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Fall 2011

DIPL 6201 AA U.N. Security Council Issues

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**JOHN C. WHITEHEAD SCHOOL OF DIPLOMACY AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**SETON HALL UNIVERSITY
UN SECURITY COUNCIL ISSUES
(DIPL 6201AA)**

Instructor: Jacques Fomerand

Fall2011

Tues.: 6:15-8:25pm

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**I. COURSE DESCRIPTION, OBJECTIVES AND
OUTCOMES**

Under the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council is one of the principal organs of the organizations charged with the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security". The Council is so organized as to be able to function continuously. Five powerful countries sit as "permanent members" along with ten elected members with two-year terms. Since 1990, the Council has dramatically increased its activity and its powers include the establishment of peacekeeping operations, the dispatch of military operations, the imposition of sanctions. It has also mandated arms inspections and deployed election monitors.

Set up sixty years ago, the Council embodied a collective security system that reflected the political concerns and the distribution of power of the 1940s as well as the lessons learned from the failures of the League of Nations. The nature of our concerns has considerably evolved since then as new global threats have emerged ranging from terrorism, poverty and disease, international migration, environmental degradation to the denial of human rights. The constellation of powerful actors has also changed. The bipolarity of the 1950s has given way to the emergence of a single superpower while the European Union and developing countries like China, Brazil and India are acquiring growing political and economic influence. These states operate alongside increasingly prominent non-state actors including private entities and civil society groups. Conceptions of the meaning and significance of "peace" and "security" have also considerably evolved.

The intent of this seminar is to provide an academic as well as practical understanding of the origins, structure and procedures, changing functions, politics, performance and impact United Nations Security Council actions in the pursuit of peace and security. The strengths and weaknesses of the Council will be assessed in light of the significant changes in international relations in the post-Cold War years with broad emphasis on peace-keeping, human rights, humanitarian intervention, post-conflict peace building, weapons of mass destruction and "reform" among such other issues as children in armed conflict, conflict mediation, conflict prevention, disarmament, drug trafficking, energy, security and climate change, justice, impunity and rule of law, the protection of civilians, regional arrangements, sanctions, small arms, terrorism and women peace and security

By the end of the course, successful students will be able to:

- ▶ to locate and use effectively the major sources of information for the study of the United Nations and the Security Council;
- ▶ to demonstrate a sound knowledge of the institutional, legal framework, decision making processes and types of policies emanating from the United Nations;
- ▶ to understand the background to the creation of the United Nations and the Security Council;
- ▶ to develop a conceptual and practical understanding of the Security Council processes and institutions;
- ▶ to understand the relationship between the original and current roles and functions of the Security Council, and the manner in which it has adjusted to changes;
- ▶ to evaluate and appraise the capabilities and impact of the Security Council in international relations;
- ▶ to become familiar and be able to critically appraise academic and political debates about the workings of the Security Council;
- ▶ to recognize and apply relevant theoretical approaches to the study of the Security Council;
- ▶ to understand the challenges that the Security Council faces in the future and appreciate the difficulties inherent in its reform;
- ▶ to recognize and formulate policy oriented recommendations about issues related to the legitimacy and effectiveness of the Security Council.

II. STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES AND EXPECTATIONS:

1. Required “core” readings

▶ Lowe, Vaughan, Adam Roberts, Jennifer Welsh, and Dominik Zaum (eds.). *The United Nations Security Council and War. The Evolution of Thought and Practice Since 1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

▶ Additional required readings are listed below under each thematic section of the syllabus.

▶ Under each topic listed in the syllabus, students with a solid background and strong interest in international organizations are encouraged to pay attention to the “Optional/background reading” section which draws attention to a number of important works in the literature on the subject.

▶ Students who may feel the need to upgrade their factual knowledge of the United Nations may wish to consult any of the following:

▶ Puchala, Donald J. , Katie Verlin Laatikainen, Roger A. Coate, *United Nations Politics; International Organization in a Divided World*, Prentice Hall, 2007.

▶ Smith, Courtney *Politics and Process at the United Nations. The Global Dance* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2006.

Weiss, Thomas G., David P. Forsythe, Roger A. Coate. *The United Nations and Changing Politics*. Boulder, CO.: Westview, 2010 (eighth edition).

Weiss, Thomas G. and Ramesh Thakur (eds.). *Global Governance and the UN*. Bloomington, IND.: Indiana University Press, 2010.

Weiss, Thomas G. and Sam Daws (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

► Alternative texts on the UN Security Council warranting perusing include:

► Bosco, David. *Five to Rule Them All: The UN Security Council and the Making of the Modern World*. New York, 2009.

► Dedring, Juergen. *United Nations Security Council in the 1990s: Resurgence and Renewal*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press., 2008.

► Luck, Edward. *UN Security Council: Practice and Promise*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

► Malone, David (ed.). *The UN Security Council. From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2004

► Ramesh Thakur. *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

► In order to contribute fully to class discussions, students should be aware of current international and UN Security Council events and developments.

As a starting point, students should peruse the UN Charter prior to the first class. They also need to follow current UN actions in the international arena on a daily basis and should subscribe to the *UN Wire*, a free daily summary of UN news stories from around the world distributed via e-mail with links to different UN departments and organizations. UN documents, including the Charter, can be downloaded from this website or from the UN website (www.un.org).

The UN Website on the Council offers much valuable material, including the texts of all resolutions and the transcripts of public meetings. The site offers Resolutions and Documents, Press Statements and monthly Reports of the Security Council presidents, as well as the Repertoire of the practices of the Security Council, including the Provisional Rules of Procedure (after more than sixty years in operation, the Council's rules are still only "provisional."). The Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council mandated by the General Assembly in 1952, is a constitutional and procedural guide to the proceedings of the Council since 1946. It presents, as comprehensively as possible, relevant data regarding the practice of the Council and the application of the UN Charter and the Council's provisional rules of procedure. (<http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/index.shtml>)

Another very valuable source on Council matters is Security Council Report (SCR), an independent think tank. SCR issues monthly reports that anticipate the Council's program of work; it also publishes many excellent special publications and "updates" about country crises and thematic issues. These reports are supplemented by a recently launched publication *What's in Blue* which can be accessed at <http://www.whatsinblue.org/>. This product provides a regular feed of information on what is going on in the Security Council as well as a daily selection of news stories relevant to the Council's work.

The websites of the Permanent Missions of UN state members in New York and Geneva (<http://www.un.int/index-en/webs.html>) are an excellent source of (not always objective!) information: (US Mission to the United Nations <http://www.un.int/usa/> and US Department of State, International Organization Affairs (Official) <http://www.state.gov/p/io/>). Also relevant here are the sites of the Group of 77 (<http://www.g77.org/>), the Non-Aligned Movement (Official) <http://www.nam.gov.za/> and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC—Official) <http://www.oic-oci.org>

The site of Global Policy Forum, a non-governmental organization active in UN questions (<http://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council.html>) presents a useful Introductory Article as well as a wide range of other information on the Council. There is material on Membership of the Security Council, including a list of current and former Council members, information on Council presidencies and sanctions committees, and information about the often controversial process of Membership Elections. The site also features Tables and Charts on the Security Council, including the frequency of its meetings, number of resolutions, etc.

Founded in 1970, the International Peace Academy was first devoted to the training of military and civilian professionals in peacekeeping missions. Renamed in 2008 the International Peace Institute, the organization has today embarked on a broader range of issues related to the promotion, prevention and settlement of conflicts between and within states. To achieve its purpose, IPI employs a mix of policy research, convening, publishing and outreach. We will rely extensively in this course on work produced by the Institute. (http://www.ipacademy.org/media/pdf/presskit/ipi_brochure.pdf)

Another useful source of news items and analyses of the UN and its activities can also be found at turtlebay.foreignpolicy.com. *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Economist*, *Le Monde* among others should be perused daily to find articles concerning the UN and the Security Council. Such articles, and their significance, may be discussed at the beginning of each class. News about the United Nations Security Council, including commentary and archival articles published in *The New York Times* can be found in http://topics.nytimes.com/topics/reference/timestopics/organizations/s/security_council/index.html

Analytical overview essays on the recent work of the United Nations can be found in the UNA-USA's annual *Global Agenda* which was discontinued in 2005 but resumed publication in 2009. For the latest issues, see Dulcie Leimbach (ed.). *A Global Agenda. Issues Before the United Nations. 2009-2010*. New York: UNA-USA, 2009 and Irwin Arief (ed.). *A Global Agenda. Issues Before the United Nations 2010-2011*. New York: United Nations Association of the United States of America, 2010.

2. Other sources of information

Additional resources for further information and/or research purposes are provided below:

Periodicals

<i>Alternatives: Global, Local, Political</i> <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> <i>Ethics and International Affairs</i> <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> <i>Foreign Affairs</i> <i>Foreign Policy</i> <i>Global Environmental Politics</i> <i>Global Governance</i> <i>Human Rights and Human Welfare</i> <i>Human Rights Quarterly</i> <i>International Affairs</i>	<i>International Review of the Red Cross</i> <i>International Relations (London)</i> <i>International Security</i> <i>International Studies Perspectives</i> <i>Interventions: The International Journal of Post-Colonial Studies</i> <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> <i>Journal of International Affairs</i> <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> <i>Millennium</i> <i>Peacekeeping and International Relations</i> <i>Review of International Political Economy (UK)</i> <i>The Review of International Affairs</i>
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<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i> <i>International Journal (Toronto)</i> <i>International Journal on World Peace</i> <i>International Organization</i> <i>International Peacekeeping</i>	<i>Review of International Studies</i> <i>Seton Hall Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations</i> <i>Terrorism and Political Violence</i> <i>The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance</i> <i>Third World Quarterly</i> <i>Transnational Organized Crime</i> <i>World Politics</i>
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Non-Governmental Organizations and Think Tanks:

American Society of International Law, www.asil.org
Amnesty International: www.amnesty.org
Business and HR: <http://www.business-humanrights.org/>
Center for Global Development: <http://www.cgdev.org/>
Center for UN Reform Education, <http://www.centerforunreform.org/>
CIVICUS: <http://www.civicus.org/>
The Clingendael Institute: <http://www.clingendael.nl/cru/index.htm>
European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation: <http://www.euconflict.org>
Forum for Early Warning and Early Response: <http://www.fewer.org>
Freedom House: www.freedomhouse.org
Human Rights First
Human Rights Working Papers: www.du.edu/humanrights/workingpapers
Human Rights Watch: www.hrw.org
Initiative on Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity (INCORE) databases. <http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk>
International Council on Human Rights: <http://www.ichrp.org/en/themes>
International Crisis Group: www.crisisweb.org
International Network for Economic, Social & Cultural Rights: www.escr-net.org
International Peace Institute, <http://www.ipinst.org/>
NGO Watch: <http://www.ngowatch.org/>
South Centre, <http://www.southcentre.org/>
Transparency International: <http://www.transparency.org/>
UN Watch,
http://www.unwatch.org/site/c.bdKKISNqEmG/b.1277549/k.D7FE/UN_Watch_Monitoring_the_UN_Promoting_Human_Rights.htm
United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research: <http://www.unidir.org/html/en/home.html>
United Nations University
United States Institute of Peace, library and on-line databases <http://www.usip.org>

Useful web sites:

- [Alliance for Conflict Transformation \(ACT\)](#)
- [Alliance for Peacebuilding](#)
- [Center for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution](#)
- [Center for International Conflict Resolution](#)
- [Conflict Management Group \(CMG\)](#)
- [Conflict Management Program](#)
- [Conflict Resolution Research and Resource Institute, Inc. \(CRI\)](#)
- [Conflict Transformation Program](#)
- [Consensus Building Institute \(CBI\)](#)
- [Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution \(ICAR\)](#)
- [Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy \(IMTD\)](#)
- [Institute for Resource and Security Studies \(IRSS\)](#)
- [Institute of World Affairs](#)

- International Coalition for the responsibility to protect (<http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/>)
- International Peace and Conflict Resolution Program (IPCR)
- Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice
- Karuna Center for Peacebuilding
- The Minority at Risk Project: <http://www.bsos.umd.edu/cidcm/inscr/mar>
- National Peace Foundation
- Peace Studies Program
- Projects on Ethnic Relations (PER)
- Search for Common Ground
- The Carter Center Conflict Resolution Program
- UNOCHA's Reliefweb: <http://www.reliefweb.int/resources/ewarn.html>
- World Peace Foundation (WPF)

3. Class presentations

The success of a course in large part hinges on the sustained participation of students. Active participation in class discussions is a requirement as well as an important component of the final grade (see below). Students are thus expected to come to class well prepared to discuss and critique the required readings. Sessions will be organized around student led presentations of the readings to kick off the discussion. Ideally each student will have an opportunity to be a discussion leader at least once during the term. The presentations should not exceed 20mn, briefly summarize the readings (i.e. key arguments, methods, theoretical underpinnings, etc....) *and* offer a critique/commentary on their strengths and weaknesses. Discussion leaders will be asked to provide one or two discussion questions which will serve as a springboard for the seminar's review of the question on hand.

4. Class Notes

The objective is to maintain a complete record of the notes from each. The assigned student(s) will be responsible for preparation of the class notes. Class notes **MUST** be written within one day after the class, and then circulated via email to all colleagues. Class notes should not be longer than one page and should contain the following:

1. The topic discussed in class.
2. The lessons learned

5. Individual Research Policy Paper

Students are required to write a research policy paper designed to apply the knowledge and insights you have gained during the semester preparation on a topic covered in one or more of the course materials and in the reading. Unlike a research paper, your paper should set out the advantages and disadvantages of several courses of action with respect to problems presented in the materials and/or discussed in class. The clarity and originality with which you address the issues, the coherence of your arguments, and the appropriate and accurate use of sources will all be considered in evaluating your paper. Length: Your paper should be 10-15 pages, double spaced, excluding bibliography. Style manual: The paper should have (a) a title page, (b) a table of contents, (c) numbered pages, (d) footnotes at the bottom of the page (Do not use parenthetical documentation), and (e) a bibliography. If you have doubts regarding style, form or referencing, consult the Chicago Manual of Style.

All students are reminded to conform to the standards of the Whitehead School of Diplomacy and Seton Hall University regarding academic conduct and integrity.
<http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>

6. Grading policy

The final grade will be determined as follows:

- Class presentations and participation.... 25%
- Class notes: 15%
- Individual research policy paper: 60%

III. COURSE OUTLINE

PART ONE: COURSE INTRODUCTION/

Topic 1: Theoretical perspectives on international organization: What is the UN? What does it do? How does it function? Structures, actors, processes. Where does the Security Council fit?.

Core readings:

- ▶ Fomerand, Jacques “The Evolution of International Organizations as Institutional Forms and Historical Processes Since 1945: Quis Custodiet Ipsos Custodiet?”
In Denmark, Robert A. (ed.), *The International Studies Encyclopedia* Volume III. Malden, MA: John Wiley, 2010, pp. 1922-1941 (TBD)
- ▶ Lowe, introduction

Optional background readings:

- ▶ Archer, Clive. *International Organizations*. Boston: George Allen, latest edition.
- ▶ Barkin, J. Samuel, *International Organization. Theories and Institutions*. New York: Palgrave, 2006.
- ▶ Barnet, Richard and Martha Finemore. *Rules for the World. International Organizations in Global Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004.
- ▶ Claude, Inis, Jr.. *Swords into Plowshares. The Problems and Progress of International Organizations*, 4th Ed. New York: Random House, 1971.
- ▶ Finnemore, Martha, “International Organizations as Teachers of Norms,” *International Organization*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Autumn 1993), pp. 565-97.
- ▶ Mearsheimer, John J. The False Promise of International Institutions, @ *International Security* 19 no. 3 (Winter 1994/95), 5-49.)
- ▶ Morgenthau, Hans *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, rev. by Thompson, Kenneth W., New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993.
- ▶ Thakur, Ramesh Thakur and Thomas G. Weiss. *The UN and Global Governance: An Idea and its Prospects*. Bloomington, IND: Indiana University Press, 2009.

Questions for reflexion/discussion:

- ▶ What is global governance and what is the role of the UN therein?

- ▶ What are the main attributes of the UN under the terms of the Charter?
- ▶ Can the UN act as an autonomous actor in world affairs?
- ▶ Which perspective--realism, idealism, functionalism, constructivism--is most useful in understanding the role of the United Nations?

Topic 2: The original vision. Background on the origins of the Security Council: The Charter provisions.

Film viewing

Core readings:

- ▶ United Nations Charter
- ▶ Lowe et al., pp.: 1-17

Optional background readings:

- ▶ Goodrich, Leland and Edvard Hambro. *Charter of the United Nations: Commentary and Documents*. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1949.
- ▶ Hilderbrand, Robert C. *Dumbarton Oaks: The Origins of the United Nations and the Search for Postwar Security*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- ▶ *Report to the President on the Results of the San Francisco Conference*. Department of State Publication 2349, Conference Series 71. Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1945.
- ▶ Russell, Ruth (assisted by Jeanette E. Muther). *A History of the United Nations Charter*. Washington, DC.: Brookings Institution, 1958.
- ▶ Schild, Georg. *Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks. American Economic and Political Postwar Planning in the Summer of 1944*. New York: St.Martin's Press, 1995.
- ▶ Simma, Bruno. *The Charter of the United Nations: A Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Questions for reflexion/discussion:

- ▶ What were the main concerns of the drafters of the Charter? What problems did they anticipate and what were their institutional response as embodied in the Charter provisions on peace and security?

PART TWO: FROM VISION TO PRACTICE. HISTORICAL EVOLUTION AND EVOLVING FUNCTIONS

Topic 3: The Council changing tectonics; from collective security to human security

Core readings:

- ▶ Lowe et al.: ch. 1-5
- ▶ *A More Secure World, Our Shared Responsibility*, Report of the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. A/59/565, 2 December 2004.

Optional background readings:

- ▶ Commission on Human Security. *Human Security Now. Protecting and Empowering People*. New York, 2003.
- ▶ Foot, Rosemary, S. Neil MacFarlane & Michael Mastanduno (Eds.). *U.S. Hegemony and International Organizations*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- ▶ Frederking, Brian. *The United States and the Security Council*. Psychology Press, 2007. t
- ▶ Gregg, Robert W. *About Face? The United States and the United Nations*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1993.
- ▶ Kay, David. *The New Nations in the United Nations 1960-1967*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.
- ▶ Luck, Edward. *The UN Security Council*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- ▶ Malone, David (Ed.). *The UN Security Council. From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2004.
- ▶ Malone David M. and Yuen Foong Khong (Eds.). *Unilateralism and U.S. Foreign Policy: International Perspectives*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2003.
- ▶ Matheson, Michael J. *Council Unbound: The Growth of UN Decision Making on Conflict and Postconflict Issues after the Cold War*. Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace Press, 2006.
- ▶ Stoessinger, John G. *The United Nations and the Superpowers*. New York: Random House, 1973.
- ▶ Traub, James. *The Best Intentions. Kofi Annan and the UN in the Era of American World Power*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006.

Questions for reflexion/discussion:

- ▶ What post-1945 global changes (geopolitical, environmental, technological or social) have most dramatically impacted on the UN and altered the operation of the Security Council?
- ▶ What positive and/or negative effects did the Cold War have on the role and activities of the Security Council?
- ▶ How has US hegemony affected the UN and the Security Council responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security?

Topic 4: Partnerships/Procedures

Core readings:

- ▶ Lowe: ch., 9

Optional background readings:

- ▶ Abass, Ademola. *Regional Organizations and the Development of Collective Security. Beyond Chapter VIII of the UN Charter*. Portland, OR; Hart Publishing, 2004.
- ▶ Badejo, Diedre L. *Organization of American States*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 2008.
- ▶ Bailey, Sidney D. *Voting in the Security Council*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969.
- ▶ Bailey, Sidney D. and Sam Daws. *The Procedure of the UN Security Council*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- ▶ Claude, Inis. *The OAS, the UN, and the US*. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1964.
- ▶ Dwan, Renata. *International Policing in Peace Operations: The Role of Regional Organizations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- ▶ Galbreath, David. *Organisation for Security and Co-Operation in Europe*. London: Taylor & Francis., 2007.
- ▶ Keck, M. and K. Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders: Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.

- ▶ Malone, David. *Decision-Making in the UN Security Council: The Case of Haiti, 1990-1997*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- ▶ Moore, Rebecca R. (2007). *NATO's New Mission: Projecting Stability in a Post-Cold War World*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- ▶ Prantl, Jochen. *The UN Security Council and Informal Groups of States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- ▶ Zacher, Mark William. *International Conflicts and Collective Security, 1946-1977: The United Nations, Organization of American States, Organization of African Unity, and Arab League*. New York: Praeger, 1979.
- ▶ Willetts, Peter. *The Conscience of the World: the Influence of Non-Governmental Organizations in the UN System*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1998.

Questions for reflexion/discussion:

- ▶ The UN Charter recognizes in Chapter VIII that regional arrangements and agencies are appropriate means for maintaining peace and security, provided their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter (Article 52). What is the current role of regional mechanisms in collective security arrangements? Consider the relationship between the UN and the Inter-American system, the African Union, the OSCE, the EU, NATO?.

PART THREE: TOOLS

Topic 5: Peacemaking and Peacekeeping. The original concept:

Core readings:

- ▶ Lowe et al.: ch. 6-7, 12-14

Optional background readings:

- ▶ Fabian, Larry L. *Soldiers without Enemies: Preparing the United Nations for Peacekeeping*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1971.
- ▶ Frye, William R. (Ed.). *A United Nations Peace Force*. New York: Oceana, 1957.
- ▶ Miller, Linda. *World Order and Local Disorder: The UN and Internal Conflict*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- ▶ O'Brien, Conor Cruise. *To Katanga and Back: A U.N. Case History*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962.
- ▶ Rikhye, Indarjit and Kjell Skjelsbaek (Eds.). *The United Nations and Peacekeeping: Results, Limitations and Prospects – The Lessons of 40 years Experience*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.
- ▶ Rosner, Gabriella E.. *The United Nations Emergency Force*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.
- ▶ Stegenga, James Alan. *The United Nations Force in Cyprus*. Columbus, Ohio.: Ohio State University Press, 1968.

Questions for reflexion/discussion:

- ▶ What is traditional UN peacekeeping?
- ▶ What are the relevant Charter provisions concerning peacekeeping? Identify two examples of successful and not-so-successful traditional peacekeeping operations?

► How does the UN contribute to international peace and security by means of "peacekeeping" and other efforts to prevent hostilities from erupting or resuming? Consider the changing role of UN organs involved in the peacekeeping process .

Topic 6: From Peacekeeping to Peace Operations. Case studies

Core readings:

- Lowe et al.: Ch.6, 15, 18-21, 25
- Brahimi, Lakhdar. *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations*. UN Document A/55/305, August 21, 2000.

Optional background readings:

- Bellamy, Alex J., Paul Williams, and Stuart Griffin. *Understanding Peacekeeping*. Cambridge, UK: Blackwell, 2004.
- Chesterman, Simon. *You, the People: Transitional Administration, State-Building, and the United Nations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Diehl, Paul. *Peace Operations*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2008.
- Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis, *United Nations Peace Operations: Making War & Building Peace*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Durch, William (ed.). *Twenty-First century Peace Operations*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2006.
- _____ . *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.
- Evered, Timothy C. *United Nations Electoral Assistance and the Evolving Right to Democratic Governance*. Livingston, N.J.: The Center for U.N.Reform Education, 1996.
- Fortna, Virginia Page. *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Howard, Lise Morjé, *UN Peacekeeping in Civil Wars*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- MacQueen, Norrie. *Peacekeeping and the International System*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Newman, Edward and Roland Rich (Eds.). *The UN Role in Promoting Democracy. Between Ideals and Reality*. Tokyo: United Nations University, 2004.
- Thakur, Ramesh, and Albrecht Schnabel,(eds). *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Ad Hoc Missions, Permanent Engagement*. New York: United Nations University Press, 2001.
- Thakur, Ramesh C. and Carlyle A. Thayer (Eds.). *A Crisis of Expectations: UN Peacekeeping in the 1990s*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995.

Questions for reflexion/discussion:

- What are the principal conclusions of the Brahimi Report, and what is their relationship to the failures in Somalia and Rwanda?
- What are the shortcomings of the report?
- To what extent has DPKO implemented the Brahimi Report recommendations?
- What are the major challenges facing United Nations Peace Operations in the years ahead?

Topic 7: Economic sanctions, arms embargoes, diplomatic instruments

Core readings:

Lowe, ch. 8

Optional background readings:

- ▶ Becker, Charles M. and Jan H. Hofmeyr. *The Impact of Sanctions on South Africa*. Washington: Investor Responsibility Research Center, 1990.
- ▶ Charron, Andrea. *UN Sanctions and Conflict: Responding to Peace and Security Threats*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- ▶ Cortright, David and George A. Lopez. *Sanctions and the Search for Security: Challenges to UN Action*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2002.
- ▶ _____. *The Sanctions Decade: Assessing UN Strategies in the 1990s*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2000.
- ▶ Daoudi, M. S. and M.S. Danjani. *Economic Sanctions: Ideals and Experience*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983
- ▶ Grant John P. *The Lockerbie Trial. A Documentary History*. Dobbs-Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, 2004.
- ▶ Kapungu, Leonard T. (1973). *The United Nations Against Rhodesia*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1988.
- ▶ Wallenstein, Peter, Carina Staibano, and Mikael Eriksson (Eds.). *Making Targeted Sanctions Effective: Guidelines for the Implementation of UN Policy Options*, Uppsala University, 2003.

Questions for reflexion/discussion:

- ▶ What powers does the Security Council have to impose embargoes and other sanctions not involving military force (Article 41)?
- ▶ How effective were UN sanctions against South Africa, Southern Rhodesia in the course of the Cold War?. Consider the post Cold War cases of Libya and the Former Yugoslavia.
- ▶ What lessons may be drawn from the experience of the Oil for Food Program?
- ▶ Targeted sanctions have been increasingly utilized the UNSC. What criticisms have they elicited? Are they more effective than “conventional sanctions”.

Topic 8: Military enforcement

Core readings:

- ▶ Lowe et al.: Ch. 16-17, 26, 28

Optional background readings:

- ▶ Bloomfield, Lincoln P. et al. *Collective security in a Changing World*. Providence, R.I. Watson Institute Occasional Papers, No. 10, 1993.
- ▶ Claude, Inis. *The United Nations and the Use of Force*. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1961.
- ▶ De Wet, Erika. *The Chapter VII powers of the United Nations Security Council*. New York: Hart Publishing, 2004.

- ▶ Finnemore, Martha. *When States Intervene: Changing Belief About the Use of Force*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- ▶ Hilaire, Max. *United Nations Law and the Security Council*. Ashgate, 2005.
- ▶ Krasno, Jean and James Sutterlin. *The United Nations and Iraq: Defanging the Viper*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press/Praeger, 2002.
- ▶ Ku, Charlotte and Harold K. Jacobson. *Democratic Accountability and the Use of Force in International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- ▶ Malone, David (Ed.). *The UN Security Council. From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2004.
- ▶ Malone, David M. *The International Struggle Over Iraq. Politics in the UN Security Council 1980-2005*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2006.
- ▶ O'Connell, Mary Ellen, Michael Both, and Natalino Ronzitti (Eds.). *Redefining Sovereignty: The Use of Force after the End of the Cold War. New Options, Lawful and Legitimate?* New York: Transnational Publishers, 2004.
- ▶ Price, Richard M. and Mark W. Zacher (Eds.). *The United Nations and Global Security*. New York: Palgrave, 2004.
- ▶ Weiss, Thomas G. (Ed.). *Collective Security in a Changing World*. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner, 1993.

Questions for reflexion/discussion:

- ▶ What are the collective security arrangements under the UN Charter?
- ▶ Is not the use of the term “collective security” a misnomer?
- ▶ What powers does the Security Council have under Chapter VII of the Charter?
- ▶ What is the United Nations role in collective security?
- ▶ What are the prerequisites for successful and effective collective security
- ▶

PART FOUR: CHALLENGES

Topic 9: Peacebuilding

Core readings:

- ▶ “Taking Stock, Looking Forward: A Strategic Review of the Peacebuilding Commission.” New York: International Peace Institute and NYU Center on International Cooperation. April, 2008.

To be retrieved from:

<http://www.cic.nyu.edu/peacebuilding/docs/takingstocklookingforward.pdf>

<http://www.sciencesociales.uottawa.ca/cepi-cips/eng/documents/deConing.pdf>

- ▶ Richmond, Oliver P. “**Liberal Peace Transitions: A Rethink is Urgent**”, *Open Democracy* (November 19, 2009)

<http://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council/peacekeeping/analysis-and-articles-on-peacekeeping/48486.html>

Optional background readings:

- ▶ Adebajo, Adekeye. *Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2002.

- ▶ Aoi, Chiyuki, Cedric De Coning and Ramesh Thakur (eds.). *Unintended Consequences of Peacekeeping Operations*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2007.
- ▶ Caplan, Richard. *International Governance of War-Torn Territories: Rule and Reconstruction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- ▶ Chesterman, Simon, Michael Ignatieff, and Ramesh Thakur (Eds.). *Making States Work. State Failure and the Crisis of Governance*. Tokyo: United Nations University, 2004.
- ▶ Cockayne, James and Adam Lupel (ed.). *Peace Operations and Organized Crime. Enemies or Allies*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- ▶ Cockayne, James with Emily Speers Mears, Iveta Cherneva, Alison Gurin, Sheila Oviedo, and Dylan Yaeger. *Beyond Market Forces Regulating the Global Security Industry*. New York: IPI, 2009
- ▶ Coning, Cedric de. *Clarity, Coherence and Context. Three Priorities for Sustainable Peacebuilding*.
<http://www.sciencesociales.uottawa.ca/cepi-cips/eng/documents/deConing.pdf>
- ▶ Cousens, Elizabeth M. and Chetan Kumar, with Karin Wermester (Eds.). *Peacebuilding as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2000.
- ▶ Forman, Shepard and Stewart Patrick (Eds.). *Good Intentions: Pledges of Aid for Postconflict Recovery*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2000.
- ▶ Keating, Tom and W. Andy Knight (Eds.). *Building Sustainable Peace*. Edmonton, Alberta: The University of Alberta Press and Tokyo: United Nations University, 2004.
- ▶ International Peace Institute. *Security-Development Nexus: Research Findings and Policy Implications*, Security-Development Nexus Program Report. Policy Papers - February 14, 2006
- ▶ Junne, Gerd, Willemijn Verkoren (Eds.). *Postconflict Development: Meeting New Challenges*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2005
- ▶ Newman, Edward and Albrecht Schnabel. *Recovering from Civil Conflict. Reconciliation, Peace and Development*. Portland, Ore.: Frank Cass, 2002.
- ▶ Peck, Connie. *Sustainable Peace*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998.

Questions for reflexion/discussion:

- ▶ What is peace building? How should a strategy for peace building be implemented? What elements need to be considered in such an exercise, and why?
- ▶ What goals did the Peacebuilding Commission set for itself in Sierra Leone and Burundi? What is your evaluation of their limitations and achievements?
- ▶ How can the Peacebuilding agenda at the United Nations be sustained and energized?

Topic 10: Women, security and peace. Protection of civilians in Armed Conflicts

Core readings:

- ▶ Defies, Elizabeth F., "UN Peacekeepers and Sexual Abuse and Exploitation. An End to Impunity. *Global Studies Law review*. Vol. 7, No. 2 (2008), pp/185-214
http://law.wustl.edu/WUGSLR/Issues/Volume7_2/Defeis.pdf
- ▶ UN Secretary General Report on the implementation of Security Council resolution 1325
http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2010/173
- ▶ United Nations. *Women, peace and Security. Study Submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)*. New York: United Nations, 2002.
- ▶ Security Council resolutions 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), , 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010).

Optional background readings:

- ▶ Giles, Wenona and Jennifer Hyndman (eds.). *Sites of Violence : Gender and Conflict Zones*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, c2004.
- ▶ Jain, Devaki. *Women, Development, and the UN: A Sixty-Year Quest for Equality and Justice*. Bloomington, IL: Indiana University Press, 2005.
- ▶ Merry, Sally Engle. *Human Rights and Gender Violence: Translating International Law into Local Justice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- ▶ Olonisakin, Funmi, Karen Bartes, Elka Ikpe (eds.). *Women, Peace and Security. Translating Policy into Practice*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- ▶ Pietila, Hilikka and Jeanne Vickers. *Making Women Matter; the Role of the United Nations*. London: Zed Books, 1990.
- ▶ Steady, Filomina Chioma and Remie Toure (Eds.). *Women and the United Nations*. Rochester, Vt.: Schenkman Books, 1995.
- ▶ Werner, Gunda (ed.). *Road Map to 1325. Resolution for Gender-Sensitive Peace and Security Policies*. Barbara Budrich Publishers, 2010.

Questions for reflexion/discussion:

- ▶ What are the main provisions of UNSC resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889?
- ▶ Why are these resolutions important to the reform in security sector reform (SSR)?
- ▶ How can these resolutions be most effectively be implemented in SSR?

Topic 11: The Humanitarian Conundrum

Core readings:

- ▶ Perry, Chris, Christoph Mikulschek, James Cockayne. *The United Nations Security Council and Civil War: First Insights from a New Dataset*. New York: IPI Poolicy Paper (September 07, 2010).
- ▶ Lowe, ch. 22-24
- ▶ Luck, Ed., The Responsibility to Protect: Growing Pains or Early Promise?" *Ethics & International Affairs*, Volume 24-4 (Winter 2010).

To be retrieved from

http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/resources/journal/24_4/response/001.html

- ▶ Security Council resolution 1970 of 26 February 2011
<http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N11/245/58/PDF/N1124558.pdf?OpenElement>
- ▶ Security Council Resolution 1975 of 30 March 2011.
<http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N11/284/76/PDF/N1128476.pdf?OpenElement>

Optional background readings:

- ▶ Barnett, Michael and Thomas G. Weiss (eds.). *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- ▶ Chesterman, Simon. *Civilians in War*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2001.
- ▶ International Commission on Intervention and Sovereignty. *The Responsibility to protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and Sovereignty*. Ottawa: International Development Research Center, 2011.

- ▶ Minear, Larry. *The Humanitarian Enterprise. Dilemmas & Discoveries*. Bloomfield, Conn.: Kumarian Press, 2002.
- ▶ Obiaga, Ndubisi. *The Politics of Humanitarian Organizations Interventions*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2004.
- ▶ Schnabel, Albrecht and Ramesh Thakur (eds.). *Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention. Selective Indignation, Collective Action and International Citizenship*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2000.
- ▶ Smillie, Ian and Larry Minear. *The Charity of Nations. Humanitarian Action in a Calculating World*. Bloomfield, Conn.: Kumarian Press, 2004.
- ▶ Welsh, Jennifer M. *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- ▶ Yamashita, Hikaru. *Humanitarian Space and International Politics: The Creation of Safe Areas*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2004.
- ▶ Winkler, Hans, Terje Rød-Larsen , Christoph Mikulaschek (eds.). *The UN Security Council and the Responsibility to Protect. Policy, Process and Practice*. IPI Vienna Seminar . Diplomatic Academy of Vienna . Favorita Papers 01/2010

Questions for reflexion/discussion:

- ▶ What powers does the Security Council have to resort to collective military action in situations involving widespread atrocities against civilian populations or massive human suffering resulting from the breakdown of domestic order and internal hostilities? Did the cases of Iraq in the aftermath of the Gulf War and Somalia in 1992-3 create a precedent for collective humanitarian intervention generally?
- ▶ To what extent can we talk about R2P as an “emerging norm”? What does this language mean in practice as evidenced by such recent developments as those in Libya and Syria?

Topic 12: International Criminal Justice

Core readings:

- ▶ Kirsch, Phillippe, John T Holmes & Mora Johnson. “International Tribunals and Courts.” In *The UN Security Council*, ed. David Malone, pp. 281-294. (TBD)
- ▶ Ratner, Steven R. “The United Nations and International Law.” In *The UN Security Council*, ed. David Malone, pp. 591-606.(TBD)

Optional background readings:

- ▶ Bailey, Sydney D. *The UN Security Council and Human Rights*. New York: St Martin's, 1994.
- ▶ Hayner, Priscilla B. “Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity.” New York: Routledge (2001): Chapter Entitled *Confronting Past Crimes*.
- ▶ Dempsey, Gary T. “Reasonable Doubt: The Case Against the Proposed International Criminal Court.” Cato Policy Analysis No. 311 (July 16, 1998). <http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa-311.pdf>
- ▶ Kemp, Walter, Vesselin Popovski and Ramesh Thakur (eds.). *Blood and Borders. The Responsibility to protect and the Problem of the Kin State*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2011.
- ▶ Roach, Steven C. *The International Criminal Court, Ethics, and Global Justice*. Lanham, M.D. : Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.

- ▶ Romano, Cesare P.R., Andre Nollkaemper, and Jann K. Kleffner (Eds.). *Internationalized Criminal Courts. Sierra Leone, East Timor, Kosovo, and Cambodia*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- ▶ Sriram, Chandra Lekha. *Confronting Past Human Rights Violations: Justice vs. Peace in Times of Transition*. New York: Frank Cass, 2004.
- ▶ Symonides, Janusz (Ed.). *Human Rights: International Protection, Monitoring, Enforcement*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2003.
- ▶ Thakur, Ramesh and Peter Malcontent (Eds.). *From Sovereign Impunity to International Accountability*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2004.

Questions for reflexion/discussion:

- ▶ How does the UNSC pursue and implement global justice in the face of genocide, war crimes and grave violations of human rights?
- ▶ International Tribunals, Amnesties and Truth and Reconciliation: How strong are our options? What are the characteristics that all justice systems must share?
- ▶ What is transitional justice and how does it relate to prospects for peace and security in post conflict situations?
- ▶ What is the relationship between the UNSC and the ICC?
- ▶ What is the peace vs. justice dilemma, and are the two mutually exclusive?

Topic 13: Terrorism/transnational threats

Core readings:

Lowe, ch. 27

Optional background readings:

- ▶ Ballentine, Karen and Jake Sherman (Eds.). *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2003.
- ▶ Berdal, Mats and David M. Malone (Eds.). *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2000.
- ▶ Boulden, Jane and Thomas G. Weiss (eds) . *Terrorism and the UN. Before and After September 11*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- ▶ Nesi, Gieuseppe. *International Co-Operation in Counter-Terrorism: The United Nations and Regional Organizations in the Fight Against Terrorism*. Ashgate Publishers, 2006.
- ▶ Rosand, Eric. *Global Terrorism: Multilateral Responses to an Extraordinary Threat. Coping with Crisis*. New York: International Peace Academy (Working papers Series), April 2007.
- ▶ United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. *Digest of Jurisprudence of the UN and Regional Organizations on the Protection of Human Rights While Countering Terrorism*, 2003. <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/lastentrie.htm>.

Questions for reflexion/discussion:

- ▶ How do states and publics in different regions of the world view the dangers from terrorism?

- ▶ Should the UN system 1/embrace unconditionally the struggle against terrorism and make it a core priority; or 2/continue to muddle through as a marginal but useful player in the global anti-terrorism effort; or 3/ distance itself from the war on terrorism?
- ▶ What is the proper balance between freedom and security? Should the Security Council confront states that are violating human rights in the name of fighting terrorism?
- ▶ How can the CTC and the UN's human rights bodies --OHCHR, Treaty oversight Committees, Special Experts and Working Groups—combine their respective areas of expertise and mandates more effectively to combat terrorism while respecting human rights?
- ▶ How effective has the Security Council's sanction regime?
- ▶ Do you think the committees of the Security Council should be strengthened and, if so, how?
- ▶ Should the Secretary-General appoint a UN czar for counter terrorism charged with developing and implementing a system wide plan for pulling together the UN's scattered institutional resources? Alternatively, would you envisage the creation of a UN counter terrorism agency? How should it be funded and managed?
- ▶ What specifically could be done by and through the United Nations system effectively to contain and suppress terrorist violence, either through international law, monitoring and exhorting of states, or direct program initiatives?

Topic 14: Reforming the Council: the legitimacy issue/Taking Stock/Prospects for the Future.

Core readings:

- ▶ Lowe, introduction
- ▶ PROGRAMME: No. 934 recorded 30 March 2004 GUESTS: David Malone, President, International Peace Academy and Kishore Mahbubani, Permanent Representative of Singapore to the United Nations
<http://www.un.org/webcast/worldchron/trans934.pdf>
- ▶ *A More Secure World, Our Shared Responsibility*, Report of the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. A/59/565, 2 December 2004.
- ▶ Weiss, Thomas. *The Illusion of Security Council Reform*, http://www.twq.com/03autumn/docs/03autumn_weiss.pdf

Optional background readings:

- ▶ Andreas, Peter *Blue Helmets and Back Markets. The Business of Survival in the Siege of Sarajevo*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- ▶ Bourantonis, Dim . *Politics of UN Security Council Reform*. Oxford: Taylor and Francis. 2005.
- ▶ Childers, Erskine. *Renewing the United Nations System*. Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1994.
- ▶ Cronin, Bruce and Ian Hurd (eds.), *The UN Security Council and the Politics of International Authority*, New York: Routledge, 2008.
- ▶ Danchin, Peter G. and Horst Fisher (eds.). *United Nations Reform and the New Collective Security*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- ▶ Fassbender, Bardo. *UN Security Council Reform and the Right of Veto. A Constitutional Perspective*. Martinus Nijhoff, 1998.
- ▶ The Four Nations Initiative on Governance and Management of the UN. *Towards a Compact. Proposals for Improved Governance and Management of the United Nations Secretariat*. Report of Final proposals by the Four Nations Initiative (September 2007). [To be retrieved from

<http://www.the4ni.org/images/stories/documents/towards%20a%20compact%20-%20final%20report%20by%20the%204ni.pdf>

► Fromuth, Peter J, (Ed.). *A Successor Vision: The United Nations of Tomorrow*. New York: United Nations Association, 1988.

► Laipson, Ellen, "The United Nations in 2015: Some Alternative Futures," Stimson Center Workshop Summary, Aug. 2006). Available free www.stimson.org/swa/pdf/UNworkshopsummaryfinal.pdf (pp.1-10 only)

► Matthew, . Richard A .*Resource Scarcity. Responding to the Security Challenge*. New York: IPI 2009

► Newman, Edward. *A Crisis of Global Institutions?* New York: Routledge, 2007.

► Roberts, Adam; Zaum, Dominik . *Selective Security: War and the United Nations Security Council since 1945*. Adelphi Paper of International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2008.

► South Centre. *For a Strong and Democratic United Nations: A South Perspective on UN Reform*. Geneva: South Centre, 1996.

► _____. *Reforming the United Nations: A View from the South*. Geneva: South Centre, 1995.

► Stewart, Patrick M. and Kara C. McDonald. *UN Security Council Enlargement and US Interests*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2010

► Weiss, Thomas G. *What's Wrong with the United Nations and How to Fix it*, Polity Press 2009

► Wilcox, Francis O. and Carl M. Marcy. *Proposals for Changes in the United Nations*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1955.

► Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. *UN Reform. Progress, Prospects, and Priorities* (October 2007). [To be retrieved from

http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1411&fuseaction=topics.publications&group_id=289677]

► Zweifel, Thomas. *International Organizations and Democracy: Accountability, Politics and Power*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2006.

Questions for reflexion/discussion:

► What does reform mean from the perspective of the following: the Secretary-General, the P-5, the United States, and the G-77?

► What were the principal outcomes of the 60th Anniversary Summit? What is their significance?

► Why was there such limited agreement at the 60th Anniversary Summit? Is the situation significantly different in 2008?

► Is the Security Council the appropriate body to deal with threats against international peace and security? Should we enlarge its membership or should we abolish the veto?

► Can smaller states still rely on the United Nations Security Council's protection in the case that one of them should become attacked by a stronger nation?

► Do we need to reform and update the Charter?

► Is the UN capable of responding to the new threats of the 21st century?