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School of Diplomacy and International
Relations

Spring 2022

DIPL 6004 Peacemaking

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DIPL 6004: Peacemaking
Spring, 2022
Professor Moremen

[PRELIMINARY SYLLABUS]

This course combines a thematic and case study approach to peace operations and their role in maintaining peace and security in the world. We will look at UN and non-UN peace operations, broadly defined to include peacekeeping, peace enforcement and post-conflict peacebuilding. We begin with an introduction to some fundamentals: theories about the nature of conflict; the UN Charter framework; and the types of peace operations. We then explore selected case studies of missions since the end of the Cold War to draw out common themes and to familiarize students with the evolving nature of peace operations. We weave in sessions that specifically address some broader issues, such as the law, policy, and ethics of humanitarian intervention, the role of regional organizations and subcontracting, and transitional justice. At the end of the course, students will participate in an exercise in which they develop and present aspects of an ideal peace-building operation, designed to draw on knowledge garnered from the cases, themes and issues studied earlier.

In terms of the learning goals and student outcomes the School's Faculty have identified as key for students, students will:

- increase their knowledge and understanding of
 - key concepts, models, theories, and debates in international relations
 - the institutional backdrop underpinning international politics, including international organizations and international law
 - the normative aspect of international relations as reflected in international law, including human rights
 - the prevailing global issues, such as international conflict, global health, and environmental challenges;
- develop skills to
 - collect, sort, and evaluate information
 - analyze complex situations and synthesize information
 - integrate different fields of study in analysis of a complex world
 - communicate effectively in oral and written form;
- develop a sense of global citizenship and to employ a global perspective to:
 - recognize and understand differences among a diversity of cultures and viewpoints
 - employ a global perspective and self-awareness regarding their own culture and responsibility as world citizens
 - demonstrate leadership qualities and other essential skills of diplomacy.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

This course will include several requirements, more fully described below: (a) completing assigned readings before class and participating in class discussions; (b) preparing journal entries' (c) making a short class presentation on a peace operation; (d) preparing a mid-

term paper; (e) participating in a group presentation and a group exercise on a peace operation; (f) taking a final exam.

- a. Readings and Participation. [20%, including journal entries] Please read the assigned readings before class and be prepared to discuss them in class. Class participation is a required part of the course, and will be considered in determining your grade.
- b. Journal Entries. **For seven of the class sessions**, you will submit a 2 page typed, double-spaced journal entry on some aspect of that week's reading. Rather than a summary of the reading, the journal entry should express your critical thoughts and reactions. **Please submit journal entries through the assignment link on Blackboard. Late entries will be penalized ½ a mark; entries not submitted by the next class will not be graded.**
- c. Class Presentation on a Peace Operation [5%] You will make a presentation to the class on one of the case studies we are examining.
- d. Midterm Take-home Exam. [20%] There will be a 5-10 page take-home exam on an assigned topic, due on or about Monday, March 23.
- e. Peacebuilding Exercise. [25%] You will prepare a presentation and a short paper on one aspect of an ideal peace-building program toward the end of the class. Further information on the structure of these exercises will be provided. **The peacebuilding exercise will be held in class on 4/27; please plan your schedules accordingly.**
- f. Final Exam. [30%] There will be a take home final exam covering the entire class, including all assigned readings.

COURSE MATERIALS: All students are expected to acquire the following books:

- Chester Crocker, Fen Hampson, & Pamela Aall, eds., Managing Conflict in a World Adrift (2015).
- Paul Williams & Alex Bellamy, Understanding Peacekeeping (3rd ed., 2021).

OFFICE HOURS AND CONTACT INFORMATION. My office hours will be Thursdays, 10:00 to 12:00 and Tuesdays, 5:00-6:00 by prior arrangement—please contact me by email to set up a meeting. Meetings will be in Teams or in person. My e-mail address is philip.moremen@shu.edu (best way to reach me) and my extension is 2517.

GRADING SCALE: The grading scale used for most assignments will be: 93 and above=A; 90-92=A-; 87-89=B+; 83-86=B; 80-82=B-; 77-79=C+; 73-76=C; 70-72=C; 67-69=D+; 63-66=D; 60-62=D-; Below 60=F. Journal entries will be graded on a check, check minus, and check plus basis.

POLICY ON INCOMPLETES. Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diplomacy Main Office) to the professor *before* the date of the final examination. If the incomplete request is approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit

the missing course work within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an “FI” (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact financial aid and academic standing.

MORE ABOUT JOURNAL ENTRIES. Journal entries are graded as a check, check minus, and check plus basis. Journal entries are included in the portion of the grade dedicated to class participation. Satisfactory performance consists of a mix of checks and check plusses. Superior or inferior performance could make a difference in your grade if you are between grades. **Failure to submit journal entries will affect your grade negatively.** Late journal entries will be penalized as described above.

I will try to provide comments on the first journals and in early classes to provide direction, but generally will not provide lengthy comments on journal entries. Rather than a summary of the readings, the journal entry should express your critical thoughts and reactions to the issues and the readings. Is there a point of view that you agree or disagree with and why? Can you bring in outside knowledge or experience to illustrate a point in a particularly telling way? You should strike a balance between broad coverage of the readings and a focused analysis. A summary of the readings generally will receive a check, unless it's very well done, e.g., identifying main themes in a sophisticated way. A journal entry consisting of general moral prescriptions without more (e.g., "more education will solve all problems") will not be well-received.

LATE OR INCOMPLETE ASSIGNMENTS. Students who anticipate not being able to complete an assignment on time should inform me as soon as possible. Absent prior communication, failure to complete an assignment on its due date will result in a grade penalty. Late assignments (except journal entries—see above) will be penalized by one-third letter grade every two days (i.e., an A assignment turned in up to two days late is an A-, up to four days late a B+, etc.) except in cases of medical/family emergency or COVID-related issues. Please contact me if you are struggling in class for whatever reason.

PLAGIARISM AND OTHER SERIOUS ABUSES OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY. **All forms of dishonesty, whether by act or omission, including, but not limited to, cheating, plagiarism, and knowingly furnishing false information to the University, are prohibited.** Work submitted in courses must be the product of the efforts of the student presenting the work, and contributions of others to the finished work must be appropriately acknowledged. The presentation of another's work as one's own is a serious violation of the academic process. Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See University and School standards for academic conduct here:

<https://www.shu.edu/student-life/upload/Student-Code-of-Conduct.pdf> and
<https://www.shu.edu/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>.

More particularly: In a paper or take-home exam, where you quote language word for word, no matter the length, you must place in quotation marks or in a block quote and give the exact source for each quoted passage. Where you paraphrase something, you must cite the source. Where you refer to or use an author's insight or idea, you must cite the source. Lifting language from a web site without indication and citation is plagiarism.

STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES. It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973) 313-6003 or by e-mail at DSS@shu.edu.

CORONAVIRUS SAFETY. Our mask mandate remains mandatory for indoors (unless you're alone or eating) and in effect until further notice. The language was clear last year: No mask, no class. Updates can be found here: <https://www.shu.edu/health-intervention-communication/>

CAPS. As part of our commitment to the health and well-being of all students, Seton Hall University's Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) offers initial assessments, counseling, crisis intervention, consultation, and referral services to the SHU community. The CAPS office is located on the second floor of Mooney Hall, room 27. Appointments can be made in-person or by calling 973-761-9500 during regular business hours, Monday-Friday, 8:45 a.m. - 4:45 p.m. In case of a psychological emergency, call CAPS (973-761-9500) at any time to speak to a crisis counselor. For more information, please visit: <https://www.shu.edu/counseling-psychologicalservices/index.cfm>

CURRICULUM AND READINGS

- Managing Conflict= Crocker et al., Managing Conflict in a World Adrift (2015).
- Understanding Peacekeeping = Williams & Bellamy, Understanding Peacekeeping (3rd ed. 2021).
- Blackboard=Some readings will be on the course Blackboard site.
- Various readings will be available online (as indicated by link).

Session 1 [1/19]: Introduction

Session 2 [1/26] Causes of Conflict

- Leashing the Dogs of War: Levy, Ch. 2, pp. 20-31 [Blackboard]
- Managing Conflict:
 - Ch. 1 (Crocker, et al.)
 - Ch. 12 (Brown & Stewart).
- David, Internal War, 49 World Pol. 552 (1997) [Blackboard].
- Lise Howard, Power and United Nations Peacekeeping in Power in Peacekeeping (2019) pp. 7-17 [Blackboard]
- Recommended:
 - Understanding Peacekeeping, Ch. 1, pp. 11-28.
 - Walter, Howard, & Fortna, The Astonishing Success of Peacekeeping, Foreign Affairs (2021),
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2021-11-29/astonishing-success-peacekeeping>

Session 3 [2/2]: Intro to U.N. Peace Operations: History and Legal Foundations

- Understanding Peacekeeping, Ch. 2, pp. 29-49.
- UN Organizational Chart, available at https://www.un.org/en/pdfs/18-00159e_un_system_chart_17x11_4c_en_web.pdf
- Richard Gowan, Peace Operations, in The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations (2nd ed., 2018) [Blackboard].
- Introduction, in The United Nations Security Council and War, pp. 1-10 only (Lowe, et al., eds., 2008) [Blackboard]
- Findlay, The Use of Force in U.N. Peace Operations (2002) pp. 1-19 only, available at
<https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/files/books/SIPRI02Findlay.pdf>
- Recommended/Reference:
 - UN Charter, Preamble and Chapters I, II, V, VI, VII, and VIII, available at <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/ctc/uncharter.pdf>
 - Skim the UN Peacekeeping site: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en>
 - Review the Department of Peace Operations page:
<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/departement-of-peace-operations>

Session 4 [2/9]: Somalia and Rwanda

- Durch, Somalia, UN Peacekeeping . . . (Durch, ed. 1996) [Blackboard]
- Security Council Resolutions on Somalia: Res 794, 814 and 837. [Blackboard]
- Power, Bystanders to Genocide, Atlantic Monthly, Sept., 2001, available at
<http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200109/power-genocide>
- Kuperman, Rwanda in Retrospect, 79 Foreign Affairs 94 (Jan./Feb. 2000), available electronically through SHU Library.
- Recommended/Reference:
 - Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations During the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda, pp. 3-52, available at
<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/report-of-independent-inquiry-actions-of-united-nations-during-1994-genocide-rwanda-s19991257>

Session 5 [2/16]: Yugoslavia

- Durch and Schear, Yugoslavia, in UN Peacekeeping . . . (Durch, ed. 1996). [Blackboard] [Skip the discussion on Croatia, pp. 206-223]
- Security Council Resolutions on Yugoslavia [Blackboard]
- Betts, The Delusion of Impartial Intervention, Foreign Affairs (1994), available at http://www.columbia.edu/itc/sipa/U6800/readings-sm/Betts_impartial_intervention.pdf]
- Summary of the Dayton Peace Agreement [Blackboard]
- Cousens and Harland, Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 21st C. Peace Operations. [excerpts] [Blackboard]

Session 6 [2/23]: Humanitarian Intervention, R2P, and International Law Regarding the Use of Force—Ethical, Political, and Legal Issues

- Review UN Charter Ch. 6 and Ch. 7 from session 3.
- Byers, War Law (2005), Introduction and Chapters 2, 7, 8 [Blackboard].
- Smith, Humanitarian Intervention, Ethics and International Affairs (1998) [dated, but read for ethical and political theory discussions] [Blackboard]
- Romesh Thakur, Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect, in The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations (2d ed. 2018).
- Fontaine, The Nonintervention Delusion: What War is Good For in Foreign Affairs (Nov/Dec 2019).
- Recommended/reference:
 - Int'l Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, The Responsibility to Protect (2001) **Synopsis**, available at <https://www.idrc.ca/en/book/responsibility-protect-report-international-commission-intervention-and-state-sovereignty>

Session 7 [3/2] Regional Organizations and Partnerships; Sierra Leone & The DRC

- Understanding Peacekeeping, Ch. 13
- Two short chapters on UN operations in Sierra Leone, in The Oxford Handbook of U.N. Peacekeeping Operations (2015) [Blackboard].
- Doss, U.N. Mission in the DRC, in The Oxford Handbook of U.N. Peacekeeping Operations (MONUC) (2015) [Blackboard].
- Reid, Congo's Slide Into Chaos: How a State Fails, Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb 2018 [Blackboard].
- Recommended: UN Stabilization Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO), in The Oxford Handbook of U.N. Peacekeeping Operations (2015) [Blackboard]

SPRING BREAK—NO CLASS

Session 8 [3/16]: Peace Operations Since 2010 (ish).

- Understanding Peacekeeping, Ch. 5, pp. 100-110.
- Two short chapters on UN missions in South Sudan and Mali, in The Oxford Handbook of U.N. Peacekeeping Operations (2015) [Blackboard].
- Karlsrud, From Liberal Peacebuilding to Stabilization and Counterterrorism, 26 Int'l Peacekeeping, 1 (2019) [Blackboard]

- Hunt, All Necessary Means to What Ends? The Unintended Consequences of the “Robust Turn” in UN Peace Operations, 24 Int’l Peacekeeping 108 (2017).
- Recommended:
 - Understanding Peacekeeping, Ch. 10, Stabilization.

TAKE HOME MIDTERM DUE MONDAY 3/23 BY 4:00

Session 9 [3/23]: Prevention; Doctrine & Reform of UN Peace Operations

- Understanding Peacekeeping, Ch. 9.
- Managing Conflict, Ch. 27, pp. 457-469.
- Understanding Peacekeeping, Ch. 5, pp. 87-99.
- Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations on uniting our strengths for peace: politics, partnership and people. Summary (pp. 9-16).
- Renn & Diehl, Déjà vu All Over Again and Peacekeeping Reform?: The HIPPO Report and Barriers to Implementation, 19. Journal of Int’l Peacekeeping Operations 211 (2015) [Blackboard]
- Recommended/Reference:
 - The Brahimi Report, Executive Summary and Summary of Recommendations, available at <http://undocs.org/A/55/305>
 - United Nations, United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines (2008) [Read Introduction and Ch. 3, pp. 31-41] available at https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/capstone_eng_0.pdf
 - Action for Peacekeeping [website]. Read the website and the Declaration of Shared Commitments. <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/action-for-peacekeeping-a4p>

Session 10 [3/30] Introduction to Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Kosovo & East Timor

- Roland Paris, Peacebuilding, in The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations (2nd ed., 2018). [Blackboard]
- Dziedzic, Kosovo, in 21st C. Peace Operations [Blackboard]
- Chesterman, East Timor in Berdal and Economides, eds., United Nations Interventionism 192 (2007) [Blackboard].
- McQueen, The Peacekeeping Legacy in Timor-Leste: Imperial Re-Encounters?, Int’l Peacekeeping (2020) [Blackboard]

Session 11 [4/6]: Justice & Rule of Law; Gender [Additional/Revised Readings TBA]

- Managing Conflict, Ch. 33
- Martha Minow, Between Vengeance and Forgiveness (1998) [Excerpts: 25-32 and 118-136] [Blackboard].
- Vinjamuri, Deterrence, Democracy, and the Pursuit of Int’l Justice, 24 Ethics and Int’l Affairs 191 (2010) available through SHU Library databases.
- Mendeloff, Trauma and Vengeance: Assessing the Psychological and Emotional Effects of Post-Conflict Justice, 31 Human Rights Qtrly. 592 (2009) [Blackboard].
- Managing Conflict, Ch. 21

- Heineken, Are Women ‘Really’ Making a Unique Contribution to Peacekeeping? The Rhetoric and the Reality, 19 J. Int’l Peacekeeping 227 (2015) [Blackboard] [Her answer is “yes,” BTW]

Session 12 | 4/13|: Peacebuilding: Afghanistan & Iraq

- Dobbins, et al., Iraq, in The UN’s Role in Nation-Building (2005), available at <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG304/>
- Thier, Afghanistan, in 21st C. Peace Operations [Blackboard] [Read selectively].
- Jones, In the Graveyard of Empires (2010), Ch. 18 only [Blackboard]
- Stewart, The Last Days of Intervention, Foreign Affairs, Nov/Dec. 2021. [Blackboard]
- Friis, Peacekeeping and Counter-insurgency—Two of a Kind?, 17 Int’l Peacekeeping 49 (2010) [skim] [Blackboard].
- Howard, Peacekeeping is Not Counterinsurgency, 26 Int’l Peacekeeping 545 (2019). [Blackboard]
- Recommended:
 - Jones, In the Graveyard of Empires (2010), Chs. 10, 11 [Blackboard]

Session 13 |4/20|: Reflections on Peacebuilding; Preparation for Class Exercise

- Managing Conflict, Ch. 32.
- Managing Conflict, Ch. 31
- Dobbins, Beginner’s Guide to Nation-Building (2007), Forward; Summary; chapters 2, 6-10 [available for download at <https://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG557.html>] [Skim for this class and read in greater depth for exercise.]

Session 14 |4/27|: Peace Operations In-Class Exercise

- In-class exercise.
- Additional resources for those focusing on relevant topics in the exercise:
 - Spear, Disarmament and Demobilization, in Ending Civil Wars (Stedman et al. eds., 2002) [Blackboard].
 - Reilly, Post-Conflict Elections: Constraints and Dangers, Int’l Peacekeeping 118 (Summer, 2002) [Blackboard]
 - Woodward, Economic Priorities for Successful Peace Implementation, in Ending Civil Wars (Stedman et al. eds., 2002) [Blackboard]

Session 15 |5/4|: Future Directions of Peace Operations

- Autesserre, The Crisis of Peacekeeping: Why the UN Can’t End Wars, Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb 2019 [Blackboard]
- Autesserre, The Frontlines of Peace: An Insider’s Guide to Changing the World, Chs. 3, 6 (2021) [Blackboard]
- Hultman, Kathman, Shannon, Peacekeeping in the Midst of War, Ch. 1 (2019) [Blackboard]
- Howard, Power and United Nations Peacekeeping in Power in Peacekeeping (2019) [Blackboard] [read all; you’ve already read pp. 7-17]

- Caplan, Peacekeeping in Turbulent Times, 26 Int'l Peacekeeping 527 (2019) Blackboard]
- de Coning, How UN Peacekeeping Operations Can Adapt to A New Multipolar World Order, 26 Int'l Peacekeeping 536 (2019) [Blackboard]

**TAKE-HOME FINAL, TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FROM THURS-SAT,
MAY 12-14**