

KSG ISP-410: Intervention and Peacekeeping

Monica Duffy Toft

Description:

This course examines interventions and peacekeeping in civil wars and violence. It addresses the international legal basis for intervention by outside parties, as well as state interests and capacity. Multilateral and unilateral intervention is considered including the role of the United Nations, regional organizations, and NGOs. The cases discussed include Haiti, Somalia, and Rwanda. As part of the course requirements, students participate in a group exercise to come up with policy alternatives to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

Contact information and office hours:

A sign-up sheet will be posted outside of Professor Toft's door. Her office is L376, telephone 495-5154, e-mail mtoft@wcfia.harvard.edu.

Course requirements:

This is a graduate-level course. Grades are based on class attendance, preparation, participation, and written assignments. There are six written assignments: five short reading memos and a longer research and policy paper analyzing an intervention. Students will also prepare and present a policy briefing as part of a group exercise on the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Details of assignments will be explained in class.

Attendance and participation: 10% of grade

Group presentation: 25% of grade

Memoranda—a total of five: 25% of grade

Research and policy essay: 40% of grade

Course materials:

Course packets are available for purchase at the Course Materials Office. Books are available to purchase at the Harvard Coop. Copies of the readings are on reserve at the KSG library. Three readings are not in the packets, but are available online. The URLs are provided. There are nine required texts and two recommended:

Amnesty International. *Rwanda, mass murder by government supporters and troops in April and May 1994*.

— *Rwanda, reports of killings and abductions by the Rwandese Patriotic Army, April-Aug, 1994*.

Bowden, Michael. *Blackhawk Down*. Atlantic Monthly Press, 1999.

Livingston, Steven. *Clarifying the CNN Effect*, Research Paper R-18, KSG Shorenstein Center, June 1997.

Mayall, James ed. *The New interventionism, 1991-1994*. Cambridge, 1996.

Moore, Jonathan, ed. *Hard Choices*. Rowman & Littlefield, 1998.

Prunier, Gerard. *The Rwanda Crisis*. Columbia University Press, 1997.

The Independent International Commission on Kosovo. *The Kosovo Report*. Oxford, 2000

Williams, Michael C. *Civil-military Relations and Peacekeeping*. Adelphi paper, Oxford, 1998.

Recommended:

Des Forges, Alison. *Leave None to Tell the Story*. Human Rights Watch, 1999.

Powers, Samantha. *A Problem from Hell*. Perennial, 2003.

Enrollment:

Enrollment is limited. ISP-409 recommended. Auditors may be permitted at the discretion of the instructor.

Overview of course

| <i>Session</i> | <i>Date</i> | <i>Topic</i> | <i>Assignment</i> |
|----------------|-------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | | I. Overview | |
| 1 | Feb 1 Thur | Intervention: definitions & issues | |
| 2 | Feb 6 Tues | Intervention & IR theory | 1 st memo |
| | | II. Whether to intervene | |
| 3 | Feb 8 Thurs | Normative & pragmatic issues | 2 nd memo |
| 4 | Feb 13 Tues | Normative & pragmatic issues | |
| 5 | Feb 15 Thur | National interest--case: Haiti | 3 rd memo |
| 6 | Feb 20 Tues | Actors and types of intervention | 4 th memo |
| 7 | Feb 22 Thur | The United Nations | 5 th memo |
| 8 | Feb 27 Tues | Reforming the UN | 6 th memo |
| 9 | Mar 1 Thur | On the ground | 7 th memo |
| 10 | Mar 6 Tues | The media | 8 th memo |
| | | III. How to intervene | |
| 11 | Mar 8 Thur | Alternatives to force | 9 th memo |
| 12 | Mar 13 Tues | Aid to Force--Case: Somalia | |
| 13 | Mar 15 Thur | Somalia: evaluation | |
| 14 | Mar 20 Tues | Military Force--Case: Kosovo | |
| 15 | Mar 22 Thur | Kosovo, evaluation | |
| | Mar 27 Tues | <i>Spring break</i> | |
| | Mar 29 Thur | <i>Spring break</i> | |
| | | IV. Getting out | |
| 16 | Apr 3 Tues | Exit Strategy | 10 th memo |
| 17 | Apr 5 Thur | Case--Former Yugoslavia | |
| | | V. Rwanda Project | |
| 18 | Apr 10 Tues | Background | |
| 19 | Apr 12 Thur | Background | |
| 20 | Apr 17 Tues | Evaluation | |
| 21 | Apr 19 Thur | Evaluation | |
| 22 | Apr 24 Tues | Group meeting | |
| 23 | Apr 26 Thur | <i>Group presentations</i> | |
| 24 | May 1 Tues | <i>Group presentations</i> | |
| 25 | May 3 Thur | Overview | |
| | May 7 Mon | Papers due by noon | |

Course Readings

| <i>Session</i> | <i>Date</i> | <i>Topic</i> | <i>Assigned Readings</i> |
|----------------|-------------|------------------------------------|--|
| | | I. Overview | |
| 1 | Feb 1 Thur | Intervention: definitions & issues | <p>R.J. Vincent, "Definition: Intervention and the Principle of Nonintervention," <i>Nonintervention and International Order</i>. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974, pp. 3-16.</p> <p>Richard Falk, "Responding to Severe Violations," <i>Human Rights and State Sovereignty</i>. New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1981, pp. 153-183.</p> <p>Anthony Arend and Robert Beck, "Intervention in Civil and Mixed Conflicts," <i>International Law and the Use of Force: Beyond the UN Charter Paradigm</i>. New York: Routledge, 1993, pp. 80-92.</p> <p>Anthony Arend and Robert Beck, "Humanitarian Intervention," <i>International Law and the Use of Force: Beyond the UN Charter Paradigm</i>. New York: Routledge, 1993, pp. 112-137.</p> <p>Dennis Jett, "A Brief History of Peacekeeping," <i>Why Peacekeeping Fails</i>. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000, pp. 21-34.</p> <p>International law selections in D. Evans, <i>Blackstone's International Law Documents</i>. London: Blackstone Press, 1996, pp. 8-26.</p> |
| 2 | Feb 6 Tues | Intervention & IR theory | <p>Michael Doyle, "International Intervention," <i>Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism and Socialism</i>. New York: Norton, 1997, pp. 389-420.</p> <p>Jack S. Levy "Contending Theories of International Conflict: A Levels-of-Analysis Approach," in Chester A. Crocker et al, eds., <i>Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict</i>. Washington: US Institute of Peace, 1996, pp. 3-24.</p> |
| | | II. Whether to intervene | |
| 3 | Feb 8 Thurs | Normative & pragmatic issues | <p>Joseph Cropsey, "The Moral Basis of International Action," in Robert A. Goldwin, ed., <i>America Armed: Essays on United States Military Policy</i>. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963, pp. 71-91.</p> <p>David Luban, "Just War and Human Rights," in Charles Beitz et al, eds., <i>International Ethics</i>. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985, pp. 195-216.</p> <p>Michael Walzer, Selections from Chapter 4, "Law and Order in International Society," <i>Just and Unjust Wars</i>. New York: Basic Books, 1977, pp. 51-63.</p> |

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| | | | Michael Walzer, Chapter 6, "Interventions," <i>Just and Unjust Wars</i> . New York: Basic Books, 1977, pp. 86-108. |
| 4 | Feb 13 Tues | Normative & pragmatic issues (Continued) | Richard K Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , Nov-Dec 1994, pp. 20-33. J. Bryan Hehir, "Military Intervention and National Sovereignty: Recasting the Relationship," in <i>Hard Choices</i> , pp. 29-54. Edward N. Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> Jul-Aug 1999, pp. 36-44. Roland Paris, "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism," <i>International Security</i> , Vol. 22, No. 2, Fall 1997, pp. 54-89. |
| 5 | Feb 15 Thur | National Interest Case Study: Haiti | Tony Smith, "In Defense of Intervention," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , Nov-Dec 1994, pp. 34-46. Charles Krauthammer, "A World Imagined: The Flawed Premises of Liberal Foreign Policy," <i>The New Republic</i> , March, 15 1999. Peter Beinart, "War Fair," <i>The New Republic</i> , May 31, 1999, pp. 6. Joseph S. Nye, "Redefining the National Interest," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , Jul-Aug 1999, pp. 22-35. Condoleeza Rice, "Promoting the National Interest," in <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , Jan-Feb 2000, pp.45-62. John B. Judis, "Beyond National Interest," <i>The New Republic</i> , June 21, 1999, pp. 22-25. Jesse Helms, "American Sovereignty and the UN," <i>The National Interest</i> , Winter 2000/01, pp. 31-34. Thomas K. Adams, "The US and the UN in Haiti: The Limits of Intervention," in John Fishel, ed., <i>The Savage Wars of Peace: Toward A New Paradigm of Peace Operations</i> . Boulder: Westview Press, 1997, pp. 175-194. Colin Granderson, "Military-Humanitarian Ambiguities in Haiti," in <i>Hard Choices</i> , pp. 99-118. |
| 6 | Feb 20 Tues | Actors & types of intervention | Mary B. Anderson, "Humanitarian NGOs in Conflict Intervention," in Chester A. Crocker et al, eds., <i>Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict</i> . Washington: US Institute of Peace, 1996, pp. 343-354. Martin Griffiths et al, "Sovereignty and Suffering," in John Harriss, <i>The Politics of Humanitarian Intervention</i> . New York: Pinter, 1995, pp. 33-83. |

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| | | | <p>Matthew S. Klimow, "US Armed Humanitarian Intervention: Capabilities and Costs," in S. Neil MacFarlane et al, <i>Peacekeeping at a Crossroads</i>. Clementsport: Canadian Peacemaking Press, 1997, pp. 119-133.</p> <p>Kalam Shahed, "Peacekeeping: Bangladesh's Experience in Bosnia," S. Neil MacFarlane et al, <i>Peacekeeping at a Crossroads</i>. Clementsport: Canadian Peacemaking Press, 1997, pp. 164-176.</p> <p>Michael Walzer, "Lone Ranger," <i>The New Republic</i>, April 27 1998, pp.10-11.</p> |
| 7 | Feb 22 Thur | The United Nations | <p>Kofi A. Annan, "Peacekeeping, Military Intervention and National Sovereignty in Internal Armed Conflict," in <i>Hard Choices</i>, pp. 55-69.</p> <p>Michael N. Barnett, "The United Nations and Global Security: The Norm is Mightier than the Sword," in <i>Ethics and International Affairs</i>, Vol. 9, 1995, pp. 37-54.</p> <p>Boutros Boutros-Ghali. <i>Agenda for Peace</i>, 1992.</p> <p>David Green, et al. "Predicting the Size of UN Peacekeeping Operations," <i>Armed Forces & Society</i>, Vol. 24, No. 4, pp. 485-500.</p> <p>Giandomenico Picco, "The UN and the Use of Force: Leave the Secretary General Out of It," <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, Sep-Oct 1994, pp. 14-18.</p> <p>Selections from the Charter of the United Nations, in Malcolm D. Evans, <i>Blackstone's International Law Documents</i>. London: Blackstone Press, 1996, pp. 8-26.</p> |
| 8 | Feb 27 Tues | Reforming the UN | <p>Dennis Jett, "'Inclusion'"—Why Real Reform Might Not be Possible," <i>Why Peacekeeping Fails</i>, 2000, pp. 169-222.</p> <p>Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Keeping Operations, (The Brahimi Report), August 2000. Excerpts. Available online: http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/</p> |
| 9 | Mar 1 Thur | On the ground | <p>John T. Fishel, "War by Other Means? The Paradigm and its Application to Peace Operations," in John T. Fishel, ed, <i>The Savage Wars of Peace: Toward A New Paradigm of Peace Operations</i>. Boulder: Westview Press, 1997, pp. 3-16.</p> <p>Selections from Field Manual 100-23, Department of the Army. Available online: http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/service_pubs/fm100_23.pdf</p> <p>"The Organization of the United Nations Concerned with the Maintenance of International Peace and Security," in <i>Peacekeeper's Handbook</i>. New York: Pergamon Press, 1984, pp. 10-17.</p> |

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| | | | <p>“The Attitude of the Peacekeeper,” in <i>Peacekeeper’s Handbook</i>. New York: Pergamon Press, 1984, pp. 373-397.</p> <p>Michael C. Williams, <i>Civil-Military Relations and Peacekeeping</i>, Adelphi Paper 321, IISS, 1998.</p> <p>Major-General Vijay Kumar Jetley, <i>Report on the Crisis in Sierra Leone</i>, 2000. (Will be handed out.)</p> |
| 10 | Mar 6 Tues | The media | <p>Warren Strobel, “The CNN Effect,” <i>American Journalism Review</i>, May 1996, pp. 32-34.</p> <p>Steven Livingston, <i>Clarifying the CNN Effect</i>, KSG Research Paper R-18, Shorenstein Center, June 1997.</p> <p>Michael Ignatieff, “The Stories We Tell,” in <i>Hard Choices</i>, pp. 297-302.</p> |
| | | III. How to intervene | |
| 11 | Mar 8 Thur | Alternatives to force: aid, sanctions, and justice | <p>Mary B. Anderson, “You saved my life today, but for what tomorrow?” in <i>Hard Choices</i>, pp. 137-156.</p> <p>Daniel W. Drezner, “Serious About Sanctions,” <i>The National Interest</i>, Fall 1998, pp. 66-74.</p> <p>Larry Minear, “The Morality of Sanctions,” in <i>Hard Choices</i>, pp. 229-250.</p> <p>Lori Fisler Damrosch, “The Civilian Impact of Economic Sanctions,” in Lori Fisler Damrosch, ed, <i>Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts</i>. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993, pp. 274-315</p> <p>Richard Goldstone, “Bringing War Criminals to Justice During an Ongoing War,” in <i>Hard Choices</i>, pp. 195-210.</p> |
| 12 | Mar 13 Tues | Aid to Force Case: Somalia background | <p>Ioan Lewis and James Mayall, “Somalia,” <i>The New Interventionism, 1991-1994</i>, pp. 94-124.</p> <p>Thomas R. Mockaitis, “Somalia,” <i>Peace Operations and Intrastate Conflict: The Sword or the Olive Branch?</i> Westport: Praeger, 1999, pp. 47-77.</p> <p>Mark Bowden, <i>Blackhawk Down</i>. Selections.</p> |
| 13 | Mar 15 Thur | Somalia: evaluation | <p>Jeffrey Clark, “Debacle in Somalia,” <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, Dec-Jan 1992, pp. 109-123.</p> <p>Chester A. Crocker, “The Lessons of Somalia: Not Everything Went Wrong,” <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, May-Jun 1995, pp. 2-8.</p> <p>Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst, “Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention,” <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, Mar-Apr 1996, pp. 70-85.</p> |

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| | | | <p>Jeffrey Herbst, "Responding to State Failure in Africa," <i>International Security</i>, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1996, pp. 120-144.</p> <p>Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, "Humanitarian Intervention in Somalia," <i>Humanitarian Intervention in Contemporary Conflict: A Reconceptualization</i>. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996, pp. 193-216.</p> <p>Mohamed Sahnoun, "Mixed Intervention in Somalia and the Great Lakes: Culture, Neutrality and the Military," in <i>Hard Choices</i>, pp. 87-98.</p> |
| 14 | Mar 20 Tues | Military Force Case: Kosovo, background | <i>The Kosovo Report</i> , pp. 29-127 and pp. 301-323. |
| 15 | Mar 22 Thur | Case: Kosovo, evaluation | <p><i>The Kosovo Report</i>, pp. 131-298 and pp. 324-330.</p> <p>Leon Wieseltier, "Winning Ugly," <i>The New Republic</i>, June 28, 1999, pp. 27-33.</p> <p>Catherine Guicherd, "International Law and the War in Kosovo," <i>Survival</i>, Vol. 41, No. 2, Summer 1999, pp. 19-34.</p> |
| | Mar 27 Tues | <i>Spring break</i> | |
| | Mar 29 Thur | <i>Spring break</i> | |
| | | IV. Getting out | |
| 16 | Apr 3 Tues | Exit Strategy | <p>Ted Galen Carpenter & Amos Perlmutter, "Strategy Creep in the Balkams: Up to Our Knees and Advancing," <i>The National Interest</i>, Summer 1996, pp. 53-59.</p> <p>Charles Lane, "No Exit," <i>The New Republic</i>, April 22, 1996, p. 4.</p> <p>Gideon Rose, "The Exit Strategy Delusion," <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, Jan-Feb 1998, pp. 56-67.</p> <p>Richard H. Sinnreich, "In Search of Victory," <i>Army</i>, Feb 1999, pp. 47-50.</p> <p>Ashley J. Tellis, "Terminating Intervention: Understanding Exit Strategy and US Involvement in Intrastate Conflicts," <i>Studies in Conflict and Terrorism</i>, Vol. 19, April 1996, pp. 117-151.</p> |
| 17 | Apr 5 Thur | Case study: Former Yugoslavia | <p>Spyros Economides and Paul Taylor, "Former Yugoslavia," in <i>The New Interventionism</i>, pp. 59-93.</p> <p>Appendices B and D in <i>The New Interventionism</i>, pp. 166-186 and 226-233.</p> <p>Lawrence Freedman, "Why the West Failed," <i>Foreign Policy</i>, Winter 1994, pp. 53-69.</p> |

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| | | | Thomas R. Mockaitis, "The Former Yugoslavia," <i>Peace Operations and Intrastate Conflict: The Sword or the Olive Branch?</i> Westport: Praeger, 1999, pp. 79-124. |
| | | V. Rwanda Project | |
| 18 | Apr 10 Tues | Background | Gerard Prunier, <i>The Rwanda Crisis</i> , chapters 1-5. |
| 19 | Apr 12 Thur | Continued | Gerard Prunier, <i>The Rwanda Crisis</i> , chapters 6-9. African Rights, <i>Rwanda: Death, Despair, and Defiance</i> , London: African Rights, 1995, pp. 258-281, pp. 993-1001, 1025-1035. Amnesty International, <i>Rwanda: Mass Murder by Government Supporters and Troops in April and May 1994</i> . Amnesty International, <i>Rwanda: Reports of Killings and Abductions by the Rwandese Patriotic Army, April-August 1994</i> . |
| 20 | Apr 17 Tues | Evaluation | Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda, 15 December 1999. Available online: http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/letters/1999/1257e(1-25).pdf |
| 21 | Apr 19 Thur | Evaluation | Philip Gourevitch, "Letter from Rwanda: After the Genocide," <i>The New Yorker</i> , December 18, 1995, pp. 78-85. Alan Kuperman, "Rwanda in Retrospect," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , January/February 2000, pp. 94-118. Alison Des Forges, "Shame: Rationalizing Western Antipathy on Rwanda," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , May/June 2000, pp. 141-144. Romeo Dallaire, "The End of Innocence: Rwanda 1994," in <i>Hard Choices</i> , pp. 71-86. Ian Martin, "Hard Choices After Genocide," in <i>Hard Choices</i> , pp. 157-175. Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide," in <i>The Atlantic</i> , September 2001. |
| 22 | Apr 24 Tues | Group meeting | |
| 23 | Apr 26 Thur | Group presentations | |
| 24 | May 1 Tues | Group presentations | |
| 25 | May 3 Thur | Overview | |