

Section A

You must answer Question 1.

UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING IN THE POST COLD WAR ERA

1 Read the sources and then answer the question.

Source A

The experience of these UN interventions of the late 1980s and 1990s seems to suggest that peacekeeping was not, after all, liberated by the end of the cold war. On the contrary, it appeared that the passing of bipolarity had actually created new problems for the conduct of peacekeeping. One explanation of this is that, far from being constrained by the cold war, peacekeeping should more correctly be seen as an *artefact* of the cold war. The end of bipolarity meant the end of the international conditions which brought peacekeeping into being... Could it not be that in a new, non-bipolar global structure the original conception of collective security would come into its own? Events in the Gulf in 1990 and 1991 were seen by many at the time to point in this direction. The response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 appeared to raise the prospect not of a new dawn for peacekeeping but of a delayed advent for full-blooded international enforcement under Chapter VII of the Charter.

Norrie MacQueen, *The United Nations Since 1945: Peacekeeping and the Cold War*, 1999.

Source B

Kofi Annan, the UN secretary general, has said the US government's lack of leadership and desire to avoid the loss of American lives is to blame for the failure of peacekeeping operations around the world. In an interview with Time magazine before next week's UN millennium conference, Mr Annan stops short of directly criticising Bill Clinton's administration. However, his comments make it clear that the US position has hampered efforts by the international organisation to act effectively in trouble zones. "Unless we are prepared to counter force with force, there is very little we can do," he says of humanitarian crises. "The problem is that you have countries like the US that will not accept a single casualty. And that philosophy is spreading."

Jane Martinson, "US blamed for peacekeeping failures", in *The Guardian*, 28 August 2000.

Source C

By 1994 a quarter-million people may have fallen to the war in the Balkans, and more than two-and-a-half-million had been displaced. The United Nations had demonstrated, by its ineffectiveness, the limits of the institution in the new post-cold war world. The "promise" that had appeared evident in the afterglow of the Gulf War was dissipating. Although the old veto crisis on the Security Council that had persisted for forty years had disappeared, national interests among the five permanent members (P5) and a determined enemy in the hills of the Balkans made the United Nations a less attractive venue for resolving conflict.

Adapted from Moore and Pubantz from 'The New United Nations: International Organization in the Twenty-First Century', 2006.

Source D

With the end of the Cold War, the strategic context for UN peacekeeping dramatically changed, prompting the organization to shift and expand its field operations from “traditional” missions involving strictly military tasks, to complex “multidimensional” enterprises designed to ensure the implementation of comprehensive peace agreements and assist in laying the foundations for sustainable peace. Today’s peacekeepers undertake a wide variety of complex tasks, from helping to build sustainable institutions of governance, to human rights monitoring, to security sector reform, to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants.

...The nature of conflicts has also changed over the years. Originally developed as a means of dealing with inter-State conflict, UN peacekeeping has been increasingly applied to intra-State conflicts and civil wars.

Taken from the United Nations official website, un.org, 2008.

Source E

The mission of forces under Article 43 would be to respond to outright aggression, imminent or actual. Such forces are not likely to be available for some time to come. Cease-fires have often been agreed to but not complied with, and the United Nations has sometimes been called upon to send forces to restore and maintain the cease-fire. This task can on occasion exceed the mission of peace-keeping forces and the expectations of peace-keeping force contributors. I recommend that the council consider the utilization of peace enforcement units in clearly defined circumstances and with their terms of reference specified in advance. Such units from Member States would be available on call and would consist of troops that have volunteered for such service. They would have to be more heavily armed than peace-keeping forces and would have to undergo extensive preparatory training within their national forces. Deployment and operation of such forces would be under the authorization of the Security Council and would, as in the case of peace-keeping, be under the command of the Secretary-General. I consider such peace enforcement units to be warranted as a provisional measure under Article 40 of the Charter. Such peace-enforcement units should not be confused with the forces that may eventually be constituted under Article 43 to deal with acts of aggression or with the military personnel which Governments may agree to keep on stand-by for possible contribution to peace-keeping operations.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peace-making and Peace-keeping*.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A-E support the view that the United Nations was effective in their peacekeeping efforts in the post Cold War era till 2000?

Section B

You must answer **three** questions from this section.

2. How far do you agree that the Cold War broke out in Europe because the USA and USSR disagreed fundamentally about how they should treat the shattered European economy?
3. "The end of the Cold War ushered in a new world order." How far do you agree with this statement from 1991 to 2000?
4. 'Favourable US policies created the Japanese economic miracle.' To what extent do you agree with this view?
5. How important has the government support for private enterprises been in accounting for the Chinese economic success from 1978 to 2000?
6. 'One of the most significant consequences of the Arab-Israeli conflict has been the rise of extremist groups.' Assess this view from 1948 to 2000.

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