

PACS 6901
THE UNITED NATIONS AND
INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Coordinator, Lecturer and Tutor

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Major General Tim Ford (Rtd), UN advisor on peace operations

Mr Kamal Fadel, Polisario representative in Australia

Class Dates, Times and Locations

Lectures: Friday 4, Friday-Saturday 11-12, Friday 18 and Friday 25 March
10:00 am – 5:00 pm
H R Carne Lecture Theatre (Fridays)
Education Seminar Room 424 (Saturday 12 March)

Tutorials: Tuesdays 8, 15, 22 and 29 March
10:00 am – 12 noon *or* 3:00 – 5:00 pm *or* 6:00 – 8:00 pm
Mackie Seminar Room 107

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 (negative peace) to the promotion of ‘peace with justice’ (positive peace).

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.

LECTURE & TUTORIAL PROGRAM

Lecture Day 1, Friday 4 March – Introduction to the UN

- 10:00-11:00 Session 1: Welcome and Introductions
11:00-12:30 Session 2: Course Themes, Overview and Assessment
12:30-1:30 Lunch
1:30-3:00 Session 3: Introduction to the UN and Collective Security
3:00-3:30 Break
3:30-5:00 Session 4: Peaceful Settlement of Disputes and Human Security

Tutorial 1, Tuesday 8 March

Lecture Day 2, Friday 11 March – In Larger Freedom

- 10:00-12:00 Session 1: Theories, Actors and Norms
12:00-1:00 Lunch
1:00-2:30 Session 2: UN and Terrorism
2:30-3:00 Break
3:00-5:00 Session 3: International Economic and Social Governance

Lecture Day 3, Saturday 12 March – Freedom from Fear: UN and Peace Interventions

- 10:00-12:00 Session 1: Peacekeeping
12:00-1:00 Lunch
1:00-3:00 Session 2: Rwanda: Failure to Prevent Genocide
3:00-3:30 Break
3:30-4:30 Session 3: UN Emergency Peace Service Proposal
4:30-5:00 Session 4: Model UN Preparation

Tutorial 2, Tuesday 15 March

Lecture Day 4, Friday 18 March – Freedom from Fear: Case Studies

- 10:00-11:30 Session 1: The UN in Somalia: Disarmament Issues in the 1990s
11:30-12:30 Session 2: Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction – Part 1
12:30-1:30 Lunch
1:30-2:30 Session 3: Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction – Part 2
2:30-3:00 Break
3:00-5:00 Session 4: Western Sahara: Decolonisation and Self-Determination

Tutorial 3, Tuesday 22 March

Lecture Day 5: Friday 25 March – Model UN and Reform

- 10:00-12:30 Session 1: Model UN Exercise
12:30-1:30 Lunch
1:30-2:30 Session 2: Model UN Review and Discussion
2:30-3:00 Break
3:00-5:00 Session 3: UN Reform: Progress and Prospects

Tutorial 4, Tuesday 29 March – presentation of essay topics

ASSESSMENT

A. Class Participation (5%)

Ongoing reading and preparation for classes is essential in order to facilitate learning and participation. Attendance and participation in tutorial discussions, including evidence of intelligent reflection and preparation, will comprise 5% of the assessment for the course.

Required readings are listed for each session in this course outline, and are available for purchase in a course reader. Additional recommended readings for each learning module and session will be listed on the Blackboard (Learn) site for the unit. Many of the additional readings 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.

Students are also required to read UN primary documents provided in class and via Blackboard (Learn), 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.

There have been many books published on the UN, explaining its structure and operations, assessing its performance and discussing needed reforms. Some of the key texts are listed in this course outline. Most are available for consultation in Fisher Library or the CPACS Resource Centre, or you may wish to purchase a text in addition to the course reader.

B. Model UN Exercise (15%)

Evidence of preparation and participation in the Model UN exercise on Day 5, Friday 25 March, including submission of prepared country position statement, will comprise 15% of the assessment for the course.

The Model UN exercise 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 jointly prepare and present that country's arguments and proposals in a three minute position statement. 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 for Day 5.

Criteria for assessment:

- evidence of understanding of the UNEPS proposal and recognition of its implications
- evidence of research and understanding of the country's likely position on UNEPS
- clarity and coherence of presentation
- intelligent expression of arguments and proposals in position statement
- timekeeping (presentations exceeding the time limit will be penalised).

C. Analytical Commentary (20%) 1000 words

DUE TUESDAY 12 APRIL

A 1000 word analytical commentary reflecting on the Model UN class exercise is due on Friday 12 April. 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 scholarly publications. 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.

NOTE: This assignment is not an evaluation of the UNEPS proposal itself nor does it involve discussing how the proposal for a UNEPS could be implemented or improved.

Criteria for assessment:

- evidence of ability to recognise and analyse the challenges and opportunities facing UN member states in bringing about a UN Emergency Peace Service, applying themes and theories discussed during the course and in the readings
- 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 will be penalised).

D. Final Essay (60%)

3500 words

DUE TUESDAY 10 MAY

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

1. A critical examination of a case study where the UN has played a significant role, referring to at least one of the key issues identified on page 3 of the course outline. The case study may relate to any area of UN activities including the maintenance of international peace and security, promotion of economic and social progress or protection of human rights.

OR

2. A critical exploration of one of the key issues identified on page 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 critical analysis of a key UN activity, referring to at least one of the key issues identified on page 3 of the course outline. This activity may be chosen from any area of UN activities relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, promotion of economic and social progress or protection of human rights.

OR

4. A specific topic or question that meets the assessment criteria and relates to any area of UN activity.

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 Model UN and 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 Dr Wendy Lambourne by Monday 28 March by submitting via email a brief 200 word overview. The overview should indicate which one of the above four topics you have selected and the key issues, case study or UN activity you will cover. 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 Monday 28 March at the latest as you will be required to briefly explain your topic to the class in the final tutorial on Tuesday 29 March.

Criteria for assessment:

- evidence of research and understanding of 1) the nature and context of the UN's involvement in the particular case study or activity chosen for analysis, and 2) key issues affecting UN performance and effectiveness
- 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 will be penalised)

Further details regarding referencing styles, presentation and submission of assignments, marking, late work and plagiarism 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 four sections of the assessment (participation, Model UN, analytical commentary and final essay) for successful completion of the course. Failure to attend at least 80% of lectures and tutorials without reasonable cause is grounds for failure.

RESOURCES

UN PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

Copies of some of these key UN documents will be provided on Blackboard (Learn) or in class. Students will also need to obtain copies for themselves of some of these key documents as well as other UN 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.

United Nations (1945) <i>Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice</i> . New York: United Nations. [copy provided]
Annan, K. A. (2000) <i>'We the Peoples': The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century</i> . New York: United Nations.
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.
Boutros-Ghali, B. (1996) <i>Agenda for Democratization</i> . New York: United Nations.
Boutros-Ghali, B. (1997) <i>Agenda for Development</i> . New York: United Nations.
United Nations (1948) <i>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</i> . New York: United Nations.
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.
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 (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/
United Nations (2008) <i>The United Nations Today</i> . New York: United Nations. Available at http://www.un.org/aboutun/untoday/

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 Nations Information Centre (Canberra) <http://www.un.org.au>

- United States Institute of Peace <http://www.usip.org>
- For regular reports on the activities of the Security Council: www.securitycouncilreport.org
- For information on the policies of Member States www.un.org/memberstatesontherecord
- The Human Security Report Project issues daily reports to those who subscribe (free) to 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. 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 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.
Luck, E. C. (2006) <i>UN Security Council: Practice and Promise</i> . 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.
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) *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to Responsibility to Protect*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Weiss, T. (2009) *What's Wrong with the UN and How to Fix It*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Weiss, T. G. & Daw, S. (eds.) (2007) *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*. Oxford/New York: OUP.

Weiss, T. G., Forsythe, D. P. & Coate, R. A. (2010) *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, 6th edn. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Weiss, T. G. & Thakur, R. (2010) *Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

White, N. D. (2002) *The United Nations System: Toward International Justice*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner.

OUTLINE OF SESSIONS

Lecture Day 1: Friday 4 March – Introduction to the UN

Dr Wendy Lambourne

Session 1: Welcome and Introductions

Session 2: Course Themes, Overview and Assessment

Session 3: Introduction to the UN and Collective Security

In this session we will focus on discussion of the origins, structure and goals of the United Nations. We will examine the ideal of collective security behind the establishment of the UN, and the ways in which the founders of the UN applied lessons learnt from the experiences of its predecessor, the League of Nations, in the drafting of the UN Charter. We will take a detailed look at the Charter as a means to understanding the principles and purposes of the UN and the functions of the six primary organs, and begin to identify the potential and limitations of the Charter as a means of fulfilling the primary purpose of the UN to maintain international peace and security.

<i>Required readings</i>
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.
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.
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.
Weiss, T. G., Forsythe, D. P. & Coate, R. A. (2010) “The Theory of UN Collective Security” in <i>The United Nations and Changing World Politics</i> , 6 th edn. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, pp. 3-27.
<i>UN documents</i>
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. Available at http://www.un.org/aboutun/untoday/

Session 4: Peaceful Settlement of Disputes and Human Security

In this 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*. Links will be explored between the three primary purposes of the UN in terms of the three freedoms and concepts of negative and positive peace, peace with justice and human security.

The session will also involve a focus on a discussion of Chapter VI mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of disputes and how these relate to options for the use of force as outlined in Chapter

VII of the Charter. The establishment of the International Court of Justice as the successor to the League's Permanent Court of International Justice continued the vision that states might resolve their disputes peacefully according to the rule of law. At the same time, the drafters of the UN Charter ensured that more robust provisions were included in order to control the use of force in response to a threat or breach of international peace and security.

<i>Required readings</i>
Hampson, F. O. & Penny, C. K. (2007) "Human Security" in Weiss, T.G. and Daw, S. (eds.) <i>The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations</i> . Oxford/New York: OUP, pp. 539-560.
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.
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.
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.
<i>UN documents</i>
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.
United Nations (1945) <i>Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice</i> . New York: United Nations.

Lecture Day 2: Friday 11 March – In Larger Freedom

Session 1: Theories, Actors and Norms

Professor John Langmore

In this session we will discuss issues of globalisation, 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 Model UN 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.

<i>Required readings</i>
Foot, R, Macfarlane, N & Mastanduno, M. (eds.) (2003) "Introduction" in <i>US Hegemony and International Organizations</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 1-22.
Gordenker, L. (2010) "Conclusion" in <i>The UN Secretary-General and Secretariat</i> . New York: Routledge, pp. 96-108.

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.

Peterson, M. J. (2007) “General Assembly” in Weiss, T.G. and Daw, S. (eds.) <i>The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations</i> . Oxford/New York: OUP, pp. 97-116.
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UN documents

Annan, K. A. (2000) <i>We the Peoples’: The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century</i> . New York: United Nations.

Session 2: UN and Terrorism

Dr Ken Macnab

In this session we will discuss the UN’s response to terrorism. Guest lecturer, Dr Ken Macnab, 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.) <i>The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations</i> . Oxford/New York: OUP, pp. 427-436.
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UN documents

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 .

Session 3: International Economic and Social Governance

Professor John Langmore

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

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.
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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.
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Kennedy, P. (2006) “The Softer Face of the UN’s Mission” in <i>Parliament of Man: the Past</i>
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<i>Present and Future of the United Nations</i> . New York: Random House, pp. 143-176.
UN documents
Annan, K. A. (2005) <i>In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All</i> . New York: United Nations.
Boutros-Ghali, B. (1997) <i>Agenda for Development</i> . New York: United Nations.
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]

Lecture Day 3: Saturday 12 March – Freedom from Fear: UN and Peace Interventions

Session 1: Peacekeeping

Major General Tim Ford (Rtd)

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
Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. & Griffin, S. (2010) "Peace Operations in the Twenty-First Century" in <i>Understanding Peacekeeping</i> . Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, pp. 121-152.
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.
UN documents
Boutros-Ghali, B. (1992) <i>An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping</i> . New York: United Nations.
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. Executive summary.

Session 2: Rwanda: Failure to Prevent Genocide

Dr Wendy Lambourne

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. 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

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.

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.

Session 3: UN Emergency Peace Service Proposal

Ms Annie Herro, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

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 and ethnic cleansing). In this session 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: available on Blackboard (Learn)

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.

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.

Session 4: Model UN Preparation

In this session the Model UN assessment will be explained and students will be allocated their country to research and represent during the Model UN exercise on Day 5. For further details, see the session descriptions on Day 5.

Required reading

Smith, C. B. (2006) "Groups and Blocs" in *Politics and Process at the United Nations: The Global Dance*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 53-74.

Lecture Day 4: Friday 18 March – Freedom from Fear: Case Studies**Session 1: The UN in Somalia: Disarmament Issues in the 1990s**

Rod Barton, former UN Head of Disarmament and Demobilisation, Somalia 1993-4

In January 1991, the Somali government of Siad Barre was overthrown in a vicious civil war. The war led to an internal power struggle and violence between a plethora of political groups throughout the country and by the year's end, disease and starvation had killed an estimated

300,000 Somalis with another 1.5 million at risk. Following a series of Security Council resolutions and interventions by the UN in 1992, a comprehensive aid and security mission, the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) was established in March 1993. Part of UNOSOM's mandate was the disarmament of the various militia groups associated with the rival political parties. In this seminar, Rod Barton outlines UNOSOM's disarmament efforts and draws some general principles that are relevant to similar future disarmament efforts.

Rod Barton worked for the UN in Somalia in 1993-4, initially in the Political Division and later as Head of a new division, "Disarmament and Demobilisation". He is a former Director of Intelligence in the Australian Department of Defence and a former weapons inspector in Iraq. He is the author of *The Weapons Detective: The Inside Story of Australia's Top Weapons Inspector*.

<i>Required readings</i>
Barton, R. (2006) "African Interlude" in <i>The Weapons Detective: The Inside Story of Australia's Top Weapons Inspector</i> . Melbourne: Schwartz Publishing, pp. 94-116.
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 Publishers, pp. 193-223.

Session 2: Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction – Part 1

Session 3: Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction – Part 2

Rod Barton, former Senior UN Weapons Inspector in Iraq

Special guest, Rod Barton, will lead a two-part session drawing on his experiences as a 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.

<i>Required reading</i>
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.
Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. & Griffin, S. (2010) "Peace Enforcement" in <i>Understanding Peacekeeping</i> . Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, pp. 214-229.
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.
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.
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. 222-243.

Session 4: Western Sahara: Decolonisation and Self-Determination

Kamal Fadel, Polisario representative in Australia

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 least 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 lecturer, Kamal Fadel, will focus on the lack of enforceability of UN resolutions relating to the peace agreement. Kamal will 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. We will 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", *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.

Lecture Day 5: Friday 25 March – Model UN and Reform**Session 1: Model UN Exercise**

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 drafted by key UNEPS architects under the direction of Professor Saul Mendlovitz from Rutgers Law School. This will be accessible on Blackboard (Learn). 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.

Session 2: Model UN Review and Discussion

After the Model UN exercise, students will come together to discuss the lessons learnt in drafting a resolution and attempt to enact much-needed reforms.

<i>Required readings</i>
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.
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.

Session 3: UN Reform: Progress and Prospects

In this session 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.

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.

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
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.
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.
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.
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.
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.
UN documents
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/ .
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/