

PACS 6901
THE UNITED NATIONS AND
INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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Class Dates: 13 weeks, 3 March – 2 June 2009 (no class 14 April)

Location: Seminar Room 107, Mackie Building, Arundel St, University of Sydney

Class Times: Tuesday afternoons, 3.00 – 5.00 pm OR Tuesday evenings, 6:00 – 8:00 pm

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 60 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. We will build on the contributions of international relations and international law to the discourse on the UN and international peace and security, and will add a conflict resolution focus. 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 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, 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 where the UN has played a role in peacemaking, peace enforcement, peacekeeping and/or peacebuilding. These case studies will be used to illustrate and explore a number of challenges and 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 peacekeepers;
- 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) the perceived dilemma of peace v. justice in conflict settlements and peacebuilding;
- 11) the role of the US and implications for UN credibility and effectiveness;
- 12) geopolitical analysis of the functioning of the UN Security Council and its impact on the maintenance of international peace and security;
- 13) the impact of decolonisation and increase in new member states, and changes in power relations, on issues of representation and the legitimacy of UN decisions and activities;
- 14) the role of the media, communications, information and intelligence in determining political and strategic priorities and decisions of states and the UN;
- 15) UN intervention as a form of neo-imperialism and imposition of 'Western' values and 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

PART I THE UN SYSTEM AND MANDATE: IN LARGER FREEDOM

- Week 1 3 March Introduction, Origins and Purpose of the United Nations
- Week 2 10 March UN Charter and Mandate: Structure and Functions of the Organisation
- Week 3 17 March Evolution and Reform: Development, Security and Freedom For All
with Professor John Langmore, University of Melbourne & UNAA President
- Week 4 24 March Freedom from Fear: A Vision of Collective Security
- Week 5 31 March Freedom from Want: Development and Sustainability
- Week 6 7 April Freedom to Live In Dignity: Human Rights and the Rule of Law

EASTER MID-SEMESTER BREAK (NO CLASS 14 APRIL)

PART II LEARNING FROM EXPERIENCE: CASE STUDIES

ASSIGNMENT DUE IN CLASS WEEK 7 (21 APRIL)

- Week 7 21 April The UN and Responsibility to Protect: From Rwanda to Darfur
with Dr Wendy Lambourne and Eyal Mayroz, CPACS
- Week 8 28 April The UN, Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction
with Rod Barton, former senior UN weapons inspector in Iraq
- Week 9 5 May The Challenges of Peacekeeping: Bosnia and Burundi
with David Penklis, former Senior Executive, UN Peacekeeping Operations
- Week 10 12 May Western Sahara: Decolonisation and Self-Determination
with Kamal Fadel, Polisario representative in Australia
- Week 11 19 May Civil-Military Relations and Conflict Management (*tbc*)
with Michael Smith AO, Asia-Pacific Civil-Military Centre of Excellence
- Week 12 26 May Peacebuilding in Theory and Practice

PART III THE WAY FORWARD

- Week 13 2 June Prognosis and Priorities for the UN and International Conflict Resolution

FINAL ESSAY DUE FRIDAY 12 JUNE

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COMPLETION¶

ASSESSMENT

A. Reading and Class Participation (15%)

Ongoing reading and preparation is essential in order to facilitate weekly class participation. Participation in class discussions and evidence of preparation will comprise 15% of the assessment for the course. This includes preparation and participation in the group exercises in Weeks 4-6 for which students will be asked to read a specified reading and contribute to small group discussions and large group reporting on these discussions.

Students are required to read UN primary documents provided in class and to consult the UN website regularly and often 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).

Students are expected to read widely and to make use of the resources in Fisher Library and CPACS Resource Centre, both for class preparation and completion of assignments. A list of recommended key texts 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 (30%) 2000 words DUE 21 APRIL

The purpose of this assignment is to enhance students' ability to analyse the issues faced by the UN in fulfilling its mandate to maintain international peace and security, promote economic and social progress, protect human rights and develop respect for international law.

The assignment consists of an analytical commentary focusing on one conflict or activity in which the UN is currently involved. The commentary should cover the following four points:

- 1. what the UN is trying to achieve in this case;**
- 2. the strengths and weaknesses of the UN's performance in relation to this activity or conflict;**
- 3. challenges or threats the UN may be facing in fulfilling its mandate in relation to this particular activity or conflict; and**
- 4. opportunities the UN may have to more effectively promote peace with justice in this activity or conflict.**

Examples of topics could include one of the activities or specialised agencies associated with the three freedoms covered in Weeks 4-6, or to any conflicts in which the UN is currently involved. You may choose to base the written commentary on one of the topics you prepared for group discussion in Weeks 4-6, but you are not required to do so.

Initial information about the topic chosen for analysis could be gathered from the news media, primary documents provided in class and the recommended readings. However, wider reading and research is also required, including both primary sources (UN documents) and secondary

sources (such as books and journal articles). Full referencing and a bibliography must be provided.

Criteria for assessment:

- evidence of ability to recognise and analyse the issues facing the UN as it attempts to fulfil its mandate to maintain international peace and security
- inclusion of comments and analysis responding to all four parts of the assignment as outlined above: what the UN is trying to achieve; strengths and weaknesses; challenges/threats; and opportunities
- 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 (55%)

3500 words

DUE FRIDAY 12 JUNE

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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 international conflict resolution referring to at least one of the key issues identified on page 2 of the course outline.

OR

2. A critical exploration of one of the key issues identified on page 2 of the course outline in relation to the work of the UN in international conflict resolution 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, protection of human rights or development of respect for international law.

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. However, the main focus of the essay must be different from the topic chosen 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 the Lecturer by Week 9 (5 May) by submitting a brief 200 word overview either by email or hardcopy in class. Please make sure you obtain written confirmation that your topic has been approved. You can submit your topic for approval any time during the semester but by Tuesday 5 May 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 some of these documents will be provided in class or will be included in the course reader. Students will need to obtain copies for themselves of the other documents by downloading them from the UN website. You may also be able to obtain copies of UN documents from the United Nations Information Centre located in Canberra: see www.un.org.au.

<p>Annan, K. A. (2005) <i>In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All</i>. New York: United Nations. [copy provided]</p>
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<p>Boutros-Ghali, B. (1992) <i>An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping</i>. New York: United Nations. [in course reader]</p>

<p>United Nations (1945) <i>Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice</i>. New York: United Nations. [copy provided]</p>
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<p>United Nations (2008) <i>The United Nations Today</i>. New York: United Nations. Available at http://www.un.org/aboutun/untoday/</p>
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<p>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 http://www.un.org/secureworld/</p>
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<p>United Nations (2005), "Resolution adopted by the General Assembly: 60/1. 2005 World Summit Outcome", A/RES/60/1, 24 October 2005. [in course reader] Available at http://www.un.org/reform/</p>

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 Academy <http://www.ipacademy.org>
- United Nations <http://www.un.org>
- United States Institute of Peace <http://www.usip.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.

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. (2004) <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 Nations</i> . New York: Random House.
Krasno, J. E. (ed.) (2004) <i>The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
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 21st 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 Publishers.
Sutterlin, J. S. (2003) <i>The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security</i> , 2 nd 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. G., Forsythe, D. P. & Coate, R. A. (2001) <i>The United Nations and Changing World Politics</i> , 3 rd 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.

OUTLINE OF SESSIONS

Week 1 3 March Introduction, Origins and Purpose of the United Nations

In the first class we will start with an overview of the course including aims and outcomes, structure of the course, resources and assessment. The main focus of the class will be a discussion of the history and origins of the United Nations and an overview of the structure and purposes of the organisation. We will examine the ideal of collective security behind the establishment of the UN, and the theory of functionalism underpinning the separation of economic and social issues from peace and security. This discussion will be enhanced by including a brief overview of the League of Nations and the ways in which the UN tried to learn from the experiences of its predecessor.

Required readings:

Krasno, J. E. (2004) "Founding the United Nations: An Evolutionary Process" in Krasno, J. E. (ed.) <i>The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 19-45.
Weiss, T. G., Forsythe, D. P. & Coate, R. A. (2001) "The Theory of UN Collective Security"

in <i>The United Nations and Changing World Politics</i> , 3 rd edn. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, pp. 21-46.

Additional readings:

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.

**Week 2 10 March UN Charter and Mandate:
Structure and Functions of the Organisation**

In this session we will take a detailed look at the UN Charter. 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 will explore the structures and organisation 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). As part of this discussion we will 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 UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, in his report *In Larger Freedom*.

Required readings:

Annan, K. A. (2005) <i>In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All</i> . New York: United Nations.
United Nations (1945) <i>Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice</i> . New York: United Nations.
United Nations (2008) <i>The United Nations Today</i> . New York: United Nations.

Recommended readings:

Gareis, S. B. & Varwick, J. (2005) "The United Nations System" & "The Collective Security System of the UN Charter" in <i>The United Nations: An Introduction</i> . London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-40 & 80-88.
Smith, E. M. (2003) "Collective security, peacekeeping, and ad hoc multilateralism" in Ku, C. & Jacobson, H. K. (eds) <i>Democratic Accountability and the Use of Force in International Law</i> . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 81-103.
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, pp. ix-xx.

Additional readings:

Krasno, J. E. (ed.) (2004) <i>The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global</i>
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<i>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 21st 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.

Week 3 17 March Evolution and Reform: Development, Security and Freedom For All
*with Professor John Langmore, University of Melbourne and
 National President, United Nations Association of Australia*

In this session we will examine the evolution, improvements and reform proposals relating to the structure, functioning and effectiveness of the UN, its administration and operations. Discussion will focus on the reforms proposed by Kofi Annan in his report *In Larger Freedom* and the outcomes of the 2005 World Summit that sought to implement these reforms, as well as the various reforms proposed in the articles provided in the course reader and those which have subsequently been proposed. The legal and political challenges to implementing these reforms will be considered, including the powers of the Permanent Five (P5), and especially the US, to veto reforms of the UN Security Council.

Required readings:

Annan, K. A. (2005) <i>In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All</i> . New York: United Nations.
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/reform/

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.
Gareis, S. B. & Warwick, J. (2005) "Reforms for the Twenty-First Century" in <i>The United Nations: An Introduction</i> . London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 213-233.
Thakur, R. (2006) "Reforming 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. 291-319.
Clements, K. P. (2007) "Introduction: Reform of the United Nations" & Falk, R. (2007) "Illusions of Reform: Needs, Desires, and Realities", <i>Peace and Policy</i> , Vol. 12, pp. 5-15 & 16-24.

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 21st 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.

Langmore, J. (2005) <i>Dealing with America: the UN, the US and Australia</i> . Sydney: UNSW Press.
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.
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 http://www.un.org/secureworld/
United Nations (2000) <i>Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations</i> . The Brahimi Report, A/55/395; S/2000/809. New York: United Nations.

Week 4 24 March Freedom from Fear: A Vision of Collective Security

Following the agenda set by Kofi Annan in his chapter on "Freedom from Fear" in the report *In Larger Freedom*, we will focus on discussion and evaluation of the achievements of the UN in relation to combating terrorism, disarmament and arms control, and in controlling and averting war through mediation (prevention and peacemaking), peacekeeping, peacebuilding and enforcement (including use of sanctions).

Required readings:

Annan, K. A. (2005) <i>In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All</i> . New York: United Nations.
Boutros-Ghali, B. (1992) <i>An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping</i> . New York: United Nations.

Recommended readings:

Sriram, C. L. & Wermester, K. (2002) "Preventive Action at the United Nations: From Promise to Practice?" in Hampson, F. O. & Malone, D. M. (eds) <i>From Reaction to Conflict Prevention</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 381-398.
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. (2004) "Peace Enforcement" in <i>Understanding Peacekeeping</i> . Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, pp. 146-164.
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.
Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. & Griffin, S. (2004) "Transitional Administrations" in <i>Understanding Peacekeeping</i> . Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, pp. 230-249.

Additional readings:

Boothby, D. (2004) "Disarmament: Successes and Failures" in Krasno, J. E. (ed.) <i>The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp.193-223.
Peck, C. (1998) <i>Sustainable Peace: The Role of the UN and Regional Organizations in Preventing Conflict</i> . Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
Evans, G. (1993) <i>Cooperating for Peace: The Global Agenda for the 1990s and Beyond</i> . Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
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.
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.
Luck, E. C. (2004) “Tackling Terrorism” in Malone, D. M. (ed.) <i>The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp.85-100.
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.html
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 http://www.un.org/secureworld/

Week 5 31 March Freedom from Want: Development and Sustainability

Following the agenda set by Kofi Annan in his chapter on “Freedom from Want” in the report *In Larger Freedom*, we will focus on discussion and evaluation of the achievements of the UN in relation to the Millenium Development Goals relating to poverty and development, education, gender equality, child and maternal health, HIV/AIDS and disease control, and environmental sustainability. Attention will also be paid to the issues of aid, trade and debt and the roles of the IMF, World Bank and WTO, and to the UN’s humanitarian disaster relief and coordination functions.

Required reading:

Annan, K. A. (2005) <i>In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All</i> . New York: United Nations.
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Recommended readings:

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.

Additional readings:

United Nations (2008) <i>The Millennium Development Goals Report</i> . New York: United Nations. [available in CPACS Resource Centre]
United Nations (1997) <i>Agenda for Development</i> . New York: United Nations.
Weiss, T. G., Forsythe, D. P. & Coate, R. A. (2001) “Development and the United Nations” in <i>The United Nations and Changing World Politics</i> , 3 rd edn. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, pp. 227-253.
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.

Week 6 7 April Freedom to Live In Dignity: Human Rights and the Rule of Law

Following the agenda set by Kofi Annan in his chapter on “Freedom to Live in Dignity” in the report *In Larger Freedom*, we will focus on discussion and evaluation of the achievements of the UN in relation to protection of human rights, promotion of democracy and respect for the rule of law including the responsibility to protect, the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court.

Required readings:

Annan, K. A. (2005) <i>In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All</i> . New York: United Nations.
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Recommended readings:

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.
Norchi, C. (2004) “Human Rights: A Global Common Interest”, in Krasno, J. E. (ed.) <i>The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp.79-114.
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.
Fox, G. H. (2004) “Democratization” in Malone, D. M. (ed.) <i>The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp.69-84.
International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, <i>The Responsibility to Protect</i> . Ottawa, Canada: ICISS, pp. xi-xiii & 11-18.

Additional readings:

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (2001) <i>The Responsibility to Protect</i> . Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Centre. Available at http://www.iciss.ca/report-en.asp
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 21st 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.
Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1996) <i>Agenda for Democratization</i> . New York: United Nations
United Nations (1948) <i>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</i> . New York: United Nations

Week 7 21 April The UN and the Responsibility to Protect: From Rwanda to Darfur
with Dr Wendy Lambourne & Eyal Mayroz, CPACS

The United Nations is infamous for its failure to prevent the genocide that killed 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu in Rwanda in April-July 1994. In this session we will assess the UN’s role in Rwanda from peacemaking to peacekeeping to lack of peace enforcement. We will examine the ethical, political, legal and logistical dilemmas faced by the UN in responding to genocide in

both Rwanda and subsequently in Darfur, with a particular focus on the promise of the responsibility to protect doctrine, and ask what progress has been made since Rwanda.

Guest lecturer, Eyal Mayroz is pursuing doctoral studies at CPACS. Eyal's research topic is concerned with the media's role in affecting US foreign policy in relation to genocide prevention and the responsibility to protect focusing on Darfur.

Required reading:

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (2001) *The Responsibility to Protect*. Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Centre. Available at <http://www.iciss.ca/report-en.asp> [see also Week 6 course reader]

Recommended readings:

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. 157-178.

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.

International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur (2005) Report to the United Nations Secretary-General. New York: United Nations, pp. 1-6.

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, pp. 4-16.

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.

Evans, G. (2004) *No More Rwandas or Darfurs: The International Responsibility to Protect*, CPACS Occasional Paper No. 04/1, Sydney: Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney.

De Waal, A. (ed.) (2007) *War in Darfur and the Search for Peace*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Global Equity Initiative, Harvard University/Justice Africa.

Week 8 28 April The UN, Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction
with Rod Barton, former senior UN weapons inspector in Iraq

Special guest Rod Barton will lead a session on UN weapons inspections 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.

Recommended readings:

Barton, R. (2006) "The Most Dangerous Place on Earth" in <i>The Weapons Detective: The Inside Story of Australia's Top Weapons Inspector</i> . Melbourne: Schwartz Publishing, pp. 61-73.
Da Silva, P. T. (2004) "Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Iraqi Case" in Malone, D. M. (ed.) <i>The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp.205-218.
Thakur, R. (2006) "Iraq's challenge to world order" in <i>The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to Responsibility to Protect</i> . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 222-321.

Additional readings:

Cortright, D. & Lopez, G. A. (2002) "The Iraq Quagmire" in <i>Sanctions and the Search for Security: Challenges to UN Action</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 21-46.
Roberts, A. (2004) "The Use of Force" in Malone, D. M. (ed.) <i>The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 133-152.
Tardy, T. (2004) "The United Nations and Iraq: A Role Beyond Expectations", <i>International Peacekeeping</i> , Vol.11, No.4, pp.591-607.

Week 9 5 May The Challenges of Peacekeeping: Bosnia and Burundi

with David Penklis, former Senior Executive, UN Peacekeeping Operations

Based on his experience working in senior management positions in peacekeeping in the United Nations, including field operations in both Bosnia and Burundi, CPACS PhD candidate David Penklis will lead a class discussion on the challenges of designing and deploying successful peacekeeping missions. He will consider the political and logistical dilemmas which cause delays and reduce the effectiveness of UN interventions, and propose a new structure for the organisation of UN peace operations.

Recommended readings:

to be advised

Additional readings:

Howard, L. M. (2008) <i>UN Peacekeeping in Civil Wars</i> . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Berdal, M. & Economides, S. (eds) (2007) <i>United Nations Interventionism, 1991-2004</i> . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Durch, W. J. (ed.) (2006) <i>Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations</i> . Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace & Henry L. Stimson Center.
O'Neill, J. T. & Rees, N. (2005) <i>United Nations Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era</i> . London/New York: Routledge.

Clements, K. & Ward, R. (eds) (1994) *Building International Community: Cooperating for Peace Case Studies*. Canberra, ACT: Peace Research Centre, Australian National University.

Week 10 12 May Western Sahara: Decolonisation and Self-Determination
with Kamal Fadel, Polisario representative in Australia

In this session we will examine one of the UN's less publicised but most significant failures: the decolonisation of Western Sahara. Both East Timor and Western Sahara were abandoned by their former colonial occupiers and occupied by neighbouring countries, but while East Timor has gained its independence, Western Sahara is still on the UN's list of non-self-governing territories waiting for the right to self-determination. Discussion will focus on the lack of enforceability of UN resolutions relating to the peace agreement and 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.

Recommended readings:

Fadel, K. (1999) "The Decolonisation Process in Western Sahara", *Indigenous Law Bulletin*, 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 *Western Sahara: the Roots of a Desert War*, Westport, Connecticut: Lawrence Hill & Company, pp. 104-108 & 368-372.
Theofilopoulou, A. (2006) *The United Nations and Western Sahara: A Never-Ending Affair*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

Additional readings:

Shelley, T. (2004) *Endgame in the Western Sahara: What Future for Africa's Last Colony?* London: Zed Books. [available in CPACS Resource Centre]

Week 11 19 May Civil-Military Relations and Conflict Management (tbc)
with Michael G. Smith AO, Executive Director,
Asia-Pacific Civil-Military Centre of Excellence

Recommended readings:

Flint, E. (2001) "Civil Affairs: Soldiers Building Bridges" in D. S. Gordon & F. H. Toase (eds) *Aspects of Peacekeeping*. London: Frank Cass, pp. 231-252.

Further readings to be advised.

Week 12 26 May Peacebuilding Challenges in Theory and Practice
with Dr Wendy Lambourne

We will explore the capacity and priorities of the UN in its peacebuilding role, from economic assistance to democratisation, transitional administration, maintenance of law and order, and promotion of accountability for the perpetrators of human rights abuses. We will look specifically at the achievements and challenges of the UN missions in East Timor (including

UNTAET and UNMISSET) and Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) in the four peacebuilding sectors of security and public order, justice and reconciliation, governance and participation, and economic recovery and reconstruction, with particular reference to the role of the new UN Peacebuilding Commission and the importance of civil society participation.

Recommended readings:

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.
Goldstone, A. (2004) "UNTAET with Hindsight: The Peculiarities of Politics in an Incomplete State", <i>Global Governance</i> , 10, 2004, pp. 83-98.
United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (2006) <i>Report of the United Nations Independent Special Commission of Inquiry for Timor-Leste</i> , Geneva: OHCHR, 2 October 2006, pp. 2-7.
Olonisakin, F. (2008) "UNAMSIL: The Model Mission?" in <i>Peacekeeping in Sierra Leone: The Story of UNAMSIL</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp. 111-140.

Additional readings:

Berdal, M. & Economides, S. (eds) (2007) <i>United Nations Interventionism, 1991-2004</i> . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. [chapters on East Timor and Sierra Leone]
Candio, P. & Bleiker, R. (2001) "Peacebuilding in East Timor", <i>The Pacific Review</i> , 14:1, pp. 63-84.
Durch, W. J. (ed.) (2006) <i>Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations</i> . Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace/Henry L. Stimson Center. [chapters on East Timor and Sierra Leone]
Eldon, S. (2004) "East Timor" in Malone, D. M. (ed.) <i>The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp.551-566.
Hasegawa, S. (2006) "The Role of the United Nations in Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding in Timor-Leste" in Dolgopol, U. & Gardam, J. (eds) <i>The Challenge of Conflict: International Law Responds</i> . Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, pp. 165-191.
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.
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 21st Century</i> . London/Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass, pp. 75-90.
Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. & Griffin, S. (2004) "Transitional Administrations" in <i>Understanding Peacekeeping</i> . Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, pp. 230-249. [see Week 4 in course reader]
United Nations (1996) <i>An Inventory of Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Activities</i> . New York: United Nations. [available in CPACS Resource Centre]

**Week 13 2 June Prognosis and Priorities for the UN
and International Conflict Resolution**

In this session we will reflect on the various issues, challenges and opportunities faced by the UN 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. Concepts of human security, political will and sovereignty will be key to this discussion, as will consideration of the participation of regional organisations. We will revisit the examination of reform proposals and the potential for their effective implementation, and will consider what would be needed to enable the UN to successfully respond to the peace and security challenges and global realities and needs 60 years after the UN Charter was drafted.

Recommended readings:

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.
Gareis, S. B. & Warwick, 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, pp. 4-5 & 9-19.

Additional readings:

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.
Weiss, T. G., Forsythe, D. P. & Coate, R. A. (2001) “Sustainable Development and Human Security” in <i>The United Nations and Changing World Politics</i> , 3 rd edn. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, pp. 254-307.
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 Publishers, pp. 277-293.
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.
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 21st Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp.357-371.
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 21st Century</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, pp.295-309.