

PSCI 657 International Organizations – The United Nations: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect

Winter 2009

ES1-225, Thu 1.30–3.20

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Note

Avoidance of academic offences:

All students registered in the courses of the Faculty of Arts are expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offences, and to take responsibility for their actions. When the commission of an offence is established, disciplinary penalties will be imposed in accord with Policy #71 (Student Academic Discipline). For information on categories of offences and types of penalties, students are directed to consult Policy #71 (<http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy71.htm>). If you need help in learning what constitutes an academic offence; how to avoid offences such as plagiarism, cheating, and double submission; how to follow appropriate rules with respect to “group work” and collaboration; or if you need clarification of aspects of the discipline policy, ask your TA and/or your course instructor for guidance. You may also consult the “Avoiding Academic Offenses” website at http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic_responsibility.html Other resources regarding the discipline policy are your academic advisor and the Undergraduate Associate Dean.”

Students who believe that they have been wrongfully or unjustly penalized have the right to grieve; refer to Policy #70, Student Grievance, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy70.htm>.

Students with disabilities:

The Office for Persons with Disabilities (OPD), located in Needles Hall, Room 1132, collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the OPD at the beginning of each academic term.”

Course Description

The UN journey from managing inter-state wars to humanitarian atrocities is examined through analyses of the use of force, the gap between legality and legitimacy, the UN-US relations, the North-South divide, and the importance of the an international rule of law. The analysis proceeds from describing the UN system to looking at UN operations and activities, the importance of human security and human rights, the UN’s tools and instruments, and the need for policy, institutional and operational reforms.

Evaluation

Research Paper: 50%

The first requirement is for approval **in advance** of a formal research proposal. A paper submitted without such advance approval will not be marked and will be assigned a grade of zero for this component of the overall evaluation.

The **research proposal** should include the research question and a working bibliography. The length should be 500-1,000 words. It will be due in my departmental drop box before the beginning of class on 31 January.

The **research paper** should be between 7,000-10,000 words *including* all notes and references. The final date of submission for the research paper is beginning of class on 27 March. Requests for extensions are unlikely to be entertained.

Class Participation: 20%

Students are expected and required to participate actively in seminar discussions.

Critical Summary: 15%

For one week, students will write a summary and critique of the readings. They should identify the core theme(s) and resulting questions, outline the arguments and assess their strengths and weaknesses. The length should be between 1,000-1,500 words (no exception). The summary should be distributed by email to all class members by 5.00 pm the day before the class meets as a word or pdf file. The critique must be presented in class. Dates will be chosen/assigned on the first day of class. Late assignments will not be accepted. However, those with genuine reasons for not being able to meet their deadline may arrange **in advance** to switch with another student and I must receive the consent of both parties in writing.

Class Presentation: 15%

Students will present a draft of their final paper to their peers and also act as a discussant for another student's research paper.

Texts

A more secure world: our shared responsibility. Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (New York: United Nations, document A/59/565, 2 December 2004) (<http://www.un.org/secureworld/>)

Annan, Kofi A., *In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all*. Report of the Secretary-General (New York: United Nations, document A/59/2005, 21 March 2005) (<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/270/78/PDF/N0527078.pdf?OpenElement>)

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

Recommended

- Mingst, Karen A. and Margaret P. Karns, *The United Nations in the Twenty-first Century*, 3rd ed. (Boulder: Westview, 2006)
- Weiss, Thomas G. and Sam Daws, eds., *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Journals

- Global Governance*
UN Chronicle

Websites: <http://www.un.org>; www.globalr2p.org

Topics

1. Pacific Settlement, Collective Security and International Peacekeeping

Required

- Brahimi, L. et al., Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (A/55/305-S/2000/809), 21 August 2000. Located at:
http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/
- Claude, Inis L., *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization*, 3rd ed. (New York: Random House, 1964), Chs. 11, 12*
- Mingst and Karns, *The United Nations in the Twenty-first Century*, Chs. 2, 4.
- “Strategic Summary,” *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2008* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2008)*
- Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, Ch. 1
- Weiss and Daws, eds., *Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, Chs. 18 (Mani), 19 (Doyle & Sambanis), 21 (Pugh)
- Wolfers, Arnold, *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962), Chs. 11, 12*

Recommended

- Aoi, Chiyuki, Cedric de Coning and Ramesh Thakur, eds., *Unintended Consequences of Peacekeeping Operations* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2007)
- Kennedy, Paul, *The Parliament of Man* (New York: Vintage, 2006)

2. Peace Operations and the UN-US Relationship

Required

- Dobbins, James, ‘The UN’s Role in Nation Building: From the Belgian Congo to Iraq’, Nassrine Azimi and Chang Li Lin, eds, *United Nations as Peacekeeper and Nation-BUILDER: Continuity and Change – What Lies Ahead* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff for the UN Institute for Training and Research, Geneva and the Institute of Policy Studies, Singapore, 2005), pp. 109-128.*
- Durch, William J., ‘Keeping the Peace: Politics and Lessons of the 1990s’, in Durch, ed., *UN Peacekeeping, American Policy and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (New York: St. Martin’s Press for the Henry L. Stimson Center, 1996) pp. 1-34.*
- Sewell, Sarah B. ‘Multilateral Peace Operations’, in Stewart Patrick and Shepard Forman, eds., *Multilateralism and U.S. Foreign Policy: Ambivalent Engagement* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002), pp. 191-224*
- Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, Ch. 2

Recommended

- Bellamy, Alex J., Paul Williams and Stuart Griffin, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2004)
- Daalder, Ivo, 'Knowing When to Say No: The Development of US Policy for Peacekeeping', in William J. Durch, ed., *UN Peacekeeping, American Policy, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (New York: St. Martin's Press for the Henry L. Stimson Center, 1996), pp. 35–67
- Luck, Edward C., *Mixed Messages: American Politics and International Organization 1919–1999* (Washington DC: Brookings, 1999)
- Thakur, Ramesh and Albrecht Schnabel, eds., *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Ad Hoc Missions, Permanent Engagement* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2001)

3. Human Security

Required

- Krause, Keith, 'Is Human Security "More than Just a Good Idea"?', in *Promoting Security: But How and For Whom?* (Bonn: Bonn International Center for Conversion, Brief 30, October 2004)*
- Mingst and Karns, *The United Nations in the Twenty-first Century*, Ch. 7.
- Owen, Taylor, 'Human Security – Conflict, Critique and Consensus: Colloquium Remarks and a Proposal for a Threshold-Based Definition', *Security Dialogue* 35:3 (September 2004), pp. 373–87*
- Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, Ch. 3
- Weiss and Daws, eds., *Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, Ch. 31 (Hampson & Penny)

Recommended

- Human Security Now* (New York: Commission on Human Security, 2003)
- Human Security Report 2005* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005)
- MacFarlane, S. Neil and Yuen Foong Khong, *Human Security and the United Nations: A Critical History* (Indiana University Press for the UN Intellectual History Project, 2006)

4. Human Rights: Civil Society and the United Nations

Required

- Mingst and Karns, *The United Nations in the Twenty-first Century*, Ch. 6.
- Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, Ch. 4
- Weiss and Daws, eds., *Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, Ch. 14 (Wapner)

Recommended

- Forsythe, David, *Human Rights in International Relations*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Forsythe, David, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Ignatieff, Michael, *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*, edited and introduced by Amy Gutmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001)
- Slim, Hugo, *By What Authority? The Legitimacy and Accountability of Non-governmental Organisations* (Geneva: International Council on Human Rights Policy, 2002). Available at www.ichrp.org

- Törnquist-Chesnier, Marie, "How the ICC Came to Life: The Role of NGOs," *Global Society* 21:3 (July 2007), pp. 449–65
- Zaidi, Sarah and Roger Normand, *Human Rights and the United Nations: The Political History of Universal Justice* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press for the UN Intellectual History Project, 2007)

5. International Criminal Justice

Required

- Annan, Kofi A., *The rule of law and transitional justice in conflict and post-conflict societies*. Report of the Secretary-General. (New York: United Nations, document S/2004/616, 23 August 2004)*
- Hayden, Robert M., 'Biased Justice: "Humanrightism" and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia', in Raju G. C. Thomas, ed., *Yugoslavia Unraveled: Sovereignty, Self-determination, Intervention* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), pp. 259-286.*
- Hughes, Edel, William A. Schabas and Ramesh Thakur, eds., *Atrocities and International Accountability: Beyond Transitional Justice* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2007)
- Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, Ch. 5
- Weiss and Daws, eds., *Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, Chs. 11 (Crawford & Grant), 26 (Goldstone)

Recommended

- Cobban, Helena, *Amnesty after Atrocity? Healing Nations after Genocide and War Crimes* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2007)
- Dallaire, Romeo, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* (New York: Random House, 2003)
- Goldstone, Richard and Adam Smith, *International Judicial Institutions: The Architecture of International Justice at Home and Abroad* (London: Routledge, 2008)
- Hughes, Edel, William A. Schabas and Ramesh Thakur, eds., *Atrocities and International Accountability: Beyond Transitional Justice* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2007)
- Mamdani, Mahmood, *When Victims become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002)
- Paris, Erna, *The Sun Climbs Slow: Justice in the Age of Imperial America* (Toronto: Knopf Canada, 2008)
- Power, Samantha, *'A Problem from Hell': America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Perennial, 2003)
- Schiff, Benjamin N., *Building the International Criminal Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Thakur, Ramesh and Peter Malcontent, eds., *From Sovereign Impunity to International Accountability: The Search for Justice in a World of States* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2004)
- Thakur, Ramesh and Vesselin Popovski, "The Responsibility to Protect and Prosecute: The Parallel Erosion of Sovereignty and Impunity," *Yearbook of International Law and Jurisprudence* 2007, Vol. 1 (New York: Oceana, 2008), pp. 39–61

6. International Sanctions

Required

- Ali, Mohamed M. and Iqbal H. Shah, 'Sanctions and Childhood Mortality in Iraq', *Lancet* 355 (May 2000), pp. 1837–57*
- Brzoska, Michael, 'From Dumb to Smart? Recent Reforms of UN Sanctions', *Global Governance* 9:4 (Oct–Dec 2003), pp. 519–35*
- Gordon, Joy, 'A Peaceful, Silent, Deadly Remedy: The Ethics of Economic Sanctions', *Ethics & International Affairs* 13 (1999), pp. 123–42*
- Mueller, John and Karl Mueller, 'Sanctions of Mass Destruction', *Foreign Affairs* 78:3 (May/June 1999), pp. 43–53*
- Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, Ch. 6
- Weiss and Daws, eds., *Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, Ch. 20 (Cortright et al.)

Recommended

- Baer, George W., 'Sanctions and Security: The League of Nations and the Italian-Ethiopian War, 1935–1936', *International Organization* 27 (Spring 1973), pp.
- Garfield, Richard, *Morbidity and Mortality among Iraqi Children from 1990 to 1998: Assessing the Impact of Economic Sanctions*, Occasional Paper Series 16:OP:3 (Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies of the University of Notre Dame and the Fourth Freedom Forum, March 1999)
- Hufbauer, Gary C., Jeffrey J. Schott and Kimberley Ann Elliot, *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered: History and Current Policy* (Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 2003)
- Lopez, George A. and David Cortright, 'Containing Iraq: Sanctions Worked', *Foreign Affairs* 83:4 (July/August 2004), pp. 90–103
- Mack, Andrew and Asif Khan, 'UN Sanctions: A Glass Half Full?', in Price and Zacher, eds., *The United Nations and Global Security*, pp.
- Pape, Robert A., 'Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work', *International Security* 22 (Fall 1997), pp.

7. The Nuclear Threat

Required

- A more secure world: our shared responsibility*. Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (New York: United Nations, document A/59/565, 2 December 2004), pp. 39–47.
- Findlay, Trevor, 'The lessons of UNSCOM and UNMOVIC', in *Verification Yearbook 2004* [London: Verification Research, Training and Information Centre (VERTIC), 2004], pp. 65–86*
- Lewis, Patricia and Ramesh Thakur, 'Arms control, disarmament and the United Nations', *Disarmament Forum* 2004 no. 1, pp. 17–28*
- Mathews, Jessica Tuchman, 'Weapons of Mass Destruction and the United Nations', *Global Governance* 10:3 (July–September 2004), pp. 265–67*
- Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, Ch. 7

Recommended

- Bajema, Natasha (rapporteur), *Weapons of Mass Destruction and the United Nations: Diverse Threats and Collective Responses* (New York: International Peace Academy, June 2004)

Blix, Hans, *Disarming Iraq* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2004)

Tannenwald, Nina, 'The UN and Debates Over Weapons of Mass Destruction', in Richard M. Price and Mark W. Zacher, eds., *The United Nations and Global Security* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp.

8. International Terrorism

Required

A more secure world: our shared responsibility. Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (New York: United Nations, document A/59/565, 2 December 2004), pp. 47–52.

Joyner, Christopher C., 'The United Nations and Terrorism: Rethinking Legal Tension between National Security, Human Rights, and Civil Liberties', *International Studies Perspectives* 5:3 (2004), pp. 240-257.*

Luck, Edward C., 'Another Reluctant Belligerent: The United Nations and the War on Terrorism', in Richard M. Price and Mark W. Zacher, eds., *The United Nations and Global Security* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 95-108.*

Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, Ch. 8

Weiss and Daws, eds., *Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, Ch. 24 (Boulden)

Recommended

Ankersen, Christopher, *Understanding Global Terror* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2007)

Boulden, Jane and Thomas G. Weiss, eds., *Terrorism and the UN: Before and After September 11* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004)

Cole, David and Jules Lobel, *Less Safe, Less Free: Why America Is Losing the War on Terror* (Place: New Press, 2007)

Krueger, Alan B., *What Makes a Terrorist?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007)

Rejali, Darius, *Torture and Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007)

United Nations, Report of the Working Group on the United Nations and Terrorism, A/57/273 (6 August 2002)

9. The Responsibility to Protect

Required

A more secure world: our shared responsibility. Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (New York: United Nations, document A/59/565, 2 December 2004), pp. 59–74

Annan, Kofi A., "Two Concepts of Sovereignty," *The Economist*, 18 September 1999: 49–50*

Deng, Francis M., 'Frontiers of Sovereignty', *Leiden Journal of International Law* 8:2 (June 1995), pp. 249–86*

Thakur, Ramesh, 'Iraq and the Responsibility to Protect', *Behind the Headlines* 62:1 (Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, October 2004)*

Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, Ch. 11

Welsh, Jennifer, Carolin J. Thielking and S. Neil MacFarlane, 'The responsibility to protect: Assessing the report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty', in Ramesh Thakur, Andrew F. Cooper and John English, eds., *International Commissions and the Power of Ideas* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2005), pp. 198–220*

Recommended

- Annan, Kofi A., *Facing the Humanitarian Challenge: Towards a Culture of Prevention* (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1999)
- Chesterman, Simon, *Just War or Just Peace? Humanitarian Intervention and International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)
- Evans, Gareth, *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2008)
- Holzgrefe, J.L. and Robert E. Keohane, eds., *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Holt, Victoria K., and Tobias C. Berkman, *The Impossible Mandate? Military Preparedness, the Responsibility to Protect and Modern Peace Operations* (Washington, DC: Stimson Center, 2006)
- ICISS, *The Responsibility to Protect*. Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre for ICISS, 2001). The Report is available on the website at: www.iciss.gc.ca
- Weiss, Thomas G., *Humanitarian Intervention: Ideas in Action* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2007)
- Welsh, Jennifer, ed., *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- Wheeler, Nicholas, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

10. Developing Countries and the Eroding Nonintervention Norm

Required

- Acharya, Amitav, 'Redefining the dilemmas of humanitarian intervention', *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 56:3 (2002), pp. 373-381.*
- Ayoub, Mohammed, 'Third World Perspectives on Humanitarian Intervention and International Administration', *Global Governance* 10:1 (2004), pp. 99-118.*
- Heine, Jorge, 'The responsibility to protect: Humanitarian intervention and the principle of non-intervention in the Americas', in Ramesh Thakur, Andrew F. Cooper and John English, eds., *International Commissions and the Power of Ideas* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2005), pp. 221-45*
- Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, Ch. 12

Recommended

- Chatterjee, Partha, 'Empire after Globalisation', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 39:37 (11 September 2004), p. 4158-63
- Weiss, Thomas G., Don Hubert, et al., *The Responsibility to Protect: Research, Bibliography, and Background*. Supplementary volume to the Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001), summaries of the round-the-world regional discussions, pp. 349-98

11. Reforming the United Nations

Required

- A more secure world: our shared responsibility*. Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (New York: United Nations, document A/59/565, 2 December 2004), pp. 75-93

Annan, Kofi A., *In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all*. Report of the Secretary-General (New York: United Nations, document A/59/2005, 21 March 2005), pp. 39–52

Glennon, Michael, 'Idealism at the U.N.', *Policy Review* No. 129 (2005), pp. 3-14.*

Luck, Edward, "How Not to Reform the United Nations," *Global Governance* 11:4 (2005), pp. 407-414.*

Mingst and Karns, *The United Nations in the Twenty-first Century*, Ch. 8.

Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, Ch. 13

Recommended

2005 World Summit Outcome, adopted by UN General Assembly as Resolution A/RES/60/1, (24 October 2005)

12. At the Crossroads of Ideals and Reality

Required

Annan, *In larger freedom*, pp. 3–7

Mingst and Karns, *The United Nations in the Twenty-first Century*, Ch. 1.

Newman, Edward and Ramesh Thakur, 'Conclusions: Multilateralism under challenge or in crisis?', Edward Newman, Ramesh Thakur and John Tirman, eds., *Multilateralism under Challenge? Power, International Order, and Structural Change* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2006), pp. 531–40*

Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, Conclusion

Tharoor, Shashi, 'Saving Humanity from Hell', in Edward Newman, Ramesh Thakur and John Tirman, eds., *Multilateralism under Challenge? Power, International Order, and Structural Change* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2006), pp. 21–33*