

Fall Term 2016  
**Managing Global rises:  
Humanitarian and Human Rights Challenges for Policy Makers and  
Practitioners PA 5823 and PA4890  
Monday evenings, 6 pm-8:45 pm**

*(Updated August 29)*

Location: Carlson School of Management, Room 1-142  
Humphrey Dean Eric Schwartz  
Office hours: by appointment: [eschwart@umn.edu](mailto:eschwart@umn.edu)

TA: Molly Hayes  
[Haye0200@umn.edu](mailto:Haye0200@umn.edu)

**Course overview:**

From Syria and Iraq to Somalia and Sudan, civil conflict and complex emergencies, which principally impact populations in the global south, pose compelling challenges to the capacities of governments, NGOs, and international organizations to prevent and alleviate suffering and promote recovery. Moreover, in the aftermath of the Cold War and especially after 9/11, officials became increasingly concerned about the security implications of political instability and state failure – resulting in greater attention to provision of humanitarian relief and the challenge of post-conflict reconstruction. In fact, especially in the wake of the Cold War, there was a fair degree of optimism about the capacity of the international community to effectively promote the “rebuilding” of failed states. But especially in the context of conflict in the Middle East and South Asia in recent years, policy-makers have increasingly questioned the ability of the international community to achieve that objective.

This course, which will involve lecture and class discussion, will examine the efforts of the international community – governments, international organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and others – to respond to humanitarian, recovery, and reconstruction challenges posed by civil conflict and complex emergencies. (We will also consider disasters related to natural hazards, like storm surges and hurricanes, though those will not be a major focus of the course.)

The issues and institutions that relate to humanitarian challenges and humanitarian suffering around the world are often studied separately. However, this course will take a broad and integrated approach, designed to give students a wide understanding of the lay of the humanitarian land and the questions with which policy makers and policy practitioners grapple – including those relating to security, disaster response, and human rights, and the roles of international and non-governmental humanitarian organizations. In addition to focusing on the efforts of the international community, the course will examine the role and institutions of the United States government, the largest provider of international humanitarian aid.

Outside the University, I have been involved in the public discussion of critical issues that will confront a new Presidential administration on policy toward international humanitarian issues and I will draw on those efforts in engagement with students. Thus, in class discussion and through policy memos (see below), students may be asked to offer and/or react to options for international humanitarian organization and reform.

We will have several guest speakers during the year, including –

(On humanitarianism, October 10, by Skype): **Michael Barnett**, author of *Empire of Humanity*, University Professor of International Affairs and Political Science, The George Washington University.

(On NGOs in humanitarian response, November 1): **Patricia McIlreavy**, Vice President of the Humanitarian Policy and Practice Team at [InterAction](#), an alliance of some 180 non-governmental organizations involved in humanitarian assistance and development.

(On the organization of the U.S. government for humanitarian response, November 7): **Brian Atwood**, former Humphrey School dean, former USAID Administrator and former Under Secretary and Assistant Secretary of State.

(On Women, Peace and Security, December 5): **Fionnuala Ní Aoláin**, Professor of Law at the University of Ulster's [Transitional Justice Institute](#) in Belfast and the Robina Chair in Law, Public Policy, and Society at the University of Minnesota Law School.

### **Learning objectives:**

Students who successfully complete the course will gain a broad understanding of the policy issues that are involved in international humanitarian response – an understanding that will integrate concepts from a range of fields – as well as knowledge of the key institutions that define and impact policy and practice in this area. Students will also develop an appreciation of key dilemmas faced by policy-makers and practitioners involved in response to complex crises, challenges to achieving policy and operational objectives, and strategies for success.

### **Prerequisites:**

There are no formal prerequisites, other than a keen interest in the material, though those who are not graduate students or upper-level undergraduates should contact me before the class begins.

### **Requirements and Evaluation of your work:**

This course will have both graduate students and undergraduate students, and I welcome the chance for engagement with both. While the articulated requirements for undergraduates and graduate students are the same, my assessments of undergraduates will take into account that they generally have less academic experience and familiarity with the material.

**Your final grade will be based on my evaluation of the following:**

Class participation: This will constitute 25% of your final grade. Class participation will include your responses in class to questions posted in weekly assignment notes (see Organization of Classes, below, for an explanation of what this means), in addition to your general participation in class discussions – including small group discussions we may have during class sessions. I will assess your familiarity with the material, and your efforts to relate the readings to the range of issues we will be considering.

Preliminary short policy memorandum – communicating clearly and concisely in a policy environment: This memo will constitute 15% of your final grade and is designed as an initial exercise in memo-writing. Assigned in the first half of the semester, it will be a short (3-4 page, single spaced) policy memo on a topic of your choice and developed in consultation Molly and with me. It will be directed to a senior-level decision-maker, and focus on an issue relevant to the subject matter of the course, such the gaps in the system of refugee protection; delivery of relief in the context of conflict; women, peace, and security; the role of the military in peace-building; etc. We will discuss at some length the purpose, structure, and content of this kind of memo, which is commonly written by those working in government or NGOs. You will prepare a draft memo for initial reaction and comments from Molly and me. That will be due on October 10 and we will return it to you by or before October 17. You will then make modifications in your memo and provide a final version by October 24. Your overall grade on the memo will be based on the effort demonstrated in your first draft, the improvements reflected in the final draft, and the overall quality of the memo.

Group presentation/second policy memo: This will constitute 20% of your final grade (divided as described below). In this exercise (which we will undertake in the second half of the semester), groups of 3-6 students will be asked to consider a multi-dimensional humanitarian challenge and to make a presentation to an incoming Presidential administration (or to the UN Secretary General) on how it should be addressed. Each student will prepare a short (3-4 page) memorandum one aspect of the issue, and the group presentation to the class will integrate each student's contribution. As mentioned, this exercise will constitute 20% of your final grade: 5% of your final course grade and will be based on the overall quality of your group presentation; and 15% of your final course grade will be based on your contributions to the overall product, including your individual memorandum in support of the group presentation and engagement in that presentation. Your individual memos will be due on December 5, and we will have presentations on December 5 and 12.

Final examination: This will constitute 40% of your final grade. It will be an in-class, two hour exam during exam week. I have designed it so that you can be as successful as possible, but with minimal stress. The exam will have four essay questions, which I will choose from a list of nine essay questions that I will provide to you to you at least two weeks before the exam. When I distribute the nine questions to you, I will not indicate which four will be on the exam, but you can be certain that each of the four will be drawn from those nine questions.

On the exam day, you will be asked to provide written responses to any three of the four questions that are presented to you.

Thus, you will have at least two weeks to reflect on the questions and prepare your thoughts. You may work with others as you prepare – the only limitation is that you must come to the final exam with only a pen (or pens).

### **Organization of classes**

In general, sessions will begin with a lecture introducing and discussing the topic, followed by class discussion. We may vary between large group and smaller group discussions, and consider approaches that respond to different learning styles.

Class discussion (both in the large group and in smaller discussion groups we may form) will be based in large measure on 5-10 questions I will prepare and post at least a week in advance of the class. The questions will be designed to identify key issues for you to consider as you go through the readings. During the discussion portions of each class, I may ask a few students to offer short, informal responses to the questions that have been distributed. Each student who is chosen will be asked to comment on a different question. All students should come to class assuming they may be asked to offer informal comments on any of the questions I've distributed. If, in any particular week, for any reason, you would like to be excused from being chosen to offer comments, please let me know Molly and me know before the class begins. Each student may be excused on one occasion without any problem or penalty.

### **Attendance**

As this is a weekly class, attendance is very important. If you need to miss a class, please let Molly and me know in advance. If so, to make up for the class-based discussion and integration of concepts and information that you will have missed, I ask that you prepare a short essay (of 750-1000 words – about 3-4 pages, doubled spaced), which responds to the questions I've asked relating to the readings for the class that you have been unable to attend. (When you let me know you cannot attend class, I will specify which questions you should address in your short essay.) The essay is due one week after the class you have missed. The essay will not be given a letter grade, but Molly or I will assess it and consider it to be a substitute for your class participation for the week you've missed.

I don't want any student to miss more than two (of our 14) classes over the course of the semester. If your personal circumstances require that you miss more than two classes, please contact Molly or me in advance (unless that is impossible), so we can discuss how to manage that situation.

Note that all these requirements are subject to the provision of University policy, as described in <https://policy.umn.edu/education/makeupwork>

**Special note on stressful issues and on mental health and stress management:**

Because global crises often involve human rights abuses, some of the topics, readings, and discussion may involve issues that impact students personally and profoundly. I will work hard to address challenging issues with sensitivity, but you should feel free to speak with me, or to Molly, if there are circumstances that may merit certain adjustments or accommodations if we are dealing with material you find personally difficult. We will of course keep all such discussion private.

More generally, you may experience a range of issues that can cause barriers to learning, such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug problems, feeling down, difficulty concentrating, and/or lack of motivation. These mental health concerns or stressful events may lead to diminished academic performance or reduce your ability to participate in daily activities. University of Minnesota services are available to assist you with addressing these and other concerns you may be experiencing. You can learn more about the broad range of confidential mental health services available on campus via [www.mentalhealth.umn.edu](http://www.mentalhealth.umn.edu) or <https://diversity.umn.edu/disability/home>.

If you are enrolled with Disability Services and would like to make an accommodation request, we encourage you to share this with us early in the class so that we can be of maximum support to you. See more on their services at the end of the syllabus.

Remember also that there are advisors in the Humphrey Student Services office who are trained and experienced counselors. They are available at very short notice to address any concerns you have and provide further resources within the University. You can visit Humphrey Student Services in HHH 280, or on 612-624-3800.

**Other University Policies**

Beginning on page 31, I have included a description of additional, University-wide policies on a range of issues, which you should also review. They provide information on general student conduct, use of personal electronic devices in the classroom, scholastic dishonesty, make-up work, grading, sexual harassment, equity and diversity, disability accommodations, and academic freedom and responsibility.

**Structure of the Syllabus, and Course Readings**

The syllabus is designed to guide you through the readings. Each week of the course has a topic or topics, with a one paragraph description in the syllabus, entitled *The Topic*.

We will examine a wide range of sources. In addition to standard works on the United Nations and humanitarianism and scholarly journal articles on issues we are exploring from week to week, sources will include documents like the United Nations Charter, UN conventions relating to human rights and humanitarian affairs and UN resolutions relating to peacekeeping, UN reports such as *the Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations* (also known as the Brahimi Report, published in 2000), and non-governmental

publications such as the *Responsibility to Protect* report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (2000). Also, there have been several popular works by practitioners and policy-makers that provide very valuable policy insights on the issues we will be exploring. Thus, we will have excerpts from Power, *Chasing the Flame: Sergio Vieira de Mello and the Fight to Save the World* (Penguin, 2008).

I will seek to keep readings to about 100-125 pages per week. Occasionally, when readings have included more popular works that are easier to digest (and more fun to read), that total may increase a bit. When there are *many* readings for a particular week, you will find that a high percentage of the readings are quite short, and often designed to give you just a sense of the mandate and operations of a particular humanitarian institution or the essence of a policy challenge.

I have provided links to many of the readings below. **But please note: besides readings in two of the books for purchase, listed immediately below, all of our readings are on e-reserves, and you can find them on Moodle in the week-by-week sections on the Moodle site.** Moreover, if for some reason you cannot find a document, do not give up – please email Molly.

Finally, I will post weekly assignment notes at least a week in advance of class, and those notes will also include a listing of the week's readings, as well as the week's thought questions. At times, I may add or remove readings from the syllabus, but I will make any and all changes at least a week in advance of the class for which the readings are due.

### **Books you should purchase if possible**

Power, *Chasing the Flame* (Penguin, 2008). Please note that in later editions, this book is entitled "Sergio," but I believe that the text and chapters of all editions are identical. (Versions for purchase are available online and not expensive.)

Weiss, Forsythe, Coate and Pease, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, (Westview, Eighth Edition, 2016). (This is a newly released edition – so while available from online sellers, there is not a cheap version – the list price is about \$50.)

You may also wish to purchase a third book, which can be purchased inexpensively – we will be reading most of it. But is also available free of charge as an e-book (which you can access through our Moodle site). That book is Barnett, *Empire of Humanity, A History of Humanitarianism*, Cornell University Press, 2011.

## **Class Schedule**

### **September 12:**

#### **Introduction and Overview of Course. And...**

#### **The state of the humanitarian world, as well as a brief look at overall funding for humanitarian response.**

**The Topic:** We will spend much of this class in introductions, and in discussion of the format and requirements of the course. Because this is our first class, I have kept the reading assignments modest, focusing on reports describing world conditions related to humanitarian suffering, state fragility, and conflict, which we will discuss during the class. I've also provided a final reading, from the organization Development Initiatives, which provides a description of worldwide humanitarian funding.

#### **Readings:**

1. UNHCR, *Global Trends* (2015), pp. 1-12, and 51-66. Note that pp. 51-66 contain statistical information – read it to get a sense of the dimension and nature of these challenges. You can find the full report, in English, at <https://s3.amazonaws.com/unhcrsharedmedia/2016/2016-06-20-global-trends/2016-06-14-Global-Trends-2015.pdf>
2. Fund for Peace, *Fragile States Index 2016* (Fund for Peace, 2016, Washington), at <http://library.fundforpeace.org/library/fragilestatesindex-2016.pdf> (23 pages)
3. Von Einsiedel et al., *Major Recent Trends in Violent Conflict*, United Nations University Centre for Policy Research Occasional Paper 1, November 2014 (11 pages), at [http://i.unu.edu/media/cpr.unu.edu/attachment/1558/OC\\_01-MajorRecentTrendsInViolentConflict.pdf](http://i.unu.edu/media/cpr.unu.edu/attachment/1558/OC_01-MajorRecentTrendsInViolentConflict.pdf)
4. Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Peace Index 2016*, Section 2, pages 23-40. At [http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/GPI-2016-Report\\_2.pdf](http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/GPI-2016-Report_2.pdf)
5. PRIO, *Trends in Armed Conflict 1946-2014*, (Peace Research Institute Oslo, Oslo, January 2016). At [http://file.prio.no/publication\\_files/prio/Gates,%20Nyg%C3%A5rd,%20Strand,%20Urdal%20-%20Trends%20in%20Armed%20Conflict,%20Conflict%20Trends%201-2016.pdf](http://file.prio.no/publication_files/prio/Gates,%20Nyg%C3%A5rd,%20Strand,%20Urdal%20-%20Trends%20in%20Armed%20Conflict,%20Conflict%20Trends%201-2016.pdf)
6. Development Initiatives, *Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2015*. Though you may wish to read the entire document, you are assigned to read the Executive Summary, as well as Chapters 1, 2, 4 and 5. At [http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/GHA-Report-2015\\_-\\_Interactive\\_Online.pdf](http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/GHA-Report-2015_-_Interactive_Online.pdf)

## **September 19**

### **The International System, International Politics and International Humanitarian Response. Where Exactly Does Humanitarianism Fit into the Foreign and National Security Policies of States?**

Whether it is conflict and civilian suffering in Syria or Somalia or Sudan, efforts to address crises take place within a larger international political context, broadly defined. How do policy-makers and practitioners make sense of that larger context, and how does it impact the actions they take or fail to take? For this class session, we will examine some basic perspectives on international relations and international politics, and consider how concerns about human rights and humanitarian response might be incorporated into various views on how the world works.

### **Readings**

1. Walt, "International relations: one world, many theories," *Foreign Policy*, No. 110, Special Edition: Frontiers of Knowledge. (Spring 1998), pp. 29-32, 34-46.
2. Hamre and Sullivan, Foreword, pp. vii-xi, in Orr (ed.), *Winning the Peace, An American Strategy for Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (CSIS, Washington, DC, 2004.)
3. Luttwak, "Give war a chance," *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 1999 (six pages).
4. Tesón, "The Liberal Case for Humanitarian Intervention," Chapter 3, pp. 93-129, in Holzgrefe and Keohane (eds.), *Humanitarian Intervention, Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas* (Cambridge, 2003).
5. Schwartz, "Remarks at Formal Swearing-in Ceremony as Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees and Migration," August 2009.
6. Fiott, "Realist thought and humanitarian intervention," *The International History Review*, 35:4 (2013), pp. 766-782.
7. Walt, "Could we have stopped this tragedy? A realist grapples with his doubts on intervention in Syria." *Foreign Policy*, September 21, 2015. At <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/21/could-we-have-stopped-this-tragedy-syria-intervention-realist/>
8. Ignatieff and Wieseltier, "Enough is enough – U.S. abdication on Syria must come to an end," *Washington Post*, February 9, 2016. At [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-era-of-us-abdication-on-syria-must-end/2016/02/09/55226716-ce96-11e5-88cd-753e80cd29ad\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-era-of-us-abdication-on-syria-must-end/2016/02/09/55226716-ce96-11e5-88cd-753e80cd29ad_story.html)

### **September 26 and October 3**

#### **The United Nations, International Institutions, and Human Rights and Humanitarian Law Designed to Address Global Crises and to Protect Human Rights in Situations of Conflict Victims: Do they Matter, and Why?**

*The topic:* In these sessions, we will examine the United Nations and other international institutions that establish the institutional and the legal context through which governments and international organizations involve themselves in humanitarian issues and through which the human rights of individuals affected by conflict are recognized and protected.

What does the UN Charter suggest about the role of governments in responding to complex crises, what norms and institutions have been developed to provide such capacity, and what are the challenges to their effectiveness?

We will also introduce the legal regimes surrounding various humanitarian issues and designed to safeguard rights, such as the Geneva Conventions, the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and other international instruments. And we will consider the “Responsibility to Protect” doctrine.

#### **Readings for September 26:**

*Reading 1, below, is the main reading for the week; it is from the United Nations and Changing World Politics by Professor Tom Weiss and others. The chapters provide basic information about the United Nations, as well as the UN’s role on human rights and humanitarian issues.*

1. Weiss et al. *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, Introduction, pp. 1-21; Chapter 1 (“The Theory and Practice of UN Collective Security”) pp. 25-42, Chapter 6 (“The United Nations, Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs”), pp. 157-183.

*Readings 2-7, below, are international legal documents, of one sort or another, all of which relate to laws or norms that impact international human rights and humanitarian response. I want you to be familiar with these documents and their texts. I understand that you will not become an expert on each simply with a read-through.*

2. UN Charter. You may read most of the Charter quickly. But focus, in particular, on introductory note, Preamble, Chapter I, Article 1 and 2; Chapter IV, Articles 11, 12, 17, 19; Chapter V, Articles 23, 24, 27; Chapter VI; Chapter VII; Chapter VIII; Chapter XV; Chapter IX, Chapter X, Chapter XV, and Chapter XVI, Article 103. At <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/index.shtml>

*The UN Charter is considered an authoritative expression of international law; all UN members are, in theory, bound by its provisions.*

3. “The Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols,” at ICRC Website, at <http://www.icrc.org/eng/war-and-law/treaties-customary-law/geneva-conventions/overview-geneva-conventions.htm>

Read this webpage, which summarizes the Conventions. Please also read the links at the bottom of the page, to short summaries of the three additional Protocols. The summaries will not make you an expert on the Protocols, but I want you to see the effort to strengthen the effect of the Conventions. Note that I’m not asking you to read the text of the Conventions or the Protocols.

*Founded in 1863, the International Committee of the Red Cross “is an impartial, neutral and independent organization whose exclusively humanitarian mission is to protect the lives and dignity of victims of armed conflict and other situations of violence and to provide them with assistance.” (From the ICRC website.)*

4. Description of ICRC Convention IV. At <http://www.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/INTRO/380>  
This is another description of Convention IV – a bit longer than the prior one. Please also read Article 4 of Convention IV, for which there is link on the web page.

5. Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees.

At <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html>

Read the entire document, but skim pages 5-12.

*This international convention was adopted largely in response to the displacement in Europe following World War II – and its initial focus was on refugees who had fled countries in Europe. The Convention’s Protocol, which was adopted much later, applied the Convention’s provisions to the rest of the world. As a practitioner, I found that Articles 1 and 33 were probably the most important ones in my work.*

1. Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, at <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/IDPersons/Pages/Standards.aspx>

Read the introductory material on the webpage and the Guiding Principles.

2. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, at <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

Read the introductory material on the webpage and the Declaration.

*The Universal Declaration is not a treaty – rather, it was a resolution, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948. We will discuss in class how such measures might take on the force of law, even if they are not treaties.*

**Readings for October 3** (class focus largely on Responsibility to Protect).

1. Weiss et al. *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, Chapter 7-8 (“Applying Human Rights Standards, The Roles of the First and Second UN” and “The Third UN in Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs: The Role of Independent Experts and NGOs”), pp. 183-230.

2. Secretary General’s presentation to the United Nations General Assembly, 20 September 1999. At <http://www.un.org/press/en/1999/19990920.sgsm7136.html>

*The Secretary General made this speech at the annual session of the UNGA.*

3. International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* (2001). Please read the Foreword (vii-ix), the Synopsis (xi-xiii), Chapters 1-5 (pp. 1-46); and Chapter 7 (pp. 57-68, “The Operational Dimension”). At <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>

4. International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, Paragraphs 138-9, World Summit Outcome Document (2005). At <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/component/content/article/35-r2pcs-topics/398-%20general-assembly-r2p-excerpt-from-outcome-document>

*This excerpt is from an Outcome Document of governments meeting in New York at the United Nations in 2005. It represents early acceptance, at least in principle, of the doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect.*

5. International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, Core Documents: The UN and R2P. Just read the page. <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/about-rtop/core-rtop-documents>

*This gives you a sense of some of the core documents.*

6. UN Security Council Resolution (1973). At [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1973\(2011\)](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1973(2011))

*This is the resolution authorizing action in Libya, in response to a government assault on the city of Benghazi. Consider its relationship to Responsibility to Protect.*

7. Human Rights Watch, “Libya: Benghazi Civilians Face Grave Risk (press release, March 27, 2011). At <http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/03/17/libya-benghazi-civilians-face-grave-risk>

8. Kuperman, “A model humanitarian intervention? Reassessing NATO’s Libya Campaign,” *International Security*, Summer 2013, Volume 38, No. 1, pp. 105-136.

*A very critical piece on the application of Responsibility to Protect in Libya. While*

*Responsibility to Protect proponents would challenge many of his assertions, his article raises important issues for consideration.*

## **October 10 and October 17**

### **A History and Overview of Humanitarianism**

We will devote two class sessions to this topic.

#### **October 10 Session:**

##### **Guest speaker (by Skype)**

**Michael Barnett**, author of *Empire of Humanity*, University Professor of International Affairs and Political Science, The George Washington University.

**The topic and reading:** Our reading for October 10 will come exclusively from Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*. We will consider the origins of both the concept of humanitarianism and the field of practice. What are the critical components of humanitarianism, and how do we understand the evolution of concepts like neutrality and impartiality, the interests of stakeholders and related issues? What is the larger political context in which humanitarian activities take place? We will consider and assess the breadth of the humanitarianism, as officials and representatives of NGOs have sought to go beyond the saving of lives, and have attempted to promote reconciliation and recovery in countries around the world.

Barnett, Michael. *Empire of Humanity*. Introduction and Chapters 1-6, pp. 1-131. (Accessible through Moodle site as an e-book.)

#### **October 17 Session:**

**The topic and the readings:** Our readings for October 17 will come from two sources: 1) Barnett, *Empire of Humanity* (which we will complete), and 2) Rieff, *A Bed for the Night*. We will continue our exploration of both the concept of humanitarianism and the field of practice. What are the critical components of humanitarianism, and how do we understand the evolution of concepts like neutrality and impartiality, the interests of stakeholders and related issues? What is the larger political context in which humanitarian activities take place? We will consider and assess the breadth of the humanitarianism, as officials and representatives of NGOs have sought to go beyond the saving of lives, and have attempted to promote reconciliation and recovery in countries around the world.

1. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, Chapters 7-10 and Conclusion, pp. 132-240. (Accessible through Moodle site as an e-book.)

2. Rieff, "The Humanitarian Paradox," Chapter 1, pp. 31-56, in *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis* (Simon & Schuster, paper edition 2003).

**October 24****The International Humanitarian Players, and Key International Humanitarian Issues**

In this session, we'll first consider the major public international institutions that have emerged to address international humanitarian issues, including the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and UN funds and programs that are involved in humanitarian issues. Aspiring policy-makers and practitioners should know how these institutions seek to translate the concepts of humanitarianism into programs involving billions of dollars from governments around the world. There are analytical and scholarly readings about each of these institutions, which I've assigned in the past, but given our need to review additional readings relating to policy issues with which the international community has been grappling *this year* (see below), I have limited the readings on the international humanitarian players to descriptive information.

Thus, the additional readings (section II below) will address the major and very challenging policy issues with which those institutions – or, more accurately – leaders of those institutions, as well as governments of the world, NGOs and other stake-holders – are dealing.

I've annotated the readings in some detail, emphasizing possible areas of focus as you go through them.

**I. The Major International Institutions Dealing with Humanitarian Response****A. OCHA and Humanitarian Coordination**

*The Office of Coordination for Humanitarian Affairs is part of the UN Secretariat – it is therefore run by an Undersecretary General, Stephen O'Brien, who also holds the title of UN Emergency Relief Coordinator. OCHA is charged with coordination of the many and varied agencies that are involved in humanitarian response. These readings are designed to give you a good sense of the operations and structure of OCHA, as well as some key issues.*

**1. UNOCHA Website, at [www.unocha.org](http://www.unocha.org)**

Read the following links and sub-links (sub-links are indented):

**About us**

Who we are

History of OCHA (link on right)

UN resolution 46/182 (link embedded in text)

Head of OCHA

How OCHA is funded

**What we do**

Coordination

Cluster coordination (link on right)

Policy

Advocacy

Humanitarian Financing

Humanitarian Financing Box (on right, read all the links)

2. OCHA Annual Report for 2013, pp. 16-27. At [https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/Documents/27May-FinalReport\\_MidResWeb.pdf](https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/Documents/27May-FinalReport_MidResWeb.pdf)

*This will give you a sense of the dimension of OCHA's responsibilities, especially in the field.*

3. Interagency Standing Committee (IASC) webpage. At <https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/>

Please read the home page, and the "Principals" link.

*IASC, or the Interagency Standing Committee, is a coordinating body under OCHA that is composed of OCHA, UN agencies and non-governmental representatives. It plays a role in overall coordination in the international humanitarian system. Think about the IASC, the inclusion of NGOs, and the issue of humanitarian governance.*

4. IASC Transformative Agenda. At <https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/iasc-transformative-agenda>

Read that homepage, as well as links to "Presentation on the Transformative Agenda" and "Key Messages on the IASC Transformative Agenda."

## **B. Other International Humanitarian Institutions**

*While OCHA has responsibilities for the structure and/or organization of large-scale humanitarian response, other organizations – in large measure UN funds and programs which are not within the UN Secretariat -- receive the bulk of the resources when it comes to actual implementation. They receive the overwhelming portion of their support from voluntary contributions from governments. I will discuss several of these organizations in class, and have not assigned a large amount of readings relating to them. But please see the following:*

### **UNHCR:**

*UNHCR is a key institution in humanitarian response. You may want to review again the Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, the foundational documents for UNHCR, both of which were in the readings for September 26, as well as the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, which also were in the readings for September 26, above.*

The UNHCR Website, at [www.unhcr.org](http://www.unhcr.org)

Please read the "About us," and "What we do" links, and each of the sub-links that appear in the drop down menus below those two links.

**ICRC**

Read two links at the ICRC site:

-- History of the ICRC, at

<https://www.icrc.org/eng/who-we-are/history/overview-section-history-icrc.htm>

and

-- The ICRC's Mandate and Mission, at

<https://www.icrc.org/en/mandate-and-mission>

**WFP**

At the WFP website, [www.wfp.org](http://www.wfp.org)

Read the "Mission Statement", at

<http://www.wfp.org/about/mission-statement>

Read the "Funding" link, at

<http://www.wfp.org/funding>

In the Funding section, open and read the following PDF:

-- Contributions by Donors: five year aggregate ranking; and

**UNICEF**

1. Annual Report, 2014, pages 3-5

[http://www.unicef.org/publications/files/UNICEF\\_Annual\\_Report\\_2014\\_Web\\_07June15.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/publications/files/UNICEF_Annual_Report_2014_Web_07June15.pdf)

2. UNICEF, Humanitarian Action Study 2015, a Synthesis of UNICEF's response, at

[http://www.unicef.org/emergencies/files/HAS\\_Study\\_2015\\_FINAL.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/emergencies/files/HAS_Study_2015_FINAL.pdf)

**NATURAL DISASTER RESPONSE (Natural disasters: there are no such things)**

The UNISDR website, at

<http://www.unisdr.org>

Please read "Who we are" and "What we do," as well as the links under each of those sections.

*The UN International Strategy for Disaster Reduction is a UN body with responsibilities for dealing with these issues.*

## II. Public International Discussion of Critical Humanitarian Issues

*The readings below reflect increased attention to the challenges of humanitarian response over the past year or so. As you go through these materials, try to develop for yourself a catalogue of the key operational challenges, as well as how those operational challenges relate to philosophical and strategic questions that are addressed in the Barnett readings and other material.*

1. United Nations, *Too Important to Fail—Addressing the Humanitarian Financing Gap*,” High-Level Panel on Humanitarian Financing, January 2016, at [https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/Documents/\[HLP%20Report\]%20Too%20important%20to%20fail%E2%80%94addressing%20the%20humanitarian%20financing%20gap.pdf](https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/Documents/[HLP%20Report]%20Too%20important%20to%20fail%E2%80%94addressing%20the%20humanitarian%20financing%20gap.pdf)
2. Jones, “Everything you need to know about the World Humanitarian Summit,” *Guardian*, May 19, 2016, at [https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/may/19/world-humanitarian-summit-istanbul-everything-you-need-to-know?CMP=share\\_btn\\_link](https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/may/19/world-humanitarian-summit-istanbul-everything-you-need-to-know?CMP=share_btn_link)
3. Statement by Medecins Sans Frontieres on the World Humanitarian Summit, May 4, 2016, at <http://www.globalresearch.ca/doctors-without-borders-msf-to-pull-out-of-world-humanitarian-summit/5523624>  
(MSF has apparently taken the statement down from its site. The link provided is from the Centre for Research on Globalization. I am confident it is an authentic reproduction of the MSF statement.)
4. Documents from the World Humanitarian Summit:
  - Chair’s Summary, at <https://consultations.worldhumanitariansummit.org/bitcache/5171492e71696bcf9d4c571c93dfc6dcd7f361ee?vid=581078&disposition=inline&op=view>
  - Transcending humanitarian-development divides, Changing People’s Lives: From Delivering Aid to Ending Need. Commitment to Action, at <https://consultations2.worldhumanitariansummit.org/bitcache/50b4cd3ad07469f44235f8a4c60353dfda17dbb0?vid=581741&disposition=inline&op=view>
  - The Grand Bargain, A Shared Commitment to Better Serve People in Need, at <https://consultations.worldhumanitariansummit.org/bitcache/075d4c18b82e0853e3d393e90af18acf734baf29?vid=581058&disposition=inline&op=view>
5. Speckard, “World Humanitarian Summit: laudable, but short on hard political commitments,” Brookings, June 1, 2016, at <https://www.brookings.edu/2016/06/01/world-humanitarian-summit-laudable-but-short-on-hard-political-commitments/>
6. United Nations, *In Safety and Dignity: Addressing Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants*, Report of the Secretary General, 21 April 2016, A/70/59, at [https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/in\\_safety\\_and\\_dignity\\_-\\_addressing\\_large\\_movements\\_of\\_refugees\\_and\\_migrants.pdf](https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/in_safety_and_dignity_-_addressing_large_movements_of_refugees_and_migrants.pdf)

*This report was prepared in advance of a UN high level meeting on addressing large movements of refugees and migrants, which will have been held on September 19.*

6. UN High Level Meeting on Addressing Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants, Outcome Documents.

At this writing (August 2016), those documents have been prepared only in draft. I will post final documents after the September 19 meeting.

8. White House, Remarks of Deputy National Security Advisor Avril D. Haines, Commemorating World Refugee Day (as prepared for delivery), June 14, 2016, at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/06/14/remarks-deputy-national-security-advisor-avril-haines-commemorating>

---

**October 31****NGOs in International Humanitarian Response and the Question of Accountability****Guest speaker:**

**Patricia McIlreavy, Vice President of the Humanitarian Policy and Practice Team at InterAction, an alliance of some 180 non-governmental organizations involved in humanitarian assistance and development.**

***The topic and readings:*** Whether it is the Minneapolis-based American Refugee Committee, the International Rescue Committee, Medecins Sans Frontieres, Save the Children, or dozens if not many hundreds of others, non-governmental organizations are playing a key role in international humanitarian response. For instance, in the response to the Asian Tsunami that struck the region in late 2004, NGOs were reportedly responsible for more than \$5 billion of the funds raised (by some estimates, well over one-third of the overall total). How well organized and effective is the NGO community in humanitarian response? To what extent are NGOs in the developing world engaged? What program and normative issues, such as a rights-based approach to humanitarian assistance, are they bringing forward? And what issues of accountability arise in this context, for the NGOs themselves, as well as for policy-makers who must make decisions about providing support to these organizations?

1. Schwartz, "Humanitarian NGOs as instruments, partners, advocates and critics in the governance of international humanitarian response: complementary or conflicting role? *Asian Pacific Journal of Public Administration*, 38:1, 2016, 43-59. (e-reserves)
2. Rubenstein, "The Distributive Commitments of International NGOs," pp. 215-234, in *Humanitarianism in Question*. (e-reserves).
3. Documents related to accountability, including –

**CORE HUMANITARIAN STANDARD DOCUMENTS**

- Homepage for the Core Humanitarian Standard, at <https://www.corehumanitarianstandard.org/>
- Webpage: "The Standard" at <https://www.corehumanitarianstandard.org/the-standard>
- Webpage: "History of the Standard" at <https://www.corehumanitarianstandard.org/the-standard/history>
- Document: the Core Humanitarian Standard (pdf), at <https://corehumanitarianstandard.org/files/files/Core%20Humanitarian%20Standard%20-%20English.pdf>

**SPHERE DOCUMENTS**

- "What is Sphere" and "The Humanitarian Charter," accessible at <http://www.spherehandbook.org/en/what-is-sphere/>
- "New Training Module on the Core Humanitarian Standard and the Sphere Handbook," at <http://www.sphereproject.org/news/new-training-module-core-humanitarian-standard/>

*The newly developed Core Humanitarian Standard will modify Core Humanitarian Standards in the Sphere Handbook (which I have not assigned, but which you can review if you wish.) Thus, this webpage describes how the CHS will be incorporated into the Sphere handbook. I've included this page as it reflect the facts that 1) accountability standards evolve; 2) more than one humanitarian institution is involved in efforts to establish accountability systems, and 3) there is some effort among the many institutions to coordinate.*

#### TSUNAMI RECOVERY DOCUMENT

NGO Impact Initiative, An Assessment by the International NGO Community, Foreword and Executive Summary, pp. i-12, and Human Rights and Disaster Recovery Thematic Report, 71- 88. At

<http://www.alnap.org/resource/3546> (Full report link)

*Accountability initiative in which I was involved as Deputy Envoy for Tsunami Recovery.*

5. Stein, "Humanitarian Organizations: Accountable -- Why, to Whom, for What and How?" Chapter 5, pp. 124-142, in *Humanitarianism in Question*.

6. Murdie and Peksen, "The Impact of Human Rights INGOs Shaming on Humanitarian Interventions," *Journal of Politics*, Volume 76, Issue 1, January 2014, 215-228.

## **November 7**

### **U.S. Government in Humanitarian Response – Organization and Activities**

**Guest:** *Brian Atwood*, former Humphrey School Dean, former USAID Administrator and former Under Secretary and Assistant Secretary of State.

***The topic:*** *There are many offices, agencies, and departments involved in the delivery of U.S. humanitarian assistance – and that number increases if we use an expanded definition of humanitarian assistance that includes peace-building. The bulk of U.S. civilian humanitarian assistance comes from two agencies: the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the State Department, with USAID responsible for perhaps just over 50%, and the Department of State responsible for the rest, depending on how you define humanitarian assistance.*

*In recent years, that number has hovered around \$6 billion, administered from three sources:*

*1) The International Disaster Assistance Account – between one billion and two billion dollars per year, and implemented by USAID’s Office of Overseas Disaster Assistance (OFDA), in USAID’s Bureau of Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance;*

*2) Title II Food Aid (most of which is used for emergency assistance) – also ranging from between one billion and two billion dollars per year, and implemented by the Food for Peace office in USAID’s Bureau of Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance; and*

*3) Migration and Refugee Assistance – between \$2.5 billion and \$3 billion per year (depending on how humanitarian assistance is defined), and implemented by the State Department’s Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration.*

*(Again, all numbers above are ballpark estimates.)*

*USAID’s Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA, number 1, above) works with non-governmental organizations in large measure, but also has agreements for support of projects undertaken by international organizations.*

*USAID’s emergency food aid (number 2, above) is largely channeled through the World Food Programme.*

*State/PRM (number 3, above) channels the bulk of its assistance to international organizations, including UNHCR, ICRC and UNRWA. To a greater extent than OFDA, PRM provides what might be described as “core” support to these organizations. PRM also supports NGOs, but to a much smaller degree than does OFDA (in terms of percentage of total aid).*

*And PRM has major responsibilities with respect to the U.S. refugee resettlement program.*

*Finally, and as mentioned above, there are other U.S. government offices involved, especially if you use a broad definition of humanitarian assistance to include peacebuilding. This includes the new State Department Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations, as well as offices that support UN peacekeeping, in the State Department's Bureau of International Organization Affairs.*

### **Readings:**

#### **USAID and Humanitarian Assistance: the Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Response**

Website of USAID's Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance. At <https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/organization/bureaus/bureau-democracy-conflict-and-humanitarian-assistance>

Read the home page, and then read links to *Offices of Foreign Disaster Assistance*, *Transitional Initiatives*, *Food for Peace*, *Conflict Management and Mitigation*, and *Civil Military Cooperation*.

#### **The State Department Role and the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration:**

1. Framework for Cooperation between the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration, U.S. Department of State, for the Year 2016-17. At <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/255576.pdf>

*Because a huge amount of PRM funding goes to UNHCR (probably more than \$1 billion per year at this point), the relationship between PRM and UNHCR is important. Read the text of the agreement, and skim the annexures, so you have an idea of what they contain. (You may see acronyms in this document that are unfamiliar, but if you Google them, together with terms like UNHCR, you will find good and relevant definitions.) I want you to read this document to see the depth of engagement between the State Department and UNHCR, a major international humanitarian organization, and some of the areas of focus for that engagement.*

2. State Department, "Proposed Refugee Admissions for Fiscal Year 2016, Report to Congress." Please read the Introduction, the Foreword, Chapters 1 and 2 (pages i-vii, and 1-22). At <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/255576.pdf>

**The State Department -- Conflict Response and Mitigation, and the Articulated Mission of Countering Violent Extremism.**

1. Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review materials.
  - QDDR Homepage, at <http://www.state.gov/s/dmr/qddr/>
  - Message from Secretary Kerry, at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/241431.pdf>
  - State Department, *Enduring Leadership in a Dynamic World, Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review 2015*, pages 21-27, at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/241429.pdf>
  
2. Materials related to the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations.
  - “Who we are,” at <http://www.state.gov/j/cso/who/index.htm>
  - “What we do,” at <http://www.state.gov/j/cso/what/>

**Bureaucratic and Diplomatic Issues Relating to Humanitarian Response – primary source documents.**

*State-AID Coordination* -- the documents below give you insight into challenges of bureaucratic coordination – in this case, State-USAID coordination issues.

1. State/USAID Paper on PRM-DCHA Coordination and Funding Guidelines in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies, undated (agreement first reached about a decade ago) (PDF).
2. Letter from Eric Schwartz and Susan Reichle to their bureau staffs (PDF)

*Bureaucratic Advocacy* – in the following email, below, consider what I was trying to achieve in the email to Ambassador Holbrooke.

3. Email from Eric Schwartz to Richard Holbrooke on the need for funding for Pakistan. (PDF)

*Humanitarian Diplomacy* – the following are classified reporting cables that give you a sense of what a humanitarian diplomat does (or, at least, what I did).

4. Declassified State Department cables and other materials relating to humanitarian diplomacy. These include 1) Sri Lanka: a cable on meetings and a trip to Sri Lanka relating to the situation of Sri Lankans displaced as a result of the war; 2) Thailand and then Laos: the first cable, from Thailand, relates to unsuccessful diplomatic efforts to prevent the forced return of Lao-Hmong asylum-seekers from Thailand; the second, from Laos, reports on a diplomatic visit to Laos after the returns from Thailand; 3) Uzbekistan (and Kyrgyzstan), relating to the fleeing from Kyrgyzstan to Uzbekistan of ethnic Uzbeks, and their subsequent return to Kyrgyzstan; 4) A public letter on a diplomatic and field mission to Sudan and Chad

(which has hosted refugees from Darfur); and 5) Bangladesh: reporting cable on a trip to address the situation of the Rohingya refugees who fled Burma, where they have been subjected to discrimination and persecution. (PDF)

*Articulating Strategy: This is a memorandum I prepared for the PRM Bureau I directed.*

5. PRM Priorities Memo, dated May 2010 (PDF).

### **The U.S. Military's role in humanitarian assistance**

*The U.S. military plays a supporting role in humanitarian response activities. This section, below, contains readings relating to military role in humanitarian response.*

6. DOD Instruction 3000.5 (as updated), Stability Operations, September 2009, at <http://www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/300005p.pdf>

*As it was updated in 2009, I'm assuming that this instruction is still in effect, though I do not know for certain.*

7. Fiscal Year 2017 Budget Estimates, Overseas Humanitarian, Disaster Assistance and Civil Aid, March 2014, at [http://comptroller.defense.gov/Portals/45/Documents/defbudget/FY2017/budget\\_justification/pdfs/01\\_Operation\\_and\\_Maintenance/O\\_M\\_VOL\\_1\\_PART\\_2/OHDACA\\_OP-5.pdf](http://comptroller.defense.gov/Portals/45/Documents/defbudget/FY2017/budget_justification/pdfs/01_Operation_and_Maintenance/O_M_VOL_1_PART_2/OHDACA_OP-5.pdf)

*This is the DOD humanitarian budget document. Get the gist, and then skim.*

8. Whitlock and Jaffe, "Obama announces a new, leaner military approach," *Washington Post*, January 5, 2012. At [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/obama-announces-new-military-approach/2012/01/05/gIQAFWcmcP\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/obama-announces-new-military-approach/2012/01/05/gIQAFWcmcP_story.html)

*This piece discusses downsizing, which raises questions about the military's capacity over time to be engaged in large-scale stability operations. If you'd like to review the Department of Defense report on which the story is based (not required reading), you can find that at [http://www.defense.gov/news/Defense\\_Strategic\\_Guidance.pdf](http://www.defense.gov/news/Defense_Strategic_Guidance.pdf). Although this article is several years old, the trends to which it alluded have arguably accelerated.*

## **November 14 and November 21**

### **International Peacekeeping**

***The Topic and Readings:*** In the decade of the 1990s, in particular, United Nations peacekeepers became the tool of choice in many situations involving international efforts to address complex humanitarian crises. But United Nations peacekeeping was not originally developed with such ambitious objectives. We will consider the theory behind traditional peacekeeping, and how that has changed in recent decades. And we will consider, in particular, peace operations in Africa, where most of the world's peacekeepers are deployed.

My strategy for these sessions is three-fold. First, I want you to obtain a sense of many of the challenges that evolved during the decade of the 1990s and thereafter, and which set the stage for many of the tough issues that peacekeepers have confronted over the past decade or so. So I've assigned for November 14 most of a very interesting (albeit somewhat hagiographic) biography of Sergio Vieira de Mello. Vieira de Mello found himself engaged in many important peacekeeping (and peacekeeping-like) challenges throughout his career. In the November 14 class, we will discuss the issues raised by the various crises that he sought to manage, and then I'll lecture on the institutional issues and institutional and doctrinal shifts that have characterized peacekeeping in recent decades. Your readings for November 14 will provide more detailed description and discussion of those shifts, and we will consider them in class on November 14.

### **Reading for November 14**

Power, *Chasing the Flame*. Please read the Introduction, pp. 1-14, Chapters 4-8, pp. 75-179; Chapters 14-16, pp. 286-346.

### **Readings for November 21**

1. Weiss et al., *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, Chapters 2-4, pp 43-122.
2. Bellamy and Hunt, "Twenty-first century peace operations: protection, force and the changing security environment," *International Affairs*, Volume 91, Issue 6, pages 1277-1298, November 2015.
3. United Nations, Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (the "Brahimi Report") (United Nations, 2000). Executive Summary, at [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/55/305](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/55/305)

*This report was commissioned by the UN Secretary General as a result of crises in which the performance of UN peacekeepers was deemed wholly inadequate.*

4. United Nations Report of the High Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations on uniting our strengths for peace: politics, partnership and people (United Nations 2015). A/70/95-S/2015/446\* Pages 1-16, at

[http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/2015/446](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2015/446)

5. UN Peacekeeping (Department of Peacekeeping Operations) website, at <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/>

Read the home page, and go to the top banner links on *(a) Peacekeeping operations, (b) Issues, and (c) About us*, and follow the instructions below –

*(a) **Peacekeeping Operations.*** Read that page, and access and read the following links/pages:

-- *What is Peacekeeping?* Also read links under that *What is Peacekeeping* title, including *Peace and Security, Mandates and the International Legal Basis for Peacekeeping; the Role of the Security Council; the Role of General Assembly; and Reform of Peacekeeping;*

-- *Current Operations.* Also read the links on that *Current Operations* page, providing one page descriptions for *each* current operation.

-- *Forming a new operation.*

-- *Financing operations.*

*(b) **Issues.*** Read that page, and also read the links on that *Issues* page for all the issues listed on the left side of the *Issues* page.

*(c) **About Us.*** Read the page.

*These web readings will involve a large number of one-pagers, but I want you to go through them, as they provide information – albeit in summary form – that is important for you to have.*

**November 28****U.S. National Security Interests and the Evolution of U.S. Peacekeeping Policy and U.S. Approaches toward Humanitarian Intervention**

***Topic and Readings:*** While the United States is not a major troop contributor to UN peacekeeping operations, it is a major funder and the thinking of U.S. officials has had a major impact on the development of UN programs and practices. Moreover, in places like Somalia, Rwanda, the Balkans, Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. military and civilian agencies have been deeply engaged alongside UN peacekeepers and/or UN operations. As you read these materials, be aware of *when* they were written, and reflect on the ebbs and flows of policy-maker enthusiasm for strong U.S. engagement on complex crises around the world.

1. Holt and MacKinnon, “The Origins and Evolution of U.S. Policy Towards Peace Operations,” *International Peacekeeping* (London), Volume 15, issue 1, 2008, pp. 18-34.

*Tori Holt, one of the authors of this piece, is now a senior U.S. official involved in peacekeeping policy. She was formerly at the Stimson Center, a DC think tank, and is a highly regarded expert on these issues. This is a good, short description of the evolution of U.S. approaches on peacekeeping.*

2. Power, “Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen,” *Atlantic Monthly*, September 2001, at <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2001/09/bystanders-to-genocide/304571/>

*This is a lament about the absence of a concerted U.S. effort to act against the genocide in Rwanda. It later became a chapter in Power’s book on genocide, *A Problem from Hell*. There is a Kuperman rebuttal to this piece, in e-reserves, which I have not assigned due to the numbers of readings for this week — and you should know that some argued that Power did not fully articulate the obstacles to intervention. Nonetheless, you should read this important piece, as it — and the Rwanda genocide — had an important impact on policy-makers.*

3. Crossette, “UN Details its Failure to Stop ‘95 Bosnia Massacre,” *NY Times*, November 16, 1999, at <http://www.nytimes.com/1999/11/16/world/un-details-its-failure-to-stop-95-bosnia-massacre.html>

*Short piece — Srebrenica also had an important impact on policy makers, as we know.*

4. Mandelbaum, “The failure of intervention,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1999.
5. Steinberg, “A perfect polemic, blind to the reality on Kosovo,” *Foreign Policy*, November/December 1999.

*This is a debate on the wisdom of the Kosovo intervention. Although Mandelbaum and*

*Steinberg have differences on the facts, they also bring to the debate different philosophical perspectives – Mandelbaum is certainly more of a realist and Steinberg is more of a liberal. And while this debate took place nearly 20 years ago, think about it in terms of debates over intervention in places like Syria.*

6. Mazaarr, “The rise and fall of the failed state paradigm,” *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 93, Number 1 (Jan/Feb 2014), pp. 113-21.

*In essence, this piece challenges some of the assumptions behind U.S. international peacebuilding efforts, broadly defined, largely between the mid- 1990s to the end of the Bush Administration – and of what the author believes was the logic behind those efforts.*

7. Schear, “Washington’s weak state agenda,” *Foreign Affairs*, May 2014, Volume 93, Issue 3, 172-75.

*A short response to the Mazaarr piece.*

8. Adams, “No, the Army is not disintegrating before your very eyes,” *Foreign Policy* (online) July 16, 2015. At <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/07/16/pentagon-budget-dempsey-mccain/>

9. David and Daniels, “Strategic misfire: the army’s planned reduction of civil affairs forces,” *Foreign Policy* (online), May 12, 2016. At <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/05/12/strategic-misfire-the-armys-planned-reduction-of-civil-affairs-forces/>

10. Sestanovich, “Obama’s focus is on nation-building at home,” NY Times blog, March 11, 2014. At <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/03/11/weakness-or-realism-in-foreign-policy/obamas-focus-is-on-nation-building-at-home>

11. Williams, “Keeping a piece of peacekeeping, the United States doubles down at the United Nations,” *Foreign Affairs* (Snapshot), October 6, 2015.

12. White House, “United States Support to United Nations Peace Operations,” Presidential Memorandum dated September 28, 2015. At [http://peaceoperationsreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/2015\\_us\\_un\\_peace\\_ops\\_memo.pdf](http://peaceoperationsreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/2015_us_un_peace_ops_memo.pdf)

## **December 5**

### **Women, Peace and Security and Managing Global Crises (first part of class)**

#### **Group presentations (second part of class)**

**Topics and Readings:** Practitioners and scholars involved in humanitarian issues have considered women, peace and security from several perspectives: they've focused on the importance of reconstruction efforts that recognize the role of women as agents of economic, social and political development; on the value of promoting greater inclusion of women in positions of leadership in peacebuilding programs; and on the imperative of preventing and punishing violations of the human rights of women in situations of conflict. Our readings touch on all those issues.

1. UNSC Resolution 1325, on Women, Peace and Security, 31 October 2000.  
At  
<https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement>
2. US Action Plan and List of National Action Plans, at website of International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics. Look at the range of governments that have submitted action plans, and then read the U.S. National Action Plan. At  
<http://iknowpolitics.org/en/knowledge-library/website-database/list-national-action-plans-implementation-unscr-1325>
3. UNDPKO website on Women, Peace and Security. Just read the homepage. At  
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/wps.shtml>
4. Security Council Report, UN Documents Relating to Women, Peace and Security. (Just read the page, to get a sense of the range of documents.) At  
<http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-documents/women-peace-and-security/>
5. Ní Aoláin, "Women, Vulnerability and Humanitarian Emergencies," *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law*, Volume 18, Issue 1 (2011), pp. 1-23.
6. United Nations, UNSCR 2242 (2015), 13 October 2013, S/Res/2242 (2015), At  
[http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2242\(2015\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2242(2015))
7. Kirby and Shepherd, "The futures past of the Women, Peace and Security agenda," *International Affairs*, 4 March 2016, pp. 373-392. (E-reserves.)
8. Ní Aoláin, "The 'War on Terror' and Extremism: Assessing the Relevance of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, 92 *International Affairs* 275-291. (2016)

**December 12**

**Group presentations and possible wrap up.**



## **Additional University Policies**

### **Student Conduct Code**

The University seeks an environment that promotes academic achievement and integrity, that is protective of free inquiry, and that serves the educational mission of the University. Similarly, the University seeks a community that is free from violence, threats, and intimidation; that is respectful of the rights, opportunities, and welfare of students, faculty, staff, and guests of the University; and that does not threaten the physical or mental health or safety of members of the University community.

As a student at the University you are expected adhere to Board of Regents Policy: *Student Conduct Code*. To review the Student Conduct Code, please see: [http://regents.umn.edu/sites/default/files/policies/Student\\_Conduct\\_Code.pdf](http://regents.umn.edu/sites/default/files/policies/Student_Conduct_Code.pdf).

Note that the conduct code specifically addresses disruptive classroom conduct, which means "engaging in behavior that substantially or repeatedly interrupts either the instructor's ability to teach or student learning. The classroom extends to any setting where a student is engaged in work toward academic credit or satisfaction of program-based requirements or related activities."

### **Use of Personal Electronic Devices in the Classroom**

Using personal electronic devices in the classroom setting can hinder instruction and learning, not only for the student using the device but also for other students in the class. To this end, the University establishes the right of each faculty member to determine if and how personal electronic devices are allowed to be used in the classroom. For complete information, please reference: <http://policy.umn.edu/Policies/Education/Education/STUDENTRESP.html>.

### **Scholastic Dishonesty**

You are expected to do your own academic work and cite sources as necessary. Failing to do so is scholastic dishonesty. Scholastic dishonesty means plagiarizing; cheating on assignments or examinations; engaging in unauthorized collaboration on academic work; taking, acquiring, or using test materials without faculty permission; submitting false or incomplete records of academic achievement; acting alone or in cooperation with another to falsify records or to obtain dishonestly grades, honors, awards, or professional endorsement; altering, forging, or misusing a University academic record; or fabricating or falsifying data, research procedures, or data analysis. (Student Conduct Code: [http://regents.umn.edu/sites/default/files/policies/Student\\_Conduct\\_Code.pdf](http://regents.umn.edu/sites/default/files/policies/Student_Conduct_Code.pdf)) If it is determined that a student has cheated, he or she may be given an "F" or an "N" for the course, and may face additional sanctions from the University. For additional information, please see: <http://policy.umn.edu/Policies/Education/Education/INSTRUCTORRESP.html>.

The Office for Student Conduct and Academic Integrity has an information page related to scholastic dishonesty: <http://www1.umn.edu/oscai/integrity/student/index.html>. If you have

additional questions, please clarify with your instructor for the course. Your instructor can respond to your specific questions regarding what would constitute scholastic dishonesty in the context of a particular class – e.g., whether collaboration on assignments is permitted, requirements and methods for citing sources, if electronic aids are permitted or prohibited during an exam.

### **Makeup Work for Legitimate Absences**

Students will not be penalized for absence during the semester due to unavoidable or legitimate circumstances. Such circumstances include verified illness, participation in intercollegiate athletic events, subpoenas, jury duty, military service, bereavement, and religious observances. Such circumstances do not include voting in local, state, or national elections. For complete information, please see:

<http://policy.umn.edu/Policies/Education/Education/MAKEUPWORK.html>.

### **Appropriate Student Use of Class Notes and Course Materials**

Taking notes is a means of recording information but more importantly of personally absorbing and integrating the educational experience. However, broadly disseminating class notes beyond the classroom community or accepting compensation for taking and distributing classroom notes undermines instructor interests in their intellectual work product while not substantially furthering instructor and student interests in effective learning. Such actions violate shared norms and standards of the academic community. For additional information, please see: <http://policy.umn.edu/Policies/Education/Education/STUDENTRESP.html>.

## **Grading and Transcripts**

The University utilizes plus and minus grading on a 4.000 cumulative grade point scale in accordance with the following:

- A 4.000 - Represents achievement that is outstanding relative to the level necessary to meet course requirements
- A- 3.667
- B+ 3.333
- B 3.000 - Represents achievement that is significantly above the level necessary to meet course requirements
- B- 2.667
- C+ 2.333
- C 2.000 - Represents achievement that meets the course requirements in every respect
- C- 1.667
- D+ 1.333
- D 1.000 - Represents achievement that is worthy of credit even though it fails to meet fully the course requirements
- S Represents achievement that is satisfactory, which is equivalent to a C- or better.

For additional information, please refer to:

<http://policy.umn.edu/Policies/Education/Education/GRADINGTRANSCRIPTS.html>.

## **Sexual Harassment**

"Sexual harassment" means unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and/or other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature. Such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work or academic performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working or academic environment in any University activity or program. Such behavior is not acceptable in the University setting. For additional information, please consult Board of Regents Policy:

<http://regents.umn.edu/sites/default/files/policies/SexHarassment.pdf>

## **Equity, Diversity, Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action**

The University provides equal access to and opportunity in its programs and facilities, without regard to race, color, creed, religion, national origin, gender, age, marital status, disability, public assistance status, veteran status, sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender

expression. For more information, please consult Board of Regents Policy: [http://regents.umn.edu/sites/default/files/policies/Equity\\_Diversity\\_EO\\_AA.pdf](http://regents.umn.edu/sites/default/files/policies/Equity_Diversity_EO_AA.pdf).

### **Disability Accommodations**

The University of Minnesota is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all students. Disability Services (DS) is the campus office that collaborates with students who have disabilities to provide and/or arrange reasonable accommodations.

If you have, or think you may have, a disability (e.g., mental health, attentional, learning, chronic health, sensory, or physical), please contact DS at 612-626-1333 to arrange a confidential discussion regarding equitable access and reasonable accommodations.

If you are registered with DS and have a current letter requesting reasonable accommodations, please contact your instructor as early in the semester as possible to discuss how the accommodations will be applied in the course.

For more information, please see the DS website, <https://diversity.umn.edu/disability/>.

### **Academic Freedom and Responsibility**

Academic freedom is a cornerstone of the University. Within the scope and content of the course as defined by the instructor, it includes the freedom to discuss relevant matters in the classroom and conduct relevant research. Along with this freedom comes responsibility. Students are encouraged to develop the capacity for critical judgment and to engage in a sustained and independent search for truth. Students are free to take reasoned exception to the views offered in any course of study and to reserve judgment about matters of opinion, but they are responsible for learning the content of any course of study for which they are enrolled.\* When conducting research, pertinent institutional approvals must be obtained and the research must be consistent with University policies.

Reports of concerns about academic freedom are taken seriously, and there are individuals and offices available for help. Contact the instructor, the Department Chair, your adviser, the associate dean of the college, or the Vice Provost for Faculty and Academic Affairs in the Office of the Provost.