

CANADIAN FORCES COLLEGE 2018–2019

JOINT COMMAND AND STAFF PROGRAMME 45

DS/CF 526 — PEACE AND STABILITY OPERATIONS: AN EVOLVING PRACTICE

Instructor

Dr. Walter Dorn

Office: C332

Phone: 416-482-6800 ext. 6538

Email: dorn@rmc.ca or dorn@cfc.dnd.ca

Textbook

Bellamy, Alex J., and Paul Williams. *Understanding Peacekeeping*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011.

Other required readings are also available through the Information Resource Centre (IRC), and in embedded links in this outline, and handouts. A bibliography is provided at the end of this outline.

Schedule

Please consult the JCSP timetable on the CFC intranet.

Course Description

This course explores the field operations deployed to conflict areas to mitigate or end violence and to help rebuild war-torn societies. Such peace or peacekeeping operations have evolved considerably with new and expanded mandates and more robust mechanisms for the international military, police and civilians. The course focuses on the concepts and experiences of the UN, but also includes other organizations like NATO, and regional organizations. Successes and failures are reviewed, and case studies help to get an operational “sense on the ground.”

Detailed Description

The Canadian Forces have been involved in peace and stabilization operations in fractured, war-torn areas of the world for over 70 years. In fact, the majority of the country’s international operations since WW II have been peace operations — sometimes called peacekeeping, peace support or stability operations, more recently including nation-building. These operations have evolved over time from early UN observer missions (e.g., in Palestine) to interposed forces (Sinai and Cyprus) to multidimensional operations (Cambodia, Bosnia, Congo, Mali), and Transitional Administrations (Kosovo, Timor). As new roles were added to deal with protracted conflicts, the complexity, players, dangers and hardships increased. Cases of operational success (e.g., Namibia, Cambodia, Timor Leste) and failure (Somalia, Rwanda) will be analyzed, as will current operations (Central African Republic, D.R. Congo, Mali and South Sudan). As many recent cases have shown, nation-building is a painstaking long-term process requiring a large

degree of civil-military cooperation. In addition to the United Nations, other sponsors will be examined, including NATO and regional organizations. The increasingly robust character of peace operations will be considered in light of the requirements for protection of civilians and the inherent limitations and dilemmas on the use of force for peace. The contributions from all three environments/services will be summarized. What has been learned from recent nation-building experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan? How do recent doctrine and concepts relate to the evolving practice? How do peace operations relate to counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism operations? While Canada contributes few troops at present to UN operations, what is expected for the future? Students will get opportunities to reflect on both Canadian and international experience (including their own, if applicable) in field operations.

Teaching/Assessment Strategy

The instructor has a learner-centric teaching philosophy, believing that the best way to teach is to encourage freedom of inquiry. Thus, he seeks to give students the freedom to explore themes of their own choosing within the domain of the overall course theme. Students can choose their own presentation and essay topics, as well as current media articles. Discussions about the readings are open but guided, so students are free to raise the subtopics that they find most intriguing.

Deliverables and Marks

- 1. Participation (10%):** There will be many opportunities for active participation, discussion and interventions. The JCSP syllabus (assessment rubric) well describes the best characteristics for class participation: “Actively expresses own views, supported by evidence from the required and supplementary readings, listens to peers, and challenges peers’ views [respectfully]. Arrives fully prepared, having read the required and some supplementary readings. Communicates ideas with enthusiasm, proper voice projection, appropriate language and clear delivery, while making some eye contact. Comments advance the level and depth of the dialogue (consistently). Group dynamic and level of discussion are consistently better because of the student’s presence.”
- 2. Current Affairs Analysis (10%):** Students will be asked to describe and analyze stories dealing with international peace operations taken from national newspapers or media sources of the previous 2-3 days (e.g., [Globe & Mail](#), [National Post](#), [New York Times](#), [BBC](#) or other/alternative media, e.g., [Al Jazeera](#) or [Russia Today](#)). Useful links to stories in Canada and worldwide are available at CFC’s [SOMNIA](#). Though newspapers can be read in print (hard copy) or electronically, the volunteering students for each class should email their story’s URL to the class by 1730 hrs the previous day, at the latest, so that it can be read by everyone in advance of the class. Students may choose to work in a small group (e.g., dividing up themes or sources) for the in-class story review and analysis. Duration: 7-10 minutes plus 5 minutes for questions and discussion.
- 3. Presentation (20%):** These may be on *any* topic within the scope of the course. This allows students to pursue their own interests and fascinations, which might be on particular conflicts, operations, organizations, functions, situations, themes or theories. Duration: 15-20 minutes plus 5-10 minutes for questions and discussion. Presentations by two or more students on a subject is possible, in which case more time can be allocated.

4. Resolution drafting (unassessed): Students will be in two or more groups for this homework project. Each group will draft a Security Council resolution to create a peacekeeping force to deal with a contemporary conflict (the same conflict or different conflicts for the groups, to be decided) (see [UN news site](#)). Useful resources are the Council's [past resolutions](#) and the [Security Council Report](#), especially the [peacekeeping](#) section of the site. The drafted resolutions will be examined and discussed by the class as a whole.

5. Simulation (10%): Students will role-play the leaders of a contemporary peacekeeping operation ([current list](#)), e.g., choosing from Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG), Force Commander, Police Commissioner or the section heads for Civil Affairs, Human Rights, Child Protection, Humanitarian, Elections Assistance, Mines Action, Justice, or Mission Support. These leaders will conduct a short meeting of the senior management team, chaired by the head of the mission (SRSG). The SRSG will describe the situation and section heads will report on the activities of their section and ask for resources they may need to make further progress. More detailed instructions will be forthcoming. The roles of the different sections of a peacekeeping/peace-building operation are described in Dobbins et al., *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building* ([pdf](#)) and in the *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations* ([pdf](#)).

6. Essay (30%): Students can write on *any* theme relating to the content of the course. This wide scope is provided deliberately to allow you maximum choice, following your own interests and perhaps shaped by your career objectives, or what you want to know more about. This is to be a persuasive essay to argue a thesis and consider the counter-arguments. You can provide the instructor with outlines and versions of the thesis statement (what you are trying to prove) but drafts will not be read. For MDS students the essay is 4,000 words (+or- 10%) while for CF course students it is 1,500 words (+or- 10%).

7. Final test (20%): This will consist of three sections: multiple choice; short answers; and mini-essays. Covers the entire course, but is drawn almost exclusively from the lectures and readings. A sample exam from similar past courses can be provided upon request.

Overview

The overall themes are:

- I. Introduction: key concepts and roles in peace-building/peacekeeping (sessions 1-2)
- II. The Evolution of Peace Operations, with cases of success and failure (sessions 3-9)
- III. Peace Operations Today: includes an exercise in resolution-drafting and a mission simulation (sessions 10-11)
- IV. Special Topics: technology (session 11) and student-selected topic, e.g., on intelligence, use of force, Canadian peacekeeping, etc. (session 12)

Generally, classes will proceed as follows: introductory remarks and an interactive presentation by the instructor; open question and answer (Q&A) and discussions; discussion of the assigned readings and multimedia, perhaps with a "tour de table" for student views; current affairs (media) analysis from one or two students; and other student-led activities, including

presentations, formal debates, breakout sessions, and, later in the course, a Security Council resolution discussion session and a mission simulation of a current operation.

The readings include insights from both academics and practitioners. The multimedia component, using carefully selected movies and documentaries, helps give a sense of the challenges and the means in field operations.

Sessions (Themes, Readings and Viewings)

Session 1: Peace, stability or war?

Introductions (personal and thematic); Questions: “How can the world build peace and stability in war-torn areas?”; “How does one measure state failure/fragility?” In-class handouts: [Fragile States Index 2018](#) ([map](#) and [table](#)).

Preparatory reading (optional for scanning):

Fund for Peace. “2018 Fragile States Index,” 2018. ([pdf](#))

Goldstein. Chap. 1, “War on the Street Outside,” pp. 1-11 ([pdf](#)).

Session 2: Key Concepts

Definitions and scope; International mechanisms and operations; UN Charter, UN system, structures; Handout: UN system schematic ([pdf](#)).

Read:

United Nations. *Charter of the United Nations*, Preamble, Chapters I (“Purposes and Principles”), V (“The Security Council”), VI (“Pacific Settlement of Disputes”), and VII (“Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression”) ([html](#), [pdf](#) updated) ([pdf](#) 1945 with signatures).

Bellamy, *et al.* “Introduction,” pp. 1-10; Chap. 1, pp. 13-18, rest optional; and Chap. 2, pp. 42-66. See updated graph of armed conflicts by year and type ([pdf](#)).

United States Army and Marines. “Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies.” In *Field Manual FM 3-24*, May 2014. Read excerpt on “COIN Paradoxes,” ([pdf](#)), 3.8 MB.

Watch:

Documentary on the founding and early days of the United Nations, e.g., [United Nations: In Pursuit of Peace](#) (10 min, in style of the day).

George Clooney’s short video in style of this day, “What is peacekeeping?” ([web](#), 1:01); UN Peacekeeping Is ([YouTube](#), 2:18); *Shake Hands with the Devil* ([YouTube](#) trailer).

Session 3: Early Evolution of Peace Operations

From League of Nations to UN missions; Early UN observer missions.

Read:

Dorn. Chap. 2, “The Evolution of Peace Operations.” *Keeping Watch*, pp. 8-19. ([pdf](#))

Bellamy. Chap. 3, “The Early Peacekeepers,” pp. 71-92.

Session 4: Interposed Forces: Pearson’s Peacekeepers

The UN Emergency Force (UNEF); Other interposed missions; Multidimensional mission (forerunner): “Congo: Baptism by fire (1960-64).”

Read:

Bellamy. Chap. 7, “Traditional Peacekeeping,” pp. 173-192.

Watch (optional):

Blue Vanguard ([NFB](#), film about 1956 Suez conflict and UNEF: slow-moving but insightful; view first and last 10 minutes or all, 59:20).

Siege of Jadotville (2016, movie about Irish soldiers on UN mission in Congo defending their outpost, based on a true story), can be viewed on [Netflix](#) (1:48:00). Trailer is on [Youtube](#).

Session 5: Multidimensional Missions

Peacemaking (negotiations); Peace-building (nation-building/development); Peacekeeping (conflict control); Peace enforcement; Cambodia (Election success by a thread, 1993).

Handouts: SC mandates (traditional & multidimensional missions) and Mission structure (generalized org chart).

Read:

Bellamy. Chap. 4, “Peace Operations during the 1990s,” pp. 93-120.

Carr. Chap. 2, “Planning...” ([pdf](#)) and Dorn. Chap. 3, “Peacekeepers in Combat.” In Dorn. *Air Power in UN Operations*, pp. 1-39. ([pdf](#))

Conrad. Chap. 1, “The Secret Harbour,” pp. 27-41, and “the Khmer Rouge Mystery,” pp. 157-161.

Power. “Introduction.” In *Chasing the Flame: Sergio Vieira de Mello and the Fight to Save the World*. New York: Penguin Press, 2008, pp. 1-12.

Shawcross. “Prologue: The World’s Texan,” pp. 15-26.

Watch:

“In the cause of Peace (Peacekeeping)” ([YouTube](#), 2008, 13:31).

Session 6: Troubled Peacekeeping (1993-95)

Somalia (1993): Disaster in the air and ground; Bosnia (1991-95): Europe’s worst atrocities since the Holocaust; Rwanda (1994): A preventable genocide? Handout: Dallaire’s “genocide fax.”

Read:

Orbinski. “MSF in Somalia.” In *An Imperfect Offering*, pp. 90-113 (or whole chapter).

Dorn. *Preventing the Bloodbath: Could the UN have Predicted and Prevented the Rwanda Genocide?* ([html](#)) ([pdf](#)). Read esp.: Dallaire’s genocide warning fax.

Watch:

Black Hawk Down ([trailer](#)) (full movie, on reserve at IRC or from Netflix); *Shake Hands With the Devil* (the movie, not the documentary, on reserve in IRC).

Watch (optional):

Shake Hands with the Devil: The Journey of Romeo Dallaire (documentary, [trailer](#)); *Ghosts of Rwanda* (Frontline, [YouTube](#)); An alternative (less realistic) view of UNAMIR in *Hotel Rwanda* ([trailer](#)) ([full](#)).

Session 7: Case of the Congo 2003-present

In class, fast-forward viewing of DVD *The Peacekeepers*; answering study guide questions; small group preparations of answers; Rwanda case study.

Watch:

The Peacekeepers (online at [NFB](#); DVD at CFC IRC).

Review:

The Peacekeepers Study Guide ([pdf](#)), and prepare to discuss questions on pp. 4-5.

Read:

Dorn. Chap. 14, “Combat Air Power in the Congo.” In *Air Power in UN Operations*, edited by Dorn ([pdf](#)).

Watch (optional):

[*Mandated to Protect*](#) (UN, 1995, [YouTube](#), 43:12); *The Devil Came on Horseback* (Darfur) ([YouTube](#)).

Session 8: Mali [older: Haiti]

Case: Haiti (2006 and post-2010); Intelligence-led peace enforcement; discussion of videos on Haiti; guidance for the SC resolution drafting; guidance for the Mission simulation; and selection of missions and components. Essay due beginning of class.

Read:

Dorn. Chap. 3, “Monitoring: the constant need.” In *Keeping Watch*, pp. 20-31. ([pdf](#))

Dorn. *Intelligence-led Peacekeeping: MINUSTAH*, pp. 805-821, other pages optional. ([pdf](#))

Scan:

Secretary-General, “Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Mali,” UN Doc. S/2018/1174, 28 December 2018 ([pdf](#))

Watch:

Videos on Haiti (student choose online, individual/group; summarize for class).

Session 9: Transitional Administrations

Cases: Kosovo; Timor Leste; Video clip: “What have the Romans done for us?”

Alternatively, a Mission to which Canada has recently committed will be studied (possibly MINUSMA in Mali).

Read:

Bellamy. Chap. 11, “Transitional Administrations,” pp. 255-278.

Watch:

Sergio (HBO Documentary, [YouTube](#), 2009, 1:34:26; via [amazon.com](#)).

Session 10: Peace Operations Today: Drafting Resolutions and Simulating a Mission

Overview of current missions; discuss draft Security Council resolutions to create or change a peace operation (current conflict); simulation (present briefings from mission component leaders).

Explore:

UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations [website](#).

Read:

“Mandates and the legal basis for peacekeeping” webpage ([DPKO website](#)).

Scan:

Selected SC [resolutions](#) (esp. those relating to a current peacekeeping operation, e.g., [Mali mission establishment, Resolution 2100](#)).

If Syria is the case study: BBC’s “[Syria Profile](#)” (all tabs), esp. “[Timeline](#)”; other news on Syria. Readings to be announced.

Watch:

Security Council establishes UN peacekeeping mission in Central African Republic ([YouTube](#), 1:34); *Black Hawk Down* (full movie, on reserve at IRC or from Netflix; [trailer](#)); *Shake Hands With the Devil* (the movie, not the documentary, on reserve in IRC).

Read:

Select the chapter from Dobbins, *et al.* ([online](#), [pdf](#)) that corresponds to your mission section.

Session 11: Special Topics 1: Technology; Protection

Technology in peace operations

Read:

Dorn. Chap. 4, “Survey of Monitoring Technologies.” In *Keeping Watch*. UN University Press, 2011. ([pdf](#))

Scan:

“Performance Peacekeeping: Report of the Expert Panel on Technology and Innovation” ([pdf](#)) (read pp. 3-11).

Santos Cruz, Carlos Alberto dos. “Improving Security of United Nations Peacekeepers: We need to change the way we are doing business,” 2017 ([pdf](#))

Session 12: Special Topics 2 (student-selected)

Final exam; Course evaluation; Possible topic(s) (time permitting): air power in UN Operations; prevention of conflict and protection of civilians (POC); regional vs UN peacekeeping; and use of force.

Read:

US Army. “Counterinsurgency paradoxes.” In *Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies*, FM 3-24, 7-1–7-4. ([pdf](#))

Possible readings on regional organizations and subcontracting: Bellamy. Chap. 13, “Regionalization,” pp. 301-320; and Dorn. “Regional Peacekeeping is Not the Way.” ([pdf](#))

References and useful websites

Bellamy, Alex J. and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010.

Conrad, Lieutenant-Colonel John. *Scarce Heard Amid the Guns: An Inside Look at Canadian Peacekeeping*. Dundurn Press: Toronto, 2011, 327 pp. ISBN 978-1-55488-981-5.

Dallaire, Roméo (with Brent Beardsley). *Shake Hands with the Devil: the Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. Toronto: Random House Canada, 2003. University Library: DT450.435 D34 2002 (Reserve).

Dobbins, James, Seth G. Jones, Keith Crane, and Beth Cole DeGrasse. *The Beginner’s Guide to Nation-Building*. RAND Corp, 2007, 328 pp. ISBN 978-0-8330-3988-0 (available [online](#), including as [pdf](#).)

Dorn, Walter. *Air Power in UN Operations: Wings for Peace*. Ashgate Publishing, 2014, ISBN 978-1-4724-3549-1 (available [online](#)); University Library: JZ6374 A47 2014 (Reserve).

Dorn, Walter. *Keeping Watch: Monitoring, Technology and Innovation in UN Peace Operations*. UNU Press, 2011, 273 pp. ISBN 978-92-808-1198-8 (available [online](#)); University Library: JZ4971 D67 2011 (Reserve).

Goldstein, Joshua S. *Winning the War on War: The Decline of Armed Conflict Worldwide*. Plume, 2012, 385 pp. ISBN 978-0-452-29859-0. (Prologue, [pdf](#), 1 p.) (Chap. 1, [pdf](#)).

Orbinski, James. *An Imperfect Offering: Humanitarian Action in the Twenty-First Century*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2008, 431 pp. ([Google Books](#)); University Library: RA390 A2 O73 2009 (Reserve).

Power, Samantha. *Sergio: One Man’s Fight to Save the World*. New York: Penguin Press, 2010, 1-12. University Library: D839.7 M45 P68 2009 (earlier published as *Chasing the Flame: Vieira de Mello and the Fight to Save the World*).

Santos Cruz, Carlos Alberto dos. “Improving Security of United Nations Peacekeepers: We need to change the way we are doing business,” 2017 ([pdf](#), 2.3 MB) ([UN site pdf](#)).

Security Council Report, various peacekeeping reports available at www.securitycouncilreport.org/peacekeeping.

Shawcross, William. *Deliver Us from Evil: Peacekeepers, Warlords and a World of Endless Conflict*. New York: Touchstone/Simon and Schuster, 2001, 447 pp. [909.82 S5 2001]

United Nations. Department of Peace Operations, [homepage](#), operations ([current](#), [past](#)), [statistics](#), [policy and guidance](#), [reports](#), etc.