeeping" because it embraces the full range of UN responses to threats to and violations of international peace and security, as well as the other forms of large scale political violence and humanitarian emergencies. A typology of these operations was proposed in the UN document *An Agenda for Peace* of 1992 and its 1995 supplement. Some writers have distinguished "generations" of peacekeeping. We will explore these developments and their implications for international politics over the following fourteen sessions:

- I. PEACE OPERATIONS: BACKGROUND, MEANING AND CONTEXT
- II. CURRENT STATUS AND THE UN ENVIRONMENT
- III. PROCEDURE PLANNING AND LOGISTICS
- IV. MISSION CONSTRAINTS
- V. PREVENTATIVE ACTIONS
- VI. PEACE ENFORCEMENT: ECONOMIC SANCTIONS / HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION
- VII. PEACE ENFORCEMENT: COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND THE USE OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
- VIII. IN-CLASS SIMULATION EXERCISE
- IX. HUMANITARIAN RELIEF AND ACTION DURING ARMED CONFLICTS
- X. COMPREHENSIVE PEACE AGREEMENTS
- XI. HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING, INVESTIGATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY

- XII. ELECTIONS AND PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY
- XIII. POST-CONFLICT PEACE-BUILDING
- XIV. THE FUTURE OF UN PEACE OPERATIONS

Course Requirements

For each topic several required and suggested readings will be listed. You will be expected to have read at least the required materials and to participate in classroom discussion around themes listed in the outline of each session. There will be one take home mid-term exam on March 10, 1999 (25%), a short policy paper, due on April 7, 1999, (25%) and a final exam on May 12, 1999, from 4:10 to 7 PM (50%).

Course Reading

Required Texts:

There is a considerable literature on the role and practice of the United Nations in pre-1989 peacekeeping operations and a growing literature on post-1989 experience. It is useful to be familiar with that experience as institutional memory has affected decision-making in recent operations, even if the political context and legal basis have changed and new operations are considered. As a result, the following books are required texts which will provide both the appropriate background and the current analysis of UN Peace Operations.

To gain the relevant overall background, students should read William Durch (ed.) *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping. Case Studies and Comparative Analysis*, St. Martin's Press, 1993 (referred to below as "Durch"), with particular attention paid to the relevant case examples pertaining to each session.

One of the most valuable recent additions available is Olara Otunnu and Michael Doyle (eds.) *Peacekeeping and Peacemaking for the New Century*, Rowman and Littlefield, 1998 (referred to below as Otunnu and Doyle). This provides a broad-ranging analysis of the multidimensional aspects of modern peace-operations with contributions from the leaders and practitioners in each area.

In order to provide appropriate critical military concepts, John Hillen, *The Blue Helmets - The Strategy of UN Military Operations*, Brassey's, Washington and London 1998 (referred to below as "Hillen") is also required.

Donald C. F. Daniel and Bradd C. Hayes (eds.), *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping* (St. Martin's Press, 1995, referred to below as "Daniel & Hayes"), is also required and may be purchased at the Labyrinth bookstore.

The basic text establishing the framework for post-Cold War peace-related action by the UN is the Secretary-General's study *Agenda for Peace*, which is required for this course, in its 1995 edition containing the supplement and other background documents (Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace 1995*, Second Edition, which contains *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations*, UN document A/50/60, S/1995/1. This work is also available at the Labyrinth bookstore.

Other Texts:

Useful documentary collections have been published by the UN in a series of blue books, covering Bosnia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia and other cases. You can purchase them at the UN bookstore. A particularly valuable source for case studies referred to in this course is Lori Damrosch (ed.), *Enforcing Restraint. Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts* Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993 (referred to below as "Damrosch").

Other information and factual overviews of each past and present UN peacekeeping operation may be found at the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations website located at: <http://www.un.org/depts/dpko/>. This provides a constantly updated background briefing on current and completed missions as well as other aspects of DPKO activity and a bibliography.

A recent valuable addition is the 'United Nations Documentation Research Guide: Special Topic on Peacekeeping' which covers material relating to the relevant Security Council and General Assembly Resolutions as well as background relating to finances. This is located at: <http://www.un.org/depts/dhl/resguide/specpk.htm>.

From the human rights perspective, you will find a critical review of the El Salvador, Cambodia, Former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Iraq operations in Human Rights Watch, *The Lost Agenda. Human Rights and U.N. Field Operations*, June 1993 (cited below as "*The Lost Agenda*") and in *Peace-Keeping and Human Rights*, published in January 1994 by Amnesty International (AI Index: IOR 40/01/94). A comparative study was produced by the Aspen Institute's Justice and Society Program, with recommendation for the United Nations, under the title *Honoring Human Rights and Keeping the Peace* (1995). The same program recently published *Honoring Human Rights : From Peace to Justice* (1998) by Alice H. Henkin (Aspen Institute Publications Office; ISBN: 0898432219).

The legal dimensions of several cases to be studied are raised in Chapter 11, section 3 (pp. 962-1014) of Henkin, Pugh, Schachter & Smit, *International Law Cases and Materials* (third edition, West Publishing Co., 1993); and in chapter 5 of Kirgis, *International Organizations in their Legal Setting* (second edition, West Publishing Co., 1993). A particularly useful overview of the legal issues is found in chapter XVII ("Collective Security Redux") of Schachter, *International Law in Theory and Practice* (Nijhoff, 1991) pp. 389-417.

You might also wish to consult other general works, such as, United Nations, *The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peacekeeping*, third edition, 1996; Indar Rikhye, Michael Harbottle and Bjørn Egge, *The Thin Blue Line. International Peacekeeping and its Future*, Yale University Press, 1974; and Alan James, *Peacekeeping in International Politics*, St. Martin's, 1991. Some comments that anticipate operations covered in this course are found in United Nations University and International Peace Academy, *The United Nations Peace-keeping Operations. Recent Experiences and Future Prospects*, United Nations University, 1992. The Australian Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, has written a lucid overview in *Cooperating for Peace. The Global Agenda for the 1990s and Beyond* (Allen & Unwin, 1993). In addition, a useful overview of operations may be found in a briefing book by Jeffrey Laurenti for the United Nations Association of the United States of America, called *The Common Defense. Peace and Security in a Changing World* (1992, 57 pp., out of print). Other recent works include A.B. Fetherston, *Toward a Theory of United Nations Peacekeeping* (St. Martin's Press, 1994) and N.D. White, *Keeping the Peace. The United Nations and the maintenance of international peace and security* (Manchester University Press, 1993).

Particular use will also be made of the journal *International Peacekeeping*, published by Frank Cass in London, as well as *Global Governance*, published by Lynne Rienner in Boulder, Colorado. Scholarly and journalistic reviews of particular operations may be found in the journals cited in the bibliography. It must be stressed that these bibliographical references are preliminary and that the field is evolving rapidly. Students are encouraged to use the library's indexes to periodical literature and

electronically-retrievable events data to be current on the operations still on-going. You are encouraged to subscribe to *Peacekeeping Monitor*, published by the Center for Peacekeeping Studies, P.O. Box 21381, Washington, D.C. 20009 (Phone/fax 202-667-7071).

Course Schedule

Session 1

January 20, 1998

PEACE OPERATIONS: BACKGROUND, MEANING AND CONTEXT

Outline

- I. Traditional Peacekeeping
 - A. The framework of the Charter
 - Focus in San Francisco on responses to aggression
 - The collective security system
 - B. Peacekeeping Past
 - 1. Peace Observation Missions (Greece, Palestine, Indonesia, Kashmir, Lebanon)
 - 2. Force Level Peacekeeping Operations (Middle East, Congo, Cyprus) and the Guidelines based on UNEF
 - 3. Peace Enforcement and Uniting for Peace (Korea)
 - C. Peacekeeping Present
 - 1. Resolution 678 and hopes for a "new world order"
 - 2. The Secretary-General's "Agenda for Peace"
 - 3. Proliferation of operations and diversity of mandates
 - 4. Creation of DPKO.

- II. The classification scheme of *An Agenda for Peace*
 - A. The first report
 - B. Reactions and criticism
 - C. The supplement

- III Alternative approaches to classifying peace operations
 - A. The Watson Institute classification of tasks of first and second generation peacekeeping
 - B. Gareth Evans' "Cooperative Security"
 - C. Conceptual framework and typology of the Stimson Center

Readings

Required:

Daniel & Hayes, pp. 101-119 (Bo Huldtt, Working Multilaterally: The Old Peacekeepers' Viewpoint)

Handbook, pp. 1-14.

Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace* (peruse the entire book)

Gareth Evans, *Cooperating for Peace*, pp. 3-16

Agostino Zacarias, *The UN and International Peacekeeping*, Taurus Academic Studies, 1996, Ch.2, pp. 24-38

Paul F. Diehl, *International Peacekeeping*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993, Ch.1, pp. 1-33

Suggested:

United Nations Charter:

<http://www.un.org/overview/charter/contents.htm>

Panel discussion: Peacekeeping and Peace Making, *Yale International Law Journal*, vol. 18, No. 1 (winter 1993), pp. 415-437 [views by W. Michael Reisman, Theodor Sorensen, Lori Fisler Damrosch and Edward A. Perkins].

Brian Urquhart, The UN and International Security after the Cold War, in Adam Roberts & Benedict Kingsbury (eds.), *United Nations, Divided World*, second edition, 1993, pp. 81-103.

F.T. Liu, *United Nations Peacekeeping: Management and Operations*, International Peace Academy, 1990, 44 pp.

Barbara Benton (Ed.), *Soldiers for Peace*, Facts on File Inc, Ch.7, pp. 10-42

Session 2

January 27, 1998

CURRENT STATUS AND THE UN ENVIRONMENT

Outline

- I. The United Nations structure.
 - A. The General Assembly
 - B. The Secretary-General
 - C. The Security Council
 - D. Special Committee of Peacekeeping Operations / DPKO
 - E. Fourth / Fifth Committee
 - F. Other UN organizations and agencies
- II. Organizational Framework.
 - A. DPKO - Operational Focus
 - B. Interagency cooperation and coordination
 - C. External linkages - regional groupings
- III. Legalization Issues.
 - A. Mandate creation
 - B. Status of Forces Agreements
 - C. Additional issues (sovereignty vs. internal intervention)

Readings:

Required:

Hillen, Ch.1, pp. 7-32

Zacarias, Ch.8, pp. 134-150

The UN Charter and Peacekeeping Operations: Constitutional Issues, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 3, Winter 1996, No. 4, pp. 43-63

Renewing the UN, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 4, Winter 1997, No. 4, pp. 118-127

Patrick A. McCarthy, Positionality, Tension and Instability in the UN Security Council, in *Global Governance*, Vol. 3, No. 2, May/Aug 97, pp. 147-171.

Michael Wesley, *Casualties of the New World Order*, St. Martins Press, 1997, pp. 1-28

Kofi Annan, Challenges of the New Peacekeeping, in Olara A. Otunnu & Michael Doyle (eds.), *Peacemaking and Peacekeeping for the New Century*, Rowan & Littlefield, 1998, pp.169-188

Suggested:

1948 - 1998: 50 Years of UN Peacekeeping Operations: Background

http://www.un.org/depts.dpko.pk50_w.htm.

Durch, pp. 16-38.

Jarat Chopra & Thomas G. Weiss, Sovereignty Is No Longer Sacrosanct: Codifying Humanitarian Intervention, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 6 (1992), pp. 95-117

Michael Barnett, "The New United Nations Politics of Peace: From Juridical sovereignty to empirical sovereignty," *Global Governance* vol. 1, No. 1 (Winter 1995), pp. 79-97.

Michael Ignatieff, "Alone with the Secretary General," *The New Yorker*, August 14, 1995, pp. 33-39.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Empowering the United Nations, *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 71, No. 5 (Winter 1992/1993), pp. 89-102.

Session 3

February 3, 1998

PROCEDURE, PLANNING AND LOGISTICS

Outline

Guest Speaker: From UN Mission Planning Service.

1. Establishment of requirements.
 - A. Response to initiatives/information (intelligence chain).
 - B. Mission Survey process.
 - C. Mission Planning Process.

2. Marshaling Resources.
 - A. Troops / Force Structure (SHIRBRIG / RMFHQ / Standby Arrangements).
 - B. Financial backing and allocation of resources (tagged resources, role of the Fourth/Fifth Committee).
 - C. Interagency cooperation issues.
 - D. Mandate creation (Political concerns).

3. Command and Control.
 - A. SRSG / Force Commanders.
 - B. Under Command - In Direct Support (US commander issues).
 - C. Lead Agency.

4. Logistics.
 - A. Lead timings.
 - B. Deployment issues (Freedom of movement, projection of force).
 - C. Logistical upkeep/support.
 - D. Ex-filtration.

5. Administration.
 - A. Mission duration.
 - B. Long term support.

Readings

Required:

Comprehensive Review of Peacekeeping Operations, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.3, No.3, Autumn 1996, pp.119-136

Robert Johansen, Enhancing UN Peacekeeping, in Chadwick Alger (ed.), *The Future of the UN System*, UNU Press, 1998, pp.89-126

Hillen, pp.79-108, 139-182

The UN's Capacity for Strategic Lift, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.5, No.3, Autumn 1998, pp.42-57

David Alberts & Richard Hayes, *Command Arrangements for Peace Operations*, National Defense University Press, 1995, pp.6-26

Daniel & Hayes, pp. 151-204 (William Durch, Structural Issues and the Future of UN Peace Operations; Jim Whitman and Ian Bartholomew, UN Peace Support Operations: Political-Military Considerations; Margaret Cecchine Harell and Robert Howe, Military Issues in Multilateral Operations)

United Nations, General Assembly, Security Council, *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary General on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations*, January, 1995 (produced in *An Agenda for Peace 1995*.)

The Henry L. Stimson Center, *Handbook on United Nations Peace Operations*. April, 1995.

Suggested:

Multidisciplinary Peacekeeping: Lessons From Recent Experience (Especially Mandates / Planning / Coordination)
<http://www.un.org/depts/dpko/lessons/handbuk.htm>

Making headway with logistics and capacity:
<http://www.un.org/depts/dpko/yir97/logistic.htm>.

Durch. pp. 39-75.

Hillingso, Kjeld G., *Peace Support Organization and Training: A Danish Perspective*, p.61-73.

John Mackinlay & Jarat Chopra, Second Generation Multinational Operations, *Washington Quarterly*, vol. xv, No. 3 (Summer 1992), pp. 113-129.

Joakim E. Parker, Cultural Autonomy: a Prime Directive for the Blue Helmets , 55 *U. Pitt. L. Rev.* 207 (Fall, 1993).

Lawrence Martin, Peacekeeping as a Growth Industry, *The National Interest*, Summer 1993, pp. 3-11.

Session 4

February 10 1998

MISSION CONSTRAINTS

Outline

1. Political.

- A. Member state national interests.
- B. Permanent Representatives on the Security Council.
- C. Major powers versus smaller powers / the politics of gestures.
- D. Politicization of UN (General Assembly, Security Council, Secretary General, agencies)
- E. UN inertia.
- F. Public opinion (CNN factor, response)

2. Operational.

- A. Living with the mandate (practicality, flexibility, enforceability.)
- B. Local situation (cultural, social, political)
- C. Internal control (force aims, 'neutrality' issues, joint-operations)
- D. Exit strategy.
- E. Force capabilities (interoperability, level of training)

Readings

Required:

J. Sanderson, Dabbling in War: The Dilemma of the Use of Force in UN Operations, in Otunnu & Doyle (eds.), *Peacemaking and Peacekeeping for the New Century*, pp. 145-168

Trevor Findlay (ed.) in *Challenges for the New Peacekeepers*, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 85-98

The Stretcher and the Drum: Civil and Military Relations in Peace Support Operations, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.3, No.2, Summer 1996, pp. 123-139

Assessing Armed Forces Deficiencies for Peace Operations, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.3, No.3, Autumn 1996, pp. 77-91

Zacarias, pp. 151-166

Connie Peck, *Sustainable Peace*, Rowan & Littlefield, 1998, Ch.1, pp. 3-15, Ch.5, pp. 67-94

Diehl, pp. Ch.3, pp.62-91

Suggested:

David Rohde, *Endgame*, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997, pp. 23-29, 71-74, 77-91

Session 5

February 17, 1998

**PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY, PREVENTIVE
DEPLOYMENT, AND PEACE MAKING**

Outline:

- I. Preventive Diplomacy
 - A. The doctrine in *An Agenda for Peace*
 - B. The five functions of preventive diplomacy (information-collection, analysis, identification of actions, obtaining consent and funding, implementation)
 - C. Early warning (red, yellow, blue classification, DPA policy analysis teams)
 - D. Problems of finance and Fund for Extraordinary and Unforeseen Activities
 - E. Current practice: Burundi, Sierra Leone, Iraq
- II. Preventive Deployment
 - A. The doctrine in *An Agenda for Peace*
 - B. The Experience in Macedonia and limitation on its value as precedent
- III. Peace-Making
 - A. The doctrine in *An Agenda for Peace*
 - B. Four elements for comprehensive political settlements (based on W. Zartman): collapse of original regime, elimination of failed alternatives, readjustment of power relations among parties, identification of resolving formula for transition.
 - C. UN Experience in Cambodia and El Salvador, Tadjikistan, Haiti
- IV. Relations between preventive measures and Post-Conflict Peace-building
 - A. Economic development
 - B. Transition to UNDP/UNOPS activity

Readings

Required:

Gareth Evans, Preventative Action and Conflict Resolution, and Ismat Kittani, Preventative Diplomacy and Peacemaking: the UN Experience, in Otunnu & Doyle, *Peacekeeping and Peacemaking for the New Century*, pp. 61-110

Agenda for Peace 1995, 12-14 and 51-57

Yasushi Akashi, The Limits on UN Diplomacy and the Future of Conflict Mediation, *Survival*, vol. 37, No.

4, 1995/96, pp. 83-98.

Preventative Action: A Failure in Yugoslavia, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.3, No.4, Winter 1996, pp. 21-42

Michael Lund, *Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventative Diplomacy*, US Institute of Peace Press, 1996, pp. 3-50

Suggested:

UN Report on Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia - UNPREDEP
<http://www.un.org/depts/dpko/missions/unpredep.htm>

Kumar Rupesinghe, Coping with Internal Conflicts: Teaching the Elephant to Dance, in Alger, *The Future of the UN System*, pp. 127-154

Peck, pp. 203-225

Gareth Evans, *Cooperating For Peace*, pp. 81-98

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Confronting New Challenges Annual Report on the work of the Organization 1995*, pp. 230-300 (24 examples)

Session 6

February 24, 1998

PEACE ENFORCEMENT THROUGH ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AND HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION

Outline

- A. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS (Based on The Civilian Impact of Economic Sanctions by Lori Fisler Damrosch, in *Enforcing Restraint*)
- B. Criteria for evaluating collective sanctions addressed at internal conflicts
 - 1. Conflict Containment Criterion: Reduce or end conflict
 - 2. Differentiation Criterion: Harm wrongdoing-preserve civilians
 - a) Civilian Impact Criterion: Absolute Form
 - b) Wrongdoer Impact Criterion: Absolute Form
 - c) Wrongdoing/Civilian Impact Criterion: Relative Form
- C. Types of Sanctions
 - 1. Arms Embargoes
 - 2. Economic Sanctions (Trade Embargoes)
- D. The Alternative of Forceful Measures
 - 1. The Presumption that Sanctions Are Preferable to Force
 - 2. The Extreme Case: Where Forcible Intervention Would Cause less Damage to the

People

II. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION

- A. Definition
 - 1. Common misuse of the term: Any action by external entities to relieve a humanitarian crisis for which the territorial authorities are responsible or with which they are unable to cope.
 - 2. Proposed definition: The legitimate use of armed force to terminate or prevent the continuation of egregious violations of elementary principles of humanity on a massive scale in a country the authorities of which are either perpetrating the violations or are unwilling to allow international action to end them.
- B. Earlier formulation
 - 1. Criteria: 1) existence of atrocities "shocking the conscience of mankind;" 2) decision to intervene and action made collectively; 3) absence of political benefit for intervening powers; 4) respect for principles of necessity and proportionality
 - 2. Application by the Concert of Europe
- C. Contemporary applications
 - 1. Unilateral action during the cold war: India in Pakistan 1971, Tanzania in Uganda 1979, Vietnam in Cambodia in 1978, French in Central African Republic in 1979 (N.B. special case of "humanitarian intervention" to rescue or protect nationals)
 - 2. Collective use of force in post-Cold War
 - a) Protection of Kurds and Shi'ites under SC Resolution 688
 - b) Authorization of UNTAF in Somalia under SC Resolution 794 (1992)
 - c) Use of all measures necessary to facilitate delivery of humanitarian assistance in Bosnia under SC Resolution 770 (1992)
 - d) Res. 940 (1994) authorize MNF to restore democracy in Haiti under
 - e) Resolution 929 (1994) authorize all necessary means by Operation Turquoise using all to achieve humanitarian objectives

Readings:Required:

Donald Boudreau, On Creating a UN Sanctions Agency, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.4, No.2, Summer 1997, pp. 115-138

Use of Force by the UN, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.3, No.1, Summer 1996, pp. 1-18
 Humanitarian Intervention Revisited: Post Cold War Responses to Classical Problems, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.3, No.4, Winter 1996, pp. 146-165

Edward Mortimer, Under What Circumstances Should the UN Intervene in a Domestic Crisis? in Otunnu & Doyle, pp. 49-73

Damrosch, pp. 274-315 (sanctions).

Tom Woodhouse and Oliver Ramsbotham, Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Intervention in Post Cold War Conflict, in Woodhouse (ed.), *Peacekeeping and Peacemaking*, St Martins Press, 1998, pp. 49-73

Raimo Vayrynen, Enforcement and Humanitarian Intervention: Two Faces of Collective Action by the UN, in Alger, *The Future of the UN System*, pp. 54-88

A Global Agenda 1995, pp. 7, 19-20, 23-29, 58-62, and 246-251.

Suggested:

OCHA Online: Toward More Humane and Effective Sanctions Management Enhancing the Capacity of the United Nations System: http://www.reliefweb.int/dha_ol/pub/misc/index/htm

OCHA Online: Emergency Response and Relief Coordination:
http://www.reliefweb.int/dha_ol/programs/response/index.htm

Richard Betts, Delusions of Impartiality, *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1994, pp. 20-33.

Jarat Chopra & Thomas G. Weiss, Sovereignty Is No Longer Sacrosanct: Codifying Humanitarian Intervention, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 6 (1992), pp. 95-117.

Humanitarian Intervention. Caught in the Cross Fire, *Harvard International Review*, vol. XVI, No. 1 (Fall 1993) (Special issue on humanitarian mission and the use of force).

Damrosch, pp. 77-118 (Iraq) and 205-239 (Somalia)

Jarat Chopra, ge Eknes and Toralv Nrodb, *Fighting for Hope in Somalia*, Peacekeeping and Multinational Operations, Norsk Utenrikspolitisk Institutt, 1995, 108 pp.

Jonathan Stevenson, Hope Restored in Somalia?, *Foreign Affairs*, No. 91, (Summer 1993), pp. 138-154.

Gerald B. Helman & Steven R. Ratner, Saving Failed States, *Foreign Policy*, vol. 89 (Winter 1992-93), pp. 3-20.

Samuel M. Makinda, *Seeking Peace from Chaos: Humanitarian Intervention in Somalia*, International Peace Academy, 1993.

Jeffrey Clark, Debacle in Somalia, *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72, No. 1 (1992/1993), pp. 109-123.

Session 7

March 3, 1998

PEACE ENFORCEMENT: COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND THE USE OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Outline

- I. THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM IN BRIEF
 - A. The Charter design: period one
 - B. The peacekeeping phase: period two
 - C. Exaggerated expectations in contracted out operations: period three

- II. RECENT TRENDS IN THE USE OF FORCE UNDER CHAPTER VII
 - A. Operation Desert Storm
 - B. The Aftermath of the Gulf War
 - C. UNPAs, No-fly Zones, and Safe Areas in former Yugoslavia
 - D. Establishing a secure environment for relief and action against factions in Somalia
 - E. Democratic restoration in Haiti
 - F. Rwanda
 - G. ECOWAS in Sierra Leone.
 - H. NATO, IFOR, SFOR in post-Dayton Bosnia.

Readings:

Required:

Daniel & Hayes, pp. 20-63 (Dorinda Dallmeyer, National Perspectives on International Intervention: From the Outside Looking In; Stephen Stedman, UN Intervention in Civil Wars: Imperatives of Choice and Strategy)

Salim Ahmed Salim, The OAU Role in Conflict Management, and John Roper, The Contribution of Regional Organizations in Europe, in Otunnu & Doyle, pp. 145-168, 245-271
Hillen, pp. 183-236

Zacarias, pp. 104-133

John Gerald Ruggie, *The United Nations and the Collective Use of Force: Wither -- or Whether?* No. 1 in the series UNA-USA International Dialogue on the Enforcement of Security Council Resolutions, June 1996.

Gwyn Prins, *The Applicability of the "Nato Model" to United Nations Peace Support Operations Under the Security Council* No. 2 in the series UNA-USA International Dialogue on the Enforcement of Security Council Resolutions, July 1996.

Stanley Hoffman, The Politics and Ethics of Intervention, *Survival*, vol. 37, No. 4, 1995/96, pp. 29-51.

Enforcement Measures Under Chapter VII, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.3, No.4, Winter 1996, pp. 82-125

The Security Councils Reliance on Burden Sharing, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.5, No.1, Spring 1998, pp. 1-21

Enrico Augelli & Craig Murphey, Lessons of Somalia for Future Multilateral Humanitarian Assistance Operations, in *Global Governance*, Vol.1, No.3, Sept-Dec 1995, pp.339-365

Suggested:

The Comprehensive Report on Lessons Learned from United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM), April 1992 - March 1995

<http://www.un.org/depts/dpko/lessons/somalia.htm>

Adam Roberts, The United Nations and International Security, *Survival*, vol. 35, No. 2 (Summer 1993), pp. 3-30.

Peck, pp. 99-185

Diehl, pp. 107-142

Rohde, 353-373

John Gerald Ruggie: The United Nations Stuck in a Fog Between Peacekeeping and Enforcement, *Peacekeeping: The Way Ahead?*, Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1993, pp. 1-11.

Lori Fidler Damrosch & David J. Scheffer, *Law and Force in the New International Order*, Westview Press, 1991, especially Abram Chayes, The Use of Force in the Persian Gulf, pp. 3-12; Oscar Schachter, Authorized Use of Force by the United Nations, pp. 65-93; Nikolai B. Krylov, International Peacekeeping and Enforcement Actions After the cold War, pp. 94-100.

Oscar Schachter, United Nations Law in the Gulf Conflict, *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 85, pp. 452-463 (1991).

Session 8

March 10, 1998

MID TERM EXAM PAPER DUE

IN-CLASS UN PEACE OPERATION PLANNING EXERCISE

Students will participate in an in-class activity designed to exercise the knowledge previously gained in the practical application of UN Peace Operations. No preparation is expected other than readings for previous sessions and a knowledge of current affairs. Students will be expected to act on instructions given in class and prepare and present concepts and solutions to a given problem.

NO CLASS MARCH 17 DUE TO MIDTERM BREAK

Session 9

March 24, 1998

HUMANITARIAN RELIEF AND ACTION DURING ARMED CONFLICTS

Guest: Policy Planning, Department of Humanitarian Affairs, United Nations

Outline

- I. HOW HUMANITARIAN AND PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS INTERACT.
 - A. Mandates

1. Humanitarian agencies (UNICEF, UNHCR, WFP, ICRC, OCHA, NGOS) duty to the victims - linkage to DPKO duty to ensure cease-fire / security.
 2. The need to negotiate access to victims - freedom of movement.
 3. Safe humanitarian space - camps, reception areas etc.
 4. Personnel security.
 5. Clash of SC political functions with humanitarian objectives and principles.
- B. Holistic culture - longevity
1. Humanitarian affairs as a long-term commitment
 2. PKO as a short-term, high cost finite activity in response to crisis.
 3. PK as driven by the Northern Hemisphere - perceptions of the G77 and NAM (as in Kouchner's droit d'ingerence) - political agenda of development
- C. Functional responses and interactions
1. Internal coordinated approaches for interagency cooperation
 2. Bureaucratic costs of military-assisted humanitarian operations as opposed to locally supported e.g. use of local truckers, as in Afghanistan, versus Somalia operations
- D. The need for flexibility.
1. Costs of operations as a response to actions on the ground, security in relation to fiscal responsibility - a need for middle ground.
 2. Humanitarian assistance versus peacekeeping objectives.
 - a) aid assists local war efforts - Liberia, Somalia (initially).
 - b) setting of achievable objectives.
 - c) relocation for safety versus ethnic cleansing

II. CASE STUDIES

- A. Afghanistan
1. No traditional PKO, only UN humanitarian relief and a UN peace process coordinator for humanitarian and reconstruction with UNMCA and UNDP. UNOCA is separate from the political effort.
 2. A "humanitarian consensus" was agreed to that allowed access. "Humanitarian encirclement" allowed UN aid to cross borders with Pakistan, Iran, Uzbekistan and between government held and mujaheddin held areas.
- B. Mozambique
1. Integrated peace-making, PK, humanitarian roles in one UNOMOZ and three components
 - a) Military
 - b) Electoral
 - c) Humanitarian
 2. OCHA coordinated humanitarian assistance (150 NGOs).
 3. Political prioritization on election process results in exaggerated expectation of early success. Resulted in difficulties in transferal from humanitarian to developmental assistance. Integration did not work
- C. Rwanda
1. UNAMIC with a SRSG was separate from the UN office for coordination of humanitarian assistance. Limited information sharing or organizational cooperation at any level.
 2. Political failure: despite early warning no will to prevent or stop genocide.
 3. Humanitarian relief was successful on the Zairian border but it raised the moral dilemma of strengthening the genocidal regimes hold on the camps, sacrificing justice for duty to help victims .

III. OTHER ISSUES

- A. Relief-development continuum
- B. OCHA as lead agency, interagency cooperation with UNDP, DPKO, UNOPS

Readings

Required:

Antonio Donini, *Beyond Neutrality: On the Compatibility of Military Intervention and Humanitarian Assistance*, *The Fletcher Forum*, Summer/Fall 1995, pp. 31-45.

Thomas Weiss, *Overcoming the Somalia Syndrome*, *Global Governance*, Vol.1, No.2, pp. 171-187

Otunnu & Doyle, *Peacekeeping and Peacemaking for the New Century*, Part IV, pp. 203-232

Securing Peace for Humanitarian Aid, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.5, No.1, Spring 1998, pp. 66-89

Civil Military Relations in Peace Support Operations, and Peace Operations: From Short-term to Long-term Commitment, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.3, No.2, Summer 1996, pp. 123-140,

Humanitarian Relief Intervention in Somalia, Relationships Between the Military and Humanitarian Organizations, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.3, No.1, Spring 1996, pp. 68-112

Double Discrediting: Humanitarian Intervention by a Compromised Belligerent, as part of France Rwanda and Military Intervention, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.4, No.3, Autumn 1997, pp. 37-43

A New Approach to Complex Emergencies, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.4, No.4, Winter 1997, pp. 31-49

OCHA Online: Humanitarian Report 1997: The link between relief and development
http://www.reliefweb.int/dha_ol/pub/humrep97/link.htm/index/htm

Suggested:

The Comprehensive Report on Lessons Learned from United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), October 1993 - April 1996.
<http://www.un.org/depts/dpko/lessons/rwanda.htm>

Humanitarian Relief in a Peacekeeping Environment
<http://www.un.org/depts/dha>

Humanitarian Affairs Weblinks to OCHA / Reliefweb:
<http://www.reliefweb.int/dha>

Letter from the Permanent Representative of Argentina to the United Nations Addressed to the Secretary-General, *'White Helmets' Initiative, Participation of volunteers in Activities of the United Nations in the Field of Humanitarian Relief, Rehabilitation and Technical Cooperation for Development*, UN Doc. A/50/144, July 10, 1995.

Report of the Secretary-General, *Strengthening of the Coordination of Emergency Humanitarian*

Assistance of the United Nations, UN Doc. A.50/203, E/1995/79, June 14, 1995.

Larry Minear & Thomas G. Weiss, *Humanitarian Action in Times of War. A Handbook for Practitioners*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993.

Remi Russback and Daniel Fink, *Humanitarian Action in Current Armed Conflicts: Opportunities and Obstacles, Medicine and Global Survival*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (December 1994, pp.188-199.

The Mohonk Criteria for Humanitarian Assistance in Complex Emergencies

See also the on-line *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*, at the following Internet address:
<http://www.gsp.cam.ac.uk/jha.html>

Session 10

March 31, 1998

COMPREHENSIVE PEACE AGREEMENTS

Outline

- I. PEACE-MAKING AND THE POLITICAL AND LEGAL CONTEXT OF COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENTS
 - A. The military and political conditions for a comprehensive settlement
 - B. The mediators
 1. The SRSG
 2. "Friends of the SG" and similar groups
 - C. The structure of comprehensive agreements

- II. ELEMENTS OF COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENTS
 - A. Case study of UNTAC
 1. Historical context
 2. Military aspects (disarmament, demobilization, mine-action)
 3. Repatriation and rehabilitation
 4. The elusive question of control
 5. Registration of voters, polling and counting: Free and fair?
 6. Human rights investigation, corrective action and education
 7. The Constituent Assembly, Provisional Government and constitution drafting.
 - B. Case study of ONUSAL
 1. Historical context
 2. ONUSAL's mandate and the San José Agreement
 3. The Truth Commission
 4. The Ad-Hoc commission
 5. Follow-up to the elections and institution-building

- III. ROLE OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
 - A. The political of regional organizations and arrangements
 - B. Examples of regional involvement
 1. The OAU and MINURSO
 2. The OAS and UNMIH
 3. The OSCE and UNPROFOR

4. ECOMOG in Liberia, Sierra Leon
5. NATO in the FRY

Readings

Required:

Doyle, Johnstone, Orr (eds.), *Keeping the Peace - Multidimensional UN Operations in Cambodia and El Salvador*, Ch.3-5 (pp. 53-134), Ch.10-11 (pp. 227-281)

UN Cooperation with Regional Organizations in Peacekeeping: The Experience of ECOMOG and UNOMIL in Liberia, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.3, No.3, Autumn 1996, pp. 33-51

Political Legitimacy, Confidence Building and the Dayton Peace Agreement, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.4, No.2, Summer 1997, pp. 74-90

Daniel & Hayes, pp. 248-266 (James Shear, Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping: the Case of Cambodia)

Lost Agenda, pp. 13-74

An Agenda for Peace 1995, pp. 10-12 (paras. 20-22).

Alvaro de Soto & Graciana del Castillo, Implementation of Comprehensive Peace Agreements: Staying the Course in El Salvador, *Global Governance*, vol. 1, No. 2, May-Aug. 1995, pp. 189-203.

Suggested:

Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, *Improvising History. A Critical Evaluation of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador*, December 1995.

Yasushi Akashi, To Build A New Country: The Task of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia, *Harvard International Review*, vol. XV, No. 2 (Winter/93), pp. 34 ff.

Michael Doyle & Ayaka Suzuki, Transitional Authority in Cambodia, Thomas G. Weiss, *The United Nations and Civil Wars*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995, pp. 127-149.

Session 11

April 7, 1998

HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING, INVESTIGATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Outline

- I. HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING AND INVESTIGATION AS AN IMPEDIMENT TO THE PEACE PROCESS
- II. MONITORING HUMAN RIGHTS DURING ENFORCEMENT OPERATIONS

- A. Case study of Iraq
 - 1. Protection of Kurds and Shi'ites under Resolution 688 and the creation of safe havens
 - 2. The role of UN Security Guards
 - 3. The van der Stoep mission and proposal of field monitors
 - B. Case study of Haiti
 - 1. The OAS high-level mission and observer mission
 - 2. Investigation by the UN Commission on Human Rights
 - 3. The International Civilian Mission to Haiti
- III. MONITORING HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT
- A. Case study of Cambodia
 - B. Case study of El Salvador
- IV. ACCOUNTABILITY AND CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY
- A. Relation between the laws of war and human rights under UN peace operations
 - B. International criminal tribunals (ICT for the Former Yugoslavia, ICT for Rwanda)
 - C. Accountability of the peacekeepers (SOFA/ROE)

Readings

Required:

UN Peace Missions: 1997 Year in Review - Two Civilian Missions: Haiti and Iraq
<http://www.un.org/depts/dpko/yir97/civilian.htm#lessons/handbuk.htm>

Ian Johnstone, Right and Reconciliation in El Salvador, in Doyle, Johnstone and Orr, *Keeping the Peace*, pp. 312-341

Alice H. Henkin, *Honoring Human Rights : From Peace to Justice* (1998)

Peacekeeping and International Humanitarian Law, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.3, No.3, Autumn 1996, pp. 92-97

The UN as an Actor Bound by International Humanitarian Law, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.5, No.2, Summer 1998, pp. 64-81

Conflict Resolution, Justice and Law: Rebuilding Rule of Law in the Aftermath of a Complex Emergency, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.5, No.3, Autumn 1998, pp. 1-25

The Lost Agenda, pp. 1-11.

Suggested:

International Civilian Mission to Haiti Website:
<http://www.un.org/rights/micivih/first.htm>

UNHCR Website:
<http://www.unhcr.ch/>

UN International Law
<http://www.un.org/law>

International Tribunal on the Former Yugoslavia
<http://www.un.org/icty>

International Tribunal on Rwanda
<http://www.un.org/icttr> and <http://www.inter-media.org/>

The IWCT for FYR and the Dayton Peace Agreement: Peace versus Justice, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.4, No.2, Summer 1997, pp. 91-114

Introducing the Sustainability Principle to Human Rights Operations, ICRC and the Laws of Armed Conflict Today, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.4, No.4, Winter 1997, pp. 61-78, 86-99.

David P. Forsythe, The UN and Human Rights at Fifty, in *Global Governance*, Vol.1, No.3, Sept-Dec 1995, pp297-318

Mark Plunkett, Re-establishing Law and Order in Peace Maintenance, in *Global Governance*, Vol.4, No.1, Jan-Mar 1998, pp. 61-79

Clair Apodaca, Michael Stohl, George Lopez, Moving Norms to Political Reality: Institutionalizing Human Rights Standards Through the UN System, in Alger, pp. 185-220

Damrosch, pp. 77-117 (Jane E. Stromseth, Iraq's Repression of Its Civilian Population: Collective Responses and continuing Challenges)

Alice Henkin (ed.), *Honoring Human Rights and Keeping the Peace. Lessons from El Salvador, Cambodia and Haiti*, The Aspen Institute. 1995, pp. 3-29.

Session 12
April 14, 1998

ELECTIONS AND PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY

Outline

- I. UN ELECTORAL MONITORING AND PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY IN GENERAL
 - A. The normative framework
 - 1. Self-determination and the breakup of states
 - 2. Rights to political participation and noninterference in internal affairs
 - 3. Promotion of democracy in Agenda for Peace and SG positions
 - 4. Right to democratic governance and use of force the implement (Franck)
 - B. The means available
 - 1. The Electoral Assistance Division
 - 2. Electoral components of peace operations (linkage and interagency cooperation - MGDG/UNDP/UNRC/OHCHR)

- II. RECENT ELECTORAL ROLE OF THE UN IN PEACE OPERATIONS
 - A. First phase (UNTAG in Namibia, ONUVEN and ONUCA in Nicaragua, ONUVEH in Haiti)
 - B. Second phase (UNTAC in Cambodia, ONUSAL in El Salvador)
 - C. Unresolved cases (MINURSO in the Western Sahara, UNAVEM II in Angola)

- III. TRAINING, EDUCATION AND INSTITUTION-BUILDING FOR POST-UN FUNCTIONING OF THE STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY
 - A. The theory of peace-building: a preventive strategy
 - B. The practice of peace-building
 - C. The appeal and shortcomings of peace-building

Readings

Required:

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Democracy" A Newly Recognized Imperative, *Global Governance*, vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 3-11.

Sally Morphet, Organizing Civil Administration in Peace-Maintenance, in *Global Governance*, Vol.4, No.1, Jan-Mar 1998, pp. 41-60

Engelbert Theuermann, Legitimizing Governments through International Verification: The Role of the United Nations, *Austrian Journal of Public and International Law*, vol. 49, pp. 129-158 (1995).

Doyle, Authority and Elections in Cambodia, in Doyle, Johnstone, Orr, *Keeping the Peace*, pp. 134-164

Michael Wesley, *Casualties of the New World Order*, pp. 96-125

Peck, pp. 238-248

Suggested:

Electoral Assistance Website:
<http://www.un.org/depts/dpa/docs/eadhome.htm>

David Stoelting, The Challenge OF UN-Monitored Elections In Independent Nations, *Stanford Journal of International Law*, vol. 28, pp. 371-424.

Jon M. Ebersole, "The United Nations' Response to Requests for Assistance in Electoral Matters," *Virginia Journal of International Law*, vol. 33, No. 1 (Fall 1992), 91-122.

Thomas Franck, "The Emerging Right to Democratic Governance," *The American Journal International Law*, vol. 86, January, 1992, pp. 46-91.

Session 13

April 21, 1998

POST-CONFLICT PEACE-BUILDING

Outline

- I. THE CONCEPT OF PCPB
 - A. Definitions
 - B. Elements of PCPB
- II. THE POLITICS OF PCPB
 - A. The donor-fatigue factor
 - B. The perceived threats to sovereignty
- III. THE LOGISTICS OF PCPB
 - A. The time factor
 - B. Coordination of multi-agency inputs
- IV. THE STATE OF THE DEBATE
 - A. Responses to the PCPB concept in An Agenda for Peace
 - B. Results of the sub-committee of the Open-Ended Working Group

Readings

Required

An Agenda for Peace, pp. 19-22, 61-62

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Confronting New Challenges. Annual Report on the Work of the Organization 1995*, pp. 348-358.

Thomas M. Franck, A Holistic Approach to Building Peace, in Otunnu and Doyle, pp. 275-296

Doyle, Johnstone, Orr, Ch.7-8 (pp. 165-206), Ch.12 pp. 282-311, Ch.14 pp. 342-366

Restoration of the Somali Justice System, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.3, No.1, Spring 1996, pp. 113-138

Development and UN Peace Missions, Beyond PCPB, The Issues of the Military: Demobilization/Disarmament/Reintegration in Southern Africa, Peacekeeping Perspectives of PB in Somalia, UN in Mozambique and Angola: Lessons Learned, Improving UN Development Coordination with Peace Missions, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.3, No.2, Summer 1996, pp. 3-16, 36-122

Peace Mission Strategy and Domestic Actors, MINGUA's PB Mandate in Western Guatemala, in *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.4, No.2, Summer 1997, pp. 22-74

United Nations Office at Geneva, *Report of Interagency Working Group on Role of UN System in Post-Conflict Situations (Geneva, 24-25 January 1996)*.

Stephen P. Marks, "Preventing Humanitarian Crises Through Peace-Building and Democratic Empowerment: Lessons From Cambodia," *Medicine and Global Survival*, vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 208-218 (December 1994).

Suggested

UNDP Background Information:

<http://www.un.org/toppages/discover/disco.htm>

UNOPS Relationship with the UN:
<http://www.un.org/2insti/2if000.htm>

Michael Doyle, *UN Peacekeeping in Cambodia: UNTAC's Civil Mandate*, International Peace Academy, 1995.

Brian Urquhart, The UN and International Security after the Cold War, in Adam Roberts & Benedict Kingsbury (eds.), *United Nations, Divided World*, second edition, 1993, pp. 81-103.

Stephen P. Marks, "The New Cambodian Constitution: From Civil War to a Fragile Democracy," *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*, vol. 26, No. 1, Fall 1994, pp. 45-110, especially p. 85-110.

Janet E. Heining, *Peacekeeping in Transition. The United Nations in Cambodia*, especially chapter 7 Lessons from a Venture into Peace-building, pp. 117-145.

Session 14

April 28, 1998

THE FUTURE OF UN PEACE OPERATIONS

Outline

- I. OBJECTIVES OF UN OPERATIONS
 - A. Responses to breaches of the peace
 - B. Relief for humanitarian emergencies
 - C. Resolution of internal conflicts, ethnic and religious strife
 - D. Restoration of Democracy

- II. MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF OPERATIONS
 - A. Internal structures and coordination (role of the SRSG, command and control, interagency cooperation)
 - B. External relations and coordination (other agencies, contributing governments, regional organizations, member states, NGOs, ICRC, NGOs)
 - C. Issues of impartiality and neutrality

- III. THE FUTURE OF UN ACTION IN THE PEACE AND SECURITY FIELD
 - A. The work of the UN committee
 - B. Implementation of reforms
 - C. Further proposals for reform
 - D. Reduction of funding (UN dues payments, reduction in assessed internal budgets)
 - E. Scope of future operations

Readings

Required

Daniel & Hayes, pp. 303-307 (Daniel & Hayes, *Problems and Progress: The Future of UN Peacekeeping*)

Shashi Tharoor, Should UN Peacekeeping Go "Back to Basics"?, *Survival*, vol. 37, No. 4, 1995/96, pp. 52-69.

Zacarias, pp. 167-202

Otunnu, Doyle, Conclusion, pp. 297-325

Diehl, pp. 166-182

Gareth Evans, Ensuring Peace: the Future of the United Nations, in Woodhouse, Bruce, Dando, *Peacekeeping and Peacemaking*, pp. 367-391

Doyle, Johnstone, Orr, pp. 367-391

Hillen, pp. 237-248

Alger, pp. 409-429

Michael Wesley, pp. 125-132

Suggested

The United Nations in its Second Half-Century. A Report of the Independent Working Group on the Future of the United Nations, Yale University/Ford Foundation, pp. 13-25.

Our Global Neighborhood. The Report of the Commission on Global Governance, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 99-113.

Gareth Evans, *Cooperating for Peace*, pp. 182-189

NOTE ON POLICY PAPERS

General observation: The policy paper you will write for this course is designed to apply the knowledge and insights you have gained during the semester to a topic not adequately covered in the course. Unlike a research paper, your paper should set out the advantages and disadvantages of several courses of action with respect to the problem presented in the assignment that will be handed out on March 10, 1999.

The clarity and originality with which you address the issues, the coherence of your arguments, and the appropriate and accurate use of sources will all be considered in evaluating your paper.

Length: Your paper should be 10-15 pages, double spaced, excluding bibliography.

Style manual: The paper should have (a) a title page, (b) a table of contents, (c) numbered pages, (d) footnotes at the bottom of the page (Do not use parenthetical documentation.), and (e) a bibliography. If you have doubts regarding style, form or referencing, consult Joseph Gibaldi, *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers*, Fourth edition, New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1995, or other standards works, such as Turabian or the *Chicago Manual of Style*. For United Nations documents, cite the full title and use the official document number and the date, followed by paragraph (rather than page) numbers (e.g., *Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization. August 1995*, UN Doc. A/50/1 (22 August 1995), para. 581-582.). For resolutions of UN organs, you may simply cite the resolution number and year (e.g., Security Council Resolution 940 (1994)).

Date due: All papers must be turned in on April 7, 1999