

**PACS 6901**  
**THE UNITED NATIONS AND**  
**INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

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**Class Dates:** 7 days: 1 July, 15 July, 16 July, 19 July, 20 July, 22 July and 23 July.

**Location:** 1 July: Seminar Room 114, Mackie Building, Arundel St, University of Sydney  
(across the Parramatta Rd footbridge from main campus)

15-23 July: Room 448 (lectures) and Rooms 436 & 437 (tutorials), Old Teachers  
College, Manning Road, University of Sydney (main campus).

**Class Times:** 10:00am – 4:30pm

### RATIONALE

The United Nations was formed in 1945 with the mandate to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind”. The UN was structured by its designers to avoid the pitfalls that led to the demise of its predecessor, the League of Nations. Hence the innovative power of veto given to the five permanent members of the Security Council to encourage their continued participation in the new world body.

Under Article 1 of the UN Charter, the primary purpose of the United Nations is described:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

In the 65 years since the UN was formed, the nature and location of armed conflicts has changed. It is no longer war of the type envisaged in the Charter that occupies the attention of diplomats and militaries; rather than wars between states, we are seeing more and more violent conflicts located within state borders. The UN was not set up to deal with the complexities and controversies associated with maintaining peace and security within the borders of nation states.

Furthermore, the composition of the UN Security Council has been challenged as not representing the realities of today's world power balance. For example, Japan and Germany were denied permanent member status as the defeated powers in the Second World War, and groups and regions (such as the Islamic world and Africa) are not permanently represented.

In this unit of study we will examine the economic, political, ethical, legal, structural and operational dilemmas and challenges faced by the United Nations in the implementation of its mandate to maintain international peace and security in the past, the present and the future. Building on the contributions of international relations and international law, we will include a specific global governance and conflict resolution perspective to examine the issues in this course. Students will be encouraged to explore how UN peace and security activities could be more effective in promoting peace with justice.

### AIMS & OUTCOMES

The primary aim of this unit is for students to critically examine the functions and operations of the United Nations in its quest to maintain international peace and security. The various international conflict resolution mechanisms employed by the UN will be defined and analysed, including preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and peace enforcement. The UN's mandate to promote social and economic progress, protect human rights and develop respect for international law will also be considered in the context of a broader definition of peace and security that goes beyond the ending of armed conflict to the promotion of 'peace with justice'.

In April 2005, then UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, released his report *In Larger Freedom* as a working document of proposed reforms and directions for the UN to be considered by world leaders at the Summit held in New York in September 2005. In this report Kofi Annan divided the functions of the UN into those that promote "freedom from want", "freedom from fear" and "freedom to live in dignity". We will use this structure as the basis for organising our exploration of the past, current and potential contribution of the UN to international conflict resolution that addresses the goal of peace with justice. As part of this exploration we will study the reforms recommended by Kofi Annan and those introduced by the 2005 UN Summit.

Students will learn to assess the contribution of the UN to the maintenance of international peace and security by considering historical and contemporary examples of conflicts and situations where the UN has played a role in promoting economic and social progress, protection of human rights, peacemaking, peace enforcement, peacekeeping and/or peacebuilding. These case studies will be used to illustrate and explore a number of challenges and key issues of contention that influence the credibility and performance of the UN, such as:

- 1) the gap between mandates, resources and political will;
- 2) national interest v. collective security;
- 3) the ethical, political and legal dilemmas of balancing respect for state sovereignty with protection of human rights and maintenance of peace and security;
- 4) the relationship between the UN and other actors in the maintenance of international peace and security, including 'coalitions of the willing' and regional organisations;
- 5) logistical and operational challenges of peacekeeping, such as the use of force and training and composition of peacekeeping forces;
- 6) questions of neutrality and impartiality of the UN;
- 7) the measurement of 'success' of UN peacekeeping and other activities;

- 8) cooperation and coordination between civilians and military, the UN and NGOs, and between the various parts of the UN in peacekeeping and other areas;
- 9) implications of the expanded peacebuilding role of the UN to include governance and participation, economic recovery and reconstruction, and justice and reconciliation, as well as security and public order;
- 10) negotiating reforms in global economic and social governance in the context of national interests
- 11) the perceived dilemma of peace v. justice in conflict settlements and peacebuilding;
- 12) the role of the US and implications for UN credibility and effectiveness;
- 13) geopolitical analysis of the functioning of the UN Security Council and its impact on the maintenance of international peace and security;
- 14) the impact of decolonisation and increasing numbers of new member states, and changes in power relations, on issues of representation and the legitimacy of UN forums, decisions and activities;
- 15) the role of the media, communications, information and intelligence in determining political and strategic priorities and decisions of states and the UN;
- 16) the view that UN intervention is a form of neo-imperialism involving the imposition of ‘Western’ values and a liberal democratic model.

This unit of study will enable students to analyse and evaluate the role and functions of the United Nations in fulfilling its mandate to maintain international peace and security and will equip students to suggest means for improving the UN’s performance both in ending the “scourge of war” and promoting peace with justice.

### **CLASS AND ASSESSMENT TIMELINE**

Note: morning and afternoon breaks will be scheduled as necessary during each day.

#### **Introductory Day, Thursday 1 July— In Larger Freedom**

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|-------------|--|
| 10:00-11:00 | Welcome, Introductions and Course Overview |
| 11:00-12:30 | Session 1: Introduction to Course Themes   |
| 12:30-1:30  | Lunch                                      |
| 1:30-3:30   | Session 2: Working with the UN             |
| 3:30-4:30   | Questions, Completion and Review           |

#### **Day 1, Thursday 15 July—History, Theory and Functions of the UN**

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|-------------|---|
| 10:00-11:00 | Introductions and Review of Course Structure, Themes and Assessment |
| 11:00-12:00 | Session 1: Origins, Purpose, Structure and Functions of the UN      |
| 12:00-1:00  | Lunch   |
| 1:00-2:00   | Session 2: Key Issues, Actors and Theories                          |
| 2:00-3:00   | Tutorial Groups A & B   |
| 3:00-4:00   | Tutorial Groups A & B   |
| 4:00-4:30   | Questions, Completion and Review                                    |

#### **Day 2, Friday 16 July—Freedom from Want and Freedom to Live in Dignity**

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 10:00-12:30 | Session 1: International Economic and Social Governance |
| 12:30-1:30  | Lunch   |

1:30-4:00 Session 2: Western Sahara: Decolonisation and Self-Determination  
4:00-4:30 Questions, Completion and Review

**Day 3, Monday 19 July—Freedom from Fear: UN and Peace Interventions**

10:00-11:00 Session 1: UN Emergency Peace Service Proposal  
11:00-1:00 Session 2: Peacekeeping  
1:00-2:00 Lunch  
2:00-4:00 Session 3: East Timor—Building the State to Build the Peace  
4:00-4:30 Questions, Completion and Review

**Day 4: Tuesday 20 July – Freedom from Fear: Terrorism, Nuclear Disarmament and Iraq**

10:00-10.30 Session 1: UN and Terrorism  
10:30-11:30 Session 2: UN and Nuclear Disarmament  
11:30-1:00 Session 3: UN, Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction  
1:00-2:00 Lunch  
2:00-3:00 Tutorial Groups A & B  
3:00-4:00 Tutorial Groups A & B  
4:00-4:30 Questions, Completion and Review

**Wednesday 21 July**

READING DAY – PREPARATION FOR MODEL UN

**Day 5: Thursday 22 July – Genocide Prevention and Model UN**

10:00-12:00 Session 1: Rwanda: Failure to Prevent Genocide  
12:00-1:00 Lunch  
1:00-4:00 Session 2: Model UN Exercise  
4:00-4.30 Model UN Review and Discussion

**Day 6: Friday 23 July – UN Reform and Prognosis**

10:00-12:00 Session 1: Overview and Prospects for Reform  
12:00-1:00 Session 2: UN Prognosis and Peace with Justice  
1:00-2:00 Lunch  
2:00-3:00 Tutorial Groups A & B  
3:00-4:00 Tutorial Groups A & B  
4:00-4:30 Review, Evaluations and Completion

*FINAL ESSAY PROPOSAL DUE WEDNESDAY 28 JULY*

*ANALYTICAL COMMENTARY ON MODEL UN DUE MONDAY 2 AUGUST*

*FINAL ESSAY DUE FRIDAY 20 AUGUST*

## ASSESSMENT

**A. Class Participation and Model UN (20%)**

Ongoing reading and preparation is essential in order to facilitate class participation. Participation in class discussions and evidence of preparation will comprise 20% of the assessment for the course. This includes preparation and participation in the Model UN exercise on Day 5, Thursday 22 July.

The Model UN will attempt to replicate features of a meeting of the UN General Assembly. Two students will play the role of one of the member states and will debate the issue of creation of the UN Emergency Peace Service—a standing UN service to prevent genocide and crimes against humanity. Each participant is expected to research the position of his or her country and present that country's arguments and proposals in three minutes. Such a tight time constraint is essential to fitting everyone in, and that is the kind of constraint that applies at the UN where there are 192 member states. The states to be represented will include all the current members of the Security Council and other countries that have major roles from the four main groups – the Non-Aligned Movement, JUSCANZ, the European Union and the Transitional Economies (former Soviet States) – and independents. For more information on this assessment see description on Day 5.

Students are required to read UN primary documents provided in class and via WebCT, and to consult the UN website regularly in order to prepare for classes and to gain a thorough understanding of the structure, functions and activities of the UN. A reading pack of required and recommended readings will also be available for purchase from the University Copy Centre. These and other recommended readings are listed in the course outline for each session. Many of the additional readings also listed for each session may be found in the UN course readers from previous years (available for consultation in the CPACS Resource Centre) and in Fisher Library. A list of additional key texts, which are available for consultation in Fisher Library or CPACS Resource Centre, is included in this course outline. Students may wish to purchase one of the recommended texts in addition to the course reader.

**B. Analytical Commentary (20%)      1000 words      DUE MONDAY 2 AUGUST**

The first written assessment is a 1000 word analytical commentary based on the Model UN class exercise due on Monday 2 August.

The analytical commentary should be a reflection on the challenges and opportunities of achieving consensus on a UN reform proposal in the context of competing national interests of UN member states. Your paper should be based on your observations and experience of the Model UN class exercise as well as critical reading and reflections on debates in the media, UN primary documents and academic analyses. The purpose of this assignment is to build on the Model UN and strengthen understanding of the complexity of UN reform. It is also to increase recognition of the scope for imaginative national engagement in the process of reform and the possibility of significant incremental improvement within UN forums.

**Criteria for assessment:**

- evidence of ability to recognise and analyse the challenges and opportunities facing the UN member states in bringing about a UN Emergency Peace Service

- evidence of thoughtful critique and intelligent expression of ideas and arguments
- evidence of reflective and critical wider reading and research, with full bibliography or reference list of sources ability to develop and present a coherently argued analytical commentary within the word limit set (assignments exceeding the word limit by more than 10% may be penalised).

**C. Final Essay (60%)**

**3500 words**

**DUE FRIDAY 20 AUGUST**

Students are required to write an essay on one of the following topics:

**1. A critical examination of one case study of UN involvement in the maintenance of international peace and security, promotion of economic and social progress, or protection of human rights, referring to at least one of the key issues identified on page 2-3 of the course outline.**

OR

**2. A critical exploration of one of the key issues identified on page 2-3 of the course outline in relation to the work of the UN in the maintenance of international peace and security, promotion of economic and social progress, or protection of human rights, referring to at least two cases as examples to illustrate your arguments.**

OR

**3. A specific topic that involves a critical analysis relating to either the UN's role in the maintenance of international peace and security, promotion of economic and social progress or protection of human rights.**

Students may choose to base their essay on a case study examined in class, or to select from any historical or contemporary case study relating to UN activities (except for the UN Emergency Peace Service which is the topic for the Analytical Commentary). Whichever topic is chosen, the essay must include reference to specific applications, examples or case studies, and your analysis should be placed in the context of issues and challenges facing the UN in fulfilling its mandate. Furthermore, you are required to consider options for improving the UN's performance by addressing these challenges, with reference to the broader goal of achieving peace with justice.

**Students must check their chosen topic with Wendy Lambourne or Annie Herro by Wednesday 28 July by submitting via email a brief 200 word overview.** The overview should indicate which one of the above three topics you have selected and the key issues and/or case studies you will cover (if Topic 1 or 2) or the specific topic you will address (if Topic 3). You should also give some indication of your key arguments and sources. Please make sure you obtain written confirmation that your topic has been approved. You can submit your topic for approval any time during the course, and by Wednesday 28 July at the latest.

**Criteria for assessment:**

- evidence of research and understanding of the nature and context of the UN's involvement in the particular case study or topic chosen for analysis
- evidence of critical thought and ability to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the UN and its ability to fulfil its mandate

- evidence of ability to critically assess proposals and to suggest ways of improving the effectiveness of UN activities for the attainment of peace with justice
- evidence of reflective and critical wider reading and research, with full bibliography or reference list of sources
- ability to develop and present a coherent argument within the required word limit (essays exceeding the word limit by more than 10% may be penalised)

Further details regarding referencing styles, presentation and submission of assignments may be found in the **CPACS Assignment Presentation and Assessment Guidelines**. Most importantly, students are required to attach an **Assignment Cover Sheet** to all assignments and to sign the **Plagiarism Compliance Statement** before work can be marked.

**Students must pass all three sections of the assessment (participation, analytical commentary and final essay) for successful completion of the course. Failure to attend at least 80% of classes without reasonable cause is grounds for failure.**

## RESOURCES

### UN PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

Copies of most of these documents will be provided on WebCT or in class. Students might also need to obtain copies for themselves of the other documents by downloading them from the UN website. Hardcopies of most of these documents are available in the CPACS Resource Centre for consultation. You might also be able to obtain hardcopies of UN documents and publications from the United Nations Information Centre located in Canberra: see [www.un.org.au](http://www.un.org.au).

Annan, K. A. (2005) <i>In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All</i> . New York: United Nations. WebCT
Boutros-Ghali, B. (1992) <i>An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping</i> . New York: United Nations. WebCT
United Nations (1945) <i>Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice</i> . New York: United Nations. [copy provided]
United Nations (2008) <i>The United Nations Today</i> . New York: United Nations. Available at <a href="http://www.un.org/aboutun/untoday/">http://www.un.org/aboutun/untoday/</a> Hardcopies are held in CPACS Resource Centre or may be purchased from the UN Information Centre in Canberra.
United Nations (2004) <i>A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility. Report of the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change</i> . New York: United Nations. Available at <a href="http://www.un.org/secureworld/">http://www.un.org/secureworld/</a> WebCT
United Nations (2005), "Resolution adopted by the General Assembly: 60/1. 2005 World Summit Outcome", A/RES/60/1, 24 October 2005. Available at <a href="http://www.un.org/reform/">http://www.un.org/reform/</a> WebCT
Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1996) <i>Agenda for Democratization</i> . New York: United Nations [available in CPACS Resource Centre]
United Nations (1948) <i>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</i> . New York: United Nations WebCT

United Nations (1996) <i>An Inventory of Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Activities</i> . New York: United Nations. [available in CPACS Resource Centre]
United Nations (1997) <i>Agenda for Development</i> . New York: United Nations. [available in CPACS Resource Centre]
United Nations (2008) <i>The Millennium Development Goals Report</i> . New York: United Nations. [available in CPACS Resource Centre]

#### SOME USEFUL WEBSITES

- IRIN News (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs) <http://www.irinnews.org>
- International Crisis Group <http://www.crisisgroup.org>
- International Peace Institute <http://www.ipinst.org/>
- United Nations <http://www.un.org>
- United States Institute of Peace <http://www.usip.org>
- For regular reports on the activities of the Security Council: [www.securitycouncilreport.org](http://www.securitycouncilreport.org)
- For information on the policies of Member States [www.un.org/memberstatesontherecord](http://www.un.org/memberstatesontherecord)
- The Human Security Report Project issues daily reports to those who subscribe (free) to [hsilist@sfu.ca](mailto:hsilist@sfu.ca) by putting 'subscribe to Human Security News' in the subject line.
- Global Action to Prevent War <http://www.globalactionpw.org>

#### KEY TEXTS

Most of these texts are available to consult in Fisher Library or the CPACS Resource Centre, or for purchase from the University Co-op Bookshop or the local bookstore, Gleebooks. Two of the books listed are marked as recommended pre-reading as they provide a valuable overview of the course.

To obtain more current information on the United Nations and its activities, conflicts and peace operations students should consult journals, reports and news media through the University of Sydney Fisher and Law Libraries, online and in the CPACS Resource Centre.

Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. & Griffin, S. (2010) <i>Understanding Peacekeeping</i> . Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
Chesterman, S. (2004) <i>You, The People: The United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press. [available as full text online University of Sydney Library website and Oxford Scholarship Online]
Evans, G. (1993) <i>Cooperating for Peace: The Global Agenda for the 1990s and Beyond</i> . Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
Falk, R. A. (2008) <i>The Costs of War: International Law, the UN, and World Order After Iraq</i> . New York/London: Routledge.
Gareis, S. B. & Varwick, J. (2005) <i>The United Nations: An Introduction</i> . New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Kennedy, P. (2006) <i>The Parliament of Man: The Past, Present, and Future of the United</i>



<i>Nations</i> . New York: Random House. [Recommended pre-reading]
Krasno, J. E. (ed.) (2004) <i>The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner.
Luck, E. C. (2006) <i>UN Security Council: Practice and Promise</i> . London/New York: Routledge.
Malone, D. M. (ed.) (2004) <i>The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner.
Shawcross, W. (2001) <i>Deliver Us From Evil: Peacekeepers, Warlords and a World of Endless Conflict</i> . New York: Touchstone.
Smith, C. B. (2006) <i>Politics and Process at the United Nations: The Global Dance</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner.
Sutterlin, J. S. (2003) <i>The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> edn. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.
Thakur, R. (2006) <i>The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to Responsibility to Protect</i> . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Weiss, T. (2009) <i>What's Wrong with the UN and How to Fix It</i> . Cambridge/Malden: Polity Press. [Recommended pre-reading]
Weiss, T.G. and Daw, S. (eds.) (2007) <i>The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations</i> . Oxford/New York: OUP.
Weiss, T. G., Forsythe, D. P. & Coate, R. A. (2010) <i>The United Nations and Changing World Politics</i> , 6 <sup>th</sup> edn. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
White, N. D. (2002) <i>The United Nations System: Toward International Justice</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner.

## BACKGROUND READING

These recently published popular books provide interesting insights into UN peace and security operations and the dilemmas and challenges of working with the UN:

Kenneth Cain, Heidi Postlewait & Andrew Thomson (2005) *Emergency Sex (and Other Desperate Measures): True Stories from a War Zone*. London: Ebury Press.

Roméo Dallaire (2004) *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. London: Arrow Books.

Linda Polman (2003) *We Did Nothing: Why the Truth Doesn't Always Come Out When the UN Goes In*. London: Penguin Books.

David Rieff (2002) *A Bed for the Night*. London: Random House.

## OUTLINE OF SESSIONS

### **Introductory Session: Thursday, 1<sup>st</sup> July**

Welcome, Introductions and Course Overview. This is will include reference to the Model UN exercise and the preparation students are required to do.

### **Session 1—Introduction to Course Themes: In Larger Freedom and Peace with Justice**

In this introductory session we consider how the UN contributes not only to ending war, but also to promoting peace with justice. As a basis for this analysis we will follow the division of UN activities according to the three freedoms identified by the then UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan in his report *In Larger Freedom*.

### **Session 2—Working with the UN**

We will have three guest speakers who will share their experiences working in, or with, different areas of the UN system, and discuss some of the challenges and opportunities the UN faces in realising the three freedoms. This session will provide an opportunity for students to gain an insider's perspective on how the UN functions as well as a more personal understanding of the UN's structure and operations, participation in UN fora and implementation of UN agreements and commitments.

**Sherrill Whittington** has extensive experience working on gender-related projects in Africa, Southeast Asia, the Pacific and the Middle East various UN agencies, including UNICEF and UNDP, and covering women's political participation, gender policy analysis, and reporting on the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

**Carole Shaw** has worked for many years as a lobbyist and NGO participant in UN conferences supporting women's rights through the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action and CEDAW, and in relation to the activities of UNIFEM. Carole previously worked for the International Women's Development Agency, based in Melbourne, and as a consultant human rights trainer and facilitator for women in African diaspora communities in Sydney, and in the Asia/Pacific region including the Thai/Burmese border and in Bougainville.

**Gordon Weiss** has worked in communications for over a decade for various UN agencies. He was responsible for communications for all UNICEF's emergencies around the world including in Aceh, Haiti, the Congo and Darfur. From 2007-2010 he was the UN spokesman during the final two years of war in Sri Lanka.

#### Required readings:

Alger, C. (1999) "The Expanding Tool Chest for Peacebuilders" in Jeong, H-W. (ed.) <i>The New Agenda for Peace Research</i> . Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 13-42.
Wapner, P. (2007) "Civil Society" in Weiss, T.G. and Daw, S. (eds.) <i>The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations</i> . Oxford/New York: OUP, pp. 254-263.
Annan, K. A. (2005) <i>In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All</i> . New York: United Nations. [WebCT]
United Nations (1945) <i>Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice</i> . New York: United Nations.

Recommended Readings:

<b>Freedom from Fear (Introduction &amp; Days 3 &amp; 4)</b>
Boutros-Ghali, B. (1992) <i>An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping</i> . New York: United Nations. [WebCT]
Gareis, S. B. & Varwick, J. (2005) “The Changing Practice of Peacekeeping” in <i>The United Nations: An Introduction</i> . London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 89-133.
Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. & Griffin, S. (2010) “Transitional Administrations” in <i>Understanding Peacekeeping</i> . Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, pp. 255-278.
Mani, R. (2007) “Peaceful Settlement of Disputes and Conflict Prevention” in Weiss, T.G. and Daw, S. (eds.) <i>The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations</i> . Oxford/New York: OUP, pp. 300-322.
Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. & Griffin, S. (2010) “Peace Enforcement” in <i>Understanding Peacekeeping</i> . Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, pp. 214-229.
Luck, E. C. (2006) “Economic sanctions, arms embargoes, and diplomatic instruments” in <i>UN Security Council: Practice and Promise</i> . New York: Routledge, pp. 58-67
<b>Freedom from Want (Introduction &amp; Day 2)</b>
Fomerand, J. (2004) “Agent of Change? The United Nations and Development”, in Krasno, J. E. (ed.) <i>The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp.163-191.
Gareis, S. B. & Varwick, J. (2005) “Economic, Development and Environmental Questions in the United Nations: Problem Areas and Institutional Design” in <i>The United Nations: An Introduction</i> . London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 178-212.
<b>Freedom to Live in Dignity (Introduction &amp; Day 2)</b>
White, N. D. (2002) “The Legal Organs: Accountability and the Rule of Law” in <i>The United Nations System: Toward International Justice</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 111-119.
Ramcharan, B. (2007) “Norms and Machinery” in Weiss, T.G. and Daw, S. (eds.) <i>The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations</i> . Oxford/New York: OUP, pp. 439-462
Knight, A.W. (2007) “Democracy and Good Governance” in Weiss, T.G. and Daw, S. (eds.) <i>The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations</i> . Oxford/New York: OUP, pp. 620-633.
International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (2001) “Synopsis” <i>The Responsibility to Protect</i> . Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Centre, pp. xi-xiii.

Additional readings:

Kirsch, P., Holmes, J. T. & Johnson, M. (2004) “International Tribunals and Courts” in Malone, D. M. (ed.) <i>The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 281-294.
Thakur, R. (2006) “Human Rights: Civil Society and the United Nations” in <i>The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to Responsibility to Protect</i> . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 93-112.
Thakur, R. (2006) “International Criminal Justice” in <i>The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to Responsibility to Protect</i> . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 113-133
Smith, C. B. (2006) “Civil Society and the Private Sector” in <i>Politics and Process at the United Nations: The Global Dance</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 109-138
Goldstone, R. (2007) “International Criminal Court and Ad Hoc Tribunals” in Weiss, T.G. and Daw, S. (eds.) <i>The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations</i> . Oxford/New York: OUP, pp.

463-478.

**Day 1: Thursday, 15<sup>th</sup> July****History, Theory and Functions of the UN**

Day 1 will start with introductions and review of the course aims and outcomes, structure, resources and assessment.

During the rest of the day we will focus on discussion of the origins, structure and purposes of the United Nations. We will examine the ideal of collective security behind the establishment of the UN, along with other principles and theories which underpin the functioning and role of the UN system. This discussion will include a brief overview of the League of Nations, and the ways in which the UN tried to learn from the experiences of its predecessor.

We will take a detailed look at the UN Charter and the principles governing the Organisation. We will start to identify some of the limitations and challenges inherent in the UN's ability to fulfil its mandate, including the composition and powers of the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Secretary-General and International Court of Justice. We discuss international relations theories about the UN and the major global conferences such as the World Summit for Social Development, the Millennium Summit in 2000 and the 2005 World Summit.

We will also explore the actors and agencies that enable the UN to fulfil its mandate to “maintain international peace and security” and to “achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights” (Article 1, UN Charter). This session will serve as important background for the UN Model assessment on Day 5 and include reference to the US/UN relationship and how national interests can hinder or facilitate the achievement of the UN's goals.

Required readings

United Nations (1945) *Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice*. New York: United Nations.

Weiss, T. G., Forsythe, D. P. & Coate, R. A. (2010) “The Theory of UN Collective Security” in *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, 6<sup>th</sup> edn. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, pp. 3-27.

Barnett, M. and Finnemore, M. (2007) “Political Approaches” in Weiss, T.G. and Daw, S. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*. Oxford/New York: OUP, pp. 41-57.

Chart of the UN system. [WebCT]

Recommended readings:**History**

Krasno, J. E. (2004) “Founding the United Nations: An Evolutionary Process” in Krasno, J. E. (ed.) *The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 19-45.

**Structure**

Smith, E. M. (2003) “Collective security, peacekeeping, and ad hoc multilateralism” in Ku, C. & Jacobson, H. K. (eds) *Democratic Accountability and the Use of Force in International Law*.

Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 81-103.
<b>Theory</b>
Keohane, R.O. (2003) "Global Governance and Democratic Accountability" in Held, D. and Koenig-Archibugi, M. (eds.) <i>Taming Globalization: Frontiers of Governance</i> . Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, pp. 130-159.
<b>Actors</b>
Gordenker, L. (2010) "Conclusion" in <i>The UN Secretary-General and Secretariat</i> . New York: Routledge, pp. 96-108.
Smith, C. B. (2006) "Groups and Blocs" in <i>Politics and Process at the United Nations: The Global Dance</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 277-293.

Additional readings:

Thakur, R. and Weiss, T. (2009) "United Nations 'Policy': An Argument with Three Illustrations", <i>International Studies Perspectives</i> , 10, pp. 18-35.
Bertrand, M. (1997) "The Development of World Organisation" in <i>The United Nations: Past, Present and Future</i> . The Hague: Kluwer Law International, pp. 7-36.
Joyce, J. A. (1978) <i>Broken Star: The Story of the League of Nations (1919-1939)</i> . Swansea: C. Davies.
Luck, E. C. (2006) "The Founding Vision" in <i>UN Security Council: Practice and Promise</i> . London/New York: Routledge, pp. 9-15.
Schlesinger, S. (2003) <i>Act of Creation: The Founding of the UN</i> . New York: Westview Press
Krasno, J. E. (ed.) (2004) <i>The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
Paul, J. A. (2004) "Working with Nongovernmental Organizations" in Malone, D. M. (ed.) <i>The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 373-387.
Luck, E. C. (2006) <i>UN Security Council: Practice and Promise</i> . London/New York: Routledge.
Smith, C. B. (2006) <i>Politics and Process at the United Nations: The Global Dance</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
Polman, L. (2003) "Prologue: Hotdogs in New York" in <i>We Did Nothing: Why the Truth Doesn't Always Come Out When the UN Goes In</i> . London: Penguin Books.
Rawski, F. & Miller, N. (2004) "The United States in the Security Council: A Faustian Bargain?" in Malone, D. M. (ed.) <i>The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 357-371.
Gareis, S. B. & Warwick, J. (2005) "The United Nations System" in <i>The United Nations: An Introduction</i> . London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-39.

**Day 2: Friday 16 July**

**Freedom from Want and Freedom to live in Live in Dignity**

**Session 1—International Economic and Social Governance**

Following the agenda set by Kofi Annan in his chapter on "Freedom from Want" in the report *In Larger Freedom*, this session will critique the current international system of economic governance and discuss possibilities for reform asking: how can we negotiate organisational change in the context of national interests? We will explore the role of the institutions concerned with macroeconomic policy outside the UN system such as the G8, G20 and the OECD in

shaping global economic decisions. We also explore the costs and benefits of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund and critically examine the UN's economic and social policies, structures and programmes, including the Economic and Social Council.

### Required Readings

Wood, N. (2007) "Bretton Woods Institutions" in Weiss, T.G. and Daw, S. (eds.) <i>The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations</i> . Oxford/New York: OUP, pp. 233-253.
Langmore, J. & Fitzgerald, S. (n.d) <i>Strengthening Global Economic Governance</i> (forthcoming). [WebCT]

### Recommended Readings:

<b>International Economic and Social Governance</b>
Helleiner G.K. (2002) "Developing Countries in Global Economic Governance and Negotiation Processes" in Nayyar, D. (ed.) <i>Governing Globalisation: Issues and Institutions</i> . Oxford: OUP, pp. 308-333.
Kennedy, P. (2006) "The Softer Face of the UN's Mission" in <i>Parliament of Man: the Past Present and Future of the United Nations</i> . New York: Random House, pp. 143-176.
Foot, R, Macfarlane, N & Mastanduno, M. (eds.) (2003) "Introduction" in <i>US Hegemony and International Organizations</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 1-22.

### Additional readings:

White, N. D. (2002) "Economic and Development Matters" & "The Environment" in <i>The United Nations System: Toward International Justice</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 265-293 & 245-263.
Reus-Smit, C. (2004) <i>American Power and World Order</i> . Cambridge: Polity, pp. 40-68.
Buira, A. (ed.) (2003) <i>Challenges to the World Bank and IMF: Developing Country Perspectives</i> . London: Anthem Press.
Buira, A. (ed.) (2005) <i>The IMF and the World Bank at Sixty</i> . London: Anthem Press.
United Nations (2007) <i>The United Nations Development Agenda: Development for All, Goals, commitments and strategies agreed at the United Nations world conferences and summits since 1990</i> . New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs. [Chapters 1, 2, 8 & 9]
Chang, H.J. & Grabel, I. (2004) <i>Reclaiming Development: A Handbook of Economic Policies to Promote Equity, Stability and Sustainability</i> . London: Zed Books.
Chang, H.J. (2008) <i>Bad Samaritans: The Myth of Free Trade and the Secret history of Capitalism</i> . New York: Bloomsbury Press.
Jolly, R., Emmerij, L & Weiss, T. (2005) <i>The Power of UN Ideas: Lessons from the First 60 Years</i> . New York: UN Intellectual History Project.
Langmore, J. (2004) "International strategy for decent work" in Lee, E. & Vivarelli, M. (eds.) <i>Understanding Globalization, Employment and Poverty Reduction</i> . Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Nayyar, D. (ed.) (2002) <i>Governing Globalization: Issues and Institutions</i> . Oxford: OUP. [Chapters 8, 9, 11, 12 & 14]
Rodrik, D. (2008) <i>One Economic, Many Recipes</i> . New York: Princeton University Press.
Taylor, L. (ed.) (2001) <i>External Liberalization, Economic Performance and Social Policy</i> . New York: OUP.
Toye, J. & Toye, R. (2004) <i>The UN and Global Political Economy: Trade, Finance, and</i>

<i>Development</i> . Bloomington: Indiana University Press. [Chapters 8, 9, 11 & 12]
Atkinson, A.B. (2005) “Innovative Sources to Meet a Global Challenge” in Atkinson, A.B (ed.) <i>New Sources of Development Finance</i> . Oxford: OUP, pp. 1-32.
Myint-U, T. and Scott, A. (2007) <i>The UN Secretariat: A Brief History</i> . New York: International Peace Academy.
Weiss, T. G., Forsythe, D. P. & Coate, R. A. (2010) “Theories of Development at the United Nations” in <i>The United Nations and Changing World Politics</i> , 6 <sup>th</sup> edn. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, pp. 253-278.

## Session 2 –Western Sahara: Decolonisation and Self-determination

In this session we will examine the case study of Western Sahara to explore the agenda set by Kofi Annan in the report *In Larger Freedom* “Freedom to Live in Dignity”. The decolonisation of Western Sahara is one of the UN’s less publicised but most significant failures. Western Sahara was abandoned by its former colonial occupiers, is still on the UN’s list of non-self-governing territories and is waiting for the right to self-determination.

Guest lecturers, **Kamal Fadel**, Polisario representative in Australia, and **Stephen Zunes**, Professor of Politics and International Studies and Chair of the Middle Eastern Studies Program at the University of San Francisco, will focus on the lack of enforceability of UN resolutions relating to the peace agreement. They also focus on the lack of political will of member states due to competing national interests and priorities as impediments to ending Morocco’s illegal occupation of Western Sahara. They discuss the role of global civil society – in alliance with ongoing resistance in the occupied nation – to mobilise sufficiently in order to force governments currently supporting the occupation to live up to their international legal responsibilities.

### Required Readings

Fadel, K. (1999) “The Decolonisation Process in Western Sahara”, <i>Indigenous Law Bulletin</i> , 4:23, August-September 1999.
Hodges, T. (1983) “At the United Nations” & “The Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice October 16, 1975” in <i>Western Sahara: the Roots of a Desert War</i> , Westport, Connecticut: Lawrence Hill & Company, pp. 104-108 & 368-372.
Theofilopoulou, A. (2006) <i>The United Nations and Western Sahara: A Never-Ending Affair</i> . Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace. [WebCT]

### Recommended Readings:

Zunes, Stephen. (2010) <i>U.S. Lawmakers Support Illegal Annexation</i> , April 5, 2010 <a href="http://stephenzunes.org/2010/04/05/u-s-lawmakers-support-illegal-annexation/">http://stephenzunes.org/2010/04/05/u-s-lawmakers-support-illegal-annexation/</a> (WebCT)
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### Additional readings:

Shelley, T. (2004) <i>Endgame in the Western Sahara: What Future for Africa’s Last Colony?</i> London: Zed Books. [available in CPACS Resource Centre]
Clark, R. (2007) “Western Sahara and the United Nations Norms on Self-Determination and Aggression” in Arts, K. and Leite, P.P. (eds.) <i>International Law and the Question of Western Sahara</i> . Leiden: International Platform of Jurists for East Timor, pp. 45-58.

**Day 3: Monday 19 July**

**Freedom from Fear: The UN and Peace Interventions**

Following the agenda set by Kofi Annan in his chapter on “Freedom from Fear” in the report *In Larger Freedom*, on Day 3 we will critique the achievements of the UN in relation to peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peacebuilding.

**Session 1—UN Emergency Peace Service Proposal**

Annie Herro will discuss a particular UN reform proposal that has gained considerable interest among members of some governments, UN officials and civil society around the world: the United Nations Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS) proposal. UNEPS would be a standing UN peacekeeping service that would provide the Organisation with the rapid-reaction capability to respond to mass human rights violations or “Responsibility to Protect” crimes (Genocide, War Crimes, Crimes Against Humanity). We will explore the cultural and political challenges in implementing this reform including the perceived legitimacy of the UN and member states’ inexorable fear of empowering the UN with military capabilities.

Required readings:

Herro, A., Lambourne, W. & Penklis, D (2009) “Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement in Africa: the potential contribution of a UN Emergency Peace Service” *African Security Review*, Vol 18 No 1, pp. 49-61. [WebCT]

Recommended Readings:

Johansen, R.C. (ed.) (2006) “Proposal for a United Nations Emergency Peace Service to Prevent Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity” in *A United Nations Emergency Peace Service: To Prevent Genocide And Crimes Against Humanity*, New York: World Federalist Movement, Institute for Global Policy, 2006, pp. 23-41. [WebCT]

Additional readings:

Roberts, A. (2008). “Proposals for UN Standing Forces: A Critical History”. <i>The United Nations Security Council and war: the evolution of thought and practice since 1945</i> . V. Lowe, A. Roberts, J. Welsh and D. Zaum. New York, Oxford University Press, USA, pp. 99-130.
Carver, G. Evans, et al. (1993). A UN Volunteer Military Force—Four Views. <i>The New York Review of Books</i> . New York New York Review Books, pp. 40-58.
Fry, W. R. (1956) <i>A United Nations Peace Force</i> . New York: Oceana Publications.
Kinloch, S. P. (1996). "Utopian or pragmatic? A UN permanent military volunteer force." <i>International Peacekeeping</i> , Vol. 3 No. 4, pp. 166-90.
Langille, H. P. (2002). “Bridging the Commitment-Capacity Gap: A Review of Existing Arrangements and Options for Enhancing UN Rapid Deployment”. <i>Center for UN Reform Education</i> .
McCarthy, P. A. (2000). “Building a reliable rapid-reaction capability for the United Nations.” <i>International Peacekeeping</i> , Vol. 7 No. 2, pp.139-154.
Coady, T. and M. O’Keefe, Eds. (2005). <i>Righteous violence: the ethics and politics of military intervention</i> . Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.
Urquhart, B. (1993). “For a U.N. Volunteer Military Force”. <i>New York Review of Books</i> . New



York: New York Review Books.
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## Session 2— Peacekeeping

This session is led by special guest lecturer, **Major General (ret'd) Tim Ford** who is an adviser on peace operations to the United Nations and other international and regional organisations. General Ford has served as the Head of Mission of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO) in the Middle East, as the leader of several UN fact finding missions in Africa and as the Chief Military Adviser in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations at UN Headquarters, New York. This session will examine the evolution of peacekeeping and contemporary challenges it faces, including the difficulties and opportunities confronting integrated peace operations.

Required Readings (See also “Recommended Readings” for Introductory Session, 1 July)

Gareis, S. B. & Varwick, J. (2005) “The Changing Practice of Peacekeeping” in <i>The United Nations: An Introduction</i> . London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 89-133.
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Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. & Griffin, S. (2010) “Peace Enforcement” in <i>Understanding Peacekeeping</i> . Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, pp. 214-229.
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Additional readings:

Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. & Griffin, S. (2010) <i>Understanding Peacekeeping</i> . Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
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Durch, W. J. (ed.) (2006) <i>Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations</i> . Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace/Henry L. Stimson Center.
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Martin, I. (2004) “A Field Perspective” in Malone, D. M. (ed.) <i>The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp.567-574.
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Malone, D. M. & Wermester, K. (2001) “Boom and Bust? The Changing Nature of UN Peacekeeping” in Adebajo, A. & Sriram, C. L. (eds) <i>Managing Armed Conflicts in the 21st Century</i> . London/Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass, pp. 37-54.
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Flint, E. (2001) “Civil Affairs: Soldiers Building Bridges” in D. S. Gordon & F. H. Toase (eds) <i>Aspects of Peacekeeping</i> . London: Frank Cass, pp. 231-252.
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Krasno, J. E. (2004) “To End the Scourge of War: The Story of UN Peacekeeping” in Krasno, J. E. (ed.) <i>The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 225 – 267.
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## Session 3— East Timor: Building the State to Build the Peace

Guest lecturer, **Sue Ingram**, is an independent consultant on governance and statebuilding with experience in peacekeeping in the Asia-Pacific region and West Africa. She will explore the links between peacebuilding and statebuilding discussing the challenges the UN faced in executing the statebuilding component of the peacekeeping operation in Timor. After the notorious bloody crackdown by the Indonesian military of the independence referendum and a subsequent Australia-led, UN-endorsed humanitarian intervention to quell the violence, East Timor became a state in 2001. Ms Ingram evaluates the extent to which the UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET, 2000-2002) was able to consolidate peace and manage to balance security, state capacities and legitimation. Her lecture includes a discussion on how the failure to correctly understand and react to the question of legitimation, for example, led directly to the outbreak of violence in 2006.

Required Readings

Evans, G. (1993) <i>Cooperating for Peace: The Global Agenda for the 1990s and Beyond</i> . Sydney: Allen & Unwin, pp. 3-16
Bowles, E. & Chopra, T. (2008) "East Timor: Statebuilding Revisited" in Call, C.T & Wyeth, V. (eds.) <i>Building States to Build the Peace</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 271-302.
Cotton, J. (2007) "Timor-Leste and the discourse of state failure", <i>Australian Journal of International Affairs</i> , Volume 61, Issue 4 December 2007, pp. 455 – 470. [WebCT]
Goldstone, A. (2004) "UNTAET with Hindsight: The Peculiarities of Politics in an Incomplete State", <i>Global Governance</i> , 10, 2004, pp. 83-98. [WebCT]

Recommended readings:

United Nations Security Council (1999). <i>Resolution 1272 (S/RES/1272)</i> . 25 October. <a href="http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N99/312/77/PDF/N9931277.pdf?OpenElement">http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N99/312/77/PDF/N9931277.pdf?OpenElement</a> [Accessed 28 June 2010]. [WebCT]
Call, C.T (2008) "Ending Wars, Building States" in Call, C.T. & Wyeth, V. (eds.) <i>Building States to Build the Peace</i> . Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 1-22.

Additional readings:

Berdal, M. & Economides, S. (eds) (2007) <i>United Nations Interventionism, 1991-2004</i> . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. [see chapter on East Timor]
Candio, P. & Bleiker, R. (2001) "Peacebuilding in East Timor", <i>The Pacific Review</i> , 14:1, pp. 63-84.
Eldon, S. (2004) "East Timor" in Malone, D. M. (ed.) <i>The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp.551-566.
Hasegawa, S. (2006) "The Role of the United Nations in Conflict Resolution and Peace-building in Timor-Leste" in Dolgopol, U. & Gardam, J. (eds) <i>The Challenge of Conflict: International Law Responds</i> . Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, pp. 165-191.
Lambourne, W. (2008) "Towards Sustainable Peace and Development in Sierra Leone: Civil Society and the Peacebuilding Commission", <i>Journal of Peacebuilding and Development</i> , 4:2, pp. 47-59.
Lambourne, W. & Herro, A. (2008) "Peacebuilding Theory and the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission: Implications for Non-UN Interventions", <i>Global Change, Peace and Security</i> , 20:3, October, pp. 275-289.
Griffin, M. & Jones, B. (2001) "Building Peace through Transitional Authority: New Directions, Major Challenges" in Adebajo, A. & Sriram, C. L. (eds) <i>Managing Armed Conflicts in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</i> . London/Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass, pp. 75-90.
Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. & Griffin, S. (2010) "Transitional Administrations" in <i>Understanding Peacekeeping</i> . Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, pp. 255-278
International Crisis Group (2006) <i>Resolving Timor-Leste's Crisis Asia Report</i> . N°120 – 10 October 2006 <a href="http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/south-east-asia/timor-leste/120_resolving_timor_lestes_crisis.ashx">http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/south-east-asia/timor-leste/120_resolving_timor_lestes_crisis.ashx</a> [Accessed 19 June 2010]
Smith, M. G. (2003) "Lessons for Successful Intervention" in <i>Peacekeeping in East Timor: The Path to Independence</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 95-120.

Cliffe, S. & Roland, K. (2003) "Mission Implementation: Developing Institutional Capacities" in Azimi, N & and Li Lin, C. (eds.) *The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET): Debriefing and Lessons*. Tokyo: UNITAR-IPS-JIAA Conference 2002, pp. 95-142.

#### **Day 4: Tuesday 20 July**

### **Freedom from Fear: Terrorism, Nuclear Disarmament and Iraq**

#### **Session 1—The UN and Terrorism**

Day 4 begins with guest lecturer, **Dr Ken Macnab**, Honorary Associate at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, providing an overview of the UN's response to terrorism. He will provide some background on terrorism including its causes and the UN's changing approach to terrorism before and after the events of September 11 2001.

#### Required Readings:

Boulden, J. (2007) "Terrorism" in Weiss, T.G. and Daw, S. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*. Oxford/New York: OUP, pp. 427-436.

#### Recommended Readings:

United Nations (2006) "UN Action to Counter Terrorism" website including links to various documents relating to the UN's global strategy to combat terrorism. <http://www.un.org/terrorism/strategy-counter-terrorism.shtml>. [WebCT]

#### Additional Readings

Crenshaw, M., 'The Causes of Terrorism', 1981, in Besteman, C. (ed), *Violence: A Reader*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2002, pp. 99-117.

Luck, E. C. (2004) "Tackling Terrorism" in Malone, D. M. (ed.) *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 85-100.

#### **Session 2—The UN and Nuclear Disarmament**

The second lecture explores efforts that are taking place within the UN to expedite global disarmament of nuclear weapons. We will discuss the reasons for concern about nuclear proliferation, the world's nuclear forces as well as sources of support for, and opposition to, nuclear disarmament. Finally we will explore issues affecting Australia and its role in the nuclear disarmament process.

#### Required Readings:

International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (2009), "Synopsis: a comprehensive action agenda" and "Annex A: Commission Recommendations" in *Eliminating Nuclear Threats: A Practical Agenda for Global Policymakers*. Canberra/Tokyo, pp. xvii-xxx & 251-264. [WebCT]

#### Recommended readings:

Butfoy, A (2008) “Washington’s Apparent Readiness to Start Nuclear War”. *Survival*, Vol 50, No 5, pp. 115 – 140. [WebCT]

Langmore, J. (2010) Summary of Perkovich, G. & Acton, J.M. (2008) “Abolishing Nuclear Weapons”. *International Institute of Strategic Studies*, Adelphi Paper No 396 London Summary. [WebCT]

Tanter, R. (2009) “Rethinking extended nuclear deterrence in the defence of Australia”. *Austral Special Report 09-07S*, Nautilus Institute, 10 December 2009. [WebCT]

Additional readings:

Cirincione, J. (2007) *Bomb Scare: The History and Future of Nuclear Weapons*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Huisken, R. (ed.) (2009) *The Architecture of Security in the Asia-Pacific*. ANU eBook.

Broinowski, R. (2003) *Fact or Fission? The truth about Australia’s nuclear ambitions*. Melbourne: Scribe Publications.

Commonwealth of Australia (2009) *Defending Australia in the Asia Pacific Century: Force 2030. Defence White Paper 2009*. Canberra: Department of Defence.

Boothby, D. (2004) “Disarmament: Successes and Failures” in Krasno, J. E. (ed.) *The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp.193-223.

**Session 3**— UN, Iraq & Weapons of Mass Destruction

The third lecture special guest, **Rod Barton**, will lead a session drawing on his experiences as former Senior UN Weapons Inspector in Iraq. After a brief historical overview of the various UN resolutions on disarmament of Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction that followed the Iraq war of 1991, Rod will discuss the mandate given to UN weapons inspectors. This will be followed by a short discussion of the work of the inspectors and Iraq’s motivation to cooperate in response to the sanctions regime and threat of use of armed force. We will then consider the justification for war in 2003 based on the knowledge of the “Coalition of the Willing” and the findings of the Iraq Survey Group to which Rod was a senior specialist adviser.

Required Readings:

Barton, R. (2006) “The Most Dangerous Place on Earth” in *The Weapons Detective: The Inside Story of Australia’s Top Weapons Inspector*. Melbourne: Schwartz Publishing, pp. 61-73.

Da Silva, P. T. (2004) “Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Iraqi Case” in Malone, D. M. (ed.) *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 205-218.

Thakur, R. (2006) “Iraq’s challenge to world order” in *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to Responsibility to Protect*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 222-321.

Additional readings:

Cortright, D. & Lopez, G. A. (2002) “The Iraq Quagmire” in *Sanctions and the Search for Security: Challenges to UN Action*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 21-46.

Tardy, T. (2004) “The United Nations and Iraq: A Role Beyond Expectations”, *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.11, No.4, pp.591-607.

Peck, C. (1998) *Sustainable Peace: The Role of the UN and Regional Organizations in*

*Preventing Conflict*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

United Nations (2004) *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility. Report of the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change*. New York: United Nations. Available at <http://www.un.org/secureworld/>. [WebCT]

## Day 5: Thursday 22 July—Genocide Prevention and Model UN

### Session 1—Rwanda: Failure to Prevent Genocide

Dr Wendy Lambourne will facilitate a session on the UN's infamous failure to prevent the genocide that killed 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu in Rwanda in April-July 1994. Further exploring the links between the various stages of the peace and conflict cycle, we will assess the UN's role in Rwanda from peacemaking to peacekeeping to lack of peace enforcement. As a framework for discussion we will examine the ethical, political, legal and logistical dilemmas faced by the UN in responding to genocide in Rwanda. We will also consider what progress has been made since Rwanda in 1994, especially with the birth of the responsibility to protect doctrine in 2001.

#### Required Readings

Keating, C. (2004) "An Insider's Account" in Malone, D. M. (ed.) *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 500-511.

Barnett, M. N. (2002) "The Hunt for Moral Responsibility" in *Eyewitness to a Genocide: the United Nations and Rwanda*. Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, pp. 153-181.

#### Recommended Readings:

Dallaire, R. (2004) *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. London: Arrow Books.

#### Additional readings:

Jones, B. D. (1999) "The Arusha Peace Process" in Adelman, H. & Suhrke, A. (eds) *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, pp. 131-156.

Adelman, H. & Suhrke, A. (2004) "Rwanda" in Malone, D. M. (ed.) *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp.483-499.

Jones, B. D. (2001) "The Dynamics of Peacemaking in Rwanda: Conclusions and Implications" in *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 157

Feil, S.R., (1998) *Preventing Genocide: How The Early Use Of Force Might Have Succeeded In Rwanda: A Report To The Carnegie Commission On Preventing Deadly Conflict*. New York: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict.

Kuperman, A.J. (2001). *The Limits Of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide In Rwanda*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Evans, G. (2008) *The Responsibility to Protect*. D.C.: Brookings Institution .

Roberts, A. (2004) "The Use of Force" in Malone, D. M. (ed.) *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 133-152.

Bellamy, A. J. (2005) "Responsibility to Protect or Trojan Horse? The Crisis in Darfur and Humanitarian Intervention After Iraq", *Ethics & International Affairs*, 19:2, pp. 31-53.

Bellamy, A. J. (2006) *Preventing Future Kosovos and Future Rwandas: The Responsibility to*

*Protect after the 2005 World Summit*. New York: Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs.

United Nations (2000) Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations. The Brahimi Report, A/55/395; S/2000/809. New York: United Nations. Executive summary (WebCT)

Herro, A., Lambourne, W. & Penklis, D (2009) "Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement in Africa: the potential contribution of a UN Emergency Peace Service" *African Security Review*, Vol 18 No 1, pp. 49.

## **Session 2—Model UN**

The Model UN will attempt to replicate features of a meeting of the UN General Assembly. Since there are members of the Japanese government who are strong advocates of the creation of a UNEPS, in this Model UN Japan will bring a draft UNEPS statute to the General Assembly for discussion.

Two students will play the role of one of the member states and will debate the issue of creation of the UN Emergency Peace Service. The states to be represented will include the members of the Security Council and a selection of other countries within the four main groups – the Non-Aligned Movement, JUSCANZ, the European Union and the Transitional Economies (former Soviet States) – and independents.

Students will be given a copy of the UNEPS statute which was recently drafted by key UNEPS architects under the direction of Professor Saul Mendlovitz from Rutgers Law School. This will be accessible on WebCT. Students will be asked to present a three-minute speech to explain their country's policy on the draft statute. This includes emphasising the points your state might be willing to compromise on, or that are 'non-negotiable', and explaining what actions your state supports and why. Ensure that you represent the views of your country rather than your personal opinion and that you keep the best interests of your country at heart. Be aware of your allies and 'enemies' in the room, and who you should be working alongside.

Many of your countries will not have made public statements about their views on UNEPS. However, every country will have policies and speeches on the Responsibility to Protect doctrine for which UNEPS could be an operational tool.

Delegates will be asked to group into their respective blocs (e.g. Australia in JUSCANZ, Indonesia in the G77, Kyrgyzstan in the Transitional Economies) and negotiate on an amended version of the statute that accommodates the position of each state. Each bloc will have to formulate a position statement and delegate a country to present this to the caucus. The caucus will then be required to negotiate a draft resolution that incorporates the position of the four blocs.

At the end of the session, students will come together to discuss the lessons learnt in drafting a resolution and attempt to enact much-needed reforms.

## **Day 6: Friday 23 July**

### **UN Reform and Prognosis**

On Day 6 we will reflect further on the challenges and opportunities the UN faces in achieving its mandate to end the "scourge of war" as well as to promote peace with justice through

protection of human rights, promotion of social and economic progress and respect for the rule of law.

Discussions will refer to the reforms proposed in *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility. Report of the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change* (2004); Kofi Annan's *In Larger Freedom* (2005); and the outcomes of the 2005 World Summit, as well as the various reforms proposed in the articles provided in the course reader and those which have subsequently been proposed.

### Session 1— Overview and Prospects for Reform

In this session we will reflect on the evolution, failures and achievements of the UN, its administration and operations. As a means to improving the global democratic deficit, Professor John Langmore will discuss the potential to improve the UN's relations with the private sector, NGOs as well as the United States. We will also explore the desirability, feasibility and challenges of UN Security Council reform. Finally, we will discuss Australia's role as a force for change in the UN as well as the prospects for global government.

#### Required readings:

Weiss, T. (2009) "Conclusion: What's Next" in <i>What's Wrong with the UN and How to Fix It</i> . Cambridge/Malden: Polity Press, pp. 215-233.
Malone, D. M. (2004) "Conclusion" in Malone, D. M. (ed.) <i>The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 617-649.
Annan, K. A. (2005) <i>In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All</i> . New York: United Nations. [WebCT]
United Nations (2005), <i>Resolution adopted by the General Assembly: 60/1. 2005 World Summit Outcome</i> , A/RES/60/1, 24 October 2005. Available at <a href="http://www.un.org/summit2005/">http://www.un.org/summit2005/</a> . [WebCT]
United Nations (2004) <i>A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility. Report of the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change</i> . New York: United Nations. [copies available for loan] Available at <a href="http://www.un.org/secureworld/">http://www.un.org/secureworld/</a> . [WebCT]
Kennedy, P. (2006) "The Conundrum of the Security Council" in <i>The Parliament of Man: The Past, Present, and Future of the United Nations</i> . New York: Random House, pp. 51-76.

#### Recommended readings:

Luck, E. C. (2006) "Reform, adaptation, and evolution" & "Conclusion" in <i>UN Security Council: Practice and Promise</i> . New York: Routledge, pp. 111-126 & 127-132.
Smith, C. B. (2006) "The United Nations and State Compliance" in <i>Politics and Process at the United Nations: The Global Dance</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 277-293.
Thakur, R. (2006) "Conclusion: at the crossroads of ideals and reality" in <i>The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to Responsibility to Protect</i> . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 343-369.
Keohane, R.O. and Nye, J.S. (2003) "Redefining accountability for global governance" in Kahler, M, and Lake, D. (eds), <i>Governance in a Global Economy: Political Authority in Transition</i> . Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 386-411.
Urquhart, B. (2010) "Finding the Hidden UN" <i>The New York Review of Books</i> , Vol. 57, No. 9, 27 May 2010, p. 26-28.
Thakur, R. (2006) "Reforming the United Nations" in <i>The United Nations, Peace and</i>

<i>Security: From Collective Security to Responsibility to Protect</i> . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 291-319.
Knight, A.W. (2002) "The Future of the UN Security Council" in Cooper, A et al (eds.) <i>Enhancing Global Governance: Towards a new diplomacy</i> . Tokyo: UNU Press, pp. 19-37.
Smith, C. B. (2006) "Strategies of Influence: Positional, Personal and Procedural" in <i>Politics and Process at the United Nations: The Global Dance</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 247-273.
Farrell, J. (2007) <i>United Nations Sanctions and the Rule of Law</i> . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 244-246.

Additional readings:

Fassbender, B. (2004) "Pressure for Security Council Reform" in Malone, D. M. (ed.) <i>The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 85-100.
Guéhenno, J.-M. (2002) "On the Challenges and Achievements of Reforming UN Peace Operations" in Newman, E. & Schnabel, A. (eds) <i>Recovering from Civil Conflict: Reconciliation, Peace and Development</i> . London: Frank Cass, pp. 69-80.
Luck, E. C. (2003) "Reforming the United Nations: Lessons from a History in Progress" in Krasno, J. E. (ed.) <i>The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp.359-397.
Peou, S. (2002) "The UN, Peacekeeping and Collective Human Security: From <i>An Agenda for Peace</i> to the Brahimi Report" in Newman, E. & Schnabel, A. (eds) <i>Recovering from Civil Conflict: Reconciliation, Peace and Development</i> . London: Frank Cass, pp. 51-68.
Falk, R. A. (2008) <i>The Costs of War: International Law, the UN, and World Order After Iraq</i> . New York/London: Routledge.
Forman, S. & Grene, A. (2004) "Collaborating with Regional Organizations" in Malone, D. M. (ed.) <i>The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp.295-309.
Langmore, J. (2005) "The Future of the United Nations" in <i>Dealing with America: the UN, the US and Australia</i> . Sydney: UNSW Press, pp. 93-98.
Gareis, S. B. & Varwick, J. (2005) "Reforms for the Twenty-First Century" in <i>The United Nations: An Introduction</i> . London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 213-233.
UN Report of the High-level Panel on UN System-Wide Coherence (2006). <i>Delivering as One: in the areas of development, humanitarian assistance and the environment</i> . Report to the Secretary-General, 2 November, A/61/583, pp. 9-16.
Gareis, S. B. & Varwick, J. (2005) "Conclusions" in <i>The United Nations: An Introduction</i> . London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 243-254.
Weiss, T. G. & Hoffman, P. J. (2006) <i>A Priority Agenda for the Next UN Secretary-General</i> , Occasional Paper No. 28, New York: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, December 2006.

## Session 2—UN Prognosis and Peace with Justice

In this session Dr Wendy Lambourne will lead a class discussion on the UN's contribution to achieving peace with justice. We will assess the extent to which the UN has recognised the interdependence of peace and security, development and human rights in its activities. Students will be encouraged to reflect on what they have learnt during the course and how this might have affected their views on the UN's achievements to date and prognosis for a more effective UN in the future.



Required readings:

Annan, K. A. (2005) *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All*. New York: United Nations. [WebCT]

United Nations (2005), *Resolution adopted by the General Assembly: 60/1. 2005 World Summit Outcome*, A/RES/60/1, 24 October 2005. Available at <http://www.un.org/summit2005/>. [WebCT]

Recommended readings:

Clements, K. P. (2007) "Introduction: Reform of the United Nations" & Falk, R. (2007) "Illusions of Reform: Needs, Desires, and Realities", *Peace and Policy*, Vol. 12, pp. 5-15 & 16-24. [WebCT]

Lambourne, W. (2008) "Towards Sustainable Peace and Development in Sierra Leone: Civil Society and the Peacebuilding Commission", *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, 4:2, pp. 47-59. [WebCT]

Lambourne, W. & Herro, A. (2008) "Peacebuilding Theory and the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission: Implications for Non-UN Interventions", *Global Change, Peace and Security*, 20:3, October, pp. 275-289. [WebCT]