

(24 Nov. 2007)

University of Miami  
Department of International Studies

**INS 460CD-082 Spring 2008  
United Nations Seminar**

Meeting time: Mondays and Wednesdays, 10:10 a.m.-12:25 p.m.  
LC 194

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Note: I'm quite flexible as to time, so feel free to e-mail me for an appointment outside of office hours.

*"We have come to a fork in the road. This may be a moment no less decisive than 1945 itself, when the United Nations was founded. At that time, a group of far-sighted leaders, led and inspired by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, were determined to make the second half of the century different from the first half. They saw that the human race had only one world to live in, and that unless it managed its affairs prudently, all human beings may perish." (UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, at opening of UN General Assembly, September 23, 2003 )*

Course description and teaching objectives: This course is among those in the field of "International Institutions, Organizations, Development" within the undergraduate program in international studies. It is also designed to be helpful preparation for those students participating in the University's Model UN Team, which has taken top honors for several years at the annual competition each spring at UN headquarters in New York. Any students interested in the United Nations should consider joining the UM Model UN activities.

The course will introduce students to the organization and functions of the United Nations, including its structure, its network of agencies, its financing, and the wide range of issues in which the United Nations is involved. We will give special attention to the decision-making process in the UN, its role in the maintenance of peace and security, its role in the defense of human rights, its activities in economic and social progress of peoples, its role in environmental protection and improvement, and its activities in humanitarian issues.

Students will critically analyze the controversial issues involving UN treaties and resolutions. They will develop skills in negotiation and conflict resolution and enter into the debate on the boundaries of multilateral governance under the UN and other global institutions. They will research and write papers on those areas of UN activity in which they develop their own special interests.

It is important to look at where the UN and its agencies fit into the contemporary world arena within a broad framework of issues, having to do with every aspect of human life on this planet. We will pay considerable attention to the role of the United States within the UN. To what extent is the perceived “unilateralism” of the US an inhibition to the UN’s effectiveness?

We will pay particular attention to the UN’s role in world politics in an increasingly complex context, how different countries view that role, and how differences are resolved when their views collide, as they did with the Iraq war, begun in 2003. These difficulties have been further illustrated by the contentious issues in 2007-2008 of how to deal with the nuclear aspirations of Iran and North Korea, as well as the conflicts in the Near East (Israel, Palestine, Lebanon). We can rely on them being the “hot” issues as our Spring semester progresses.

The course meets at an important juncture in the institutional life of the UN, to which we will pay great attention. The last several years have seen a reform process. Much of it remains to be accomplished, though many of its goals and plans of action are now clear. On December 2, 2004 the long-awaited report of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, drafted by the 16-member group of eminent persons, was presented to Secretary General Kofi Annan. Containing 101 recommendations for the reform of the UN, it was transmitted to the General Assembly for review. It has been termed the most important document since the UN Charter. See <http://www.un.org/secureworld> for the report and summary. We will refer to it in several class sessions.

On March 21, 2005, the Secretary General issued a comprehensive report, “In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All.” Based on the 2000 Millennium Declaration, it includes a review of the progress made on achieving the Millennium Development Goals, another significant milestone in the work of the UN.

In August 2005 President George W. Bush made a “recess appointment” of the controversial John Bolton as U.S. ambassador to the U.N. (Bolton’s term ended in December 2006, as he was not confirmed by the U.S. Senate.) Bush had said that he expected Bolton to push for administrative reform of the U.N. This issue was debated at the UNGA “Summit” in August-September 2005 and reflected in the World Summit Outcome.

In September 2005, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the 2005 World Summit Outcome, the result of the organization’s deliberations over the reforms set in motion in Secretary General Annan’s address in 2003, as well as the Millennium

Development Goals and other initiatives. It is important to focus on what was accomplished in this monumental effort as well as what was not accomplished.

In December 2005 important meetings were held in Montreal on the Kyoto Protocol and climate change, as well as the ministerial meeting of the “Doha Round” of the World Trade Organization, in Hong Kong. The results of both these meeting can be called “modest.”

During 2006, the race was on to select a new Secretary General to replace Kofi Annan, whose term ended in December 2006. As we have seen, this position is not given a great deal of power in the Charter but has assumed an immense importance in world politics. The South Korean nominee, foreign minister Ban Ki-moon, was elected, took office in January, and thus far has seemed to indicate a more deliberative, low-key style than Annan’s.

In October 2006 the British Government announced the publication of a report on climate change by Sir Nicholas Stern. It laid out dire warnings if there is not a successor to the Kyoto Protocol when it expires in 2012. Along with terrorism, climate change is a major issue facing the UN.

More on climate change: in February 2007 Working Group I of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) adopted the Summary for Policymakers of the first volume of “Climate Change 2007”, also known as the Fourth Assessment Report (AR4). “Climate Change 2007: The Physical Science Basis”, assesses the current scientific knowledge of the natural and human drivers of climate change, observed changes in climate, the ability of science to attribute changes to different causes, and projections for future climate change. The report was produced by some 600 authors from 40 countries. Over 620 expert reviewers and a large number of government reviewers also participated. Representatives from 113 governments reviewed and revised the Summary line-by-line during the course of this week before adopting it and accepting the underlying report. (see Blackboard). A new report of the IPCC came out in November 2007, reiterating the findings of the previous three.

In November 2007 Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon “challenged the world's policymakers to start devising a comprehensive deal for tackling climate change at next month's summit (December 2007) in Bali, Indonesia, after a United Nations report released today found that global warming is unequivocal and could cause irreversible damage to the planet. . . . Mr. Ban said that slowing and even reversing the effects of climate change ‘is the defining challenge of our age.’” (UN press release 17 November 2007)

As for US representation in the UN post-Bolton, in early January 2007 a senior Bush administration official said that the president intended to appoint the US ambassador to Iraq, Zalmay Khalilzad, as the new United States ambassador. Taking office in April, Khalilzad, a highly regarded professional and a Muslim, has given a new look to the U.S. presence at the UN, if not necessarily a change in policy.

Ambassador Khalilzad's positive impact is already being felt. UN Security Council Resolution 1770, passed on August 10, 2007 (jointly sponsored by the US and the UK) extends the mission on the UN in Iraq (UNAMI) and gives it a greater role in advising the Iraqi government and in facilitating dialogue. It perhaps signifies that the US is shifting its approach "ever so cautiously toward both Iraq and the UN" according to William Luers, head of the NGO UN Association of the USA.

**Textbooks:**

**Required: These books should be purchased:**

Paul F. Diehl, editor, The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 2005) ISBN 1-58825-328-2

Jean E. Krasno, ed. The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society. (Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 2004) ISBN 1-58826-280-4

Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice (United Nations Dept. of Public Information, United Nations NY 10017)

**The following are helpful references, but not required to be purchased:**

Allison, Graham Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe (New York: Henry Holt, 2004) ISBN 0-8050-7651-4

Baker, James and Hamilton, Lee The Iraq Study Group Report (New York: Random House, 2006) ISBN 978-0-38656-4

Ben-Ami, Shlomo Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: the Israeli-Arab Tragedy (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2006) ISBN 0-19-518158-1

Carter, Jimmy Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid (New York, Simon and Shuster, 2006) ISBN 978-0-7432-8502-5

Carter, Jimmy Our Endangered Values: America's Moral Crisis (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005)

Cohen, Raymond Negotiating Across Cultures (2 ed.) (Washington. D.C. : U.S. Institute of Peace, 1997). ISBN 1-878379-72-0

Council on Foreign Relations Humanitarian Intervention: Crafting a Workable Doctrine (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2000) ISBN 0-87609-269-5

Fasulo, Linda An Insider's Guide to the UN (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2004) ISBN 0-300-10155-4

Fukuyama, Francis State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2004) ISBN 0-8014-4292-3

Henkin, Louis Foreign Affairs and the U.S. Constitution (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996)

Joyner, Christopher C. International Law in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. (Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield, 2005) ISBN 0-7425-0009-8

Kagan, Robert Of Paradise and Power (New York: Vintage Books, 2004) ISBN 1-4000-3418-3

Kagan, Robert Dangerous Nation: America's Place in the World from its Earliest Days to the Dawn of the Twentieth Century (New York: Knopf, 2006) ISBN 0-375-41105-4

Layne, Christopher The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006) ISBN 978-0-8014-3713-7

Malone, David M. ed. The UN Security Council, From the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 2004) ISBN 1-58826-240-5

Matheson, Michael Council Unbound: the Growth of U.N. Decision Making on Conflict and Postconflict Issues After the Cold War (Washington D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2006) ISBN 978-1-929223-78-7

Meisler, Stanley United Nations: the First Fifty Years (New York: Atlantic Monthly press, 1995) ISBN 0-87113-656-2

Schabas, William A. An Introduction to the International Criminal Court (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004) ISBN 0 521 53756 8

Sikkink, Kathryn Mixed Signals: U.S. Human Rights Policy and Latin America (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2004) ISBN 0-8014-4270-2

Smith, Courtney B. Politics and Process at the United Nations; the Global Dance (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2006)

Sokolski, Henry and Clawson, Patrick, eds. Getting Ready for a Nuclear-Ready Iran (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, USAWC, 2005)

Victor, David G. Climate Change: Debating America's Policy Options (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2004) ISBN 0-87609-343-8 (**out of print**)

Zartman, I. William ed. Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques (revised ed.) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2007) ISBN 978-1-929223-66-4.

**Other assigned readings** will be posted on the “**Blackboard**,” as noted in daily class assignments in this syllabus. Always check the Blackboard before each class session, for notices, assignments and supplementary readings. The UN is a dynamic, not a static organization; important events will break even during our semester. Become familiar with the “Course Documents” section of the Blackboard; nearly all of the assigned readings (besides the required textbooks) are there. The UN website is important as a source of information, [www.un.org](http://www.un.org)

Another **good source** for papers, studies, and materials on the UN is the United Nations Association of the USA, a New York-based NGO whose purpose is to educate the US public and build support for the UN. See its website at [www.unausa.org](http://www.unausa.org)

#### **Requirements of the course:**

**Policy papers:** (4) Students will write four policy papers on a UN issue, reflecting the point of view of a particular country or from a global perspective as a “world citizen.” The papers should involve the background of the issue, an analysis, and specific recommendations for action. **Please provide the instructor with hard copies of the papers, not e-mail**, unless there are extenuating circumstances which make this impossible.

The **first three papers** should be double-spaced, at least 7 pages in length, 12 point Times New Roman font.

The **final paper** should be at least 15 pages in length, 12 point Times New Roman font.

If asked by instructor, papers should be made available to other students on the “Blackboard.” **No late papers will be allowed without penalty** unless the student is able to provide proof of a medical emergency or has a similarly good excuse.

Note: You get writing credit for this course. According to the rules, however, you must receive a grade of B or higher to receive the writing credit.

**The papers should include bibliographies and either in-text citations or footnotes.**

Please add a cover page, to keep confidential my written comments as I hand the papers back to you.

**Are you familiar with writing research papers?** If you're not an old hand at this, there are two books, both available at the campus bookstore, which you will want to consult :

Gibaldi, Joseph MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers (6<sup>th</sup> ed.) New York: Modern Language Association, 2003 (a **must** for footnotes, citations and bibliographies) and

Strunk, William and White, E.B. The Elements of Style (4<sup>th</sup> ed.), New York: Longman, 2000

**Researchers, watch out:** you have probably discovered that there's a free on-line encyclopedia, WIKIPEDIA, at [www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org) which is very up-to-date on its info. Problem is, the entries are sent in by individuals and it's not properly peer-reviewed. Therefore, it shouldn't be listed as a reference in academic papers. Use it at your risk; if you do, verify its information with other sources. It's undergoing a "shakeup" to correct abuses; see the WIKIPEDIA file under Course Documents on the Blackboard.

**Class Presentations and participation:** Students are required to do all the readings BEFORE class and come prepared to discuss them. Each student will have at least two opportunities to make presentations on the readings, in accordance with an **assignment sheet** to be given at an early class session. Students should prepare written outlines of their presentations for distribution to the class at its beginning. Model UN debate topics will also be assigned to students for presentation in class.

Components of the grade are as follows:

First three papers: 15% each	45%
Final paper:	25%
Class presentations, debates	<u>30%</u>
	100%

**Mandatory Attendance:** Students are expected to attend all sessions. The course is a seminar, limited to 20 students, in which maximum participation is encouraged, and the learning process evolves through the give-and-take of discussion. Remember that class participation is 30% of the final grade, and being absent without a valid excuse will result in points lost. If you have such an excuse, please let me know in advance by e-mail.

**Individual conferences:** I am available and want to discuss with you such matters as your paper topics, source materials and readings. Please note my office hours. If they are not convenient, we can arrange other times.

### **Course Schedule:**

Monday, January 14: Explanation of the course, readings, procedures.  
Opening comments and discussion about the UN.  
See the UN web site at [www.un.org](http://www.un.org) get familiar with this  
web site and spend some time with it!

Wednesday, January 16: What are the most pressing issues facing UN today?  
Blackboard (BB), UN Global Issues  
The Charter of the United Nations. Read it!

Monday January 21: NO CLASS: Martin Luther King Jr. Day

Wednesday, January 23: An overview: organization and structure of the United Nations.  
Krasno, Chapter 1.  
Madeleine Albright on the relevance of the UN today; see  
her article, "Think Again: the United Nations" (Blackboard; under  
"Course Readings")

Monday, January 28: How and why was the United Nations Established?  
Krasno, Chapter 2

Wednesday, January 30: (Lecture will draw upon Henkin, Louis Foreign Affairs and  
the U.S. Constitution)

International law and treaties. Are treaties domestic law as well as  
International law? What is US practice regarding international law?  
How does international law relate to "regime theory"

"Taking Treaties Less Seriously" under BB, Course Readings. This article  
was written in 1998. What about the situation today?  
The Breard Case, BB, Course Readings.  
Regime theory defined, BB, Course Readings

Monday, February 4: Why international organizations exist  
Diehl, introduction and chapters 1 and 2.

Wednesday, February 6: from 12:30 to 1:30 Session on RESEARCH RESOURCES  
with Librarian Assistant Professor Chellammal (Chella) Vaidyanathan  
the Richter Library Room 344 (Information Literacy Lab)

Monday, February 11: The UN and the search for global norms and standards.  
The complex structure of the UN.  
Krasno, Chapter 3.

(second topic): Are institutions the answer peace and  
security? Explore some controversial and contrary views.

Diehl, chapter 3

Wednesday, February 13: Decision-making in the UN: does it work? Focus on the office of Secretary General and on the Security Council. How was Ban Ki-moon, the new Secretary General chosen, to replace Kofi Annan, whose term ended in December 2006? Will his style be different from Annan's?

Diehl, introduction and chapters 4, 5 and 6  
Selection of New Secretary General, BB folder

Monday, February 18 : Peace and security: Can collective security exist? Do we know what it is?  
Diehl, pp. 193-195 and chapter 8

Wednesday, February 20: ☺ (**first paper due**) Peace and security: the UN Security Council and its record in the 1990s  
Gareth Evans, "When is it Right to Fight?" (BB, in "Articles from SURVIVAL")

Supplementary: Glennon, "Why the Security Council Failed" (BB, "course readings")  
Jessica Mathews on Iraq and WMD (BB, "other readings of interest")

Monday, February 25: Peace and security: reconstruction after war and the future of international peacekeeping  
Diehl, Chapters 9 and 10  
Krasno, Chapter 8  
2005 World Summit Outcome— section on Peacekeeping Operations

Wednesday, February 27: U.N. supervision of free and fair elections; an indispensable activity to promote peace and stability?  
Krasno, Chapter 5.

Monday, March 3: Human Rights and the U.N.: idealism and reality  
Krasno, chapter 4  
Amnesty International Report 2006 (BB)

Wednesday, March 5 : Human rights and the International Criminal Court  
See readings under course materials on BB folder,  
"The US and human rights policy, and International Criminal Court"  
Supplementary: Schabas, An Introduction to the International Criminal Court

☀️(spring recess: March 8-16) ☀️

Monday, March 17: Economic and Social Issues: Financing the UN and its agencies, and their value  
Krasno, chapter 9.  
Diehl, chapter 7

Wednesday, March 19: Economic and social issues: human development; the UN Millennium Development Goals  
See [www.undp.org](http://www.undp.org) and especially Human Development Report 2005,

Monday, March 24: ☀️:(**second paper due**)  
Environment and the UN: from Stockholm (1972)  
to Rio (1992) to Johannesburg (2002) to Montreal (2005)  
Maria Ivanova, BB, Environmental Issues, “UN Environmental Programme”  
Diehl, chapter 16  
See UN web site, info. on UN Environmental Programme (UNEP)

Wednesday, March 26: The Kyoto Accord: the UN and the Threat of Global Warming  
Climate Change (Council on Foreign Relations publication);  
Also, other items in folder, BB on Environmental Issues

Monday, March 31: Class debate on appropriate policy for the U.S. to face global warming; the Three Alternatives from Climate Change

Wednesday, April 2: Differing views of the UN: opening speeches at the opening session of the UNGA, September 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006

Monday, April 7: The UN and issues of terrorism  
See [www.un.org](http://www.un.org) and especially  
<http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism.asp>  
UN Security Council Resolutions on terrorism from 2002-2006

Wednesday, April 9 🌀: (**third paper due**)  
U.S. foreign policy and the UN: are they at odds?  
The National Security Strategy of the United States (2006)  
Tharoor, “Why the U.S. Needs the U.N.” (BB, “course readings”)  
Albright, “Fighting the Wrong War” (BB, “course readings”)

Monday, April 14: U.S. policy and the United Nations (continued)  
Nye, Joseph, article on “Soft Power” (BB, “course readings”)  
Tucker: “The Sources of American Legitimacy” (BB, “course readings”)  
Is legitimacy important? Why, or why not?

Wednesday, April 16: Disarmament and nuclear nonproliferation.  
Krasno, chapter 7.  
Also, BB, entire folder on Disarmament and Nonproliferation

Monday, April 21: UN Reform Process major steps (part 1)  
Report of UN “ High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change,”  
see: <http://www.un.org/secureworld> of Dec. 2, 2004  
Supplementary: David M. Malone, ed. The UN Security Council, From  
the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

Wednesday, April 23 UN Reform Process—major steps (part 2)  
Kofi Annan, “In Larger Freedom: Decision Time at the UN” (2005  
Foreign Affairs article on Blackboard)  
“In Larger Freedom” Kofi Annan’s report to the General  
Assembly of March 21, 2005 (in [www.un.org](http://www.un.org))

The 2005 World Summit Outcome  
What has been the follow-up since then?

Conclusions:

Diehl: intro and chapters 18 and 19. What are the top reform priorities?  
Which do you think are the most urgent? Most practicable?

**May 3 : FOURTH PAPER DUE**