

## **THE UNITED NATIONS: CHANGING ROLE AND EFFECTIVENESS**

### **Course Description:**

The course is about the UN and its changing role in global governance. Although the UN was originally meant to be mainly an instrument of international peace and security, human rights and human development have evolved as two other key areas of UN involvement.

As the course intends to be more reality-oriented, emphasis will be on the UN role in maintenance of international security; alternatives to the use of force offered by the UN; when and how to intervene in growing number of post-Cold War intrastate conflicts and the increasing tendency to collaborate with regional actors.

Through case studies, political and practical issues of the recent peacekeeping and other conflict control mechanisms will be studied with emphasis on the Middle East.

Human rights mechanism of the UN and humanitarian intervention, a challenge to cherished notion of state sovereignty will be discussed as well as the UN role in human and social development.

We will seek to discover how the member states seek to use UN for their own interests and will try to discern what the change in world politics could mean for the future of the UN.

The intention is to go beyond classical lecture style to a participatory class debate based on reading of books, articles and UN documents as well as awareness of relevant current events. The case studies will be led by students. There will be a "field study" tour of south Lebanon that will include briefings and visits to important locations.

### **COURSE SCHEDULE**

#### **Part I**

The following outline lists the key issues to be covered. You could use the outline to decide on your writing assignments essays, after consulting with the instructor:

1. The UN and collective security: history, the legal basis, types and constraints. What was the wish of the founders, what did we end up with.
2. UN Charter, structure, UN family of organizations. How did we end up with Chapter 6 ½? Is the Secretary-General the super president of the world?
3. The UN role during and in post-Cold War era. Couldn't the UN get involved in Vietnam conflict? Are we now redefining state sovereignty?
4. Conflict management: Instruments of conflict prevention through non-military means: economic [sanctions], diplomatic, peace enforcement, humanitarian action. Can UN enforce peace? Keep the peace? When to opt for multidimensional peacekeeping?
5. Humanitarian intervention and post-conflict peace building: Transition from war to peace, humanitarian relief, refugees, demobilization of combatants, police reform, organizing and conducting elections.
6. Collaboration with regional actors: delegation of authority by the Security Council to regional organizations. Is it an escape from responsibility or recognition of reality?
7. False renaissance and the Somali Syndrome: Can traditional peacekeeping be saved?

## **Part II**

8. The Charter on human rights and humanitarian affairs
9. The UN human rights mechanism, instruments
10. Humanitarian action, protection of refugees

## **Part III**

11. The UN role in human and social development
12. Sustainable development: a catch phrase or more?
13. Rule making and rule enforcement in economic development. Can there be a UN role when IMF rules?

## **Part IV**

14. Reforming the UN: A non-ending quest for the benefit of the world or for narrow interests of member states?
15. Why is it so difficult to amend the Charter?

### **Required reading**

Thomas Weiss et al THE UNITED NATIONS AND CHANGING WORLD POLITICS will be used as the major text book for the course. Having on hand copies of The UN CHARTER and the BASIC FACTS ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS is recommended.

There will a course pack on reserve in the Jafet Library of articles from various sources. A report on some of these assignments and leading a class discussion on it could count as one of the three short essays required during the term.

### **Additional reading**

William Shawcross DELIVER US FROM EVIL: PEACEKEEPERS, WARLORDS AND A WORLD OF ENDLESS CONFLICT

David Carment and Albrecht Schnabel CONFLICT PREVENTION: PATH TO PEACE OR GRAND ILLUSION

Marrack Goulding PEACEMONGER

Kelly-Kate Pease INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: PERSPECTIVES ON GOVERNANCE IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

United Nations THE BLUE HELMETS: A REVIEW OF UN PEACEKEEPING

Lawrence Ziring et al THE UNITED NATIONS

Newton R. Bowles, THE DIPLOMACY OF HOPE

James Sutterlin THE UN AND MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Students are strongly urged to familiarize themselves with the essential website [www.un.org](http://www.un.org).

The library of ESCWA at the UN House, downtown, and the handout materials at UN Information Center in the same building could be of immense use.

### **Required reading, in chronological order**

#### **Part I**

1. 30 Sept: Read after class: Weiss, pp.4,5, 12 to 17, 25-38  
Suggested reading: Yale University UN Oral History [Course Pack]  
-- "United Nations General Assembly 58<sup>th</sup> Session" [Course Pack]

2. -- Weiss, pp. 54-56, 59, 60, 128-134  
 -- David Caron, "The Legitimacy of the Collective Authority of the Security Council", American Journal of International Law [Course Pack]  
 -- Ian Hurd, "Legitimacy, Power and the Symbolic Life of the UN Security Council," Global Governance [Course Pack]  
 -- Secretary-General's remarks to the Security Council, 13 May 2003  
Suggested reading: Michael J. Glennon, "The Fog of Law: Self-defense, inherence and incoherence in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter," Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy [Course Pack]  
 -- William Shawcross, DELIVER US FROM EVIL, pp. 17-33
  
3. 14 Oct: Weiss, pp. 47-54, 56-59, 65-68, 74-76  
 -- Peter J. Fromuth, "The Making of a Security Community: The United Nations after the Cold War", Journal of International Affairs [Course Pack]  
 -- Kim R. Holmes, "New World Disorder: A critique of the United Nations," Journal of International Affairs [Course Pack]  
Suggested reading: Richard Garfield, "The Silent, Deadly Remedy: In the New World Order, Economic Sanctions May Leave No Dead Soldiers, Just Civilian Casualties," Forum for Applied Research and Public Policy [CP]
  
4. 21 Oct: Weiss, pp. 61-63, 78-80, 92-94, 103-106  
 -- Shawcross, pp. 65-84  
 -- Carolyn Reynolds et al, "Setting a New Agenda for the United Nations: Boutros Boutros-Ghali", Journal of International Affairs [Course Pack]  
 -- Steven Brayton, "Outsourcing War: Mercenaries and the Privatization of Peacekeeping," Journal of International Affairs [Course Pack]  
Suggested reading:  
 -- Davan Maharaj, "The US Has Stayed Out of Much of Africa's Strife," Los Angeles Times [Course Pack]
  
5. 28 Oct: Weiss, pp. 111-123  
 -- David Carment, "The Struggle for Peace," Harvard International Review  
 Bartram S. Brown, "Humanitarian Intervention as a Crossroads," William and Mary Law Review [Course Pack]  
 -- David Malone and Ramesh Takur, "UN Peacekeeping: Lessons Learned," Global Governance [Course Pack]  
 -- David Last, "From Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding," The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution [Course Pack]  
Suggested reading: Harriet Hentges, "Dividends of Peace: The Economics of Peacekeeping," Journal of International Affairs [Course Pack]  
 -- Mark Stover, "Cultivating Ripeness through UN Peacekeeping Operations," Journal of International Affairs [Course Pack]
  
6. 4 Nov: Weiss, pp. 38-45, 123-128  
 -- Andrew Harris, "Military collaboration with Humanitarian Organizations in Complex Emergencies," Global Governance [Course Pack]

- United Nations, "Cooperation Between the UN and Regional Organizations." [Course Pack]
  - Thi Hai Yen Nguyen, "Beyond good offices: The Role of Regional Organizations in Conflict Resolution," Journal of International Affairs. [CP]
  - Susan Rice, "Training Peacekeepers," Washington Post. [CP]
- Suggested reading: Julia Stewart, "Darkside of Peacekeeping," Independent. [Course Pack]

7. 11 Nov: Madeleine Albright, "Think Again: The United Nations," Foreign Policy. [Course Pack]
- Peter W. Singer, "Peacekeepers, Inc.," Policy Review. [CP]
  - James Lucier, "Why World Body May be Irrelevant," Insight. [CP]
- Suggested reading:
- Doug Brooks, "UN Peacekeeping: A Death Sentence," Toronto Star. [CP]
  - Joshua Sinai, "United Nations and non-United Nations Peacekeeping in the Arab- Israeli Sector: Five Scenarios," Middle East Journal [Course Pack]
  - Rosie DiManno, "Enough with Peacekeeping," Toronto Star [CP]
  - Susan D. Moeller, "Locating Accountability: The Media and Peacekeeping," Journal of International Affairs [Course Pack]

## **Part II**

8. 18 Nov: Weiss, pp. 146-163
- Colin Aikman, "The Evolution of International Human Rights," New Zealand International Review [Course Pack]
- Suggested reading
- Lloyd Axworthy, "Human Security and Global Governance: Putting People First," Global Governance [Course Pack]
  - United Nations, "Human Rights in Action" [Course Pack]
9. 25 Nov: Weiss, pp. 165-202
- Sonia Cardenas, "Emerging Global Actors: The UN and National Human Rights Institutions," Global Governance [Course Pack]
  - Anthony Arnold, "Trial by Fire: The International Criminal Court Pushes Ahead," Harvard International Review [Course Pack]
10. 2 December: Weiss, pp. 203-224
- "Using Any Means Necessary for Humanitarian Crisis Response," Stanley Foundation [Course Pack]
- Suggested reading:
- Anne-Marie Slaughter, "A Chance to Reshape the UN," Washington Post [Course Pack]
  - Neil MacFarlane, "Humanitarian Action: The Conflict Connection," Watson Institute, Brown University [Course Pack]

## **Part III**

11. 9 Dec: Weiss, pp. 227-252
12. 16 Dec: Weiss, pp. 289-306
- United Nations, "Guidance for National Sustainable Development Strategies"

[Course Pack

13. 23 Dec: Weiss, pp. 313-330

#### **Part IV**

14. 6 January 2004: Edward Luck, "Reforming the United Nations: Lessons from a History in Progress," pp. 1-19, 47-52 Yale University International Relations Studies [Course Pack]  
Joachim Muller, "Between Politics and Efficiency: UN Reform and Conflict of Interests," The Ecumenical Review [Course Pack]  
Suggested reading:  
-- Bruce Russett, "Ten Balances for Weighing UN Reform Proposals," Political Science Quarterly [Course Pack]
15. 13 January: "Independent Working Group on the Future of the United Nations," Ford Foundation [Course Pack]  
-- Shawcross, 362 -384  
Suggested reading:  
-- "UN's Relevance Depends on Acts, Not Speeches," Czech News Agency [Course Pack]  
-- Pat Orvis, "What Future for the United Nations?" The Center for War/Peace Studies [Course Pack]

#### **Requirements and grading**

In lieu of a final exam, students will prepare a paper of about 25-30 pages which will count for 40 percent of the final grade. Three short essays [2-3 pages] on subjects covered and their presentation in the class will count for 30 % of the final grade; and classroom participation/attendance for 20%.

#### **General comments**

- Attendance is mandatory. Any student who misses more than one fifth of the class sessions will be required to withdraw from the course.
- Papers are to be handed in on due dates. Late submission means reduction in grade.
- There is no need for plagiarism, which will not be tolerated.
- Students are expected to keep themselves abreast of current developments related to the course. Students will have to come to class prepared to discuss the readings and actively participate in class discussions.