

## H2 History (Paper 1)

### Theme 3: Safeguarding International Peace and Security

#### QUESTIONS TO PREPARE

- Why were some \_\_\_\_\_ more effective than others?
  - UN Organs
  - UNSG
  - PKO
  - Reforms
- Assess the effectiveness / relevance of
  - UN
  - UNGA
  - UNSC
  - UNSG
  - PKO
  - ICJ
  - Reforms
    - Sovereignty
    - Great Power politics
    - Operational constraints
    - Regionalism
- Effectiveness depended on / hindered by OR Evaluate the role of:
  - Cold War [GA/SC/SG/PKO/ICJ]
  - US [GA/SC/SG/PKO/ICJ/Reforms]
  - USSR [GA/SC/SG/PKO/ICJ/Reforms]
  - P5 interests [GA/SC/SG/PKO/ICJ/Reforms]
  - UN Charter / Structural weaknesses [GA/SC/SG/PKO/ICJ]
  - Local actors / requirement of consent [SG/PKO/ICJ]
  - P5 veto [SC]
  - Entry of new members [GA]
- Comparative
  - Which was a bigger hindrance: UNGA or UNSC
  - Which played a bigger role / more effective: UNGA or UNSC
  - Which had real power: UNGA or UNSC
  - Which played a bigger role / more effective: UNSG or UNSC
  - Which was more successful: ICJ or Reforms
- Weird questions
  - Revitalised / more effective after the Cold War [GA/SC/SG/PKO/ICJ]
  - Sec-Gens were a product of their time
  - Sec-Gens had their hands tied
  - More secretary than general / more passive than active
  - Maintaining international law was the UN's greatest achievement
  - UN successes in maintaining international law was dependent on ICJ
  - UN was not adequately prepared for post-Cold War challenges

- End of Cold War changed the UNSG's role
- Inherent weaknesses were revealed with the end of the Cold War
- Cold war rivalry made the UNGA more relevant / important
- To what extent has the United Nations Peacekeeping maintained relevance in the pursuit of international peace and security since its inception?
- Problems remained the same
- UNSC reform was the most important aspect of reform
- Reforms were more effective after the Cold War

## CASE STUDIES

| Year(s) | Issue   | UNGA  | UNSC   | Sec-Gens | Peacekeeping   |
|---------|---|---|--|----------|--|
| 1947    | <b>Indian Partition</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Britain, in withdrawing from British India, partitioned it into India and Pakistan</li> </ul>                        |   | <b>Hidden veto</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Not debated due to British involvement</li> </ul>  |          |  |
| 1948-94 | <b>Apartheid South Africa</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Institutionalised racial segregation</li> </ul>  | <b>Ineffective condemnation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1962: Resolution 1761 condemned apartheid South Africa</li> <li>That said, it did not end apartheid nor prevent Mandela's imprisonment in 1964</li> </ul> <b>Effective condemnation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1987: UNGA adopts a voluntary oil embargo including over 130 nations on apartheid South Africa</li> <li>Apartheid collapses in the early 1990s</li> </ul>   |  |          | <b>Cooperation with Organisation of African Unity, the Commonwealth and EU</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1992: UN observer forces to monitor developments in post-apartheid South Africa were complemented by OAU, Commonwealth and EU staff</li> </ul> |
| 1948-   | <b>Israel-Palestine Conflict</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Continued violence between Israelis and Palestinians, due to competing claims over the same land</li> </ul> | <b>1947: Constrained by local actors</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Resolution 181(II) recommended a partition to resolve violence</li> <li>Never implemented, due to fierce Palestinian opposition to the plan</li> </ul> <b>1980, 1997: Ineffective UFP</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Issue passed to the UNGA after the US veto in the UNSC</li> <li>UNGA resolutions have been ignored by Israel and the US</li> </ul> <b>Meaningless resolutions</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1975: Resolution 3379 ("Zionism equals racism") passed then repealed</li> </ul> | <b>1967: Framework for consensus building</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Resolution 242 passed unanimously after weeks of negotiation, despite major animosity between Israel and the Arab states initially</li> <li>Contributed to peace treaties between Israel and Egypt (1979) and Jordan (1994), as well as the 1993 and 1995 agreements with the Palestinians</li> </ul> <b>Source of rising US vetoes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1990-2006: 12 out of 19 vetoes were used to block language that condemns Israel</li> </ul> |          |  |

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| 1950-53 | <b>Korean War</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>North Korea invades the South</li> <li>UN intervenes militarily</li> <li>Military stalemate and armistice</li> </ul>   | <b>Introduction of UFP</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To prevent further Soviet vetoes</li> </ul> <b>Effective condemnation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1951: Resolution 500 recommended a trade embargo against the People's Republic of China and North Korea for aggression in the Korean War</li> <li>47 nations imposed an embargo, forcing the PRC and North Korea to depend on Soviet assistance</li> </ul> | <b>Article 42 invoked to allow for UN military intervention</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>US-led campaign</li> <li>Soviets were boycotting the UN</li> </ul> | <b>Article 99 invoked to convene the UNSC</b><br><b>Soviet veto of reappointment</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lie proactively invoked Article 99 of the UN Charter to convene the Security Council and lobby for a UN intervention in the Korean War against Soviet forces</li> <li>USSR vetoed his re-appointment in 1952</li> </ul> |   |
| 1954-62 | <b>Algerian War</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Algerian National Liberation Front fought the French to secure independence</li> </ul>   |   | <b>Hidden veto</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Not debated due to French involvement</li> </ul>  |   |   |
| 1955    | <b>Peking Formula</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hammaraskjold negotiated the release of 15 US airmen detained by China</li> </ul>  |   |   | <b>Fostering diplomacy</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hammaraskjold personally visited Beijing and negotiated the release of 15 US airmen detained by China</li> </ul>  |   |
| 1956    | <b>Suez Crisis</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Egypt's Nasser nationalises the Suez Canal Company</li> <li>Israel, then Britain and France, invade Egypt</li> <li>US pressures the invasion to withdraw</li> </ul> | <b>Effective UFP</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>US invoked the UFP to bypass British and French vetoes</li> <li>UNGA resolutions established UNEF I, which maintained peace until 1967</li> </ul> <b>Dependent on P5 cooperation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>US placed economic pressure on France and Britain, leading to their withdrawal in a week</li> </ul>   |   | <b>Effective peacekeeping</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Oversaw a decade of peace</li> </ul> <b>Constrained by local actors</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1967: Egypt's Nasser orders the withdrawal of UNEF I</li> <li>Six Day War erupts</li> </ul>   | <b>Effective peacekeeping</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Oversaw a decade of peace</li> </ul> <b>Constrained by local actors</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1967: Egypt's Nasser orders the withdrawal of UNEF I</li> <li>Six Day War erupts</li> </ul> |
| 1956    | <b>Soviet invasion of Hungary</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hungarian Revolution threatened Soviet interests</li> <li>Suppressed by a USSR invasion</li> </ul>   | <b>Ineffective UFP</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>USSR veto led to the issue being passed to the UNGA</li> <li>UNGA could not stop the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution</li> </ul> <b>Constrained by local actors</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Observation commission was not allowed in</li> </ul>  | <b>USSR veto</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>USSR vetoed a resolution calling for its withdrawal</li> </ul>  | <b>Constrained by local actors</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Observation commission was not allowed in</li> </ul>  | <b>Constrained by USSR interests</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No peacekeeping mission established</li> </ul>  |
| 1958    | <b>Lebanon Crisis</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Deployment of the UN Observation Group in Lebanon in June</li> <li>Fighting broke out in July</li> </ul>   |   |   | <b>Observers and envoys</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pre-emptively prevented the infiltration of Syrian weapons before fighting broke out in July</li> </ul>  |   |

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|         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Swift resolution of the crisis in three months</li> </ul>  |   |  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Helped to contain the scale of violence and resolve the crisis in three months</li> </ul>  |  |
| 1960    | <b>Laos Coup</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hammaraskjold had sent an envoy in 1959</li> <li>Military coup in August 1960</li> <li>Swiftly resolved in 3 weeks with an agreement brokered by Hammaraskjold's envoy</li> </ul>   |   |  | <b>Observers and envoys</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hammaraskjold had sent an envoy in 1959</li> <li>Military coup in August 1960</li> <li>Swiftly resolved in 3 weeks with an agreement brokered by Hammaraskjold's envoy</li> </ul>  |  |
| 1960-65 | <b>Congo Crisis</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Congo becomes independent</li> <li>Katanga secedes with Belgian support</li> <li>PM Lumumba appeals for Soviet aid</li> <li>1965: ONUC successfully stabilises the country even after a Belgian invasion, an insurrection in Katanga and the collapse of the central government</li> </ul> | <b>Effective UFP</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Soviet veto in the UNSC led to the invocation of the UFP, passing the matter to the UNGA</li> <li>UNGA resolutions confirmed the mandate of the UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC) and collected contributions for a UN fund for the Congo</li> <li>Last time that an emergency session under the UFP called for specific measures</li> </ul> | <b>Framework for consensus building</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Although there were initial disagreements on the actions that should be taken, extended debates did result in a compromise that was eventually agreeable to all</li> <li>5 UNSC resolutions were passed without any veto</li> </ul> | <b>Article 99 invoked to convene the UNSC</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Effective peacekeeping</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ONUC successfully stabilises the country even after a Belgian invasion, an insurrection in Katanga and the collapse of the central government</li> </ul> </li> <li><b>Troika Proposal</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hammaraskjold offended the USSR in 1960 by refusing to place ONUC peacekeepers in service of the Soviet-backed Lumumba</li> <li>USSR proposed scrapping the current Sec-Gen and replacing it with three Sec-Gens, with one appointed by the West, one by the Soviets and one from 'others'</li> </ul> </li> <li><b>Likely USSR veto of reappointment</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>USSR would have vetoed Hammaraskjold's reappointment had he not died in the plane crash</li> </ul> </li> </ul> | <b>Effective peacekeeping</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ONUC successfully stabilises the country even after a Belgian invasion, an insurrection in Katanga and the collapse of the central government</li> </ul> <b>Timely response</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UN troops landed in the Congo just 4 days after Katanga seceded</li> </ul> |
| 1962    | <b>Cuban Missile Crisis</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>US discovers Soviet missiles on Cuba</li> <li>Tense confrontation and naval blockade, before the situation is resolved</li> </ul>  |   | <b>Framework for consensus building</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>US and Russian ambassadors debated the issue in the UNSC on 24 and 25 October</li> </ul>  | <b>Fostering diplomacy</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>U Thant helped to mediate the resolution of the crisis</li> </ul>   |  |
| 1964    | <b>Cyprus Crisis</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Intercommunal violence between Greek and Turkish Cypriots</li> </ul>  |   | <b>P5 cooperation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Resolution 186 recommended the creation of a peacekeeping force</li> <li>Managed to stabilise Cyprus until the Turkish invasion in 1974</li> </ul>  | <b>Effective peacekeeping</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNFICYP stabilised Cyprus until the Turkish invasion in 1974</li> </ul>  | <b>Effective peacekeeping</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNFICYP stabilised Cyprus until the Turkish invasion in 1974</li> </ul> <b>Constrained by local actors</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1974: Turkey invades Cyprus, disrupting the peace</li> </ul>  |

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|----------|---|--|--|--|---|
| 1964-73  | <b>Vietnam War</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Communist-backed North Vietnam fights US-backed forces from the South</li> </ul>  |  | <b>Hidden veto</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Not debated due to US and Soviet involvement</li> </ul>  |  | <b>Constrained by US and USSR interests</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No peacekeeping mission established</li> </ul>   |
| 1965     | <b>Dominican Civil War</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Coup installed a military-backed president</li> <li>A counter-coup ousted this president, leading to civil conflict</li> </ul>  |  | <b>P5 cooperation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Resolution 203 called for a strict ceasefire and the formation of DOMREP</li> <li>Civil war ended that same year</li> </ul>   | <b>Effective peacekeeping</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>DOMREP oversaw a ceasefire and elections</li> <li>Civil war ended that same year</li> </ul>   | <b>Effective peacekeeping</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>DOMREP oversaw a ceasefire and elections</li> <li>Civil war ended that same year</li> </ul>  |
| 1968     | <b>Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prague Spring mobilised support for liberalisation</li> <li>Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia to suppress the uprising</li> </ul>   | <b>Ineffective condemnation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Condemned the invasion</li> <li>That said, it did not end it</li> </ul>   |  | <b>Constrained by USSR interests</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Did not advocate for action</li> </ul>   | <b>Constrained by USSR interests</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No peacekeeping mission established</li> </ul>  |
| 1970, 73 | <b>Rhodesia</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rhodesia broke away and unilaterally declared independence in 1965</li> <li>UNGA passed a condemnatory resolution, but further action was vetoed in the UNSC by the US and UK</li> </ul>   | <b>Ineffective condemnation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Condemned the unilateral breakaway of Rhodesia</li> </ul>   | <b>US, UK veto</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Vetoed UNSC resolutions in 1970 and 1973 on the issue of racism in Rhodesia to protect the state</li> </ul>  |  |   |
| 1971     | <b>East Pakistani independence</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Awami League declares the independence of East Pakistan in March 1971</li> <li>Pakistani President Yahya Khan requests his army to suppress independence activities, resulting in tremendous bloodshed</li> </ul> |  | <b>Sluggishness</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sec-Gen invoked Article 99 in July, but UNSC convened only four months later until the Indo-Pakistan War begins in December</li> <li>UNSC is mired in inaction, and Sec-Gen is confined to humanitarian action</li> </ul> | <b>Constrained by UNSC inaction</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Invoked Article 99 in July, but UNSC convened only four months later until the Indo-Pakistan War begins in December</li> <li>UNSC is mired in inaction, and Sec-Gen is confined to humanitarian action</li> </ul> |   |
| 1978     | <b>Lebanon Crisis</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Israel invaded Lebanon</li> <li>Tensions and instability exist between Israel to the south and PLO/Hezbollah/Syrian forces to the north</li> </ul>   |  |  |  | <b>Constrained by local actors</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1981: UNIFIL negotiated a brief ceasefire between Israel and the PLO, but it lasted less than a year</li> <li>1982: Israel bypassed UNIFIL to invade south Lebanon</li> </ul> |
| 1979     | <b>Soviet invasion of Afghanistan</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Soviets attempted to shore up the nascent pro-Soviet government in Kabul</li> </ul>  | <b>Ineffective UFP</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>USSR veto led to the issue being passed to the UNGA</li> <li>UNGA called for the withdrawal of troops, but they remained until 1989</li> </ul> | <b>USSR veto</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>USSR vetoed a resolution calling for its withdrawal</li> </ul>   | <b>Constrained by USSR interests</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Did not advocate for action</li> </ul>   | <b>Constrained by USSR interests</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No peacekeeping mission established</li> </ul>  |
| 1979-91  | <b>Vietnamese Invasion of Kampuchea</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Vietnam invaded Kampuchea</li> </ul>   | <b>Ineffective condemnation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Condemned the invasion</li> <li>That said, it did not end it</li> </ul>   | <b>USSR veto</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>USSR vetoed a draft UNSC resolution calling for the withdrawal of Vietnamese</li> </ul>  | <b>Fostering diplomacy</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>De Cuellar personally brokered the agreement</li> </ul>  | <b>Constrained by USSR interests</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No peacekeeping mission established, until the UNTAC after the signing of the</li> </ul>  |

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|---------|--|--|--|--|--|
|         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Peace brokered by De Cuellar under the Paris Peace Agreement</li> <li>UNTAC established</li> </ul>  |  | troops from Cambodia   |  | peace accords<br><br><b>Effective peacebuilding</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1993: Free and fair elections held, with 90% turnout</li> <li>Successfully repatriated and resettled 360,000 refugees</li> </ul>  |
| 1979-92 | <b>Salvadoran Civil War</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fighting broke out between the Salvadoran government and its rebels</li> <li>De Cuellar brokered the Chapultepec Peace Accords</li> </ul>   |  |  | <b>Fostering diplomacy</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>De Cuellar personally brokered the Chapultepec Peace Accords</li> </ul>  |  |
| 1980-88 | <b>Iran-Iraq War</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Iraq invaded Iran</li> <li>Peace deal brokered by the UNSC</li> </ul>  |  | <b>P5 cooperation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Resolution 598 brokered peace between the two parties</li> </ul>  | <b>Article 99 invoked to convene the UNSC</b><br><br><b>Fostering diplomacy</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>De Cuellar personally brokered the peace</li> </ul>   |  |
| 1981    | <b>Operation Protea in the South African Border War</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>South African forces occupied large swathes of Angola</li> </ul>  |  | <b>US veto</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>US vetoed a resolution demanding the withdrawal of the SADF from Angola</li> </ul>   |  |  |
| 1990-91 | <b>Gulf War</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Iraq invaded Kuwait</li> <li>UN authorises military retaliation</li> <li>Kuwait liberated and UNIKOM established</li> </ul>   |  | <b>Article 42 invoked to allow for UN military intervention</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>US-led campaign</li> <li>Gorbachev wanted Western friendship and had oil interests</li> </ul> | <b>Effective peacekeeping</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNIKOM oversaw the Iraqi withdrawal and enforced the border</li> <li>Successfully preserved peace until the end of its mandate in 2003 (and the US invasion of Iraq)</li> </ul>   | <b>Effective peacekeeping</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNIKOM oversaw the Iraqi withdrawal and enforced the border</li> <li>Successfully preserved peace until the end of its mandate in 2003 (and the US invasion of Iraq)</li> </ul>   |
| 1991-95 | <b>Somali Civil War</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Overthrow of the Siad Barre regime led to civil conflict between over 14 warlords and factions</li> <li>UNOSOM I belatedly introduced in 1992, before UNOSOM II took over from 1993</li> <li>UNITAF launched in 1993 as a humanitarian mission</li> <li>UNOSOM II withdrew in 1995</li> </ul> |  |  | <b>Effective humanitarian aid</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNITAF opened up supply routes, saving an estimated 100,000 to 250,000 lives</li> </ul> <b>Delayed response</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Intense fighting broke out in 1991, but UNOSOM I only entered in April the following year</li> </ul> <b>Peacekeeper deaths / Constrained by US and Brazilian interests</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1993: Pakistani peacekeepers and 18 US peacekeepers were killed by General Aideed</li> <li>Bodybag effect led to withdrawal of US peacekeepers and delayed action in Rwanda</li> <li>Brazil refused to contribute</li> </ul> | <b>Effective humanitarian aid</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNITAF opened up supply routes, saving an estimated 100,000 to 250,000 lives</li> </ul> <b>Delayed response</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Intense fighting broke out in 1991, but UNOSOM I only entered in April the following year</li> </ul> <b>Peacekeeper deaths / Constrained by US and Brazilian interests</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1993: Pakistani peacekeepers and 18 US peacekeepers were killed by General Aideed</li> <li>Bodybag effect led to withdrawal of US peacekeepers and delayed action in Rwanda</li> <li>Brazil refused to contribute</li> </ul> |

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|---------|--|--|---|---|--|
|         |  |  |   | <p>troops to Somalia in protest of UNSC unrepresentativeness</p> <p><b>Exorbitant cost</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNOSOM operations cost \$942m</li> </ul> <p><b>Premature withdrawal</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNOSOM II withdrew in 1995, but fighting has continued even to today</li> </ul>  | <p>troops to Somalia in protest of UNSC unrepresentativeness</p> <p><b>Exorbitant cost</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNOSOM operations cost \$942m</li> </ul> <p><b>Premature withdrawal</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNOSOM II withdrew in 1995, but fighting has continued even to today</li> </ul>   |
| 1992-95 | <p><b>Bosnian War</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Amidst tensions surrounding a Bosnian referendum for independence, war broke out between Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs</li> <li>Ethnic cleansing was committed by both sides, but mainly by Serb forces</li> <li>UNPROFOR stayed for the duration of the conflict, but was overshadowed by NATO</li> </ul> |  | <p><b>P5 cooperation</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1991: Imposed a mandatory arms embargo</li> </ul>   | <p><b>Constrained by local conditions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1995 Battle of Vrbanja Bridge: 400 Blue Helmets were taken hostage and used as human shields</li> <li>1995: UN safe area for Muslims at Srebrenica was attacked by Serbian forces</li> </ul> <p><b>Constrained by US interests</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>US denied request for 70,000 troops in Bosnia</li> </ul> <p><b>Delayed response</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fighting broke out in April 1992, but UNPROFOR only received the mandate to protect humanitarian organisations in September, and protect safe areas in April the following year</li> </ul> <p><b>Exorbitant cost</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNPROFOR operations cost \$4.6bn</li> </ul> <p><b>Required / acquired external assistance</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNPROFOR to depend on NATO deploying over 60,000 troops under Operation Joint Endeavour, coupled with airstrikes</li> </ul> <p><b>US veto of reappointment</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Clashes over Bosnia troop deployment led to eventual US veto on Boutros-Ghali's reappointment</li> </ul> | <p><b>Constrained by local conditions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1995 Battle of Vrbanja Bridge: 400 Blue Helmets were taken hostage and used as human shields</li> <li>1995: UN safe area for Muslims at Srebrenica was attacked by Serbian forces</li> </ul> <p><b>Constrained by US interests</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>US denied request for 70,000 troops in Bosnia</li> </ul> <p><b>Delayed response</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fighting broke out in April 1992, but UNPROFOR only received the mandate to protect humanitarian organisations in September, and protect safe areas in April the following year</li> </ul> <p><b>Exorbitant cost</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNPROFOR operations cost \$4.6bn</li> </ul> <p><b>Required / acquired external assistance</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNPROFOR to depend on NATO deploying over 60,000 troops under Operation Joint Endeavour, coupled with airstrikes</li> </ul> |
| 1993-96 | <p><b>Rwandan Genocide</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Arusha Accords initially brokered peace, and UNAMIR entered to enforce it</li> <li>Tutsis were massacred en</li> </ul>   |  | <p><b>Hidden veto</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Not debated initially due to US desire to avoid an expensive mission and French support of the genocidal regime</li> </ul> | <p><b>Constrained by local conditions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Even though UNAMIR had entered in 1993 to enforce the Arusha Accords, it failed to prevent genocide a few months later</li> </ul>  | <p><b>Constrained by local conditions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Even though UNAMIR had entered in 1993 to enforce the Arusha Accords, it failed to prevent genocide a few months later</li> </ul>   |

|           |  |  |   |  |  |
|-----------|--|--|---|--|--|
|           | masse by Hutu militias   |  |   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>500,000 Tutsis perished</li> </ul> <b>Delayed response</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>When ethnic killings broke out, 90% of UNAMIR's peacekeepers were immediately withdrawn before its strength was restored two months later</li> </ul> <b>Constrained by US interests</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>US slashed request for 5,500 soldiers in Rwanda to 270</li> </ul> <b>Exorbitant cost</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Estimated annual cost of \$230m for 5,500 UNAMIR troops</li> </ul> <b>US veto of reappointment</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Clashes over Rwanda troop deployment led to eventual US veto on Boutros-Ghali's reappointment</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>500,000 Tutsis perished</li> </ul> <b>Delayed response</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>When ethnic killings broke out, 90% of UNAMIR's peacekeepers were immediately withdrawn before its strength was restored two months later</li> </ul> <b>Constrained by US interests</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>US slashed request for 5,500 soldiers in Rwanda to 270</li> </ul> <b>Exorbitant cost</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Estimated annual cost of \$230m for 5,500 UNAMIR troops</li> </ul> |
| 1998-99   | <b>Kosovo War</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Serbian army carried out crimes against humanity, including ethnic cleansing</li> <li>UNMIK sent in</li> </ul>                    |  | <b>Hidden veto</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Russia and China threatened vetoes to prevent UN intervention against the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo</li> </ul> | <b>Required / acquired external assistance</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNMIK depended on a unilateral NATO intervention to bypass Russian and Chinese vetoes</li> </ul>   | <b>Required / acquired external assistance</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNMIK depended on a unilateral NATO intervention to bypass Russian and Chinese vetoes</li> </ul>   |
| 1999-2002 | <b>East Timor Crisis</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Referendum opted for complete independence</li> <li>Indonesian-backed militants launched a campaign of violence</li> </ul> |  |   | <b>Effective peacebuilding</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Under UN administrations like UNAMET and UNTAET, East Timor Transitional Authority was established with a cabinet, national assembly and constitution</li> <li>2002: East Timor gained independence</li> </ul>   | <b>Effective peacebuilding</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Under UN administrations like UNAMET and UNTAET, East Timor Transitional Authority was established with a cabinet, national assembly and constitution</li> <li>2002: East Timor gained independence</li> </ul>   |

| UNGA   | UNSC   | Sec-Gens   | Peacekeeping   | ICJ   |
|--|--|--|--|---|
| <b>Effective condemnation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1951: Korean War</li> <li>1987: Apartheid South Africa</li> </ul> | <b>Article 42</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1950: Korean War</li> <li>1990: Gulf War</li> </ul> | <b>Article 99</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1950: Korean War</li> <li>1960: Congo Crisis</li> <li>1971: East Pakistan</li> <li>1980: Iran-Iraq War</li> </ul> | <b>Cooperation with regional organisations</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1992: Apartheid South Africa, with OAU, Commonwealth, EU</li> <li>1992: UNPROFOR, with NATO</li> <li>1999: UNMIK, with NATO</li> </ul> | <b>Cooperation with judgement</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1949/51: Fisheries</li> <li>1951/53: Minquiers and Ecrehos</li> <li>1959/62: Preah Vihear</li> <li>1967/69: North Sea</li> <li>1983/86: Burkina Faso-Mali</li> <li>1986/92: El Salvador-Honduras</li> <li>1990/94: Aouzou Strip</li> <li>1998/02: Sipadan and</li> </ul> |



|  |   |   |  |   |
|--|---|---|--|---|
|  |   |   |  | Ligitan   |
| <b>Effective UFP</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1956: Suez Crisis</li> <li>1960: Congo Crisis</li> </ul>   | <b>P5 cooperation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1964: Cyprus</li> <li>1965: Dominican Civil War</li> <li>1988: Iran-Iraq War</li> <li>1991: Bosnia</li> </ul>  | <b>Effective peacekeeping</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1956: UNEF I</li> <li>1960: ONUC</li> <li>1964: UNFICYP</li> <li>1965: DOMREP</li> <li>1991: UNIKOM</li> </ul>   | <b>Effective peacekeeping</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1956: UNEF I</li> <li>1960: ONUC</li> <li>1964: UNFICYP</li> <li>1965: DOMREP</li> <li>1991: UNIKOM</li> </ul>  | <b>Influence on international law</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1946/49: Corfu Channel</li> <li>1949/51: Fisheries</li> <li>1967/69: North Sea</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Ineffective condemnation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1962: Apartheid South Africa</li> <li>1968: Czechoslovakia</li> <li>1970: Rhodesia</li> <li>1979: Afghanistan</li> <li>1979: Kampuchea</li> <li>1980, 1997: Israel-Palestine</li> </ul> | <b>Consensus building</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1960: Congo Crisis</li> <li>1962: Cuban Missile Crisis</li> <li>1967: Israel-Palestine</li> </ul>  | <b>Diplomacy</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1955: Peking Formula</li> <li>1962: Cuban Missile Crisis</li> <li>1988: Iran-Iraq War</li> <li>1991: Kampuchea</li> <li>1992: Salvadoran Civil War</li> </ul>   | <b>Effective peacebuilding</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1992: UNTAC</li> <li>1999: UNAMET, UNTAET</li> </ul>   | <b>Influence via global pressure</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1970: Namibia</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Ineffective UFP</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1979: Afghanistan</li> <li>1980, 1997: Israel-Palestine</li> </ul>   | <b>Veto (US)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1970, 1973: Rhodesia</li> <li>1981: Angola</li> <li>1980, 1997, 1990-2006: Israel-Palestine</li> </ul> <b>Veto (UK)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1970, 1973: Rhodesia</li> </ul> <b>Veto (USSR)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1956: Hungary</li> <li>1979: Afghanistan</li> <li>1979: Kampuchea</li> </ul>   | <b>Observers and envoys</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1958: Lebanon</li> <li>1960: Laos</li> </ul>   | <b>Timely response</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1960: ONUC</li> </ul>  | <b>Not raised to the ICJ</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1947/48/55: Falklands</li> <li>1968: Sabah</li> </ul>   |
| <b>Dependent on P5 cooperation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1956: Suez Crisis</li> </ul>   | <b>Hidden veto (US)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1964: Vietnam War</li> <li>1994: Rwanda</li> </ul> <b>Hidden veto (USSR)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1964: Vietnam War</li> <li>1999: Kosovo</li> </ul> <b>Hidden veto (UK)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1947: Indian Partition</li> </ul> <b>Hidden veto (FR)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1954: Algeria</li> <li>1994: Rwanda</li> </ul> <b>Hidden veto (CN)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1999: Kosovo</li> </ul> | <b>Veto of reappointment (US)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1996: Boutros-Ghali, over Bosnia, Rwanda</li> </ul> <b>Veto of reappointment (USSR)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1952: Lie, over Korea</li> <li>1962: Hammarskjold, over Congo (presumed)</li> </ul> | <b>Constrained by interests (US)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1964: Vietnam War</li> <li>1992: UNPROFOR</li> <li>1993: UNAMIR</li> </ul> <b>Constrained by interests (USSR)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1964: Vietnam War</li> <li>1968: Czechoslovakia</li> <li>1979: Afghanistan</li> </ul> <b>Constrained by interests (BR)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1993: UNOSOM</li> </ul> | <b>Non-cooperation with judgement</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1946/49: Corfu Channel</li> <li>1954: Treatment of Aircrew</li> <li>1955: El Al 402</li> <li>1975: Western Sahara</li> <li>1979/80: Iran Hostage Crisis</li> <li>1980/86: US Aid to Contras</li> </ul> |
| <b>Constrained by local actors</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1947: Israel-Palestine</li> <li>1956: Hungary</li> </ul>   | <b>Sluggishness</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1971: East Pakistan</li> </ul>   | <b>Constrained by local actors</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1956: Hungary</li> <li>1967: UNEF I</li> <li>1974: UNFICYP</li> <li>1982: UNIFIL</li> </ul>   | <b>Constrained by local actors</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1967: UNEF I</li> <li>1974: UNFICYP</li> <li>1982: UNIFIL</li> <li>1992: UNPROFOR</li> <li>1993: UNAMIR</li> </ul>   | <b>Deficiencies in jurisdiction</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1960/66: Namibia</li> <li>1975: Western Sahara</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Meaningless resolutions</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1975: Resolution 3379</li> </ul>   | <b>Structural weaknesses</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Veto / Hidden veto</li> <li>Lack of MSC</li> </ul>  | <b>Troika Proposal</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1960: Congo Crisis</li> </ul>   | <b>Exorbitant cost</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1991: UNOSOM</li> <li>1992: UNPROFOR</li> </ul>  | <b>Structural weaknesses</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lack of jurisdiction</li> <li>Unable to compel</li> </ul>   |

|   |  |  |   |            |
|---|--|--|---|------------|
|   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Unrepresentativeness</li> </ul> |  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1993: UNAMIR</li> </ul>  | compliance |
| <b>Structural weaknesses</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Unable to compel compliance</li> <li>Tyranny of the majority</li> </ul> |  | <b>Constrained by UNSC inaction</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1971: East Pakistan</li> </ul>  | <b>Delayed response</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1991: UNOSOM</li> <li>1992: UNPROFOR</li> <li>1993: UNAMIR</li> </ul>                    |            |
|   |  | <b>Structural weaknesses</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Appointed by UNSC</li> <li>Unable to authorise action</li> <li>Unable to compel compliance</li> <li>Lack of MSC</li> </ul> | <b>Premature withdrawal</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1995: UNOSOM</li> </ul>  |            |
|   |  |  | <b>Structural weaknesses</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Formed by UNSC</li> <li>Unable to compel compliance</li> <li>Lack of MSC</li> </ul> |            |

| UNGA   | UNSC  |
|--|---|
| <b>1947: Resolution 181(II) (Israel-Palestine)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Recommended a partition</li> <li>Never implemented due to fierce Palestinian opposition</li> </ul>   | <b>1964: Resolution 186 (Cyprus)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Recommended the creation of a peacekeeping force UNFICYP</li> <li>Managed to stabilise Cyprus until the Turkish invasion in 1974</li> </ul>                         |
| <b>1951: Resolution 500 (Korea)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Recommended a trade embargo against the People's Republic of China and North Korea for aggression in the Korean War</li> <li>47 nations imposed an embargo, forcing the PRC and North Korea to depend on Soviet assistance</li> </ul> | <b>1965: Resolution 203 (Dominican Republic)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Called for a strict ceasefire and the formation of DOMREP</li> <li>Crisis ended that same year</li> </ul>   |
| <b>1962: Resolution 1761 (Apartheid South Africa)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Condemned apartheid South Africa</li> <li>Did not end apartheid, nor prevent the imprisonment of Mandela</li> </ul>   | <b>1967: Resolution 242 (Israel-Palestine)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Contributed to peace treaties between Israel and Egypt (1979) and Jordan (1994), as well as the 1993 and 1995 agreements with the Palestinians</li> </ul> |
| <b>1975: Resolution 3379 (Israel-Palestine)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"Zionism equals racism"</li> <li>Passed and repealed in 1991</li> </ul>   | <b>1988: Resolution 598 (Iran-Iraq)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Brokered an end to the Iran-Iraq war</li> </ul>  |

| Year (S/J)              | Case                          | Compliance | Additional Significance |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|-------------------------|
| Actual Cases / Opinions |                               |            |                         |
| 1946 / 1949             | Corfu Channel (UK vs Albania) | No         | Yes                     |

|                         |   |  |   |
|-------------------------|---|--|---|
| <b>[CC]</b>             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>British ships were damaged when passing through the Corfu Channel</li> <li>Britain sued Albania for reparations, which was awarded</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Albania refused to pay reparations, until a final settlement in 1996</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shaped the right of innocent passage under UNCLOS</li> <li>Ratified by 168 states</li> </ul>   |
| <b>1949 / 1951 [CC]</b> | <b>Fisheries Case</b> (UK vs Norway) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Norway arrested British trawlers operating in waters claimed by Norway</li> <li>Court ruled in favour of Norway</li> </ul>  | <b>Yes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dispute was resolved</li> </ul>  | <b>Yes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Laid down principles for the drawing of baselines from which territorial waters were calculated, later enshrined in UNCLOS</li> <li>Ratified by 168 states</li> </ul> |
| <b>1951 / 1953 [CC]</b> | <b>Minquiers and Ecrehos</b> (France vs UK) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dispute over a small group of uninhabited islands (the Minquier and Ecreho islands)</li> <li>Court awarded the islands to the UK</li> </ul>  | <b>Yes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dispute was resolved</li> </ul>  |   |
| <b>1954 [CC]</b>        | <b>Treatment of Aircrew</b> (US vs Hungary, USSR) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>US brought claims against the two countries for aircraft shot down over Japan and forced to land in Hungary</li> <li>Case was discontinued</li> </ul>  | <b>No</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Soviet Union and Hungary both refused to accept the jurisdiction of the court</li> <li>Case was discontinued</li> </ul>   |   |
| <b>1955 [CC]</b>        | <b>El Al Flight 402</b> (Israel, US, UK vs Bulgaria) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>El Al Flight 402 was shot down over Bulgaria</li> <li>Court found that the acceptance of jurisdiction by a preceding government did not bind its successor government</li> </ul>  | <b>No</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bulgaria refused to accept the court's jurisdiction</li> <li>Court found that the acceptance of jurisdiction by a preceding government did not bind its successor government</li> </ul>                       |   |
| <b>1959 / 1962</b>      | <b>Preah Vihear Temple</b> (Thailand vs Cambodia) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>French drew a map that claimed the Preah Vihear Temple for Cambodia</li> <li>After the French withdrew, Thailand occupied the area to Cambodian protests, with threats of violence exchanged</li> <li>Court ruled in favour of Cambodia</li> </ul> | <b>Yes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Thailand backed down and removed the Thai national flag</li> <li>Cambodia announced that all Thais would be able to visit the temple without visas and allowed Thailand to keep antiquities taken</li> </ul> |   |
| <b>1960 / 1966 [CC]</b> | <b>Namibia</b> (Liberia, Ethiopia vs South Africa) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Liberia and Ethiopia brought a case against South Africa</li> </ul>   | <b>No</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Court ruled that Liberia and Ethiopia were not affected parties, and the ICJ had no</li> </ul>  |   |

|                         |  |  |   |
|-------------------------|--|--|---|
|                         | <p>objecting to apartheid in Namibia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Court ruled that Liberia and Ethiopia were not affected parties, and the ICJ had no compulsory jurisdiction</li> </ul>   | compulsory jurisdiction  |   |
| <b>1967 / 1969 [CC]</b> | <p><b>North Sea Continental Shelf</b> (Denmark, Netherlands vs West Germany)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Disputes arose over how to divide the oil-rich continental shelf in the North Sea</li> <li>• Court laid down principles for defining and dividing such shelves</li> </ul>        | <p><b>Yes</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dispute was resolved</li> </ul>   | <p><b>Yes</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Laid down principles for defining and dividing continental shelves, later enshrined in UNCLOS</li> <li>• Ratified by 168 states</li> </ul>   |
| <b>1970 [AO]</b>        | <p><b>Namibia</b> (Liberia, Ethiopia vs South Africa)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Liberia and Ethiopia brought a case against South Africa objecting to apartheid in Namibia</li> <li>• ICJ advised that South Africa's apartheid occupation of Namibia was illegal</li> </ul>            | <p><b>No</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advisory opinion was not binding</li> </ul>  | <p><b>Maybe</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Catalysed UNSC, UNGA and US pressures on South Africa to cease its occupation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ 1987: UNGA adopts a voluntary oil embargo including over 130 nations</li> <li>◦ 1988: South Africa negotiated for Namibian independence</li> </ul> </li> <li>• However, the ICJ was not directly involved in ending apartheid occupation</li> </ul> |
| <b>1975 [AO]</b>        | <p><b>Western Sahara</b> (Morocco vs Mauritania)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Morocco asked the court for an opinion on the merits of its and Mauritania's claims on Western Sahara</li> <li>• Court did not find any legal ties that would affect the validity of either claim</li> </ul> | <p><b>No</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advisory opinion was not binding, and culminated in a Moroccan invasion of Western Sahara that same year</li> </ul>  |   |
| <b>1979 / 1980 [CC]</b> | <p><b>Iran Hostage Crisis</b> (US vs Iran)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• American diplomats were held hostage in Iran</li> <li>• Court ruled against Iran</li> </ul>  | <p><b>No</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Iran continued to hold the hostages until 1981, when US economic embargoes coupled with economic pressures from the Iran-Iraq War compelled Iran to negotiate</li> </ul> |   |
| <b>1980 / 1986 [CC]</b> | <p><b>US Aid to Contras</b> (Nicaragua vs US)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• US supplied aid to subversive Contra rebels to undermine the Marxist Sandinista government</li> </ul>   | <p><b>No</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• US withdrew from proceedings in 1985</li> <li>• 1991: Eventual 'resolution' of the case was when the new non-Sandinista</li> </ul>                                       |   |

|   |  |   |  |
|---|--|---|--|
|   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Nicaragua sued at the ICJ</li> <li>Court ruled against the US but after it withdrew</li> </ul>  | government of Nicaragua withdrew its case from the ICJ  |  |
| <b>1983 / 1986</b><br>[CC]                | <b>Burkina Faso-Mali Border Dispute</b> (Burkina Faso vs Mali) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1985: Open violence erupted on the Burkina Faso-Mali border</li> <li>Court divided the disputed territory equally</li> </ul>                     | <b>Yes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Presidents of Burkina Faso and Mali publicly welcomed the new border line</li> <li>Full diplomatic relations were restored over the course of the trial, and POWs were exchanged</li> </ul> |  |
| <b>1986 / 1992</b><br>[CC]                | <b>El Salvador-Honduras Border Dispute</b> (El Salvador vs Honduras) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Longstanding dispute over six pockets of land</li> <li>Court demarcated the disputed territory</li> </ul>                                  | <b>Yes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Agreement reached beforehand in 1988 on how to enforce the judgement</li> <li>Both parties announced they would comply with the decision</li> </ul>   |  |
| <b>1990 / 1994</b><br>[CC]                | <b>Aouzou Strip</b> (Libya vs Chad) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Disputes over the Aouzou Strip led to war between Libya and Chad</li> <li>Court awarded the strip to Chad</li> </ul>  | <b>Yes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Initial Libya resistance, but Gaddafi backed down and Libya withdrew its troops without incident</li> </ul>   |  |
| <b>1998 / 2002</b><br>[CC]                | <b>Sipadan and Ligitan</b> (Indonesia and Malaysia) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Longstanding dispute since 1969 over the islands of Sipadan and Ligitan</li> <li>Court awarded the islands to Malaysia</li> </ul>                           | <b>Yes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dispute was resolved</li> </ul>   |  |
| <b>Refused Cases</b>                      |  |   |  |
| <b>1947</b><br><b>1948</b><br><b>1955</b> | <b>Falklands Islands</b> (UK vs Argentina) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Britain offered to raise the case up to the ICJ thrice: in 1947, 1948 and 1955</li> <li>Argentina refused and invaded in 1982, sparking the Falklands War</li> </ul> |   |  |
| <b>1948</b>                               | <b>Berlin Crisis</b> (USSR vs West)  |   |  |
| <b>1962</b>                               | <b>Cuban Missile Crisis</b> (US vs USSR/Cuba)  |   |  |
| <b>1968</b>                               | <b>Tonkin Gulf Incident</b> (US vs Vietnam)  |   |  |
| <b>1968</b>                               | <b>Sabah Dispute</b> (Malaysia vs Philippines) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Acrimony arose when Sabah was incorporated into</li> </ul>   |   |  |

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|  | <p>Malaysia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Oct 1968: Foreign Secretary Ramos made an uncompromising speech at the UN, advocating for its submission to the ICJ</li> <li>Malaysians have consistently refused to raise the dispute to the ICJ, and the issue resurfaces from time to time</li> </ul> |  |  |
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| Year                 | Reform   | Effectiveness   |
|----------------------|--|---|
| Sovereignty          |  |   |
| 1960-65              | ONUC <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>1961-62: ONUC served as a military force, engaging in clashes with secessionist and mercenary forces to prevent Katanga secession</li><li>Intervened in the Congo's domestic affairs to restore stability</li></ul> | Effective peacekeeping <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>1965: ONUC successfully stabilises the country even after a Belgian invasion, an insurrection in Katanga and the collapse of the central government</li></ul>  |
|                      |  | Troika Proposal <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Soviet unhappiness about UN treatment of Lumumba led to the Troika Proposal, which sought to undermine the power of the Sec-Gen by replacing him with a 'troika'</li></ul>  |
|                      |  | Lack of precedent <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Force of 20,000 at its peak was never matched again, even after the Cold War</li><li>UNEF I forced to leave by Nasser in 1967</li></ul>   |
| 1992                 | Boutros-Ghali's Agenda for Peace <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Declared that "the time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty has passed"</li><li>Proposed that sovereignty should be a matter of responsibility</li></ul>                              | Annan's Brahimi Report <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>2000 Brahimi Report tried to raise again Boutros-Ghali's proposed redefinition</li><li>As such, it is evident that no progress had been made by 2000<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>In fact, the matter would be raised again in the 2005 "Right to Protect" proposals</li></ul></li></ul>   |
|                      |  | Delays in Bosnia and Rwanda <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>1992: Bosnia<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Fighting broke out in April 1992, but UNPROFOR only received the mandate to protect humanitarian organisations in September, and protect safe areas in April the following year on the basis of protecting sovereignty</li></ul></li><li>1994: Rwanda<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>When ethnic killings broke out, 90% of UNAMIR's peacekeepers were immediately withdrawn on the basis of protecting sovereignty before its strength was restored two months later</li></ul></li></ul> |
| Great Power Politics |  |   |
| 1951                 | Uniting For Peace Resolution 377 <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Allowed the UNGA to bypass UNSC deadlock and make recommendations</li></ul>   | Effective when invoked <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>1956: Suez<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>US invoked the UFP to bypass British and French vetoes</li><li>UNGA resolutions established UNEF I, which maintained peace</li></ul></li></ul>   |

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|       |  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>until 1967</li> <li>1960: Congo <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Soviet veto in the UNSC led to the invocation of the UFP, passing the matter to the UNGA</li> <li>UNGA resolutions confirmed the mandate of the UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC) and collected contributions for a UN fund for the Congo</li> </ul> </li> </ul>                                       |
|       |  | <b>Invoked less often due to a protective P5 and fragmented UNGA</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1966-87: Of the 131 vetoes in the UNSC, the UFP was only invoked 6 times!</li> <li>1960 Congo: last time that UNGA called for substantive action (peacekeeping, sanctions etc.)</li> </ul>  |
| 1966  | <b>Expansion of UNSC to include 10 non-permanent members</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Made the UNSC more representative and less dominated by Great Powers</li> </ul>      | <b>UNSC became more representative</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Allowed for regional representation: 3 African states, 2 Latin American states, 2 Asia-Pacific states, 2 Western European states</li> <li>Also meant that more developing nations got a seat on the council!</li> </ul>   |
|       |  | <b>P5 veto remained the main obstruction</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1966-85: 49 vetoes used by the US</li> <li>1970, 1973: UK and US vetoed UNSC resolutions on the issue of Rhodesia to protect the state</li> <li>1979: USSR vetoed UNSC resolutions condemning the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea</li> <li>Even in 1997: US vetoed resolutions condemnatory of Israel</li> </ul>               |
|       |  | <b>P5 expansion remained difficult</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1992: Japan, Germany, Brazil and India began to demand permanent membership on the UNSC, forming a loose coalition that would later be known as the G4</li> </ul>   |
| 1971  | <b>Replacement of Taiwan with the PRC in the UN</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Meant to placate the communist bloc, reducing Great Power tensions</li> </ul>                 | <b>Defused Great Power tensions</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1950 USSR boycott of the UN was on the issue of PRC non-representation</li> </ul>  |
|       |  | <b>P5 vetoes continued to be used</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1966-85: 49 vetoes used by the US</li> <li>1970, 1973: UK and US vetoed UNSC resolutions on the issue of Rhodesia to protect the state</li> <li>1979: USSR vetoed UNSC resolutions condemning the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea</li> <li>Even in 1997: US vetoed resolutions condemnatory of Israel</li> </ul>                      |
| 1992  | <b>Boutros-Ghali's proposal to work with regional organisations</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Suggested that regional arrangements complement the work of the UN</li> </ul> | <b>Cooperation with NATO in Bosnia and Kosovo</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1993: Bosnia <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>NATO deployed over 60,000 troops under Operation Joint Endeavour, coupled with airstrikes</li> </ul> </li> <li>1999: Kosovo <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>NATO launched a unilateral intervention to bypass Russian and Chinese vetoes</li> </ul> </li> </ul> |
|       |  | <b>Regional cooperation increasingly seen as non-impartial</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>While Russia voted for the resolution that sent UN forces into Bosnia, they would express growing opposition to UN-NATO intervention over time</li> <li>1999: Russia would vote against intervention in Kosovo</li> </ul>   |
| 1990s | Consider the way great power politics continued to manifest in new forms — reticence to contribute, veto of  |   |

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|                              | Boutros-Ghali etc.!   |   |
| Operational Constraints      |   |   |
| 1992                         | <b>Boutros-Ghali's Agenda for Peace</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Included the notion of peacebuilding to strengthen and solidify structures that maintain peace<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ E.g. holding of elections, training of police forces, decommissioning of arms</li></ul></li><li>● Included a system of preventive diplomacy<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ E.g. early warning systems for conflict, early deployment of troops, introduction of demilitarised zones pre-emptively</li></ul></li><li>● Pre-positioned stock of basic peacekeeping equipment by governments for immediate loan or donation</li><li>● Peacekeeping reserve fund of \$50m, with ⅓ of peacekeeping costs immediately appropriated by the UNGA at the start of an operation</li></ul> | <b>Effective peacebuilding in Cambodia and East Timor</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● 1992 Cambodia's UNTAC<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ 1993: Free and fair elections held, with 90% turnout</li><li>○ Successfully repatriated and resettled 360,000 refugees</li></ul></li><li>● 1999 East Timor's UNAMET, UNTAET<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ East Timor Transitional Authority was established with a cabinet, national assembly and constitution</li><li>○ 2002: East Timor gained independence</li></ul></li></ul>                                   |
|                              |   | <b>Ineffective peacebuilding in Somalia</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● UNOSOM II withdrew in 1995, but fighting has continued even to today</li></ul>  |
|                              |   | <b>Ineffective preventive diplomacy, with delays in Bosnia and Rwanda</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● 1992: Bosnia<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Fighting broke out in April 1992, but UNPROFOR only received the mandate to protect humanitarian organisations in September, and protect safe areas in April the following year</li></ul></li><li>● 1994: Rwanda<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ When ethnic killings broke out, 90% of UNAMIR's peacekeepers were immediately withdrawn before its strength was restored two months later</li></ul></li></ul> |
|                              |   | <b>Funding issues persisted</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● 1994: Republican Congress cut UN funding, impeding UN function as it contributed to 20% of UN operation funds</li></ul>   |
|                              |   | <b>Exorbitant costs of PKOs in Somalia, Bosnia and Rwanda</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● UNOSOM operations cost \$942m</li><li>● UNPROFOR operations cost \$4.6bn</li><li>● Estimated annual cost of \$230m for 5,500 UNAMIR troops</li></ul>  |
| Regionalism                  |   |   |
| 1992                         | <b>Boutros-Ghali's proposal to work with regional organisations</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Suggested that regional arrangements complement the work of the UN</li></ul>  | <b>Cooperation with NATO in Bosnia and Kosovo</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● 1993: Bosnia<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ NATO deployed over 60,000 troops under Operation Joint Endeavour, coupled with airstrikes</li></ul></li><li>● 1999: Kosovo<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ NATO launched a unilateral intervention to bypass Russian and Chinese vetoes</li></ul></li></ul>  |
|                              |   | <b>Cooperation with Organisation of African Unity, the Commonwealth and EU in South Africa</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● 1992: UN observer forces to monitor developments in post-apartheid South Africa were complemented by OAU, Commonwealth and EU staff</li></ul>  |
|                              |   | <b>Regional cooperation increasingly seen as non-impartial</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● While Russia voted for the resolution that sent UN forces into Bosnia, they would express growing opposition to UN-NATO intervention over time</li><li>● 1999: Russia would vote against intervention in Kosovo</li></ul>  |
| Administrative Mismanagement |   |   |
| 1997-                        | Annan's administrative reforms  | Effective at restoring funding  |



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|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Stopped budgetary increases</li><li>• Abolished 900 personnel positions</li><li>• Created a Deputy Secretary General position</li><li>• Adopting a cabinet-style management structure that brings together senior officials responsible for core UN functions</li></ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2001: US agreed to pay close to \$600m in back dues to the UN after Annan's administrative and budgetary reforms</li></ul> |
|--|---|--|