

# NATO Library

*THEMATIC BIBLIOGRAPHIES*  
*No. 7/2003*

**THE EVOLUTION OF THE UNITED  
NATIONS SINCE 1995**  
**L'ÉVOLUTION DES NATIONS UNIES  
DEPUIS 1995**

*Bibliographies Thématiques*  
*No. 7/2003*

# Bibliothèque de l'OTAN

**WHERE TO CONTACT US :**

NATO Library  
Public Diplomacy Division  
Room Nb123  
1110 Brussels  
Belgium

Tel.: (32)2/707.44.14  
Fax: (32)2/707.42.49  
E-mail: [library@hq.nato.int](mailto:library@hq.nato.int)

**OU NOUS CONTACTER :**

Bibliothèque de l'OTAN  
Division de la Diplomatie Publique  
Bureau Nb123  
1110 Bruxelles  
Belgique

Tél.: (32)2/707.44.14  
Télécopieur: (32)2/707.42.49  
Adresse électronique: [library@hq.nato.int](mailto:library@hq.nato.int)

**HOW TO OBTAIN A PUBLICATION IN THE LIST BELOW :**

As a member of the NATO HQ staff you can borrow books (Type: M) for a period of one month and journals for one week. Reference works (Type: REF) must be consulted in the Library. People from outside NATO can borrow books through their local library via the interlibrary loan system.

When a journal article is available online, a link to the full text is provided. In some cases you might get prompted for a user name and password in order to connect to the online source. Please contact the Library to obtain this information.

**HOW TO OBTAIN OTHER LIBRARY PUBLICATIONS :**

All previous Library publications edited since 1999 are available on the NATO Intranet site at <http://hqweb/oip/library> (Minerva network) or <http://eapcbdc/library> (EAPC network).

**COMMENT OBTENIR UNE PUBLICATION MENTIONNÉE DANS LA LISTE CI-DESSOUS :**

En tant que membre du personnel de l'OTAN vous pouvez emprunter des livres (Type: M) pour une période d'un mois et des revues pour une semaine. Les livres de référence (Type: REF) sont à consulter sur place. Les personnes n'appartenant pas à l'OTAN peuvent s'adresser à leur bibliothèque locale et emprunter des ouvrages via le système de prêt interbibliothèques.

Lorsqu'un article de revue est disponible en ligne, le lien vers le texte intégral est indiqué. Dans certains cas, un nom d'utilisateur et un mot de passe vous sont demandés. Vous pouvez les obtenir de la Bibliothèque sur simple demande.

**COMMENT OBTENIR D'AUTRES PUBLICATIONS DE LA BIBLIOTHEQUE :**

Toutes les publications de la Bibliothèque éditées depuis 1999 sont disponibles sur le site Intranet de l'OTAN à <http://hqweb/oip/library> (réseau Minerva) ou <http://eapcbdc/library> (réseau CPEA).

# **PART I : BOOKS**

## **PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES\***

1995

40 /00098

The United Nations in Its Second Half-Century - New York : Ford  
Foundation.

53 p. ; 23 cm.

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS

Notes:

A Report of the Independent Working Group on the Future of the  
United Nations.

ID number: 80013065

Year: 1995 ?

40 /00086

United Nations in Action - London : UCL Press.

xii, 292 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 1857281144

Author(s):

1. Whittaker, David J.

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book is organized in six parts. Part I introduces the institutional shape of the UN, its purpose, principles and structure. Part II, 'Peacekeeping and collective security', considers that major field of UN action. After a preliminary survey of theory and practice since 1945, selected case-studies are presented. Part III, 'Nuclear questions', deals with the efforts UN members have exercised to cope with the proliferation and testing of nuclear weaponry. Part IV, 'Human rights', centres on the UN's concern to establish and preserve individual and collective human rights. Part V, 'New nations', shows the UN as a midwife bringing groups of people from a state of dependence into self-determination and full statehood. Part VI is called 'New initiatives'.'

ID number: 80012401

Year: 1995

---

\* This list contains material received as of October 6, 2003 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 6 octobre 2003.

40 /00080

Utopia Lost : The United Nations and World Order - New York : Twentieth Century Fund.

x, 421 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0870783580

Author(s):

1. Righter, Rosemary

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Twentieth Century Fund (US)

Notes:

Includes index.

'The author examines here the UN's future place in a world of tumultuous political and technological change, presenting an anatomy of the complex tangle of global organizations that has evolved since 1946, and of their struggle to adapt. She argues that the ideals and cooperative purpose the UN stands for retain their resonance and that powerful governments are now readier, in principle, to turn to it. But they will continue to do so only where and if, it matches the needs of a new and more active era of multilateral diplomacy.'

ID number: 80011725

Year: 1995

40 /00084

The Changing Nature of Intervention : The Role of UN Peacekeeping - London : RISCT.

28 p. : ill.; 25 cm.

(Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 282)

Author(s):

1. Ramsbotham, David

Subject(s):

1. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES

2. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES

3. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Added entry(s):

1. Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism (GB)

Notes:

'This is an authoritative analysis of the weaknesses of the UN Charter and Organisation in relation to peacekeeping, prepared as the Bosnian crisis reached its peak in July 1995. The author discusses all aspects of peacekeeping from preventive diplomacy to conflict resolution and the rehabilitation of war-torn societies. He suggests the need to redefine the objectives of military and humanitarian intervention and makes practical suggestions about the funding and organisation of UN operations; the sensitive questions of intelligence co-operation and the creation of standing forces available to a UN command. He urges reconsideration of the idea of a 'White Helmet' force for Humanitarian and Disaster Relief, for landmine clearance and to assist with development and the employment of ex-soldiers and returning refugees in the aftermath of conflict.'

Year: 1995

65.012 /00061

International Administration : Law and Management Practices in  
International Organisations. Volume 2 - Dordrecht : Nijhoff.  
loose-leaf; 27 cm.  
ISBN: 0792304659  
Subject(s):  
1. INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES--MANAGEMENT  
2. UNITED NATIONS--MANAGEMENT  
Added entry(s):  
1. Cooker, Chris de, ed.  
2. United Nations Institute for Training and Research  
Notes:  
Includes bibliography and index.  
ID number: 80012384  
Year: 1995

401 /00011

The Charter of the United Nations : A Commentary - Oxford, UK : Oxford  
University Press.  
xlix, 1258 p.; 26 cm.  
ISBN: 0198257031  
Subject(s):  
1. UNITED NATIONS--CHARTER  
Added entry(s):  
1. Simma, Bruno, ed.  
Notes:  
Includes index.  
'This is the first commentary on the UN Charter in the English  
language to be published since 1969 and the only one in any  
language to take fully into account its practice and procedure. Written  
by a team of 60 German, Austrian and Swiss scholars of international  
law the Commentary offers an article-by-article account of the  
legislative history, interpretation and practical application of  
each Charter provision, together with a detailed political evaluation  
and recommendation for the future.'  
ID number: 80012373  
Year: 1995

40 /00103

United Nations Reform : Looking Ahead after Fifty Years - Toronto :  
Science for Peace.  
xv, 335 p. : ill.; 23 cm.  
ISBN: 0888669534  
Subject(s):  
1. UNITED NATIONS  
2. UNITED NATIONS--REFORM  
Added entry(s):  
1. Fawcett, Eric, 1927- , ed.  
2. Newcombe, Hanna, ed.  
Notes:  
Bibliography: p. 323-327.  
ID number: 80014183  
Year: 1995

40 /00100

Basic Facts about the United Nations - New York : United Nations.

xiv, 341 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

ISBN: 9211005701

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS

Notes:

Includes index.

'This edition of Basic Facts about the United Nations - issued during the worldwide commemoration of the Organization's Fiftieth Anniversary - offers an overview of the broad range of operations, responsibilities and goals of the United Nations as it responds to the challenges of our time. Separate chapters examine the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in the areas of international peace and security, economic and social development, human rights, humanitarian assistance and assistance to refugees, decolonization and international law.'

ID number: 80013482

Year: 1995

40 /00097

The United Nations at Fifty : Sovereignty, Peacekeeping, and Human Rights

- Washington : Center for Strategic & International Studies.

v, 74 p. ; 28 cm.

(CSIS Report)

ISBN: 0892062681

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Snider, Don M., 1940- , ed.

2. Schwartzstein, Stuart J. D., ed.

3. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Notes:

'In a series of panel discussions, participants in the conference on the 50th anniversary of the United Nations examined three sets of issues that reflect recent efforts to alter the UN's role and the scope of its activities : (1) sovereignty and the right of intervention, (2) peace operations, and (3) the broader UN agenda, with special attention to human rights.'

ID number: 80012945

Year: 1995

40 /00094

The United Nations at Age Fifty : A Legal Perspective - The Hague :

Kluwer Law International.

xvii, 327 p. ; 25 cm.

ISBN: 9041101454

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Tomuschat, Christian, ed.

Notes:

'The 50th anniversary of the United Nations provides a welcome opportunity to reflect on what the world organization has been able to achieve during the first half century of its existence. The contributors assembled in this volume all purport to ascertain whether and to what extent it had been possible to promote the community values acknowledged by the UN Charter

through methods and mechanisms in accordance with the rule of law. The work does not confine itself to focusing solely on developments of the past, and provides insights which can be used as beacons for the future. The volume has been divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to the institutions and mechanisms designed to maintain international peace and security. The second part addresses the additional tasks of the UN. Contributions are from experts who as nationals of countries enjoying special privileges within the UN system or seeking to obtain such a position, are intimately familiar with the policies of their governments, what specific objectives they would like to see pursued by the competent organs and what changes in the institutional structure they may suggest.'

ID number: 80012719

Year: 1995

40 /00093

United Nations : Law, Policies and Practice. Volume 1 - Dordrecht : Nijhoff.

xxiii, 748 p.; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0792327179

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Wolfrum, Rudiger, ed.

Notes:

'This book attempts to describe fully all the institutions, functions and activities undertaken by the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The events, developments, figures and activities which appear are correct and valid as of 1994. The book is intended not only for scholars but also for diplomats, national and international civil servants and journalists who are working within or reporting on the United Nations and its activities.'

ID number: 80012694

Edition: New revised Engl. ed

Year: 1995

40 /00092

New Dimensions of Peacekeeping - Dordrecht : Nijhoff.

xii, 210 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0792333012

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES

2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. Warner, Daniel, ed.

Notes:

'This work brings together the papers presented at a conference on 'New Dimensions of Peacekeeping' which was convened at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva in March 1994. The papers address the new role of peacekeeping (including peacekeeping and peace enforcement) which now emerges - and also places an emphasis upon the role of the 'new comers' in peacekeeping, specifically Japan and Germany. The collection of papers actively discuss both the strengths and weaknesses of the United Nations peacekeeping efforts in meeting the increasing demands placed upon it due to the enormous upsurge in ethnic, religious and other local

conflicts.'  
ID number: 80012634  
Year: 1995

40 /00085

L'ONU dans tous ses etats : son histoire - les principes et les faits -  
les nouveaux defis - et les reformes? - Bruxelles : GRIP.

203 p. : ill.; 25 cm.  
(GRIP Informations ; 24)  
ISBN: 2872910093

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS
2. UNITED NATIONS--REFORM

Added entry(s):

1. Institut de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix et la  
Securite (BE)

Notes:

'Cet ouvrage se presente en cinq parties. D'abord un rappel des  
donnees de base: la genese, les grands principes, l'organisation  
et le mode de fonctionnement. Apres avoir analyse l'epoque de la guerre  
froide, le regard - critique - des auteurs se porte sur le role et  
les actions de l'ONU dans le contexte international d'aujourd'hui. Une  
quatrieme partie se penche sur les relations souvent complexes  
entre 'Bluepeace' (la paix bleue) et d'autres acteurs internationaux.  
Suit enfin l'indispensable debat sur les reformes et les perspectives  
d'avenir face aux nouveaux defis. Realise par une vingtaine de  
specialistes, l'ouvrage - largement illustre - est neanmoins  
accessible a tout esprit curieux, soucieux de comprendre les  
grands enjeux de notre epoque.'

ID number: 80012349  
Year: 1995

327.3 /00549

Verification in All its Aspects, Including the Role of the United Nations  
in the Field of Verification - Ottawa : Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade.

117 p.; 28 cm.

Subject(s):

1. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION
2. UNITED NATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (CA)

Notes:

A United Nations Report Prepared by a Group of Qualified  
Governmental Experts. This report is reprinted and circulated  
by the Government of Canada as a salute to the United Nations  
on the anniversary of its first half century of distinguished  
service.

ID number: 80013626  
Year: 1995

327.3 /00549

La verification sous tous ses aspects, y compris le role de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans le domaine de la verification - Ottawa : Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres et du Commerce International.

138 p.; 28 cm.

Subject(s):

1. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION
2. UNITED NATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres et du Commerce International (CA)

Notes:

Rapport de l'Organisation des Nations Unies etabli par un groupe d'experts gouvernementaux qualifies. Reimpression et diffusion assures par le gouvernement du Canada en hommage a l'Organisation des Nations Unies en cette annee ou elle fete son premier demi-siecle d'eminents services.

ID number: 80013627

Year: 1995

1996

40 /00110

Les Casques bleus - Paris : Presses Universitaires de France.

126 p. : ill.; 18 cm.

(Que Sais-Je? ; 3169)

ISBN: 2130479189

Author(s):

1. Tavernier, Paul

Subject(s):

1. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
2. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 123.

'Pour comprendre la situation actuelle des Casques bleus, il est necessaire d'exposer au moins brievement les efforts entrepris, avant 1945, puis dans la Charte des Nations Unies, pour mettre en place une force armee internationale qui serait au service de la Communaute internationale. L'auteur retrace ensuite l'histoire des Casques bleus, apparus en 1956, a l'occasion de l'expedition franco-anglaise a Suez. Cette histoire couvre deux periodes, celle de 1956 a 1988 et celle qui s'est ouverte en 1988 et se poursuit encore actuellement. La cesure de 1988 permet de distinguer assez nettement duex generations d'operations de maintien de la paix. Apres cette presentation historique, l'auteur examine les aspects administratifs et financiers des operations qui preoccupent de plus en plus les Etats et l'Organisation des Nations Unies, avant de donner quelques precisions sur la participation francaise a ces operations.'

ID number: 80014977

Year: 1996

Sharpening International Sanctions : Toward a Stronger Role for the United Nations - New York : Carnegie Corporation of New York.

x, 78 p.; 26 cm.

Author(s):

1. Stremlau, John

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--SANCTIONS
2. SANCTIONS (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Corporation of New York (US)

Notes:

'Since the end of the Cold War, the UN has mandated international sanctions more often and for a wider variety of reasons than ever before, targeting Angola, Haiti, Iraq, Liberia, Libya, Rwanda, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia. States have justified these sanctions regimes as a means to help resolve conflicts, discourage terrorism, and end human rights abuse. The results have been mixed, but the experience has offered many lessons for the international community regarding the problems and pitfalls of implementing sanctions. The Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict was established by Carnegie Corporation of New York in May 1994 to address the threats to world peace of intergroup violence and to advance new ideas for the prevention and resolution of deadly conflict. The Commission has approached its task by asking several fundamental questions : what are the problems posed by deadly conflict and why is outside help often necessary to deal with these problems ?; What can be done ? What political, economic, military and social tools are at the disposal of the international community ? What strategies work best ? ; Who should do the work ? Sanctions are one of the most powerful and hotly debated tools at the disposal of the international community. The Commission has issued this report to contribute to the debate and to suggest ways of enhancing the effectiveness of international sanctions through the UN.'

ID number: 80013717

Year: 1996

On Rocky Foundations : NATO, the UN and Peace Operations in the Post-Cold War Era - Bradford : University of Bradford.

viii, 87 p.; 24 cm.

(Peace Research Report ; 37)

ISBN: 1851431519

Author(s):

1. Smith, Martin A.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--UNITED NATIONS
2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
3. NATO--ARMED FORCES
4. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. University of Bradford. Department of Peace Studies (GB)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 85-87.

'This book is about the evolution of the political and operational relationship between NATO and the UN during the 1990s. After briefly assessing the Cold War institutional stand-off, the

book traces the development of relations from the initial tentative contacts between the UN and NATO staffs which began in the Spring of 1992, to the extensive, complex and often fraught cooperation forged between 1992 and 1996 in the crucible of the Bosnian crisis. The author argues that, notwithstanding the many problems and frustrations which have arisen on both sides of the new relationship, both NATO and the UN need each other in order to enhance their respective capabilities and relevance for dealing with the security problems of the post-Cold War era. An assessment of the prospects for the maintenance and further development of NATO-UN relations in the period following the Bosnian civil war is included. The author concludes by arguing that the foundations upon which NATO-UN relations have grown are 'rocky' in both senses of the word : fraught, to be sure, but also possessing an underlying solidity.'

ID number: 80013593

Year: 1996

327.7 /00002

The European Union, the United Nations and the Revival of Confederal Governance - Westport, CT : Greenwood Press.

xi, 182 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0313298904

Author(s):

1. Lister, Frederick K.

Subject(s):

1. CONFEDERATION OF STATES

2. EU

3. UNITED NATIONS

Notes:

Includes index.

ID number: 80014491

Year: 1996

40 /00105

A Guide to Peace Support Operations - Providence, RI : Brown University.

iv, 266 p.; 28 cm.

Subject(s):

1. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES

2. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. Mackinlay, John, ed.

2. Brown University. Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies (US)

Notes:

'This guide is for all who are involved in the international efforts to establish peace and relieve human suffering. It is a common reference for military staff officers, government officials, and civil aid workers in emergency relief organizations. Its purpose is to promote a better understanding of each other's organization and function. It has two objectives : first to give military staff and civilian executives a working outline of the characteristics, role, modus operandi, and limitations of all the elements in the operational area; and second to explain the existing structures for cooperation between the agencies in a UN force at the operational level. The military sections also provide the basis for a common concept of operations for contingents from

different nations that may otherwise have differing approaches.'

ID number: 80014244

Year: 1996

4 /00097

NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance - Boulder, CO : Lynne Rienner.

250 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1555876269

Subject(s):

1. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
2. UNITED NATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Weiss, Thomas George, ed.
2. Gordenker, Leon, 1923- , ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 227-240. Includes index.

ID number: 80012957

Year: 1996

1997

40 /00106

What Color Helmet ? : Reforming Security Council Peacekeeping Mandates -  
Newport, RI : Naval War College.

x, 74 p.; 23 cm.

(Newport Papers; 12)

Author(s):

1. Nordquist, Myron H.

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES
2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. Naval War College (US)

Notes:

'This study reviews past peacekeeping operations and the aspects of the Charter of the United Nations that govern the use of force. He proposes that, given the end of the Cold War, distinctions in the UN Charter framework between traditional peacekeeping and enforcement actions can and ought to be reflected in future Security Council peacekeeping mandates. The author also offers realistic peace-enforcement scenarios illustrating how updated mandates might operate.'

ID number: 80014386

Year: 1997

40 /00107

United Nations Handbook : 1997 - Wellington : New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

362 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0477037488

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (NZ)

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book gives up-to-date information on all the organisations of the UN family: the basis of their existence, their aims and structures, and their membership. It covers their activities only insofar as these are set out in relevant mandates. The six principal organs of the UN established by the Charter are included. The Handbook also contains information on subsidiary organs established in accordance with the Charter, related UN organs and programmes, specialised agencies and autonomous bodies brought into relationship with the UN, and various ad hoc organs and programmes.'

ID number: 80014421

Edition: 35th ed.

Year: 1997

40 /00104

The UN, Peace and Force - London : Frank Cass.

209 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0714647594

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES
2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. Pugh, Michael Charles, 1944- , ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 199-203. Includes index.

'Restoring and maintaining peace within war-torn societies is a relatively new task for the United Nations. This book examines the options for the UN in the use of force to secure peace, and the extent to which peacekeeping can be effectively extended to coerce warring factions. The contributions reflect the ferment of debate about the UN and force after setbacks in Somalia, Yugoslavia and elsewhere. The authors examine a wide variety of issues including : the changing context of peace support operations and the problems for the UN in fulfilling mandates; the revival of preventive diplomacy; the constitutional context in which peacekeeping occurs under the UN Charter; and the obligation to provide humanitarian relief. The fundamental question of whether the UN should command military forces engaged in the extensive use of force at all, or contract out to more capable organizations, is discussed, as well as a proposal for a UN Guard. Other issues include : the problem of locating peacekeeping in a military spectrum; the use of force in operations to secure disarmament; and the assumption that 'mission shrink' (or de-escalation of force) is a viable proposition.'

ID number: 80014192

Year: 1997

40 /00102

Documents on Reform of the United Nations - Aldershot, UK : Dartmouth.

xvii, 575 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 1855217430

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--REFORM

Added entry(s):

1. Taylor, Paul Graham, ed.
2. Daws, Sam, ed.
3. Adamczick-Gerteis, Ute, 1964- , ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 573-575.

'This collection of UN documents and other readings will make essential reading for anyone interested in the reform of the United Nations. The materials indicate the main problems identified in the present system, and the main proposals for change. They are the most important writings now available on the main aspects of UN reform. They are introduced and interpreted by the editors. The seven sub-sections are concerned with the justification and management of intervention by the United Nations in the internal affairs of states; developments with regard to the security mechanisms of the United Nations; problems in financing the United Nations and activities such as peace-keeping; recent changes in the Secretariat and proposals for further change; current thinking about relations between the regional organizations and the United Nations; issues concerning the reform of the Security Council, and problems concerning the amendment and reinterpretation of the Charter.'

ID number: 80013759

Year: 1997

1998

40 /00117

The UN Secretary-General from the Cold War to the New Era : A Global Peace and Security Mandate ? - Houndmills, UK : MacMillan.

vii, 239 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0333687043

Author(s):

1. Newman, Edward, 1970-

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS. SECRETARY-GENERAL

Notes:

Includes index.

'Boutros-Ghali proclaimed in 1996 that the Secretary-General is 'an impartial figure with a global mandate'. This was reminiscent of those in 1945 who heralded the 'international leadership' of the Office. Can the Secretary-General guide the United Nations as it seeks to adapt to demands and circumstances quite different from those which existed at its inception, and address the widening agenda of peace and security ? Or is the Office inevitably an adjunct of narrow Great Power manoeuvring ? This book examines the evolving peace and security activities of the United Nations Secretary-General in the context of developments in international politics. The frustrations and opportunities - and controversy - that the Office has experienced in the transition to the post-Cold War era reflect the volatility and uncertainties of the UN in a changing world. The Secretary-General's activities in the 1990s also reflect a development of the international civil service beyond the classical model.'

ID number: 80016042

Year: 1998

40 /00112

Friedenssicherung durch regionale Organisationen in Europa - Frankfurt :

Peter Lang.

254 p.; 21 cm.

(Europäische Hochschulschriften ; 2485)

ISBN: 363133513X

Author(s):

1. Kuhne, Hartmut

Subject(s):

1. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
2. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES
3. INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES--EUROPE

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 239-254.

'Das Verhältnis zwischen Vereinten Nationen und regionalen Organisationen hat seit der 'Zeitenwende' der Jahre 1989/90 an Aktualität gewonnen. Die Blockade des Sicherheitsrats ist gelockert, die VN aber sind logistisch und finanziell überfordert, weltweit Krisen zu lösen. Zugleich weiten Organisationen wie NATO und OSZE ihren Aktionsradius aus. Können sie den VN auf dem Gebiet der Friedenssicherung Hilfe leisten, z.B. bei der Konfliktlösung im ehemaligen Jugoslawien ? Untergraben sie dabei die Autorität des Sicherheitsrats ? Ausgangspunkt der Arbeit ist eine Analyse von Kapitel VIII UN-Charta. In einem zweiten Teil der Arbeit wird die jüngste Entwicklung von regionalen Staatenverbindungen in Europa (OSZE, EU, NATO, WEU, GUS) beleuchtet.'

ID number: 80015392

Year: 1998

40 /00111

Blue Helmets : The Strategy of UN Military Operations - Washington :

Brassey's.

xxiv, 312 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 1574881388

Author(s):

1. Hillen, John

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES
2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 289-305. Includes index.

'This book is the first to comprehensively address the performance of the United Nations over the past fifty years as an employer of military force and to examine the organization's ability to handle military operations. Analyzing thirty-eight UN military operations conducted worldwide since 1948, international security expert John Hillen answers important questions about the UN's competency to handle complex future operations. With UN operations now costing billions of dollars each year and involving tens of thousands of troops in dangerous operations, many observers have questioned what the appropriate role of the UN should be in global security. Dr. Hillen's conclusions, which include timely postmortems of UN operations in the former Yugoslavia and Somalia, may have a profound impact on the future of collective security. With a foreword by Ambassador Robert Oakley, this book is essential reading for anyone interested in the United Nations and international security in today's volatile world.'

ID number: 80015340

Year: 1998

404 /00014

The Procedure of the UN Security Council - Oxford, UK : Clarendon Press.  
xix, 689 p.; 24 cm.  
ISBN: 0198280734  
Author(s):  
1. Bailey, Sydney Dawson  
2. Daws, Sam  
Subject(s):  
1. UNITED NATIONS. SECURITY COUNCIL  
Notes:  
Includes index.  
ID number: 80016077  
Edition: 3rd ed.  
Year: 1998

65.012 /00061

International Administration : Law and Management Practices in  
International Organisations. Volume 1 - The Hague : Nijhoff.  
loose-leaf; 27 cm.  
ISBN: 0792304659  
Subject(s):  
1. INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES--MANAGEMENT  
2. UNITED NATIONS--MANAGEMENT  
Added entry(s):  
1. Cooker, Chris de, ed.  
2. United Nations Institute for Training and Research  
ID number: 80015610  
Year: 1998

65.012 /00061

International Administration : Law and Management Practices in  
International Organisations. Volume 2 - Dordrecht : Nijhoff.  
loose-leaf; 27 cm.  
ISBN: 0792304659  
Subject(s):  
1. INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES--MANAGEMENT  
2. UNITED NATIONS--MANAGEMENT  
Added entry(s):  
1. Cooker, Chris de, ed.  
2. United Nations Institute for Training and Research  
Notes:  
Includes bibliography and index.  
ID number: 80015611  
Year: 1998

404 /00013

Greece's Candidature for a Non Permanent Seat on the Security Council  
(1999-2000) = Candidature de la Grece au siege de membre non permanent  
du Conseil de Securite (1999-2000) - Athens : Ministry of Foreign  
Affairs.

33 p. : ill. ; 29 cm.

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS. SECURITY COUNCIL
2. UNITED NATIONS--GREECE

Added entry(s):

1. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece (GR)
2. Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres de Grece (GR)

ID number: 80015733

Year: 1998

1999

40 /00126

Peacekeeping and Public Information : Caught in the Crossfire - London :  
Frank Cass.

xiv, 175 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

(Cass Series on Peacekeeping ; 5)

ISBN: 0714644900

Author(s):

1. Lehmann, Ingrid A., 1948-

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES
2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
3. COMMUNICATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
4. PUBLIC OPINION--UNITED NATIONS
5. UNITED NATIONS--INFORMATION SERVICES

Notes:

Bibliography : p. 156-166. Includes index.

'This book demonstrates, through case studies of five peacekeeping operations - Namibia, Cambodia, Rwanda, Haiti and Eastern Slavonia - that it is the norm that public information functions, structures and processes are ignored in the mandate, may or may not be successfully added on later, and are too often relegated to specialist staff. The resultant ad hoc conduct of the public affairs of the mission leaves too much to chance and may lead to fragmented and often contradictory execution at too low a level. This portends ominously for the manner in which the operation will be perceived and eventually, as well, for the manner in which peacekeeping operations in general may be judged.'

ID number: 80017157

Year: 1999

341.2 /00258

Restoring and Maintaining Order in Complex Peace Operations : The Search  
for a Legal Framework - The Hague : Kluwer Law International.

xxvii, 311 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

ISBN: 9041111794

Author(s):

1. Kelly, Michael J., 1938-

Subject(s):

1. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
2. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES

3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION
4. MILITARY OCCUPATION
5. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 287-301. Includes index.

'This book discusses the interaction and the often complex legal relationship between non-governmental humanitarian actors, relevant UN agencies, the warring parties, and international peace forces under international law and practice. In particular, it deals with issues concerning the implication of contemporary peace operations for military forces in terms of force structure, operating procedures and training. This book focuses on the often overlooked but critical issues of the interim administration of law and order in complex operations and on the reconstruction of a local capability in this regard. Many contemporary operational challenges are analysed, including the Balkans and the Middle East. In particular, the book includes a detailed case study of Somalia based on the author's personal knowledge, experience and access to information on the ground in his capacity as military legal adviser to the Australian Defense Force Contingent in Somalia.'

ID number: 80016303

Year: 1999

323 /00656

Dubious Mandate : A Memoir of the UN in Bosnia, Summer 1995 - Durham, NC  
: Duke University Press.

xxii, 268 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0822321262

Author(s):

1. Corwin, Phillip

Subject(s):

1. BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1992-1995--PERSONAL NARRATIVES
2. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA--PERSONAL NARRATIVES
3. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
4. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 255. Includes index.

'A critical year in the history of peacekeeping, 1995 saw the dramatic transformation of the role of United Nations' forces in Bosnia from being a protective force to being an active combatant under NATO leadership. Phillip Corwin, the UN's chief political officer in Sarajevo during the summer of that year, presents a first-person, insider's account of the momentous events that led to that transformation. The book interweaves personal experiences of daily life in a war zone - supply shortages, human suffering, assassination attempts, corruption - with historical facts, as Corwin challenges commonly held views of the war with his own highly informed, discerning, and trenchant political commentary.'

ID number: 80016081

Year: 1999

92 BOUT/00001

Unvanquished : a U.S.-U.N. Saga - London : Tauris.

352 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 186064497X

Author(s):

1. Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 1922-

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--USA

2. UNITED NATIONS. SECRETARY-GENERAL

3. BOUTROS-GHALI, BOUTROS, 1922-

Notes:

Includes index.

'No other secretary-general of the United Nations has done what Boutros Boutros-Ghali does here : give a candid account of the conflict between the US and the UN. The Americans defied the entire Security Council in vetoing Boutros-Ghali's election to a second-term as UN Secretary-General in 1996. Overnight, he became an international cause celebre, a symbol around the world of what many see as the abusive relationship between the United States and the United Nations. Boutros-Ghali writes about this acrimonious partnership and its grave implications for the future of international order, and he asks whether the UN can survive as a tool of American policy. He tells the inside story of debacles in the Middle East, Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda and Haiti and, in uncompromising fashion, warns of future threats to world peace that will ensue from continuing US hostility towards the organizations which the Americans - paradoxically - did so much to create. The author shows how, by selective use and manipulation of the Security Council, the US has frequently degraded the role of the UN to the status of scapegoat. It flaunts its own power by failing to pay UN bills, while at the same time seeking to increase its already considerable influence within the organization. In October 1995, President Clinton lavishly praised Boutros-Ghali for his 'outstanding leadership' and thanked him for his 'vision'. Yet, a mere four months later, the Clinton administration decided that he had to go. What happened in that short time to convince the Americans that the Secretary-General was now a liability ? How did domestic American politics affect the running and the leadership of the UN ? Boutros-Ghali reveals here the dramatic conflict and the personalities involved, posing provocative questions about American domination of the international political world.'

ID number: 80016278

Year: 1999

405 /00010

The Functioning of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights - The Hague : Advisory Council on International Affairs.

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS. COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Added entry(s):

1. Advisory Council on International Affairs (NL)

ID number: 80016220

Year: 1999

UN Peacekeeping in Trouble : Lessons Learned from the Former Yugoslavia :  
 Peacekeepers' Views on the Limits and Possibilities of the United  
 Nations in a Civil War-like Conflict - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.  
 xxix, 378 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.  
 ISBN: 184014176X

## Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
4. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES

## Added entry(s):

1. Biermann, Wolfgang, ed.
2. Vadset, Martin, ed.

## Notes:

Bibliography: p. 373-378.

'This book is intended to fill a gap in the literature about  
 peacekeeping in the former Yugoslavia through a combination  
 of empirical methods. The project combines qualitative  
 research with quantitative methods to analyse the views of  
 the practitioners on different aspects of peacekeeping and  
 conflict mediation.'

ID number: 80016072

Year: 1999

United Nations Sanctions : Effectiveness and Effects, Especially in the  
 Field of Human Rights : A Multi-disciplinary Approach - Antwerpen :  
 Intersentia.

xiv, 161 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 9050950663

## Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--SANCTIONS
2. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS
3. HUMAN RIGHTS

## Added entry(s):

1. Genugten, Willem J. M. van, ed.
2. Groot, Gerard A. de, ed.

## Notes:

Bibliography : p. 153-161.

'Sanctions are generally considered to be a 'blunt instrument',  
 involving a series of negative side effects in the fields of  
 human rights. In this volume, resulting from a conference at  
 Tilburg University in the Netherlands, the problem is being  
 discussed from the perspective of various disciplines :  
 economics, political science, sociology, international law,  
 development studies and ethics. The book's final chapter  
 presents some guidelines on the future use of sanctions. It  
 relates to such issues as the specificity of the objectives of  
 sanctions; the proportionality between objectives and  
 instruments chosen; the possibility to influence the positions  
 of the rulers; the linkage between external and internal  
 pressure; the means to minimize humanitarian damage; the  
 duration of the sanctions; and, finally, the question as to  
 what extent multilateral sanctions are more legitimate than  
 unilateral ones.'

ID number: 80016743

Year: 1999

40 /00127

Preventing War : The United Nations and Macedonia - Lanham, MD : Rowman & Littlefield.

xiii, 202 p. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0742509079

Author(s):

1. Williams, Abiodun, 1961-

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--FYROM

2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 185-191. Includes index.

'In the last decade of the bloodiest century in recorded history, the United Nations devised a new instrument - preventive deployment - to deal with the age-old problem of war. This first-hand study provides the definitive account of the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP), which was deployed from 1992 to 1999 in Macedonia. Abiodun Williams explains why UNPREDEP was established, how it implemented its new mandate, and its pathbreaking accomplishments. Placing his account in the context of the evolution of UN peacekeeping and Macedonian history, Williams's analysis demonstrates that UNPREDEP enhanced the stability and security of Macedonia, as well as provided international political legitimation of the country's sovereignty and independence. The book makes a strong argument for the wisdom and efficacy of preventive action and offers important guidance about its use in other potential conflicts.'

ID number: 80017719

Year: 2000

355.4 /01293

The UN, Europe and Crisis Management - New York : International Peace Academy.

iv, 22 p. : ill. ; 28 p.

Author(s):

1. Ong, Kelvin

Subject(s):

1. CRISIS MANAGEMENT--UNITED NATIONS

2. CRISIS MANAGEMENT--EUROPE

3. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES

4. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. International Peace Academy (US)

2. Fondation pour la Recherche Strategique (FR)

3. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

4. Ministere de la Defense (FR)

Notes:

'This analytical report represents the author's summary of the proceedings of a conference which explored past, present and future cooperation between the UN and regional organizations in Europe in the management of crises. It brought together participants from the UN, the EU, NATO and the OSCE, academia, various militaries and the media. The deliberations, cast against the backdrop of significant developments within the EU to enhance its capability to conduct peace operations, focused

on three major themes : first, an analysis of the principal lessons learnt from UN peace operations in the 1990s and the complex challenges that will be encountered in applying these lessons to the management of future crises; second, an examination of the recent political and security developments in Europe and their consequences for regional cooperation in crisis management; and third, the evolving nature of the UN's relationship with Europe in peacekeeping and peace building.'

ID number: 80017185

Year: 2000

40 /00128

The United Nations in the post-Cold War Era - Boulder, CO : Westview.

xvi, 272 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0813368472

Author(s):

1. Mingst, Karen A.
2. Karns, Margaret P.

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 244-252. Includes index.

'The unfolding post-Cold War era has posed a host of challenges for the United Nations. The dilemmas of sovereignty, rising governance demands, and scarce leadership have grown sharper. This book succeeds in providing a thoroughly updated, fresh look at the role of the United Nations in world politics, with particular attention to the evolving post-Cold War era, its challenges, and its dilemmas. Case studies probing the politics and processes of Iraqi arms inspection, the UN action in the campaign against apartheid, and the Earth Summit are among its distinctive features.'

ID number: 80017803

Edition: 2nd ed.

Year: 2000

40 /00125

Perspectives d'avenir des Nations Unies dans un cadre securitaire -

Bruxelles : Institut Royal Superieur de Defense.

var. p. ; 30 cm.

(Securite et Strategie ; 65)

Author(s):

1. Malvaux, Bruno

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS
2. COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Institut Royal Superieur de Defense. Centre d'Etudes de Defense (BE)

Notes:

'Les Nations Unies ont ete creees sur base de la conception du monde existant en 1945. Ses statuts n'ont ete que peu modifies suite aux changements survenus depuis lors. L'objet de cet essai est de tenter d'approcher les perspectives d'avenir des Nations Unies sur le plan securitaire et les changements eventuels qu'il faudrait apporter a certains organes.'

ID number: 80016863

Year: 2000

The Evolution of US Peacekeeping Policy under Clinton : a Fairweather Friend? - London : Frank Cass.

xx, 203 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0714649376

Author(s):

1. MacKinnon, Michael G., 1969-

Subject(s):

1. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
2. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES
3. USA--ARMED FORCES
4. UNITED NATIONS--USA

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 178-200. Includes index.

'This study examines the dynamic process through which the Clinton administration developed a policy towards UN peace support operations and goes on to explain why it was so different in substance and spirit from what was originally intended. Based on primary sources and interviews the author examines four main factors which shaped the development of policy : the Executive branch; the bureaucracies (the State Department and the Department of Defense); Congress; and public opinion. The four factors are assessed through the lens of a 'political process model', which presents government decision-making as designed or influenced by a combination of several so-called 'power centres' or political actors, such as the executive, advisers, the media and so on. At the heart of the Clinton administration's backtracking lay a divergence between the Executive and Congress over foreign policy in general, but US policy towards the UN and the use of American military abroad in particular. Rather than defend the 50-year trend towards presidential prerogatives in these policy areas, Clinton abandoned a proactive UN policy in order to reduce Congressional criticism and husband his political capital for a domestic policy initiative in order to secure re-election in 1996.'

ID number: 80016169

Year: 2000

The New Politics of Financing the UN - Houndmills, UK : MacMillan.

ix, 213 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0333632095

Author(s):

1. MacDermott, Anthony

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--FINANCE

Notes:

Includes index.

'The UN system is financed through assessed contributions from its 185 members but has been persistently short of money ever since the beginning. Both the regular budget and the peacekeeping budgets have been overstretched. The UN has been accused of bureaucratic inefficiency and waste. This decade has seen attempts by UN Secretaries-General Boutros-Ghali and Annan to streamline the running of activities and to cut costs. This book looks at the past and at how the UN needs to satisfy the demands of the US, which is both its largest contributor and debtor. Simultaneously, the UN has been trying to enact reforms that will enable it to cope with

globalization and sharing its peacekeeping and humanitarian burdens with other international and non-governmental bodies.'

ID number: 80016075

Year: 2000

40 /00130

A Changing United Nations : Multilateral Evolution and the Quest for Global Governance - Houndmills, UK : Palgrave.

xx, 257 p.; 23 cm.

(Global Issues Series)

ISBN: 0333801512

Author(s):

1. Knight, W. Andy

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--REFORM

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 227-252. Includes index.

'The United Nations is at a critical juncture. It is faced with two distinct choices : to remain a 'decision frozen in time' or to develop a long-term adaptation agenda (and strategy) that would allow it to be a relevant institution of global governance for the twenty-first century. Reform and reflexive institutional adjustments have failed to address underlying problems facing this organization. After fifty-five years of existence it is still considered an inefficient and ineffective world body. Worse yet, its relevance is being questioned. This study offers a critique of existing UN change processes and then shifts focus to considerations of institutional learning strategies that would allow the UN to maintain relevance amidst the evolution of global governance arrangements. A bold policy suggestion - a subsidiarity model of global task allocation - is made regarding a new type of multilateral arrangement that would allow the UN to become a 'linchpin' mechanism for global

ID number: 80018210

Year: 2000

404 /00015

La reforme du Conseil de securite : l'etat du debat depuis la fin de la guerre froide - Bruxelles : Bruylant.

xxvi, 371 p.; 24 cm.

(Organisation internationale et relations internationales ; 49)

ISBN: 2802712675

Author(s):

1. Fleurence, Olivier

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS. SECURITY COUNCIL

Notes:

Bibliography : p. 297-325. Includes index.

'Avec la fin de la guerre froide, la question de la reforme du Conseil de securite est revenue devant l'Assemblee generale des Nations Unies. Le debat actuel est neanmoins sans precedent par l'ampleur de la revision envisagee. Portant pour la premiere fois sur toutes les categories de membres du Conseil, la reforme potentielle souleve de nombreux problemes dont la delicate question du droit de veto dont jouissent les 5 membres permanents. Pourtant, dans un environnement en mutation et confronte a des accusations recurrentes d'illegitimite, le Conseil de securite doit rechercher les moyens de renforcer sa

legitimite tout en preservant son efficacite. Meme si les efforts de reforme couvrent aussi ses methodes de travail afin d'assurer une meilleure circulation de l'information et d'associer davantage tous les etats membres de l'Organisation au maintien de la paix, les debats ne doivent pas rester cantonnees a ses deux aspects. Il convient ainsi d'envisager non seulement le Conseil de securite lui-meme, mais encore de prendre en compte l'environnement institutionnel dans lequel il evolue. Les relations entre le Conseil et l'Assemblee generale doivent evoluer afin que chacun puisse, dans le cadre de ses competences propres, participer pleinement a la realisation de l'objectif essentiel de l'ONU qu'est le maintien de la paix et de la securite internationales. De meme, il serait avantageux pour le Conseil d'envisager la possibilite d'un controle de legalite de ses actes afin d'assurer le respect des competences qui lui ont ete attribuees par la Charte et d'ancrer son activite dans le droit. L'impasse dans laquelle ont abouti les negociations, notamment en raison des positions extremes prises par certains, demontre que seule une reflexion globale permettrait de transcender les differentes positions et de realiser une reforme durable du Conseil de securite. Le temps est venu de realiser un retour a l'esprit de la Charte en reaffirmant la nature d'organe du Conseil; organe qui represente l'ensemble des Etats membres des Nations Unies et au sein duquel chacun de ses membres remplit une fonction specifique.'

ID number: 80017142

Year: 2000

40 /00124

Peacekeeping : Evolution or Extinction ? = Maintien de la paix : evolution ou extinction ? - Geneva : UNIDIR.

iii, 100 + 107 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

(Disarmament Forum ; 3/00 = Forum du Desarmement ; 3/00)

Subject(s):

1. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
2. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. Vignard, Kerstin, ed.
2. Compagnion, Valerie, ed.
3. United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research

Notes:

'This issue offers an in-depth examination of the difficult questions surrounding peacekeeping : the historical basis for a standing United Nations force, the effectiveness of burden sharing and regional efforts, verification of peacekeeping, civil-military relations and the privatization of peacekeeping/peace enforcement.'

ID number: 80016710

Year: 2000

323 /00728

L'ONU face au terrorisme - Bruxelles : GRIP.

38 p. ; 30 cm.

(Rapports du GRIP ; 5/2001)

Author(s):

1. Santo, Sandrine

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM--LAW AND LEGISLATION

2. UNITED NATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Groupe de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix et la Securite  
(BE)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 26-28.

'L'ONU est la seule organisation en mesure de lutter contre le fleau du terrorisme de maniere efficace sur un plan international. Si, au premier abord, l'Organisation a tente d'elaborer un dispositif juridique assez complet - entre 1972 et 1998, cinq conventions sur les crimes associes au terrorisme ont pu etre elaborees sous les auspices de l'Assemblee generale -, on peut se rendre compte en l'analysant qu'il est loin de couvrir tous les aspects du terrorisme international, a commencer par sa definition. Malgre l'existence de nombreuses conventions internationales et regionales, force est de constater que la plupart ne sont toujours pas ratifiees par les Etats ou qu'elles ne sont pas appliquees de maniere reelle et effective. D'autre part, les sanctions imposees par le Conseil de securite sont souvent peu efficaces car trop longues a mettre en place et pas assez contraignantes pour obtenir un resultat immediat ou, du moins, rapide et concret. Cette etude est composee de deux parties. La premiere porte sur le dispositif juridique insuffisant mis en place par les Nations Unies. Dans cette partie, l'auteur voit les differentes conventions internationales instaurees afin de lutter contre le terrorisme, les mesures recommandees par les Nations Unies aux Etats membres, ainsi que les questions non reglees par ces initiatives. La seconde partie porte sur le manque de pratique dans la lutte contre le terrorisme. Elle y voit les sanctions deja mises en place par le Conseil de securite contre certains Etats ainsi que les limites des conventions internationales, et par la meme, de l'ONU.'

ID number: 80017795

Year: 2001

341.6 /00039

"Pariah States" &amp; Sanctions in the Middle East : Iraq, Libya, Sudan -

Boulder, CO : Lynne Rienner.

ix, 241 p. ; 24 cm.

(The Middle East in the International System)

ISBN: 1555879624

Author(s):

1. Niblock, Tim

Subject(s):

1. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS--MIDDLE EAST

2. SANCTIONS (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

3. UNITED NATIONS--SANCTIONS

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 225-231. Includes index.

'UN sanctions have become an increasingly popular weapon in the political armory of the international community - a supposedly effective means, short of war, of bringing a transgressor state back in line. Tim Niblock challenges this view in a dispassionate analysis of the political, economic, and psychological impact of sanctions on the Middle East's 'pariah states'. Niblock establishes two criteria for assessing the utility of sanctions : have they forced the countries concerned to stay within the framework of international law ? How have they affected the development of those countries ? He finds that sanctions, although they have contained Iraq, Libya, and Sudan in the short term, have if anything strengthened the regimes in Iraq and Libya while increasing social and religious divisions. Contrary to intentions, he cogently argues, the net effect has been damage to the long-term prospects for stability and good governance in the Middle East and for a secure international order.'

ID number: 80017723

Year: 2001

40 /00129

Why Peacekeeping Fails - New York : Palgrave.

xviii, 236 p.; 21 cm.

ISBN: 0312239424

Author(s):

1. Jett, Dennis C.

Subject(s):

1. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
2. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES
3. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--ANGOLA
4. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--MOZAMBIQUE

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 223-230. Includes index.

'The author examines why peacekeeping operations fail by comparing the unsuccessful attempt at peacekeeping in Angola with the successful effort in Mozambique, alongside a wide range of other peacekeeping experiences. The book argues that while the causes of past peacekeeping failures can be identified, the chances for success will be difficult to improve because of the way such operations are initiated and conducted, and the way the United Nations operates as an organization. The author reviews the history of peacekeeping and the evolution in the number, size, scope, and cost of peacekeeping missions. He also explains why peacekeeping has become more necessary, possible, and desired and yet, at the same time, more complex, more difficult and less frequently used. He takes a hard look at the UN's actions and provides a valuable framework for making sense of current conflicts.'

ID number: 80018203

Year: 2001

341.6 /00040

Design and Implementation of Arms Embargoes and Travel and Aviation

Related Sanctions : Results of the 'Bonn-Berlin Process' - Bonn : Bonn International Center for Conversion.

129 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--SANCTIONS
2. SANCTIONS (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Added entry(s):

1. Bonn International Center for Conversion (DE)
2. United Nations Secretariat
3. Brzoska, Michael, ed.
4. Auswartiges Amt (DE)

Notes:

'This booklet sets out model Security Council resolutions. It also includes a commentary compiled by government experts, members of the academic community, non-governmental organizations and other independent specialists.'

ID number: 80017848

Year: 2001

2002

351 /00045

From Congo to Kosovo : Civilian Police in Peace Operations - London : Oxford University Press.

118 p. ; 24 cm.

(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 343)

ISBN: 0198516738

Author(s):

1. Hansen, Annika S.

Subject(s):

1. POLICE
2. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES
3. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'The role of civilian police in peace operations has expanded greatly since the early 1990s and has culminated in international policemen assuming responsibility for law and order in Kosovo and East Timor. Civilian police still struggle with shortfalls in quality and quantity, with inadequate planning and deployment delays. More important, their operational effectiveness remains dependent on political support from their domestic authorities, the UN and the local political leadership in the conflict area. Despite these challenges, as this paper maps out, civilian police play a critical role in reforming local police forces and at times enforcing the law themselves.'

ID number: 80017979

Year: 2002

The Bases of French Peace Operations Doctrine : Problematical Scope of France's Military Engagements Within the UN or NATO Framework - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

v, 20 p.; 28 cm.

(Carlisle Papers in Security Strategy)

ISBN: 1584871016

Author(s):

1. Gregoire, Joseph Philippe

Subject(s):

1. FRANCE--MILITARY POLICY
2. FRANCE--ARMED FORCES
3. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
4. UNITED NATIONS--FRANCE
5. NATO--FRANCE

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'France believes that external threats to its vital and important interests spring more from potential instability on the periphery of Europe than from rival European powers. France has modified its military doctrine to reflect this strategic calculus, and France's conception of peace operations reflects this doctrinal change. France's revision of its peacekeeping doctrine has led or lagged its NATO partners' evolution in thinking, but doctrinal convergence is evident. A meeting of minds has come about because developments that jeopardize France's security are likely to affect that of its key allies as well. France has taken steps to defend its interests within a United Nations or North Atlantic Treaty Organization framework, through the application of force if necessary. NATO political leaders now have cause collectively to play a greater role in North Atlantic Treaty deliberations than they had during the Cold War. Defending Western interests in the face of amorphous threats calls for unity of effort and clarity of purpose. If France's comparative advantage lies in the use of force for peacekeeping and associated operations, the Alliance may want to institutionalize this fact via an appropriate mechanism.'

ID number: 80018250

Year: 2002

L'ONU au Kosovo : lecons de la premiere MINUK - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union Europeenne.

32 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 35)

Author(s):

1. Chevallier, Eric

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--KOSOVO (SERBIA)
2. KOSOVO (SERBIA)--INTERNATIONAL STATUS
3. INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Added entry(s):

1. Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union Europeenne (FR)

Notes:

'Par la resolution 1244 du Conseil de Securite, pour la premiere fois dans l'Histoire, les Nations unies se sont vu confier au Kosovo a partir du mois de juin 1999 une mission d'un nouveau type, visant non plus seulement a maintenir la paix mais a la

construire. Dans la perspective de missions ulterieures, fondees sur un mandat de meme nature, ce texte cherche a faire un certain nombre de propositions fondees sur cette experience, plus particulierement a propos : des questions liees a l'etablissement de la loi et de l'ordre, et plus specifiquement les difficultes rencontrees dans la definition du droit applicable ou de l'etablissement d'un systeme judiciaire et policier efficace, multiethnique et impartial; de celles touchant au processus de democratisation qui fut amorce rapidement au travers de l'organisation de premieres elections, municipales des l'automne 2000, mais aussi du soutien a l'emergence de la societe civile et de medias libres et independants respectueux des regles deontologiques elementaires; de celles tenant a la creation de services publics et d'une administration, dont il fut decide qu'elle associerait des le depart les Kosovars de toutes communautes, dans une logique de responsabilisation des acteurs locaux, comme facteur majeur de stabilisation; et enfin, de celles relatives a la reconstruction et au developpement economique, dans une tension permanente entre les imperatifs de court terme et la necessite de creer les bases d'une economie de marche viable sur le long terme.'

ID number: 80017976

Year: 2002

321 /00644

UNMIK's Kosovo Albatross : Tackling Division in Mitrovica - Brussels :

International Crisis Group.

ii, 28 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

(ICG Balkans Report ; 131)

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--KOSOVO (SERBIA)
2. KOSOVO (SERBIA)--INTERNATIONAL STATUS
3. INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Added entry(s):

1. International Crisis Group (BE)

Notes:

<[http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/balkans/kosovo/reports/A400672\\_03062002.pdf](http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/balkans/kosovo/reports/A400672_03062002.pdf)> accessed 29/07/02.

'Three years after its establishment, the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) has not established a safe and secure environment, the rule of law or a meaningful civil administration in north Mitrovica. The city's continuing de facto partition, with parallel structures run by Belgrade operating north of the river Ibar, is a black mark on the international community's record in Kosovo. It calls into question Serbia and the FRY's commitment to regional stability and undermines UNMIK's credibility with ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. This report proposes that it adopts a multi-track approach that combines pressure on Belgrade to honour its obligations in Kosovo with vigorous action to ensure the rule of law in Mitrovica and an innovative offer to the city's Serbs of integration into local government structures.'

ID number: 80018054

Year: 2002

404 /00016

Le Conseil de Securite des Nations Unies et la maitrise de la force armee  
: dialectique du politique et du militaire en matiere de paix et de  
securite internationales - Bruxelles : Bruylant.

xxviii, 660 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

(Organisation Internationale et Relations Internationales ; 56)

ISBN: 2802717073

Author(s):

1. Novosseloff, Alexandra

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS. SECURITY COUNCIL
2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
3. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES

Notes:

Includes index.

'Les difficultes du Conseil de securite sur le plan militaire sont-elles d'ordre conjoncturel ou structurel ? Comment les redacteurs de la Charte de l'ONU en 1945 ont-ils concu le Conseil de securite ? Quels moyens militaires ont ete envisages, au sortir de la Seconde Guerre mondiale ? Pour quel Conseil de securite et pour quelle organisation internationale ? Les fondateurs de l'ONU ont-ils dote le Conseil d'instruments militaires efficaces pour mettre en oeuvre ses decisions ? Le systeme de San Francisco a ete fonde sur l'accord entre les grandes puissances. Leur mesentente prive le Conseil d'instruments d'action - Comite d'etat-major, forces armees mises a sa disposition. Le mecanisme du Chapitre VII prevu par la Charte n'a donc pas pu etre mis en oeuvre. A sa place, un systeme ad hoc, celui des operations de maintien de la paix, a vu le jour afin de resoudre les crises internationales. Le Conseil de securite a progressivement delegue l'execution de ses resolutions au Secretaire general, a l'Assemblee generale, a ses Etats membres et a des organisations regionales. Il s'est ainsi decharge de l'execution des decisions militaires et du controle de leur mise en oeuvre. Le developpement des operations de maintien de la paix a toutefois montre leurs limites politiques, operationnelles et conceptuelles. Le Conseil de securite a-t-il appris les lecons de ses echecs ? Peut-il etre dote, aujourd'hui ou demain, d'une force armee ? Comment ameliorer l'efficacite des mecanismes de securite actuels ? L'objet de l'ouvrage est de reflechir aux methodes pouvant installer ou reinstaller le Conseil de securite au centre des processus de decision et d'action militaires.'

ID number: 80018724

Year: 2003

Maintien de la paix et diplomatie coercitive : l'organisation des Nations Unies a l'epreuve des conflits de l'apres-guerre froide - Bruxelles : Bruylant.

236 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 2802716956

Author(s):

1. Liegeois, Michel

Subject(s):

1. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
2. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
3. BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1992-1995
4. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 225-232.

'Le terme 'operation de maintien de la paix' souffre d'un emploi surabondant. Du coup, le premier pari du present ouvrage est-il d'abord conceptuel : au fond, qu'est-ce qu'une operation de maintien de la paix ? La reponse impose un retour aux sources historiques de ces operations, au coeur de la guerre froide qui les a vues naitre sous l'impulsion des esprits imaginatifs de Dag Hammarskjold et Lester Pearson. Le second pari de l'etude est de proposer un angle d'approche inhabituel. Ni historique ni juridique, l'analyse se veut ici politico-strategique : ce qui importe est de savoir ce qui fonctionne et ce qui ne fonctionne pas, quels sont les facteurs de succes et les causes d'eventuels echecs. Bref, la question posee est celle de l'efficacite. Or, au cours de la decennie 1990, certaines operations de l'ONU ont ete deployees dans des conditions inedites - conflits intraetatiques, absence de cessez-le-feu et de consentement des parties - qui ont remis en question l'efficacite jusque-la reconnue des operations de maintien de la paix de l'ONU. En Somalie puis dans les Balkans, la force, ou la menace de son usage, a alors ete utilisee pour compenser la degradation des conditions de deploiement des Casques bleus. On le sait, les resultats ne furent pas a la hauteur des esperances. Pourquoi ? Au-dela des explications simplistes, cet ouvrage propose un schema d'analyse qui concourt a rendre intelligibles des situations d'une tres grande complexite.'

ID number: 80018712

Year: 2003

Global Lies ? : Propaganda, the UN and World Order - Houndmills, UK : Palgrave MacMillan.

xvi, 262 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 033392004X

Author(s):

1. Alleyne, Mark D.

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--INFORMATION SERVICES
2. PROPAGANDA

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 245-257. Includes index.

'In the first comprehensive history and assessment of the international propaganda program of the United Nations, the author analyzes how the UN ran a propaganda project over all its existence in the twentieth century, but repeatedly denied it had such a project. He shows the UN's work to win world public opinion originated in a number of places, including the

evolution in the practice of war, advances in social psychology, and the attempt to outlaw the hateful propaganda that marked the Second World War. This is a work in the constructivist and critical theory traditions of international relations research, and as such the author is able to make connections between an array of seemingly unrelated phenomena, including World AIDS Day, Hollywood movies about the UN, and the campaign to free Nelson Mandela.'

ID number: 80018867

Year: 2003

## **PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES**

### **DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES\*\***

1995

- Fighting Escalates, UN Role in Question.  
UN CHRONICLE, vol. 32, no. 3, September 1995, p. 29-34.
- United Nations Peacekeeping Operations : History, Resources, Missions and Components.  
INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE REVIEW, Defense 1995, Special Issue, p. 119-127, ask in ILL.
- Vijftig jaar Verenigde Naties.  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 49, nr. 7-8, juli - augustus 1995, Whole Issue.
- Akashi, Yasushi  
The Limits of UN Diplomacy and the Future of Conflict Mediation.  
SURVIVAL, vol. 37, no. 4, Winter 1995 - 1996, p. 83-98.  
The United Nations' involvement in the complex conflicts of today, particularly in former Yugoslavia, has highlighted many of the dilemmas that will continue to challenge UN mediators in the future. In the absence of unambiguous direction and sustained support from the international community, and confronted with a lack of willingness by the parties in the conflict to renounce their maximalist goals, the UN will be able to do little more than respond to crises as and when they emerge. Changes to ground rules, a lack of adequate or appropriate resources, and unrealistic expectations of what the organisation can achieve can all affect the UN's credibility as a conflict mediator. It is thus important to have a clear understanding of the UN's capabilities and for the organisation to operate within its bounds.
- Alvarez, Jose E.  
The Once and Future Security Council.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 18, no. 2, Spring 1995, p. 5-20.
- Biermann, Wolfgang  
'Old' UN Peacekeeping Principles and 'New' Conflicts : Some Ideas to Reduce the Troubles of Post-Cold War Missions.  
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 4, no. 1, Spring 1995, p. 39-55.  
This article reflects some preliminary results of a Danish-Norwegian research project about the evolution of UN peacekeeping.
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros  
Global Prospects for United Nations.  
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 46, no. 2, 1995, p. 107-114.

---

\*\* This list contains material received as of October 6, 2003 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 6 octobre 2003.

- Carlsson, Ingvar  
Roles for the UN in International Security after the Cold War.  
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 26, no. 1, March 1995, p. 7-18.
  
- Carlsson, Ingvar  
The UN at 50 : A Time to Reform.  
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 100, Fall 1995, p. 3-18.
  
- Chopra, Jarat  
Weiss, Thomas G.  
Prospects for Containing Conflict in the Former Second World.  
SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 4, no. 3, Spring 1995, p. 552-583.
  
- Eban, Abba  
The UN Idea Revisited.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 5, September - October 1995, p. 39-55.  
When the founders forged the United Nations 50 years ago, they envisioned nothing less than a messianic transformation of politics and diplomacy. But they neglected to take human nature and history into account. The concept of collective security that they bet on to keep order was dead a few years later - though it has taken the humiliations of Bosnia to demonstrate this definitively. What's a world organization to do in the confused twilight of the nation-state? Traditional diplomats have proved they are better at settling conflicts, but the dream of global community is still alive in the human imagination.
  
- Ero, Comfort  
Long, Suzanne  
Humanitarian Intervention : A New Role for the United Nations.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 2, no. 2, Summer 1995, p. 140-156.  
Since the end of the Cold War the United Nations has found itself increasingly engaged in wrestling with domestic conflicts. But such cases as intervention in northern Iraq, Bosnia and Somalia have raised complex and difficult questions for the UN of a legal, normative and political kind, in dealing with issues that were once considered 'essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of states'. Perhaps the most complex and difficult question facing the United Nations today is this : under what circumstances is humanitarian intervention by the international community justified? Can the international community intervene by force in order to put an end to serious human rights violations? Or should it abide by the prohibition of the use of force embodied in Article 2(4) of the Charter? This article argues that there is no commonly-accepted new approach or thinking on humanitarian intervention aimed at stopping the gross and widespread violations of human rights. The debate on the 'right to intervene' remains in a state of flux, partly because members of the UN have remained attached to the doctrine of non-intervention, and partly because the defining cases of northern Iraq, Bosnia and Somalia may be disregarded as precedents and do not necessarily herald an emerging customary law.
  
- Faille, Maxime  
Towards a UN Rapid Reaction Capability : A Canadian Initiative.  
CANADIAN DEFENCE QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 2, December 1995, p. 14-16.
  
- Gow, James  
Dandeker, Christopher  
Peace-Support Operations : the Problem of Legitimation.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 51, no. 8-9, August - September 1995, p. 171-174.

- Haynes, Lukas  
Stanley, Timothy W.  
To Create a United Nations Fire Brigade.  
COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 14, no. 1, 1995, p. 7-21.  
This article proposes a standing United Nations fire brigade of international volunteers and discusses its missions, command and control, staffing, equipment, and cost. It weighs the advantages against the many obstacles and concludes that, on a limited and experimental basis, initiating such a brigade would be an innovative and symbolic decision for the United Nations' fiftieth anniversary in 1995.
  
- Hazdra, Peter  
Militarische Einsätze im Rahmen der Vereinten Nationen : Praktische Aspekte von Vorbereitung und Durchführung.  
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITÄERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 33. Jg., Heft 4, Juli - August 1995, S. 365-378.
  
- Kemp, Walter  
The OSCE and the UN : A Closer Relationship.  
HELSINKI MONITOR, vol. 6, no. 1, 1995, p. 22-31.
  
- Kennedy, Paul  
Russett, Bruce  
Reforming the United Nations.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 5, September - October 1995, p. 56-71.
  
- Last, David M.  
Peacekeeping Doctrine and Conflict Resolution Techniques.  
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 22, no. 2, Winter 1995 - 1996, p. 187-210.  
The world hopes that peacekeeping missions will not merely freeze conflicts but help to restore peace. This requires integration of the tactical and operational levels to support the strategic aim of deescalating violence and reconciling communities. Canadian experience in Cyprus shows that appropriate techniques exist at the tactical level, where peacekeepers have used arbitration, go-between mediation, and conciliation. Principled negotiation, consultation and problem solving workshops are other techniques which might be used. Peacekeeping can do more than keep belligerents apart if it is seen as a military operation in which the enemy of the force is violent conflict and the belligerents are allies. To defeat a conflict the balance of military and civilian involvement will change as the violence diminishes.
  
- Leibstone, Marvin  
UN Peacekeeping : 1996 and Beyond.  
MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 19, no. 11, 1995, p. 37-40.  
Domestic politics and economic necessity can limit or prevent superpower and/or treaty organisations backing of UN deployments, making peacekeeping a high risk affair in neighbourhoods where physical boundaries lack as much definition as who is doing what to whom under fire.
  
- Leurdijk, Dick A.  
Proposals for Increasing Rapid Deployment Capacity : A Survey.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 2, no. 1, Spring 1995, p. 1-10.
  
- Mendez, Ruben P.  
Paying for Peace and Development.  
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 100, Fall 1995, p. 19-33.

- Neack, Laura  
UN Peace-keeping : In the Interest of Community or Self ?  
JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH, vol. 32, no. 2, May 1995, p. 181-196.
  
- Riza, S. Iqbal  
Parameters of UN Peace-Keeping.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 140, no. 3, June 1995, p. 17-20.  
The difficulty facing the UN's peacekeeping force is one of disorientation - they have an increasingly significant role to play in the world's trouble spots, but the exact nature and the extent of that role is altogether more complex. The author here details the changed circumstances, through the examples of Somalia and Yugoslavia, and outlines necessary changes if the way ahead is to be more clearly delineated. Ultimately, nations, and above all those involved in conflicts, must take responsibility for their actions and for the search for a solution; mutual tolerance being of the utmost importance in this process.
  
- Roberts, Adam  
From San Francisco to Sarajevo : The UN and the Use of Force.  
SURVIVAL, vol. 37, no. 4, Winter 1995 - 1996, p. 7-28.  
From the 1950 Korean War to Operation Deliberate Force in Bosnia in 1995, the practice of the United Nations regarding the use of force for UN-approved objectives has differed markedly from the UN Charter provisions. The two principal accepted frameworks for such action have been enforcement in support of a victim of aggression, and impartial peacekeeping based on consent. However, events in the Congo, Namibia, Somalia and former Yugoslavia have pointed to the need for, and even the possibility of, a conceptual framework for limited military action which is distinct from the traditional notions of peacekeeping. Recognition of such a framework, with all its problems, does not imply general advocacy of a more coercive form of UN peacekeeping, but rather acceptance that in a few extreme situations there may be a need for the UN, its member-states, or regional alliances to go beyond the traditional limits of peacekeeping operations.
  
- Smith, Martin A.  
At Arm's Length: NATO and the United Nations in the Cold War Era.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 2, no. 1, Spring 1995, p. 56-73.  
For most of the Cold War, NATO and the UN were at arm's length. The two organizations diverged fundamentally in their security priorities and their preferred means for achieving international stability. The attitudes of Western governments to the question of the institutional relationship between the North Atlantic Treaty and its supporting organization and international security goals laid down in the UN Charter are revealed in declassified US government documents. Although some US politicians initially envisaged a 'fit' between the two bodies, divergences appeared during the negotiations for the North Atlantic Treaty in the late 1940s. Two important crises briefly raised the possibility of NATO and the UN evolving a more formal institutional relationship: the Korean crisis (1950-53) and the second Cyprus crisis (1963-64). However, no lasting improvements in the NATO-UN relationship were forthcoming on either occasion, in part because most European members of NATO were unenthusiastic about expanding NATO's commitments beyond the Central Front.
  
- Spiry, Emmanuel  
La reforme des institutions onusiennes : perspectives et prospectives (1985-1995).  
STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 48, no. 3, 1995, p. 63-95.

- Terriff, Terry  
Keeley, James F.  
The United Nations, Conflict Management and Spheres of Interest.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 2, no. 4, Winter 1995, p. 510-535.  
The ability of the UN to respond to conflicts, its patterns of action, and its likelihood of acting successfully have historically been strongly influenced by and responsive to the interests of its member states, most particularly the major powers. As a consequence, the UN may be unwilling to do more than contain conflicts that do not affect the interests of the major powers. One implication of this conclusion is that the UN will only be able to act forcefully and successfully when its goals are quite modest or the major powers will let it to do so. In the case of the latter, the circumstances which are most likely to engage or threaten their interests will reflect the politics of spheres of interest. The first part of this article develops the connection between past patterns of UN involvement and success on the one hand and sphere of interest considerations on the other. This is done through the statement of a 'window of opportunity' argument, which sets out some conditions in which the UN appears to have been particularly active and successful in dealing with conflict. This part concludes with an examination of how this window has been modified by a changing international environment and the willingness of major powers to move through it for sphere of interest considerations. The second part of this article examines three cases of big power action : the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Haiti. Implications of the argument are then noted in the conclusion.
  
- Tharoor, Shashi  
Should UN Peacekeeping go 'Back to Basics'?  
SURVIVAL, vol. 37, no. 4, Winter 1995 - 1996, p. 52-64.  
Recent international conflicts, especially those in former Yugoslavia, have led to growing calls for the United Nations to return to 'traditional peacekeeping' - based on consent, impartiality and the minimal use of force. If the UN were asked only to perform tasks such as creating buffer zones in Cyprus or on the Iran-Iraq border, it would no doubt have a better record of success. But classical, consensual peacekeeping does not respond fully to the nature of the contemporary world and the challenges the new world disorder poses to the international community. With so many current conflicts unsuited to the traditional treatment, it is probably impossible for UN peacekeeping to go 'back to basics'. The challenge is therefore to develop the conceptual clarity, the political support and the material resources to enable United Nations peacekeeping to play the part the Security Council demands.
  
- Urquhart, Brian  
Selecting the World's CEO.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 3, May - June 1995, p. 21-26.  
For the United Nations to manage the post-Cold War world effectively, its members must improve the selection process for the crucial job of secretary-general.
  
- Weiss, Thomas G.  
The United Nations at Fifty : Recent Lessons.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 94, no. 592, May 1995, p. 223-228.
  
- Wilson, Gordon  
Arm in Arm After the Cold War ? : The Uneasy NATO-UN Relationship.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 2, no. 1, Spring 1995, p. 74-92.

- Beyond the Emergency : Development Within UN Peace Missions.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 3, no. 2, Summer 1996, Whole Issue.  
This special issue examines a number of critical issues relating to the interface between development, relief and peacekeeping, including institutional co-ordination, the implementation of development and peacebuilding in the field, with particular reference to Africa, and the contending philosophies that sometimes underpin military and developmental approaches to human security. Not least, it poses the question of how sustainable development fits within the post-conflict 'space' of UN peace missions. These missions, and increasingly humanitarianism, have tended to focus in the 1990s on short-term emergency aid and military security issues. Important as these are, there is a growing need to think long-term - beyond the emergency - and consider how to implement developmental strategies that allow war-torn societies to rebuild on a sustainable basis.
  
- The UN, Peace and Force.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 3, no. 4, Winter 1996, Special Issue.  
The discussion in this issue concentrates mainly at the level of understanding peace support activities. Vayrynen examines the gap between the UN's intention to upgrade preventive diplomacy and the absence of suitable means, with particular reference to former Yugoslavia. From constitutional perspectives, Nigel White and Jerzy Ciecchanski consider the UN Charter's provision for Chapter VI and VII operations, and the mistaken use of peacekeepers for enforcement. Duane Bratt discusses criteria for measuring the success of peacekeeping. John Gerald Ruggie, Don Daniel, Bradd Hayes and Fred Tanner argue the need, and place, for 'coercive' peacekeeping to induce or compel the parties to disputes to adhere to agreements. On a more ontological theme, Tonny Knudsen analyses the essence of humanitarian intervention as an ordering function in the international system, and Stephen Kinloch's analysis of the concept of a permanent military volunteer force reminds us of the ontological utopianism of the UN enterprise in general.
  
- Chaigneau, Pascal  
Les Etats-Unis et l' ONU : entre la crise et le psychodrame.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 52e annee, decembre 1996, p. 39-44.
  
- Fergusson, James  
Levesque, Barbara  
The Best Laid Plans : Canada's Proposal or a United Nations Rapid Reaction Capability.  
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 52, no. 1, Winter 1996 - 1997, p. 118-141.  
The analysis looks at the Canadian proposal within the context of the differing views of the secretary-general and the Security Council on the ability of the United Nations to respond to threats to international peace and security. Canada's proposal supports the position of the secretary-general, even though the Security Council will remain the central decision-making body for rapid reaction development and deployment. Subsequently, an assessment of the key requirements for an effective United Nations rapid reaction capability indicates that simple structural developments are insufficient to overcome national dictates. Finally, the proposal is examined in the context of the defining myth of Canadian internationalism to demonstrate that Canada has 'trapped' itself in precisely the situation the proposal is designed to offset - subservience to the great powers.

- Gareis, Sven Bernhard  
Hindernisse bei der UNO-Reform.  
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 45. Jg., Nr. 9, September 1996, S. 17-19.  
In order to clear up the alleged inconsistency between orientation to efficiency and aspiration to participation in a future-oriented and democratic UN-reform, the member states must move towards each other. A first step could, for instance, be made with the renunciation of the veto right in the UN Security Council which is being increasingly reduced to its pure prestige value. The veto nations would not have to fear a real loss of power - and this applies to the United States in particular - against which no country and alliance in the world could take any action anyway. Such a renunciation, however, would be an important and clear signal for the reduction of inequality among the members of the UNO. A renunciation by France, England as well as the deferment of the German claim to a permanent membership in favor of a joint EU seat would also be a step in that direction. Additional steps could then be planned in an atmosphere of more trust and equality. The success of the UNO reform will depend on the willingness of the member states to cooperate. The responsibility of the wealthy countries also comprises the task of preparing the ground for this and leading the way by an 'exemplary policy'.
  
- Goulding, Murrack  
The Use of Force by the United Nations.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 3, no. 1, Spring 1996, p. 1-18.  
This article develops a framework for analysing the use of force by the United Nations. There are two basic modalities : direct use of force deployed and commanded by the UN, and indirect use of force carried out by one or more Member States so authorized by the Security Council. Six purposes for the use of UN-authorized force are identified : peace enforcement, sanctions enforcement, self-defence, protection of civilians, protection of humanitarian activities and intervention in civil conflicts. The political and operational questions which arise from each are discussed. In particular the analysis indicates that 'mission creep' should be avoided and there should be clarity about whether a situation requires peacekeeping or enforcement. Although a 'halfway house' between the two is not ruled out, certain conditions should be fulfilled before embarking on such missions.
  
- Hannay, David  
Anyone for the Roller-Coaster ?  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 52, no. 2, February 1996, p. 48-49.  
Is the task the world sets the UN Secretary-General too big for one man? By the end of this year someone will have been appointed to the job. How should it be done ?
  
- Hannay, David  
Paying for the UN : A Suitable Case for Treatment.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 52, no. 6, June 1996, p. 160-162.
  
- Helms, Jesse  
Saving the UN : A Challenge to the Next Secretary-General.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 75, no. 5, September - October 1996, p. 2-7.  
The United Nations has usurped power from its members, threatening American interests. The time has come to deliver an ultimatum. Either the United Nations reforms quickly and dramatically or the United States will end its participation.

- Hillen, John  
Peace(keeping) in Our Time : The UN as a Professional Military Manager.  
PARAMETERS, vol. 26, no. 3, Autumn 1996, p. 17-34.
  
- Jakobsen, Peter Viggo  
National Interest, Humanitarianism or CNN : What Triggers UN Peace  
Enforcement After the Cold War ?  
JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH, vol. 33, no. 2, May 1996, p. 205-215.  
This article undertakes a structured, focussed comparison of five  
post-Cold War United Nations peace enforcement operations to determine  
why they were initiated. The roles played by five explanatory factors are  
examined in the operations in Kuwait, Northern Iraq, Somalia, Rwanda and  
Haiti. These factors are : a clear humanitarian and/or legal case,  
national interest, chance of success, domestic support and the CNN  
effect. Two distinct patterns leading to enforcement operations are  
identified : one driven by national interest, the other by humanitarian  
sentiment. A clear case for intervention (unambiguous interstate  
aggression or massive human suffering) is necessary for UN Security  
Council authorization, but the ensuing pattern depends on whether  
national interests are perceived to be at stake. Governments will work  
hard to mobilize support and accept a significant number of casualties  
when national interest is at stake. Humanitarian interventions, on the  
contrary, are driven by a combination of the CNN effect and good chances  
of success, as governments are reluctant to take casualties when national  
interests are not involved. The analysis concludes that UN enforcement  
operations will be the exception to the rule in the foreseeable future,  
and questions the conventional assumptions that broad domestic support  
and national interest are necessary conditions for enforcement operations  
as well as the widespread belief that the CNN effect drives humanitarian  
interventions.
  
- Kars, Dirk  
The Agenda for Peace : A 1995-Evaluation.  
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 5, no. 1, Spring 1996, p. 98-112.  
Throughout the paper, the emphasis is on preventive diplomacy,  
peacemaking and peace enforcement, peace-keeping and post-conflict  
peace-building. Due to the limited scope of the analysis, less weight can  
be given to questions of UN institutional restructuring, the cooperation  
with regional arrangements and organisations and the broad complex of UN  
financing. In sum, more weight is given to political and strategic than  
the technical and/or organisational questions, and only the most  
controversial parts of the AfP are covered.
  
- Kim, Soo Yeon  
Russett, Bruce  
The New Politics of Voting Alignments in the United Nations General  
Assembly.  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, vol. 50, no. 4, Autumn 1996, p. 629-652.  
This article uses voting alignments on issues that have figured in  
General Assembly debates to identify and analyze preferences among member  
states. The primary objective is descriptive inference : that is, to  
illustrate the unobserved underlying issue-dimensions of General Assembly  
roll-call votes and the alignments inherent in these votes by analyzing  
General Assembly voting records. The analysis covers resolutions put to a  
roll-call vote during the forty-six through the forty-eight sessions  
(1991 through 1993).
  
- Krasno, Jean E.  
Democratizing and Reforming the United Nations.  
DEMOCRATIZATION, vol. 3, no. 3, Autumn 1996, p. 328-342.

- Laulan, Yves-Marie  
Il faut reformer l' ONU.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 52e annee, decembre 1996, p. 45-53.
  
- Legault, Albert  
Maintien de la paix et reforme des Nations Unies.  
ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 27, no. 2, juin 1996, p. 325-352.  
Even though substantial administrative and financial changes have been introduced in the United Nations since the early 1980s, the end of the Cold War has brought about a turning point in its process of reform. The impressive growth of UN peacekeeping operations has tipped the balance in favor of major transformations in this field. Indeed, since the publication of the Secretary General's Agenda for Peace many changes have been undertaken and improvements achieved. However, much still needs to be done. This paper addresses three particular issues : institutional reforms, organizational reforms and reforms through adjustments. While little is said on the first two issues, since they are relatively well known and treated elsewhere, this paper focuses on UN's peacekeeping operations and their actual evolution as a way of assessing the continuing process of reform in the United Nations.
  
- Petrie, John N.  
Myths and Misconceptions about the United Nations.  
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 49, no. 1, Sequence 353, Winter 1996, p. 74-89.
  
- Zhang, Yongjin  
China and UN Peacekeeping : From Condemnation to Participation.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 3, no. 3, Autumn 1996, p. 1-15.  
China's position on UN peacekeeping has seen fundamental changes in the last 45 years. Bitter condemnation in the 1950s and the 1960s has evolved into active participation in the 1980s and the 1990s. This article examines the process of evolution and its limitations. It argues that China has eventually opted to accept peacekeeping as a function of the universal values inherent in the UN. China's acceptance of such values best illustrates its perception of the contemporary international order and its responsibility for that order. Such acceptance contributes to the emergence of what the UN Secretary-General observed as the 'greater unity' and 'collegiality' of the permanent Security Council members, which is an indispensable condition that gives a better chance for international peace and security in the post-Cold War era.

<b>1997</b>
-------------

- United Nations Reform.  
UN CHRONICLE, vol. 34, no. 4, 1997, p. 3-10.
  
- Annan, Kofi  
ONU : moins d' administration, plus d' action !  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 76, ete 1997, p. 253-256.  
The new Secretary General of the United Nations outlines his vision for the UN after his first few months in the post. Since the end of the cold war, the global community has been confronted with the dual phenomenon of increasing globalization and the break-up of certain states. New challenges are emerging, concerning in particular environmental protection, population control, the spread of organized crime and the fight against terrorism. These all call for a unified response at worldwide level. But the UN appears to be paralyzed by disunity, hamstrung by a deep crisis of confidence and fatally weakened by

financial problems, and is no longer capable of facing up to its responsibilities. As a result, the time is now ripe for an overhaul of the organization's activities and approach, to make the UN a truly effective body in the search for world peace. This will entail administrative cutbacks, prioritizing activities in the field, fostering cooperation with regional organizations and limiting waste of resources. Kofi Annan will be focusing all his efforts on these core elements of his project for the United Nations.

- Boudreau, Donald G.

On Creating a United Nations Sanctions Agency.

INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 4, no. 2, Summer 1997, p. 115-137.

This article proposes the establishment of a United Nations Sanctions Agency (UNSA) under the auspices of, and reporting to, the UN Security Council. The proposal expands on recent calls made by then UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for a 'mechanism' to better assist the organization in managing UN sanctions policy, operations, monitoring and enforcement. While many obstacles admittedly exist to creating a UN Sanctions Agency, and it is a contentious proposal, the writer argues that it is nevertheless important to international relations theory and practice, since UN sanctions appear to be increasing in frequency as they undergird many of the Security Council's contemporary enforcement actions. Moreover, in cases of economic sanctions, institutions appear to be one of the most powerful mechanisms for overcoming collective-action problems.

- Bratt, Duane

Explaining Peacekeeping Performance : The UN in Internal Conflicts.

INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 4, no. 3, Autumn 1997, p. 45-70.

Operations in internal conflicts represent the largest growth area in United Nations peacekeeping. Unfortunately, the level of success that these operations have achieved has ranged from cautious success to disastrous failure. This article offers an explanation of this varied performance by identifying, and weighing the importance of six key variables : the role of the parties to the conflict; the existence of a Comprehensive Settlement Agreement; the role of the five permanent members of the Security Council; the role of the United States; the role of regional powers; and the maintenance of the three traditional principles of peacekeeping : consent, impartiality and limited use of force. It concludes by presenting a set of conditions for the ideal type of internal conflict peacekeeping operation.

- Chopra, Jarat

The Peace-Maintenance Response.

SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 28, no. 2, June 1997, p. 177-189.

The international community has become wearied of emergent warlords fighting for power and destroying societies and states on the way. Conventional peace-keeping and peace-enforcement methods have had notable failures in internal conflicts. Attempts at peace-maintenance have so far had a very mixed record. But this new peace exercise should be tried. Responses to conflicts must be tailored to conditions on the ground through a balance of military, civilian and humanitarian resources, and decision-making capability to share the burdens of administration as circumstances change. The structure of the involvement is the key, not numbers. It will be difficult to establish guidelines for intervention, as selectivity and priorities pose real and recognized problems. Perhaps it is best to go just for a 'soft option success' first to establish the credibility and credentials of peace-maintenance. But the attempt should be made - and it could be cast, too, in a non-UN context through individual governments or even private organizations. Cambodia was an example of what can go wrong and what could have succeeded.

Peace-maintenance is, as a collective mission, the opposite of colonialism. Inactivity today could be equated with the appeasement of the 1930s, which led to world war.

- Daws, Sam  
Seeking Seats, Votes and Vetoes.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 53, no. 10, October 1997, p. 256-259.  
In 1993 the United Nations General Assembly established an Open-Ended Working Group of all member states, to consider Security Council reform. Four years on, momentum has been building towards a reform package, but there are still a number of obstacles. What are the issues central to the current negotiations and the elements of a possible solution ?
  
- Gareis, Sven Bernhard  
Die Vereinten Nationen : Wege aus der Krise ?  
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 46. Jg., Nr. 11, November 1997, S. 50-51.
  
- Greco, Ettore  
UN-NATO Interaction : Lessons from the Yugoslav Experience.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 32, no. 3-4, July - December 1997, p. 121-136.  
The article is divided into three main parts. The first part provides an analysis of the main structural shortcomings of the UN peace-keeping policy that affected the UN-NATO interaction in the pre-Dayton phase. The second part concentrates on the various types of mechanisms and procedures of cooperation that were established between the two institutions before and after the signing of the Dayton agreement. The basic purpose of this part is to identify the major problems that emerged, their causes and their broader relevance for the future UN-NATO cooperation. The third and final part summarizes the preceding analysis and offers a set of policy recommendations.
  
- Johnson, Rebecca  
The Arms Control Agenda At the UN : Breaking New Ground or Breaking Old Habits ?  
ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 26, no. 10, January - February 1997, p. 8-13.
  
- Kent, Randolph C.  
Mackinlay, John  
Preventing Crises Becoming Disasters.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 53, no. 7, July 1997, p. 175-177.
  
- MacDermott, Anthony  
Making Reform and Event.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 53, no. 7, July 1997, p. 172-174.  
Kofi Annan became Secretary-General of the UN because its paymasters - especially the United States - wanted reform. Six months on he is about to announce a package of changes. There is also discussion about membership of the Security Council. Can reform become a real event rather than another protracted process ?
  
- Malone, David  
The UN Security Council in the Post-Cold War World : 1987-1997.  
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 28, no. 4, December 1997, p. 393-408.  
The UN Security Council (UNSC) has experienced significant changes since the end of the Cold War. This article surveys key shifts in UNSC attitudes, mandates and activities between 1987 and 1997, nearly all of which stem from the twin phenomena of greater cooperation among the Permanent five members of the Council and from the Council's growing focus on civil wars and intercommunal strife, which has launched the Council into new and largely untested waters. It argues that the Council

decisions since 1987 have profound significance for, and have enhanced the Council's role in, international relations despite several spectacular setbacks, notably in Bosnia and in Somalia. These decisions have eroded and redefined the concept of sovereignty.

- Nordquist, Myron H.

What Color Is the Peacekeeper's Helmet ?

NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 50, no. 3, Sequence 359, Summer 1997, p. 7-24.

- Paris, Roland

Blue Helmet Blues : The End of the UN as a Security Organization ?

WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 20, no. 1, Winter 1997, p. 191-206.

- Pugh, Michael

Cunliffe, S. Alex

The Lead Agency Concept in Humanitarian Assistance : The Case of the UNHCR.

SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 28, no. 1, March 1997, p. 17-30.

This article argues that (1) the concept of a lead agency for complex emergencies has not been satisfactorily formulated either within the UN system or outside it by regional organizations or states; (2) the concept represents a realist 'default' position to fill a vacuum in coordination, emerging as an answer to the problem of coordinating the UN's humanitarian missions in the absence of a strong political mechanism; and (3) in implementing the concept, the UNHCR's experience highlights the inappropriateness of having particular agencies lead in the holistic management of humanitarian assistance, which requires the coordination of military and civilian elements. The authors question whether, even at the organizational level, UN agencies such as the UNHCR, UNICEF and the WFP are appropriate bodies for coordination functions, given their defined roles as independent, non-political actors in specialist fields. Organizationally, agencies have been involved in attempting to facilitate a whole range of activities, including relief, human rights, protection of displaced persons and economic development for the repatriation of refugees, as well as coordination with implementing partners, international military forces and civilian police - tasks which stretch the capabilities of the agencies. The authors argue that coordination by control is an ideal unlikely to be achieved, and that coordination by facilitation, with the goal of improving cooperation, is more achievable. But that even this may require a political/diplomatic authority, such as a strengthened Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA), rather than bolting an overtly political role onto specialist agencies.

- Rathjens, George W.

Send In the Troops : A UN Foreign Legion.

WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 20, no. 1, Winter 1997, p. 207-228.

In this essay, the authors propose what they consider to be the most realistic, effective, and politically feasible response to the hesitation of governments to commit their forces to UN operations : a modest standing UN military force composed entirely of volunteers from member states, a sort of 'UN Foreign Legion'. Such a force, numbering roughly 15,000 and backed up by larger forces remaining under national control, would dramatically improve the world community's rapid response capability when faced with humanitarian crises or civil unrest. Encouraging its creation would constitute an important expression of US global leadership at a critical moment in the development of multilateral institutions.

- Rivlin, Benjamin  
Leadership in the UN, 1997 : The Secretary-General and the US, A Symbiotic Relationship under Stress.  
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 52, no. 2, Spring 1997, p. 197-218.
  
- Schlesinger, Stephen  
Can the United Nations Reform ?  
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 14, no. 3, Fall 1997, p. 47-52.
  
- Volger, Helmut  
UN-Reform im Alleingang ? : das konfliktreiche Verhältnis zwischen USA und UN.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 52. Jahr, Nr. 12, Dezember 1997, S. 39-44.  
Das Klima zwischen den Vereinten Nationen und den USA hat sich spurbar verschlechtert. Um die Handlungsfähigkeit der Weltorganisation zu erhalten, müssen die Vereinigten Staaten ihre Verweigerungshaltung aufgeben und ihre Schulden begleichen.

<b>1998</b>
-------------

- Peacekeeping and the UN Agencies.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 5, no. 4, Winter 1998, Special Issue.
  
- Berman, Eric G.  
The Security Council's Increasing Reliance on Burden-Sharing : Collaboration or Abrogation ?  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 5, no. 1, Spring 1998, p. 1-21.  
This article assesses the significance of the United Nations Security Council's increasing reliance on individual UN member states, groups of states and regional organizations to take the lead in peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations. It identifies several factors behind the trend and suggests why it is likely to persist. Although the study acknowledges that burden-sharing can be effective, it also highlights instances in which it has proven inappropriate. Efforts to develop safeguards and oversight mechanisms are reviewed and found lacking. The report discusses recent initiatives to improve the capacities of regional organizations and individual UN member states to deploy military forces in promoting international peace and security. It concludes that while it is difficult to determine when the Security Council should delegate its mandated responsibilities, a willingness and ability to assume the burden should not be the only criteria employed.
  
- Bourantonis, Dimitris  
Reform of the UN Security Council and the Non-Aligned States.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 5, no. 1, Spring 1998, p. 89-109.  
This article analyses the positions that the non-aligned states hold on the basic issues of Security Council reform. It is argued that the demands of the non-aligned states for changes in the Security Council would, if ever satisfied, have a harmful effect on the work and the functioning of the UN's most powerful body. The claims of the non-aligned states for restricting the use of veto and increasing the size of the Council as well as their claim for changes in its working methods are unacceptable to the current permanent members. The article suggests that the non-aligned states, in order to be more effective in the ongoing debate on Council reform, should compromise their stance and bring it more into line with that of the current permanent members.

- Carment, David  
James, Patrick

The United Nations at 50 : Managing Ethnic Crises : Past and Present. JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH, vol. 35, no. 1, January 1998, p. 61-82. With the UN now past the half-century mark of existence, it is natural to pause and reflect on the organization's role in the management and resolution of a truly global problem : ethnic conflict. No figures, however, are available with respect to the UN's record in responding to communal conflict as manifested at the interstate level. The present study is intended as an initial venture into UN activity in the aggregate, with a specific focus on international ethnic crises. This investigation of the UN and interstate ethnic crises unfolds in four stages. First, the special challenges posed by ethnic conflicts are summarized, leading into a series of propositions about crisis management and outcomes. The second stage presents sources of data and measurement of variables. Third, the propositions about UN activity are tested over the period from 1947-94. In both the full and post-1988 periods, violent crisis management and severe violence become more likely with UN involvement. However, if the UN has not been able to prevent violence in the most difficult situations, it has improved the way that participants view the outcome in a greater proportion of conflicts than in the Cold War era. Fourth, and finally, implications of the results and directions for future research are discussed.

- Green, David Michael  
Kahl, Chad  
Diehl, Paul F.

Predicting the Size of UN Peacekeeping Operations. ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 24, no. 4, Summer 1998, p. 485-500. The authors present a statistical model that predicts the force size of United Nations peacekeeping operations, relying on experiences from thirty-nine peacekeeping operations over the period 1945-1994. As expected, the type of mission performed by the peacekeeping operation was a major factor in determining force size. Although the second-generation mission category includes a panoply of different mission types, these new peacekeeping operations still on average require almost 12,000 more personnel than observer operations. The results indicate, however, that the size of a peacekeeping operation is not solely a function of mission type; the context of the conflict situation matters as well. Specifically, the severity of the violence in the crisis precipitating UN intervention has a significant effect, as does the addition of more actors to the conflict. In general, the geographic characteristics of the area (except the size of the deployment area), the type of conflict (civil or interstate), and superpower involvement had no statistically significant effects.

- Lia, Brynjar

Islamist Perceptions of the United Nations and Its Peacekeeping Missions : Some Preliminary Findings. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 5, no. 2, Summer 1998, p. 38-63. The portrayal of Islamic fundamentalism (Islamism) as the new security threat to the West has coincided with a considerable build-up of Western military capacity for humanitarian interventions and peacekeeping. Presumably, the juxtaposition of these trends adds to the legacy of Western domination and will affect negatively Western participation in peacekeeping in the Muslim world. To address this issue, this article discusses Islamist perceptions of the United Nations and its peacekeeping missions. It is argued that despite the vehement denunciation of the West by the Islamists, this hostility is not automatically extended to the UN, nor to its peacekeeping missions. Experience shows that UN peacekeeping missions can find a modus vivendi with the Islamists.

- MacDermott, Anthony  
 The UN and NGOs : Humanitarian Interventions in Future Conflicts.  
 CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 19, no. 3, December 1998, p. 1-26.  
 The nature of future wars - mainly intrastate wars - and the erosion of state sovereignty will put increasing and different pressures on the UN and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to find the best way to intervene in these crises. Historically UN agencies and NGOs have formally co-ordinated their activities badly both in the field and in New York, despite some less formal and uneasy co-operation on practical and financial levels for some time. Persistent financial problems at the UN and Secretary-General Kofi Annan's reform proposals of 1997 have yet to improve the structure of humanitarian intervention on the UN side. The NGOs need define their aims more coherently. The UN - its humanitarian agencies and peacekeeping soldiers - and NGOs should share more information about their training, experiences and motivations. Each side needs the other as they become increasingly intertwined in complex interventions and involved in longer term civil administrative activities and economic development.
  
- Rosenblatt, Lionel  
 Thompson, Larry  
 The Doors of Opportunity : Creating a Permanent Peacekeeping Force.  
 WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 15, no. 1, Spring 1998, p. 36-42.
  
- Serrano, Andres S.  
 NN UU y mantenimiento de la paz.  
 POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 12, no. 65, septiembre - octubre 1998, p. 51-65.  
 The United Nations distinguishes between two purposes for the collective use of military forces : enforcement and peacekeeping. But its role in a rapidly growing number of conflicts have conformed to neither. As a result, these UN operations have floundered in a conceptual void, sometimes with tragic consequences for their participants and for the UN itself. The critical issue is not where the forces come from, but the objectives and rules of engagement governing their deployment and employment.
  
- Shraga, Daphna  
 The United Nations as an Actor Bound by International Humanitarian Law.  
 INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 5, no. 2, Summer 1998, p. 64-81.  
 Although for many years the United Nations has been reluctant to formally recognize the applicability of international humanitarian law (IHL) to UN peacekeeping operations, the changing role and nature of UN peacekeeping operations in the early 1990s made this recognition imperative. In discussing the principle and scope of application of IHL to UN forces, the article examines the main arguments in the UN-ICRC debate; the UN undertaking in the Status of Forces Agreements to observe and respect the spirit and principles of IHL Conventions; the international responsibility of the United Nations for activities of UN forces, and the relationship between the applicability of IHL to UN forces and the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel. The article argues that IHL applies to UN forces when they are actively engaged in military operations as combatants, but that its applicability is mutatis-mutandis, taking into consideration the nature and legal status of the United Nations Organization and its capacity to be bound by its provisions.

- Voorhoeve, Joris J. C.  
 Lehren für die Zukunft : UN-Friedenssicherung im Wandel.  
 INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 53. Jahr, Nr. 7, Juli 1998, S. 41-48.  
 Die vielfältige Natur der gegenwertigen Friedenseinsätze der Vereinten Nationen hat zu einer Neubewertung des Konzepts der Friedenssicherung geführt. Zu den Grundsätzen einer künftigen Friedenssicherung gehören nach Auffassung des niederländischen Verteidigungsministers institutionelle Flexibilität, der Aufbau regionaler Kapazitäten, eine verbesserte Fähigkeit zum schnellen Eingreifen sowie eine flexible Herangehensweise an das zeitliche Ende von Friedensoperationen. Nur durch eine konstante Stärkung könne die Weltorganisation ihre Rolle und Glaubwürdigkeit bewahren.
  
- Weiss, Thomas G.  
 Humanitarian Shell Games : Whither UN Reform ?  
 SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 29, no. 1, March 1998, p. 9-23.  
 Dismantling the Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA) and replacing it with the Office of the Emergency Relief Coordinator headed the list of the most disappointing aspects of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's reform package in mid-1997. The author explores the history of the DHA, its record, and the institutional politics behind the cosmetic adaptation of diplomatic and coordination machinery that displaced more serious rethinking or restructuring of humanitarian action. There are operational and political implications for blue helmets, be they more traditional peace-keepers or more robust peace-enforcers. The central challenge for peace operations and humanitarian action remains : how to get the various units of the so-called UN family, along with a host of recently adopted NGO subcontractors, to function more effectively as a system rather than as a loose collection of independent actors with separate mandates, budgets, priorities and programmes.
  
- Wentges, J. Taylor  
 Force, Function and Phase : Three Dimensions of UN Peacekeeping.  
 INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 5, no. 3, Autumn 1998, p. 58-77.  
 Vertical typologies of UN peacekeeping mandates that classify solely according to the level of force or consent tend to exaggerate the use of force after the end of the Cold War - implying that the key difference between pre- and -post-1988 operations has been the degree of assertiveness. This then contributes to a de-emphasis of the more successful consensus-based second generation UN missions that make up most of post-1988 peacekeeping. To overcome this, a multi-dimensional framework is suggested. Accordingly, the level of force dimension separates consent from enforcement, a horizontal dimension differentiates between uni- and multi-functional actors and activities, and a chronological dimension includes static containment and alleviation of conflict, and the more dynamic prevention, reduction and settlement. Therefore, instead of two conceptually simplistic or clouded peacekeeping types - classical and second generation - there are three of greater precision : classical (consensual, uni-functional, static), wider (consensual, multi-functional, dynamic) and assertive (enforcing, uni-functional, quasi-static). This helps to accurately and precisely highlight the more successful and numerous wider missions such as ONUSAL, ONUMOZ and UNPREDEP, suggesting that, in the medium term, such operations can prevail as a worthy, orthogonal alternative to both impractical assertive and timid classical UN peacekeeping.

- UN ? : War or Peace ?  
ARMY QUARTERLY AND DEFENCE JOURNAL, vol. 129, no. 2, April 1999, p. 147-150.  
The UN's role has been changing from peacemaker to active participant in crisis situations. Should it go back to basics ?
  
- Abiew, Francis Kofi  
Keating, Tom  
NGOs and UN Peacekeeping Operations : Strange Bedfellows.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 6, no. 2, Summer 1999, p. 89-111.  
This article examines the increased interaction between international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and UN peacekeeping operations in complex emergencies and civil conflicts. The involvement of NGOs in civil conflicts and the increased delegation of service delivery from states and institutions to NGOs has become a prevalent aspect of peacekeeping and peacebuilding exercise in the 1990s. The article reviews a number of the reasons for this development and argues that the increased involvement of NGOs in conflict situations has not always facilitated the resolution of conflicts or the implementation of UN mandates. The authors argue that NGOs will need to reassess their practices if they are to play a constructive role in UN operations in the future.
  
- Arias, Inocencio F.  
Matara el Consejo de Seguridad a la ONU ?  
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 13, no. 70, julio - agosto 1999, p. 59-69.  
La intervencion de la OTAN en Kosovo sin la autorizacion del Consejo de Seguridad ha planteado de nuevo la discusion acerca de la reforma de las Naciones Unidas. En el ultimo ano del siglo XX, la ONU padece una perdida de credibilidad y prestigio, asi como una crisis de legitimidad que traba su capacidad para resolver conflictos. La responsabilidad recae en los cinco Estados miembros que con su veto tienen la capacidad de bloquear la maquinaria.
  
- Chesterman, Simon  
Byers, Michael  
Has US Power Destroyed the UN ?  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 144, no. 4, August 1999, p. 27-30.
  
- Cot, Jean-Pierre  
Le rapport Carrington sur la mise en oeuvre des decisions du Conseil de securite.  
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 64e annee, no. 1, printemps 1999, p. 107-126.  
L'auteur presente et etudie le rapport final de la commission internationale presidee par Lord Carrington sur les meilleurs moyens de mettre en oeuvre les decisions du Conseil de securite dans le cadre du chapitre VII de la Charte des Nations. Ses conclusions et ses propositions de reformes visant a renforcer la securite collective prennent une teneur toute particuliere apres la nouvelle crise de decembre 1998 au cours de laquelle les Etats-Unis et le Royaume-Uni ont procede de maniere unilaterale a des frappes aeriennes sur l'Irak sans s'appuyer sur une resolution du Conseil de securite qui aurait preconise un recours a la force, action qui a relance le debat sur la necessite, ou pas, d'une resolution du Conseil prealable a toute intervention militaire.

- Fulci, Paolo  
Italy and the Reform of the UN Security Council.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 34, no. 2, April - June 1999, p. 7-16.  
The Italian Ambassador to the United Nations explains the main goals of Italy's long-lasting diplomatic efforts for a reform of the UN Security Council to make it more democratic and prevent any demotion in Italy's international status. The author focuses, in particular, on the political significance of Italy's recent success in obtaining confirmation of the rule that any change in the composition of the Security Council must be approved by at least two-thirds of UN member states. He also examines the future prospects for the reform of the Security Council with some final considerations on the question of a common European seat.
  
- Ganser, Helmut W.  
Friedensmissionen der Vereinten Nationen in einer kritischen Phase.  
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 48. Jg., Nr. 10, Oktober 1999, S. 15-19.  
The present crisis of UN peacekeeping is also a crisis of the politico-diplomatic conflict management within the United Nations on which UN peacekeeping must be based on. In many current cases in which special envoys and/or chiefs of UN missions act as mediators, they have more or less to rely on the political will and interest of the leadership elites of conflict parties in a peace process. Usually, these mediators do not have 'sticks and carrots' at their disposal to put pressure on the parties. Moreover, they must take account of the geostrategic interests of influential regional powers and their relations with the parties to the conflict. Bosnia and Kosovo are paragons of dynamic conflicts management in which the international community of nations was able to bring the parties to the conflict to the negotiating table by means of a coordinated political, economic, and military strategy and to have them sign a contractual agreement of a peace solution and to get them to give their consent to an employment of a peace implementation force.
  
- Glennon, Michael J.  
The New Interventionism.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 3, May - June 1999, p. 2-7.  
The anti-interventionist rules of the UN Charter have fallen out of sync with the modern concept of justice, so NATO is taking the law into its own hands.
  
- Griffin, Michele  
Blue Helmet Blues : Assessing the Trend Towards 'Subcontracting' UN Peace Operations.  
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 30, no. 1, March 1999, p. 43-60.  
The role of UN peacekeeping has declined in the past five years, although the need for intervention in all its forms has not. The UN Security Council (UNSC), particularly the Permanent Five, has sanctioned some questionable operations and thereby undermined its own legal and moral primacy in the field. Peacekeeping now involves a wider range of activities, and devolving control over these has become a more frequent mechanism. NATO in former Yugoslavia is a particular example. The move away from global to devolved forms of conflict management - which is conditionally permitted by the UN Charter - seems likely to continue. In this development, the UNSC has played a notably passive and weak role, and measures of responsibility and clearer mandates are needed to make subcontracting work. Greater liaison with regional organizations is required, but this should not be overformalized, as ad hoc coalitions often have advantages of flexibility and political will. Subcontracting is here to stay. The UNSC should convene an open debate on the issue, with the UN retaining a central role in managing international peace and security.

- Griffin, Michele  
Retrenchment, Reform and Regionalization : Trends in UN Peace Support Operations.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 6, no. 1, Spring 1999, p. 1-31.  
The year 1998 marked the fiftieth anniversary of United Nations peace support operations. However, celebrations at the UN were muted, for the anniversary came at a time of deepening crisis for the organization. In the wake of the overly ambitious peace operations of the early 1990s, considerable financial and political constraints were placed by member states on UN activism. In this climate of retrenchment, the UN has concerned itself primarily with enhancing its operational efficiency. Some strides have indeed been made in improving the infrastructure and internal coordination of the organization in the domain of peace and security. Even greater progress has been made in the conceptual realm, with a far more comprehensive understanding of peace and management, approaches incorporating humanitarian, human rights, economic, social and development aspects in addition to the traditional focus on military and political factors. However, this and many other lessons of the first 50 years of peace operations have proved difficult to implement in the absence of political and financial support for the organization from all member states, particularly the United States. This dichotomy between conceptual progress and operational paralysis has as a consequence a possible decline in the primacy of the UN, particularly the Security Council, in the maintenance of international peace and security, with the impetus for conflict management passing into the hands of regional organizations, ad hoc coalitions of states and even individual states.
  
- Hartwig, Stefan  
Medien-Blauhelme : eine neue Aufgabe fur die UNO ?  
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 48. Jg., Nr. 6, Juni 1999, S. 44-46.
  
- Laurenti, Jeffrey  
US Reluctance and UN Revival.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 34, no. 4, October - December 1999, p. 13-20.  
The author analyses the current US debate on the role of the UN, lingering on the crucial ongoing struggle between the Clinton administration and the Republican-dominated Congress over the payment of the huge US debt to the UN. Stressing that such recent events as the UN missions in Kosovo and Indonesia have demonstrated the continuing importance of the world organization, he maintains that, contrary to the neo-isolationist view, the support for international organisations as well as for compliance with the obligations taken in their frameworks is a key to preserving America's global leadership.
  
- MacClure, Robert L.  
Orlov II, Morton  
Is the UN Peacekeeping Role in Eclipse ?  
PARAMETERS, vol. 29, no. 3, Autumn 1999, p. 96-105.
  
- Morris, Justin  
MacCoubrey, Hilaire  
Regional Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 6, no. 2, Summer 1999, p. 129-151.  
The end of the Cold War has brought about a major change in the paradigm of UN peace support action. The organization has found itself unable successfully to sustain the increasing demands placed upon it and has sought other mechanisms through which peace support might be achieved. Prominent among these has been exploration of the extent to which regional organizations and defensive alliances might assume this role as, in some sense, 'delegates' of the UN. The great diversity in both the

nature and capacities of such organizations suggests, however, that this cannot be a simple or singular solution to the problem of peace support into the next century. Rather than a single unitary new paradigm, the pattern which is suggested is both more complex and more diverse, with a combination of regional organizations and 'coalitions of the willing' having to function in a system which yet combines the essential imperatives of ultimate UN oversight and practical efficacy.

- Osmancavusoglu, Emel

Challenges to UN Peacekeeping Operations in the Post-Cold War Era.

PERCEPTIONS, vol. 4, no. 4, December 1999 - February 2000, p. 133-145.

- Roberts, Adam

Willing the End but Not the Means.

WORLD TODAY, vol. 55, no. 5, May 1999, p. 8-12.

Are threats or the use of military force against a sovereign state in support of the declared aims of the UN Security Council legitimate when there is no explicit authorisation in a Security Council resolution? Are such treats wise? And why do UN sanctions, widely seen as an alternative to force, often lead to it? In 1998-99 these questions have arisen in crises over Iraq and Kosovo. Western political leaders have made little attempt to address them openly.

- Sanders, L.

Het statuut van de militaire peacekeepers.

TRANSAKTIE, jg. 28, nr. 1, 1999, p. 47-70.

Gedurende de halve eeuw geschiedenis van de 'United Nations Organization' is het concept van 'peacekeeping' zo sterk geevolueerd, dat de bestaande studies ervan doorgaans per operatie en chronologisch ingedeeld worden, te beginnen bij de 'United Nations Truce Supervision Organization' (UNTSO) in 1948. In tegenstelling hiermee zullen in dit artikel niet zozeer de opdrachten, als wel de militaire uitvoerders ervan centraal staan en bovendien zal getracht worden om toch enkele constanten te onderscheiden, met betrekking tot de 'statuten' of rechtspositie van de militaire peacekeepers. Wat binnen het kader van dit artikel concreet als statuut begrepen zal worden, is enerzijds het zogenoemde 'Status-of-Forces Agreement' plus het 'Participating State Agreement' en anderzijds ook enkele implicaties van dit statuut 'stricto sensu', wat betreft de voorrechten en immuniteiten, de bevelvoering, de mogelijkheden om geweld te gebruiken en de discipline van de zogenoemde vredessoldaten. Bijzondere aandacht zal ook worden gegeven aan het onderscheid tussen de belangrijkste 'soorten' van militaire peacekeepers, met name enerzijds de 'United Nations Military Observers' en anderzijds de 'VN-vredesmachters'.

- Seker, Aylin

The Fallacy of Multilateralism.

PERCEPTIONS, vol. 4, no. 2, June - August 1999, p. 196-213.

Underlying the central arguments of this article are these overriding questions: What was the justification for the use of military force in the Gulf War and its aftermath? What precedents were set? Has the UN lost credibility or vindicated its status as the organ of the international community with primary responsibility for international peace and security? And finally, what lessons can be drawn from the UN's handling of the Gulf crisis and its aftermath for the future use of military force? Is unilateralism really dead?

- Werner, W. G.  
Rechterlijke controle of handelingen van de Veiligheidsraad.  
TRANSAKTIE, jg. 28, nr. 3, 1999, p. 336-359.  
Dit artikel geeft een overzicht van het debat inzake de controle van internationaal-rechtelijke organen op handelingen van de Veiligheidsraad. Op basis van de theorie van 'securitization' wordt een analyse gemaakt van de verhoogde activiteit van de Veiligheidsraad sinds het einde van de Koude Oorlog. Vervolgens wordt onderzocht welke argumenten pro en contra rechterlijke toetsing van handelingen van de Veiligheidsraad sinds de opstelling van het VN-Handvest naar voren zijn gebracht. Hierbij wordt een onderscheid gemaakt in drie typen argumenten : argumenten die betrekking hebben op de identiteit van de Verenigde Naties, argumenten die betrekking hebben op de tekst van het Handvest en de intenties van de opstellers van het Handvest, en, tot slot, argument die betrekking hebben op de jurisprudentie van het Internationaal Gerechtshof. Aan de hand van deze argumenten worden twee zaken bezien, die speelden na de Koude Oorlog en waarin fundamentele vragen werden gesteld ten aanzien van de bevoegdheidsverdeling tussen internationaal-rechterlijke organen en de Veiligheidsraad : de zaak Lockerbie van het Internationaal Gerechtshof en de zaak Tadic voor het Joegoslavië tribunaal.
  
- Williams, John  
The Ethical Basis of Humanitarian Intervention, the Security Council and Yugoslavia.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 6, no. 2, Summer 1999, p. 1-23.  
The article analyses the text of Security Council Resolutions on the conflict in the former Yugoslavia for the period between September 1991 and 1997. It searches for evidence of a shift on the part of the Council towards an acceptance of the idea of universal human rights and their importance to international peace and security. The article concludes that the Resolutions do suggest that such a shift is underway, and this contributes to a greater concern for justice as an element of order in international relations.

2000
------

- Bertrand, Maurice  
L' ONU et la securite a l' echelle planetaire.  
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 65e annee, no. 2, ete 2000, p. 375-387.  
A l'heure ou les europeens tentent de definir leur politique de securite et de defense commune, comment peut-on evaluer les limites du systeme de securite onusien ? Est-il necessaire d'en definir un nouveau ? Face aux pretentions hegemoniques americaines qui tendent a instrumentaliser l'ONU et a la depousseder de ses responsabilites, l'Europe a effectivement un role a jouer. Mais cela suppose de se debarasser d'un certain nombre d'idees fausses sur l'institution onusienne. Il s'agit en fait de depasser une conception archaique faisant de l'imprevisibilite des crises, et du recours concerté a la force par les grandes puissances les fondements du systeme de securite collective. L'auteur plaide ainsi pour la mise en place d'une politique systematique de prevention des crises qui utiliserait un canal plus economique que militaire.
  
- Bowen, Desmond  
Something Must be Done : Military Intervention.  
STUDIES IN CONFLICT AND TERRORISM, vol. 23, no. 1, January - March 2000, p. 1-19.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
This article looks into the proper employment of military forces and personnel in peace operations undertaken or authorized by the UN. It

assesses what armed forces are best able to do in this sphere, and for what purpose they are designed and trained. Their possible contribution is considered, and the circumstances in which they should be engaged explored.

- Helms, Jesse

American Sovereignty and the UN.

NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 62, Winter 2000 - 2001, p. 31, 4 p.

This article examines the association between the sovereignty of the United States and the United Nations.

- Jakobsen, Peter Viggo

Overload, Not Marginalization, Threatens UN Peacekeeping.

SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 31, no. 2, June 2000, p. 167-178.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

It is premature to conclude, from a fall in UN peacekeeping numbers and the passing of enforcement operations to regional organizations (especially to NATO over Kosovo without a UN mandate), that the UN is being marginalized. The new divisions of labour in field operations of the 21st century mean that the UN is stretched to its limits. A constructed marginalist argument is not really sustained, especially as peacekeeping numbers, including especially those of civilian police and observers, have been rising. The UN is strongly in demand for programmes involving development, food, refugees and children. Peacekeeping has a special future in Kosovo, East Timor and Sierra Leone. Progress has been made in co-delegated operations (with Kosovo the possible exception). If the UN is to be effective in the new circumstances, it desperately needs to address the issue of appropriate institutional reform.

- Jonge Oudraat, Chantal de

Making Economic Sanctions Work.

SURVIVAL, vol. 42, no. 3, Autumn 2000, p. 105-127.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

The UN Security Council increasingly imposes economic sanctions to prevent, manage or resolve violent conflict. The political effectiveness of these measures has been limited and the humanitarian consequences have been severe, although unintended. Yet sanctions remain attractive for many policy-makers and their extensive use is unlikely to be abandoned. In fact, sanctions can be an effective policy instrument, but they must be properly implemented and part of a comprehensive coercive strategy that includes the threat of force. Many 1990s sanction regimes failed because they did not meet these two key conditions.

- Langille, H. Peter

Conflict Prevention : Options for Rapid Deployment and UN Standing Forces.

INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 7, no. 1, Spring 2000, p. 219-253.

Efforts to enhance a UN rapid deployment capability have prompted an array of complementary reforms. The SHIRBRIG became available in 2000. The UN Standby Arrangement System has attracted wider participation, with 147,500 personnel committed on a conditional basis. A skeletal UN rapid deployment mission headquarters has been approved and may be staffed by year's end. Despite resource constraints, DPKO has established the organizational capacity to plan and manage complex operations. Thus, as the tactical, operational and strategic foundation is strengthened, participants look for a corresponding response at the political level to inspire a higher degree of confidence and commitment among member states. These various 'building blocks' are gradually forming the institutional foundation for future peacekeeping. Initially, they are likely to circumscribe activity to Chapter VI, albeit within a flexible interpretation of 'wider' peace support operations. There remain a number

of issues, however, that warrant further effort and scrutiny : this is still a rudimentary capability; it cannot provide an assurance of effectiveness or reliability; it may be incapable of assisting with humanitarian intervention or preventive action; the former momentum of the 'Friends of Rapid Deployment' has now stalled. Yet, rather than await another extended period of ad hoc improvisation or another catastrophe, it is time to consider how additional SHIRBRIGs and dedicated UN standing elements might be introduced as a complementary expansion on current arrangements. To activate and revitalize support for further measures, this analysis points to the need for a new 'soft power' approach, proposing a vision-oriented, cumulative development process.

- MacCarthy, Patrick A.

Building a Reliable Rapid-Reaction Capability for the United Nations.

INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 7, no. 2, Summer 2000, p. 139-154.

Of the two main ways of rendering the UN's rapid-reaction capability fully reliable, neither the institutionally most straightforward option of activating the provisions of Article 43 of the UN Charter, nor the institutionally more complicated option of establishing a standing UN force, have gained sufficient political support. This article shows, however, that in the middle ground between these two options, numerous initiatives are underway that, if continued, could improve significantly the reliability of the UN's rapid-reaction capability.

- Mack, Andrew

Khan, Asif

The Efficacy of UN Sanctions.

SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 31, no. 3, September 2000, p. 279-292.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

No fewer than 16 sanctions regimes were enforced by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in the 1990s. Whether such sanctions are initiated by the UNSC or by individual states, their efficacy is often questioned. They are less effective when directed at authoritarian regimes, may strengthen rather than weaken the transgressor regimes, may be insufficiently enforced and may cause just as much death and suffering as a war fought with arms. Yet sanctions that fail to change the behaviour of the sanctioned state are not necessarily failures. Even the much-criticized sanctions against Iraq appear to have succeeded in stigmatizing and containing the transgressor state and in deterring other would-be violators. Unless such additional goals are taken into consideration, evaluations of sanctions will be unduly negative and pessimistic. Still, some necessary reforms have been suggested. Among these are 'smart' sanctions, targeted at regimes without hurting their citizens, though more work is needed to evaluate the potential of these.

- Mackinlay, John

UN Peacekeeping Report : Mission Failure.

WORLD TODAY, vol. 56, no. 11, November 2000, p. 9-11.

The panel of experts that reported on United Nations peacekeeping just ahead of the Millennium Summit has failed to grasp the nettle. The report does not hold out any prospect for a new, more effective UN in the field. There is no glimmer of vision, nothing which significantly adds to the well known, longstanding list of operational problems. What are the important issues that should have been confronted, but were not ?

- Malone, David M.

Le Conseil de securite dans les annees 90 : essor et recession ?  
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 65e annee, no. 2, ete 2000, p. 403-421.  
L'auteur dresse ici le bilan du Conseil de securite de l'ONU pour les annees 90. Alors qu'en cette fin de decennie, l'institution onusienne semble en perte de vitesse (l'intervention au Kosovo, par exemple, s'est faite sans consultation prealable du Conseil de securite), une evaluation de son action, de son fonctionnement, et de ses perspectives d'avenir apparait necessaire. L'auteur insiste d'abord sur l'elargissement du spectre des preoccupations du Conseil qui se focalise de plus en plus sur des conflits intra-etatiques aux problematiques complexes. Considerations humanitaires, defense des droits de l'homme et promotion de la democratie deviennent ainsi des enjeux de premiere importance. L'auteur s'interesse ensuite aux questions institutionnelles qui ont traverse la decennie (modalites des prises de decision, evolutions judiciaires, ouverture aux ONG,...) Il reste qu'a la veille du XXIe siecle, l'interrogation demeure quant a un certain nombre de problemes cruciaux : les relations entre le Conseil et les Etats-Unis d'une part et la Russie de l'autre, l'efficacite des interventions en Afrique et la reforme du Conseil lui-meme. Institution incontournable et irremplacable, le Conseil ne pourra sortir de l'impasse que grace a une reaffirmation du leadership americain.

- Malone, David M.

Wermester, Karin  
Boom and Bust ? : The Changing Nature of UN Peacekeeping.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 7, no. 4, Winter 2000, p. 37-54.  
With the end of the Cold War, the notion and practice of peacekeeping has undergone something of a revolution. Spearheaded by the UN Security Council, two significant shifts have occurred in peacekeeping in the past decade. First, the goals pursued by peacekeeping operations have changed from assisting in the maintenance of ceasefires to implementing detailed electoral, humanitarian, human rights, and civilian police components in peacekeeping mandates. Second, the level of enforcement brought to bear by peacekeeping operations has increased dramatically. New trends in UN peacekeeping include the increasing use of Chapter VII mandates to authorize the use of force under 'coalitions of the willing', the implementation of mandatory sanctions regimes, and the humanitarian intervention missions of the 1990s.

- Melvern, Linda

Behind Closed Doors.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 56, no. 8, August - September 2000, p. 9-11.  
About a hundred times a year the United Nations Security Council meets in formal session - a high international executive deciding issues of war and peace. But many of the non-permanent members believe that the secret discussions behind public sessions are serving the world poorly. In the case of Rwanda, badly informed decisions condemned a million to death.

- Morphet, Sally

China as a Permanent Member of the Security Council : October 1971-December 1999.  
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 31, no. 2, June 2000, p. 151-166.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
This looks at the four phases in which China has acted as one of the five Permanent Members (P-5) of the UN Security Council (UNSC) since it succeeded Taiwan in October 1971. Between November 1971 and the end of 1981, China learned its role, balancing its own interests with those of the Third World and the other P-5. During 1982-85 it became more at ease with this, and between 1986 and July 1990 worked more closely with the other P-5 as it adjusted to the breakup of the Soviet Union and the end

of the Cold War. In the last phase, it has had to work out its strategies with the USA as the dominant power and the other P-5, especially in relation to policies of humanitarian intervention and the use of force. Two tables illustrate UNSC voting records with special reference to China's tactics of non-participation and abstention. China has used its votes sensibly and with caution.

- Morris, Justin

UN Security Council Reform : A Counsel for the 21st Century.  
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 31, no. 3, September 2000, p. 265-277.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

Since the end of the Cold War, the size, composition and legitimacy of the United Nations Security Council have been subject to debate. The Security Council is no longer considered sufficiently representative of a UN membership which has swollen from 51 states in 1945 to 188 in 2000. Moreover, the continuing dominance of the leading powers of 1945 is out of tune with the current distribution of power. The debates on UN Security Council reform have not fostered any consensus, but it is widely agreed that, in order to reduce the hegemony of the West, the Security Council must be expanded in a way that ensures regional participation, granting representation from African, Asian and Latin American member-states. Increased representativity is surely a desirable goal, but it is equally important to discuss representativity on an intrastate basis. Thus one needs to bring into the discussion the extent to which old and new member-states are representative of their citizens and dedicated to the provision of their security and welfare.

- Mortimer, Edward

Europe's Role in the United Nations.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 35, no. 4, October - December 2000, p. 7-11.

- Pedrazzi, Marco

Italy's Approach to UN Security Council Reform.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 35, no. 3, July - September 2000, p. 49-56.

- Ramsbotham, Oliver

Reflections on UN Post-Settlement Peacebuilding.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 7, no. 1, Spring 2000, p. 169-189.  
This study offers some reflections on the remarkable attempt by the international community between December 1988 and February 1999 to bring a number of prolonged and vicious internal wars to an end by securing and consolidating peace agreements through UN-run peacebuilding operations. Based on an original 1978 UN Security Council mandate for ending colonial rule in Namibia, surprisingly revived and extended ten years later in entirely different circumstances, it envisaged two complementary tasks for the international community : the negative task of helping to prevent a relapse into war, and the positive task of assisting in the construction of a self-sustaining peace. The former, defined here as a response to the challenge of 'Clausewitz in reverse' - the continuation of the politics of war into the ensuing peace - predominates in the early stages, involving a number of uncomfortable trade-offs and compromises hazardous for the long-term prospect of sustainable peace. The latter, premised on the liberal universalist assumption that market democracy best guarantees an enduring peace, may nevertheless in the short term increase instability and undermine attempts to prevent a relapse into war. The ensuing tensions seem unavoidable. Has the experiment been successful ? Are there better alternatives ? In addressing these questions, the literature on post-settlement peacebuilding is reviewed from a conflict resolution perspective. It is concluded that, despite

severe criticism, the experiment has not been shown to have failed. In particular, the experience of UNPROFOR and UNOSOM II, which were not post-settlement peacebuilding operations, should not serve to discredit the undertaking. Although the withdrawal of MONUA from Angola in February 1999 may be seen to have brought to an end the heroic age of UN post-settlement peacebuilding, a number of more modest recently initiated missions suggest that the enterprise has not been entirely abandoned. This offers hope for the future.

- Ryan, Stephen

United Nations Peacekeeping : A Matter of Principles ?

INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 7, no. 1, Spring 2000, p. 27-47.

The changes to UN peacekeeping in the 1990s encouraged some analysts to search for a more solid underpinning for what had been, up to then, a rather ad hoc mechanism. Surprisingly, some important texts in the field of peace and conflict research seem to have ignored many key developments in the area of peacekeeping and there seems to have been a reluctance to contribute to the search for new principles to guide future operations. Nonetheless, the growing awareness in the conflict research literature that conflict is a dynamic process that goes through several stages may offer important signposts for the future of peacekeeping in areas that can be viewed as neither 'traditional' nor enforcement missions. Three areas receive particular attention in this analysis : the pre-violence stage, the escalation phase and the post-violence phase.

- Tardy, Thierry

Le bilan de dix annees d' operations de maintien de la paix.

POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 65e annee, no. 2, ete 2000, p. 389-402.

L'auteur propose ici un bilan des operations de maintien de la paix de l'apres-guerre froide, parfois appelees operations 'de la deuxieme generation'. Il eclaire ainsi la dynamique par laquelle elles ont ete repensees en integrant les erreurs et echecs du passe. Pour l'auteur, les annees 90 ont vu une progressive stigmatisation du role de l'ONU, tenue pour responsable des echecs, et une reprise en main de ces operations par les Etats. Tentant de preciser ce que recouvre le concept flou de 'operations de maintien de la paix', l'auteur releve que de telles operations sont aujourd'hui par bien des aspects le reflet de certaines grandes evolutions du systeme international.

- Tardy, Thierry

L' heritage de la SDN, l' espoir de l' ONU : le role de l' ONU dans la gestion de la securite internationale.

ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 31, no. 4, decembre 2000, p. 691-708.

Au sortir de la Premiere Guerre mondiale, l'idealisme vehicule par Woodrow Wilson, Raoul Dandurand ou le Francais Leon Bourgeois avait donne naissance a une organisation a vocation universelle de promotion des valeurs de paix. La societe des Nations (SDN) participait du projet irenique d'instauration de la paix par le droit. En 1945, les peres fondateurs de l'ONU sont inspires par le meme idealisme, mais ils veulent aussi tirer les enseignements des echecs de la SDN. La ou la SDN avait echoue dans sa tache de gestion de la securite internationale, l'ONU reussirait, notamment parce qu'elle ne reproduirait pas les imperfections de la SDN. Ainsi l'ONU incarnait-elle l'espoir que la SDN n'avait pu concretiser. A l'aube du siecle naissant, cet espoir que l'ONU portait en elle est largement decu. Elle n'a certes pas pati des memes difficultes que la SDN et peut se prevaloir d'un certain nombre de succes, mais elle est incontestablement diminuee dans son role de garant de la paix par un bilan tres mitige. Bien plus, alors que la guerre froide avait conduit l'ONU a une paralysie forcee, le renouveau consecutif a la fin de l'opposition Est-Ouest ne lui a pas permis de se reapproprier sa tache premiere de maintien de la paix.

- Baillat, Jean-Michel  
Nations Unies et conflits armes.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 8-9, aout - septembre 2001, p. 53-64.  
L'Etat souverain, seul a meme de conduire une guerre juste, conserve jusqu'a nos jours le monopole de la violence legitime, y compris dans ses aspects internationaux. La prohibition de la guerre par la Charte des Nations Unies preserve la souverainete des Etats qui doit etre consideree pourtant comme source de conflits. Il est donc necessaire de faire evoluer le droit en introduisant au coeur du dispositif international d'une part la delegation systematique de l'action militaire de l'ONU a des Etats ou des alliances, d'autre part une veritable reconnaissance du droit des conflits armes.
  
- Bell, Peter D.  
Tousignant, Guy  
Getting Beyond New York : Reforming Peacekeeping in the Field.  
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 18, no. 3, Fall 2001, p. 41-46.
  
- Bode, Aiko  
Der UN-Sicherheitsrat : bestimmt die NATO seine neue Rolle ?  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 5, Mai 2001, S. 16-20.  
Als sich die NATO im Kosovo-Konflikt ohne UN-Mandat zum militarischen Eingreifen ermachtigte, wurde damit, so der Autor, die politische Rolle des Sicherheitsrat in Frage gestellt. In einer solchen Entwicklung liege die Gefahr globaler sicherheitspolitischer Destabilisierung. Der Autor macht konkrete Vorschlaege zur Rolle und konkreten Aufgaben des UN-Sicherheitsrats.
  
- Chandler, David  
The People-Centred Approach to Peace Operations : The New UN Agenda.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 8, no. 1, Spring 2001, p. 1-19.  
<http://www.ingenta.com>  
The September 2000 UN Millennium Assembly confirmed the need for a fundamental reform of UN peacekeeping operations. This reform is shaped by the need for a new 'people-centred' approach to conflict situations, no longer strictly bound by traditional 'state-centred' principles, such as non-intervention and state sovereignty. This article considers the impact of the proposals for UN peace negotiations, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and long-term conflict prevention. It concludes with a discussion of the implications of these reforms for the external management of post-conflict states and the changing roles of both the UN and NATO. It appears that there is a growing division of responsibility, with the authorisation of military intervention and peacekeeping tasks increasingly falling to 'coalitions of the willing' while the UN develops its peacebuilding responsibilities with a coordination role in post-conflict political and development activities.
  
- Chollet, Derek  
Orr, Robert  
Carpe Diem : Reclaiming Success at the United Nations.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 4, Autumn 2001, p. 7-18.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
In January 2001, all the pieces were in place for a mutually advantageous relationship between the United States and the UN. It is now in danger of being squandered. This article provides five easy ways to put the U.S.-UN relationship back on solid footing.

- Gareis, Sven Bernhard  
Eine neue UNO für neue Herausforderungen.  
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 50. Jg., Nr. 1, Januar 2001, S. 22-26.
  
- Gray, Christine  
Peacekeeping after the Brahimi Report : Is there a Crisis of Credibility for the UN ?  
JOURNAL OF CONFLICT & SECURITY LAW, vol. 6, no. 2, December 2001, p. 267-288.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The Brahimi Report was commissioned by the UN Secretary-General to address the past weaknesses and failures of the UN with regard to peace and security; it met an overwhelmingly favourable response from states and has been followed by a mass of other reports and meetings. This article focuses on two recommendations of the Brahimi Report that have been identified as central to the reform of UN peacekeeping; first, the need for clear, credible and achievable mandates and second, the need for improved consultation and co-operation with troop-contributing countries. These apparently simple requirements raise fundamental questions about the nature of peacekeeping and the role of the UN Security Council. The recent experience of the UN in Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo illustrates the difficulties in the implementation of the Brahimi recommendations. The 'commitment gap' between the undertakings of states in Security Council Resolutions and the resources they are actually prepared to devote to a UN operation remains a crucial problem. Securing a clear chain of command over peacekeeping forces and developing adequate mechanisms for troop-contributing countries to participate in the formulation of peacekeeping mandates also raise questions about the division of power between the Security Council and troop-contributors.
  
- Manusama, Kenneth  
Terrorisme en zelfverdediging in de Veiligheidsraad.  
VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 30, nr. 4, 2001, p. 481-499.  
In dit artikel wordt allereerst bekeken of het recht van zelfverdediging bij daden van terrorisme in het algemeen en in de concrete situatie van de aanslagen van 11 september 2001 van toepassing is. Hierbij wordt met name teruggekeken op de praktijk van de Veiligheidsraad op het gebied van (anti)terrorisme en zelfverdediging. De twee resoluties die sinds de terroristische aanslagen in de Verenigde Staten door de Veiligheidsraad zijn aangenomen komen vervolgens aan bod. De nadruk ligt daarbij op de gevolgen van de twee resoluties voor de inhoud van het recht op zelfverdediging en de rol van de Veiligheidsraad. Het opmerkelijke wetgevende karakter van resolutie 1373(2001) kan evenmin onopgemerkt blijven.
  
- Melvern, Linda  
The Security Council : Behind the Scenes.  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 77, no. 1, January 2001, p. 101-111.  
Following the publication of the various enquiries into the circumstances of the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, there has developed a view that the UN lacks the ability to manage complex missions. With particular reference to the case of the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR), the author pays special attention to the oversight of peacekeeping missions and the crucial role of the UN Security Council, the Secretary General and senior officials in the Secretariat and asks whether the Council is sufficiently equipped at ambassadorial level to address professional military issues. Does the Council have a right and a duty to know the details of peacekeeping missions in order to take a decision ? A culture of secrecy has developed in the Security Council and it is common practice now for the Council's important debates to be held in secret. This means that its

decision-making is unaccountable. The author also questions the lack of enquiry into British policy towards Rwanda in the Security Council between 1993 and 1994.

- Nossel, Suzanne

Retail Diplomacy : The Edifying Story of UN Dues Reform.  
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 66, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 94-105.  
<http://search.epnet.com>

In a world of competing power centers, the United States cannot rely on a strategy of curbing international organizations at its pleasure. Rather, we must learn how to translate our global military and economic clout into effective and specific diplomatic influence. American strength lies ultimately not in the ability to steamroll the world community, but in the power to turn delegations around one-by-one through persuasion and bilateral leverage. Put another way, we need to focus more on the art of retail diplomacy as a tool for multilateral advocacy. A noteworthy recent example of successful retail diplomacy was the campaign to negotiate a reduction of America's UN dues. Like many examples of the art, this effort was not particularly glamorous. But it worked, and it bears many lessons in diplomatic skill and stamina that American statesmen will need to learn in the months and years ahead.

- Reno, William

The Failure of Peacekeeping in Sierra Leone.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 100, no. 646, May 2001, p. 219-225.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>

RUF commanders have fought the government with guns bought with diamonds, brought from Liberia, or captured from their enemies. They do not have to rely on the goodwill of local inhabitants... The RUF bases its political power on control over diamonds.

- Ross, Ken

Power in Numbers.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 57, no. 5, May 2001, p. 23-24.  
The United Nations Security Council is generally thought of as the battleground of major global players - vetoes to hand. But this year states from the opposite end of the power spectrum have a unique opportunity to influence events.

- Shustov, Vladimir

Can the UN Fight a War ?  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 1, 2001, p. 7-17.  
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>

- Volger, Helmut

Neue Strukturen für die Vereinten Nationen.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 5, Mai 2001, S. 9-15.  
Die UN sind die einzige Organisation, die mit der UN-Charta und universeller Mitgliedschaft über das legitime Gewaltmonopol verfügt, um in friedensgefährdenden Konflikten (zerfallende Staaten, Völkermord, Massenmigration, Wüstenbildung, Wahrungsspekulationen etc.) intervenieren zu können. Neben den erforderlichen Strukturreformen und der Reform der Friedenssicherung ist eine Finanzreform überfällig.

- White, Nigel

Commentary on the Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (The Brahimi Report).  
JOURNAL OF CONFLICT & SECURITY LAW, vol. 6, no. 1, June 2001, p. 127-146.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>

- Andersson, Andreas  
 United Nations Intervention by United Democracies ? State Commitment to UN Interventions 1991-99.  
 COOPERATION AND CONFLICT, vol. 37, no. 4, December 2002, p. 363-386.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
 An ongoing study of the impact of democracy on the incidence of state commitment to UN interventions is examined, with a focus on state participation in UN interventions. It is hypothesized that, of potential committing states, democracies show the greatest propensity to participate in UN interventions. In contrast to the existing literature, which comprises mainly case studies, basic descriptive statistics are utilized in this article to probe the hypothesis on polity and commitment to UN interventions. The less-democratic states are less committed to UN interventions. Overall, the hypothesis is supported by the empirical results in that (a) democracies commit more than other polities to UN interventions, (b) the difference between democracies and anocracies is relatively small and ambiguous in significance compared to the difference between autocracies and democracies/anocracies, and (c) the empirical track record is by and large consistent with previous research on the effect of polity within the realms of war and conventional interventions.
  
- Baarda, Ted van  
 Iersel, Fred van  
 The Uneasy Relationship Between Conscience and Military Law : The Brahimi Report's Unresolved Dilemma.  
 INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 9, no. 3, Autumn 2002, p. 25-50.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
 The UN Panel on Peace Operations, chaired by Lakhdar Brahimi, touched only briefly on a dilemma of fundamental ethical and legal consequence. It suggested that peacekeepers cannot be neutral when faced with genocide; they may be compelled to act. By suggesting that peacekeepers should be presumed to be authorized to stop violence against civilians, it has raised the possibility that peacekeepers can ignore lawful orders not to interfere in a conflict. The article analyses the issues involved and concludes that the Panel did not exercise due caution when it presented this proposal.
  
- Berween, Mohamed  
 Democratization of the UN : Isn't it Time for Structural Reform at the United Nations ?  
 REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 2, no. 2, Winter 2002, p. 40-62.  
 The main purpose of this article is twofold : first, to argue why reforming the United Nations is needed and, second, to suggest how it might be done. The article begins by summarizing the main purposes of the UN, and goes on to argue that there are two major reasons for reform : a world power shift, that is, a new challenge facing the international community today, and the outdated existence of veto power. The article argues that in order for the UN to be reformed successfully the following six issues have to be dealt with : the composition and size of the Security Council; the right to veto; the criteria and qualifications of permanency; the openness and transparency of the Security Council; the lack of accountability; and financial responsibility. Finally, the article concludes by suggesting ten points for reforming the UN.

- Carpentier, Chantal  
L' ONU au secours des Etats-Unis.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 2, fevrier 2002, p. 55-66.
  
- Crossette, Barbara  
Killing One's Progeny : America and the United Nations.  
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 19, no. 3, Fall 2002, p. 54-59.
  
- Donald, Dominick  
Neutrality, Impartiality and UN Peacekeeping at the Beginning of the 21st Century.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 9, no. 4, Winter 2002, p. 21-38.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Assessments of UN peacekeeping in the 1990s have often partly blamed the inappropriate application of traditional principles - particularly neutrality and impartiality - for its more signal failures. Since 1998, Kofi Annan has led a process of conceptual reappraisal which appears to emphasize impartiality and drop neutrality. But analysis of statements by senior UN officials, interviews with members of the Secretariat, pronouncements in the Security Council and General Assembly, and in-house assessments of UN peacekeeping, reveal that a long-standing confusion about the meaning of the terms endures, so minimizing the real significance of this shift. By failing to break the link between impartiality and neutrality, the UN jeopardizes its ability to conduct 'grey area' operations.
  
- Gareis, Sven Bernhard  
Eine Renaissance der Vereinten Nationen ?  
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 51. Jg., Nr. 1, Januar 2002, S. 7-11.  
A re-strengthening of the United Nations both as a multilateral forum and moderator in the interplay of conflicting interests is, above all, subject to an improvement of the climate between the world organization and the only remaining power, a climate which was often times frigid in the past. However, the developments in international politics after the September 11 attacks have made it clear that even a great power which is definitely superior to any other nation in practically all fields cannot only derive considerable benefit from multilateral arrangements and collective actions, but indeed needs them badly. For the foreseeable future too, the USA will have to rely on the functionality of the multinational forums and mechanisms in the UNO and international anti-terror alliance enlisted by it. The fight against terrorism will not end with the military defeat of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan or with the apprehension or death of Osama bin Laden. The struggle for a post-Taliban order in Afghanistan, whatever it may be, is going to be difficult and lengthy in view of the various and contradictory interests of the states involved in this process.
  
- Hampson, Ren Osler  
Malone, David M.  
Improving the UN's capacity for Conflict Prevention.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 9, no. 1, Spring 2002, p. 77-98.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Prevention of conflict is the first promise in the Charter of the United Nations. Yet, it is a promise that is constantly betrayed by local parties, governments, international organizations and, to some extent, the scholarly community which until quite recently had been unable to generate policy-relevant analysis of the circumstances in which this goal might be achieved. In the late 1990s, the study of conflict prevention flourished and was complemented by some notable successes in the practice of conflict prevention. This article focuses on those findings most pertinent to the UN's role in conflict prevention and what kinds of

intervention measures it can adopt to strengthen its role and capacities for conflict prevention. The article argues that the wider family of agencies in the UN system, especially the agencies and programmes with a development remit, need to be engaged.

- Jakobsen, Peter Viggo

The Transformation of United Nations Peace Operations in the 1990s : Adding Globalization to the Conventional 'End of the Cold War Explanation'.

COOPERATION AND CONFLICT, vol. 37, no. 3, September 2002, p. 267-282.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

The conventional 'end of the Cold War explanation' of the transformation of UN peace operations in the 1990s fails to specify the causal links between the independent variable (the end of the Cold War) and the observed variation in the dependent variable (the dramatic changes in the number and nature of peace operations). A missing link is the acceleration in the globalization of the market economy, democracy and human rights that has been triggered by the Western victory in the Cold War. Three developments link this acceleration to the transformation of UN peace operations: (1) the introduction of economic and political conditionality in Western development and assistance programmes served to generate a demand for peace operations by contributing to state collapse and the outbreak of armed conflicts in the Third World, (2) the change in norms that made it possible to launch peace operations in support of human rights and democracy served to increase the supply of peace operations aimed at promoting these goals, and (3) the intense media coverage of human rights violations and atrocities generated intervention pressures that also had the effect of increasing the supply of peace operations aimed at promoting democracy and humanitarian objectives.

- O'Shea, Brendan

The Future of UN Peacekeeping.

STUDIES IN CONFLICT AND TERRORISM, vol. 25, no. 2, March - April 2002, p. 145-148.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

- Pauwels, Ann

Een 'nieuwe' generatie VN-vredesoperaties.

VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 31, nr. 1, 2002, p. 33-53.

De VN-operaties in Kosovo en Oost-Timor gaan een stap verder dan de 'klassieke' vredesoperaties, in die zin dat zij ook de opdracht hebben tijdelijk het volledige bestuur over een bepaald gebied uit te oefenen. Zowel 'Kosovo' als 'Oost-Timor' kunnen als test cases worden beschouwd voor de toekomst van VN-vredesoperaties. Het succes of falen van beide operaties zal immers medebepalend zijn voor het verdere VN-beleid ten aanzien van vredesoperaties. In dit artikel wordt ingegaan op deze nieuwe ontwikkelingen ten aanzien van vredesoperaties en op de nieuwe, ongekende dilemma's en uitdagingen die de VN-operaties in Kosovo en Oost-Timor met zich brengen. Na een kort overzicht van de belangrijkste kenmerken en dan vooral van de vernieuwende elementen in de mandaten van beide operaties, wordt aandacht besteed aan enkele problemen die zich voordoen bij de concrete uitvoering van het mandaat, met name bij de opbouw van een onafhankelijke rechterlijke macht. Daarnaast worden enkele juridische kwesties die door deze nieuwe ontwikkelingen aan de orde zijn, besproken. Daarbij komt niet alleen de rechtmatigheid van het VN-optreden in Kosovo en Oost-Timor ter sprake, maar wordt ook ingegaan op de vraag in hoeverre het oude Trustschapstelsel, zoals in het VN-handvest neergelegd, als juridisch kader kan dienen voor het instellen van VN-besturen over bepaalde gebieden. Deze vragen leiden uiteindelijk tot de kern van dit betoog, namelijk de toekomst van VN-vredesoperaties.

- Popovski, Vesselin  
The UN Security Council Approach to the Conflicts in Former Yugoslavia.  
JOURNAL OF SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN AND BLACK SEA STUDIES, vol. 2, no. 3,  
September 2002, p. 39-62.  
This article analyses UN Security Council resolutions taken in respect to  
Former Yugoslavia, revealing their specifics and comparative  
(dis)advantages to the Security Council involvement in other conflicts.  
It shows how the Security Council enlarged the interpretation of what may  
constitute a 'threat to international peace and security', what  
innovative actions were undertaken and how the concept of sanctions  
gradually evolved from blanket economic sanctions against states into  
targeted measures against individuals.
  
- Sartre, P.  
Prevention et gestion des crises par les Nations Unies.  
ARMEMENT, no. 77, mars 2002, p. 35-41.  
Les difficultes de maintien de la paix masquent le travail immense, et  
souvent souterrain, des Nations unies dans la gestion des crises  
contemporaines : veille, prevention, traitement et sortie des crises.  
Certes, l'administration de l'ONU est parfois mal coordonnee, mais ce  
sont les Etats qui portent les responsabilites les plus lourdes dans les  
insuffisances de l'Organisation, En son centre, le Conseil de securite  
detient la clef de ses succes - quand il est uni dans l'action - ou de  
ses echecs - lorsqu'il se grippe dans la passivite -.
  
- Tardy, Thierry  
La France et l' ONU, entre singularite et ambivalence.  
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 4, hiver 2002 - 2003, p. 931-947.  
La singularite et l'ambivalence caracterisent les relations entre la  
France et l'ONU depuis la creation de celle-ci, en 1945. Singularite, car  
la France est l'une des rares puissances moyennes a faire partie des cinq  
membres permanents du Conseil de securite, et qu'elle sait utiliser son  
siege pour traduire en actes la place originale qu'elle occupe sur la  
scene internationale. Ambivalence, car si la France a largement  
reconsidere, de facon positive, le role de l'ONU depuis la fin de la  
periode gaullienne, et surtout depuis la fin de la guerre froide, les  
Nations unies constituent plus souvent pour elle un cadre d'expression et  
de legitimisation politiques qu'un lieu privilegie pour l'action, comme  
peut l'etre a cet egard l'Union europeenne. Il n'en reste pas moins que  
l'ONU et son Conseil de securite continueront longtemps a compter dans la  
definition de ce que la France est et fait sur la scene internationale.

<b>2003</b>
-------------

- Albright, Madeleine K.  
United Nations  
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 138, September - October 2003, p. 16-24.  
Undemocratic. Bureaucratic. Anti-American. And after the debate over the  
use of force in Iraq, some critics dismiss the United Nations as  
irrelevant as well. Not so, argues the former US secretary of state. For  
all its problems, the global body remains the world's best hope against  
disease, poverty, global crime, and war - and all at a reasonable price.
  
- Belonogov, A.  
We Have No Other UN.  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 49, no. 4, 2003, p. 64-79.  
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>

- Bredel, Ralf  
The UN's Long-term Conflict Prevention Strategies and the Impact of Counter-terrorism.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 10, no. 2, Summer 2003, p. 51-70.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Long-term conflict prevention strategies are reviewed as approaches that seek to address the root causes of conflict. Between 1999 and 2001 particular organizational tracks sought to advance the topic in the UN. For example, in response to 'internal' conflicts during the 1990s, development programmes have been advised to include 'conflict prevention lenses'. However, the UN's approach has emphasized theoretical comprehensiveness without corresponding effective practical outcomes. Moreover, in the aftermath of the attacks in New York and Washington DC on 11 September 2001, the engagement in counter-terrorism might encroach unduly on conflict prevention strategies. Still, long-term conflict prevention strategies and counter-terrorism could be linked in addressing common root causes of armed conflicts and terrorist activities.
  
- Butler, Richard  
Improving Nonproliferation Enforcement.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 4, Autumn 2003, p. 133-145.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The former UNSCOM executive chairman argues that the nonproliferation treaty system is unlikely to remain intact without reliable enforcement, which only Security Council can provide. To do so successfully, the special case of WMD must be separated from the UN's politics as usual.
  
- Chaigneau, Pascal  
Apres l' Irak, quel avenir pour l' ONU ?  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 59e annee, no. 6, juin 2003, p. 129-138.  
Alors que la gestion de l'apres-guerre est confiee en Irak a Paul Bremer et Jay Garner, on peut legitiment s'interroger sur la marge d'action possible des Nations Unies sur le terrain. Plus structurellement, la guerre d'Irak a ouvert une crise majeure pour le systeme onusien. Si cette crise n'est pas la premiere, son ampleur fait qu'elle est deja lourde de consequences sur les rapports de force internationaux.
  
- Dunne, Michael  
The United States, the United Nations and Iraq : 'Multilateralism of a Kind'.  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 2, March 2003, p. 257-277.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Much is made of the need for any second war against Iraq (following Desert Storm of 1991) to be sanctioned by a resolution of the UN Security Council, approved necessarily by all five Permanent Members. Yet only two of the five, the USA and the UK, show any enthusiasm for renewed war in the Persian Gulf; and British policy is undeniably following rather than leading American actions on the diplomatic and military fronts. What are the sources of this American policy ? Some critics say oil; the latest arguments of proponents invoke humanitarian concerns; somewhere between the two are those who desire 'regime change' to create the economic and political conditions in which so-called western political, economic and social values can flourish. To understand the present crisis and its likely evolution this article examines American relations with Iraq in particular, the Persian Gulf more generally and the Middle East as a region since the Second World War. A study of these international relations combined with a critical approach to the history of American actions and attitudes towards the United Nations shows that the United States continues to pursue a diplomacy blending, as occasion suits, the traditional binaries of multilateralism and unilateralism - yet in the new world-wide 'war on terrorism'. The question remains whether the

chosen means of fighting this war will inevitably lead to a pyrrhic victory for the United States and its ad hoc allies in the looming confrontation with Iraq.

- Durch, William J.

Picking Up the Peaces : The UN's Evolving Postconflict Roles.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 4, Autumn 2003, p. 195-210.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>

The UN is uniquely equipped with the legitimacy, experience, coordinating ability, and logistics mechanisms to work in postconflict settings, potentially as a partner with regional organizations as their operational capacities evolve.

- Glennon, Michael J.

Why the Security Council Failed.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 3, May - June 2003, p. 16-35.  
One thing the current Iraq crisis has made clear is that a grand experiment of the twentieth century - the attempt to impose binding international law on the use of force - has failed. As Washington showed, nations need consider not whether armed intervention abroad is legal, merely whether it is preferable to the alternatives. The structure and rules of the UN Security Council really reflected the hopes of its founders rather than the realities of the way states work. And these hopes were no match for American hyperpower.

- Guehenno, Jean-Marie

Everybody's Doing It.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 8 - 9, August - September 2003, p. 35-36.  
The United Nations and peacekeeping don't automatically go together in any vision of the future. Until less than a decade ago, the UN was the only real peacekeeping body in the world. It had been that way since Ralph Bunche dreamed it up as acting UN mediator on Palestine in 1948. Now, everyone does peacekeeping. But how should we do it in a world of weak states where regional concerns often dominate ?

- Jonge Oudraat, Chantal de

Combatting Terrorism.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 4, Autumn 2003, p. 163-176.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The Security Council has made critical contributions to the international campaign against terrorism and can do more if five important problems are addressed. US leadership, however, will be required for the UN to become a stronger force against terrorism.

- Mortimer, Edward

Great Expectations.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 7, July 2003, p. 21-23.  
Many supporters of the recent Iraq war, even while claiming that there was sufficient authority for it in previous Security Council resolutions, have asserted that the United Nations has proved itself irrelevant, or worse, because the Council did not explicitly mandate military action to enforce those earlier resolutions. At the same time, many opponents of military action have concluded that the UN is useless because it was unable to prevent the war. The reform chorus is in full cry. But what reforms are needed and would they make the organisation work better ?

- Weiss, Thomas G.  
The Illusion of UN Security Council Reform.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 4, Autumn 2003, p. 147-161.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Can changing Security Council membership or procedures improve its credibility ? With one exception, similar efforts since the Council's inception in 1945 have repeatedly proved implausible; today, the uncontested power of the United States makes them largely irrelevant.
  
- Wilson, Gary  
UN Authorized Enforcement : Regional Organizations versus 'Coalitions of the Willing'.  
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 10, no. 2, Summer 2003, p. 89-106.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The lack of any independent UN military enforcement capability has meant that operations have had to take place on a decentralized basis, essentially being entrusted to those actors willing to conduct them. The main form used for military enforcement operations has been that of ad hoc 'coalitions of the willing'. However, the limitations of such an approach have led to calls for a greater use of regional arrangements for conducting operations on behalf of the UN. This article considers the relative merits of the 'regional option' and contends that ultimately this differs little from the more common approach of 'coalitions of the willing'.
  
- Zorgbibe, Charles  
Mondialisation de la democratie et securite collective.  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 100, ete 2003, p. 257-270.  
A burning question emerges from the Iraq crisis : just who is responsible for safeguarding world peace ? As in Kosovo, Washington's decision to act against Saddam Hussein's regime without Security Council approval highlighted the UN's impotence. The Security Council has, in fact, regularly been paralyzed by internal dissent throughout its history. The time is now ripe, according to the author, for a 'second San Francisco' to overhaul the United Nations Charter and adapt the organization to the new world order. Needed reforms include expansion of the Security Council and restriction of the rights of permanent members, an enhanced role for regional organizations, introduction of a clear human rights mandate, and the creation of new international bodies, including a 'Democracy Watch' unit to help achieve Kant's dream of a 'society of republican nations'.

**PREVIOUS ISSUES ALSO AVAILABLE FROM THE LIBRARY:**

(MORE TITLES ARE AVAILABLE ON THE LIBRARY INTRANET SITE : <http://hqweb/oip/library> (MINERVA) OR <http://eapcbdc/library> (EAPC))

No. 4/01	The CFE Treaty in Review
No. 6/01	Taiwan and Its Relations with China
No. 5/02	India and Pakistan
No. 6/02	Kosovo : Lessons and Challenges Ahead
No. 7/02	September 11, 2001 : One Year Later
No. 8/02	On the Eve of the Prague Summit : NATO's Enlargement
No. 1/03	The Use of Force
No. 2/03	The 1991 Persian Gulf War
No. 3/03	The Middle East since 2000
No. 4/03	The Iraq War, 2003
No. 5/03	Afghanistan
No. 6/03	US Foreign Policy under President Bush

**ANCIENS NUMEROS EGALEMENT DISPONIBLES A LA BIBLIOTHEQUE:**

(D'AUTRES TITRES SONT ÉGALEMENT DISPONIBLES SUR LE SITE INTRANET DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE : <http://hqweb/oip/library> (MINERVA) OU <http://eapcbdc/library> (CPEA))

No. 4/01	Une revue du Traité CFE
No. 6/01	Taiwan et ses relations avec la Chine
No. 2/02	L'Asie centrale
No. 5/02	L'Inde et le Pakistan
No. 6/02	Le Kosovo : leçons et défis à venir
No. 7/02	Le 11 septembre 2001 : un an plus tard
No. 8/02	A la veille du Sommet de Prague : l'élargissement de l'OTAN
No. 1/03	L'usage de la force
No. 2/03	La guerre du Golfe de 1991
No. 3/03	Le Moyen Orient depuis 2000
No. 4/03	La guerre en Irak, 2003
No. 5/03	L'Afghanistan
No. 6/03	La politique étrangère des Etats-Unis sous le Président Bush