INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
Evolving Over Time

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Starting from nothing ...

Medieval Age

Treaty of Westphalia (1648)

Age of Empires

Concert of Europe

Congress of Vienna (1815)

Not centralized or permanent
Rhine Commission

“Central Commission for Navigation on the Rhine”
- Congress of Vienna
- Hq. Strasbourg
- Oldest extant IO
International Telecommunications Union (ITU)
   – 1865: “Telegraph” Union
   – Geneva

Universal Postal Union (UPU)
   – 1874: Bern
World War I

Clash of empires; “fruits of civilization?”

Origin of international organization (IO) for peace

- After destruction, new hopes and dreams
- Sacrifice, progressive spirit, imperative of prevention
“A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.”

– President Woodrow Wilson, Fourteenth Point, 8 January 1918
1919

First IO for peace: The League of Nations
  - Basic structures and principles of IO

Recurring tension between idealism and realpolitik
  - Great treaty debate 1919-20
League of Nations

“Big Four”

“A living thing is born”
– W. Wilson, 14 February 1919

League Covenant
EIF: January 1920
Canadian Representation

“The self-governing Dominions of the British Empire may be selected or named as members of the [League] Council”
Internationalism (Wilson) vs Nationalism (Lodge)

There must be now, not a balance of power, not one powerful group of nations set off against another, but a single overwhelming, powerful group of nations who shall be the trustee of the peace of the world.

The United States is the world's best hope, but if you fetter her in the interest through quarrels of other nations, if you tangle her in the intrigues of Europe, you will destroy her powerful good, and endanger her very existence.
The League of Nations Argument in a Nutshell

This is a hell of a hole!

Well if you know a better hole, go to it.

Jay N. Darling, *The Des Moines Register*, c. 1919
League of Nations

First international organization for peace

Palais des nations, Geneva
On the Outside Looking In
Successes of the League (1920s)

• The Aaland Islands (Finland, Sweden), 1921
• Upper Silesia (Germany-Poland), 1921
• Memel (Lithuania), 1923
• Turkey (humanitarian), 1923
• Greco-Bulgarian frontier, 1925
• The Saar, 1920-35

See: http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/leagueofnations.htm
Outside the League: Misplaced Idealism

**Kellogg-Briand Pact**

1928

- **Words without implementing machinery**
- Pledge to “renounce [war] as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another”
- Frank Kellogg: US Secretary of State
- Aristide Briand: French FM
- 64 signatories, incl. Germany, Canada
Major Failures of the League (1930s)

• Japan invades Manchuria, 1931

• Mussolini invades Abyssinia, 1935

• Germany marches into Rhineland, 1936

• Soviet Union invades Finland, 1939
Canada in the League

• “in this association of Mutual Insurance against fire, the risks assumed by the different States are not equal. We live in a fire-proof house, far from inflammable materials.”
  – Senator Raoul Dandurand, leader of Mackenzie King’s Liberal government in the Senate, to the League Assembly 1924

• Attempts to emasculate Article X

• Oil sanctions against Mussolini

“Should it happen that a strong Government finds it may with impunity destroy a weak people, then the hour strikes for that weak people to appeal to the League of Nations to give its judgment in all freedom. God and history will remember your judgment …

“It is us today. It will be you tomorrow.”

– 30 June 1936
World War II

- Germany invades Poland: September 1, 1939
  - Britain declares war two days later
  - Canada: Sept 10
- League of Nations impotent
  - Some functions transferred to McGill & Princeton universities
- US “rudely awakened” at Pearl Harbour

- VE day: 8 May 1945
- End WWII: 2 Sept
Two Presidents in War/Peace
To refine League system

or

To create whole new system?
Constituent Documents

League Covenant

UN Charter
Membership

League of Nations Assembly
Over 60 members

United Nations General Assembly
193 members (universal)
Council: Selected States

Council

Four permanent:
France, Italy, Japan & UK

Security Council

Five permanent:
China, France, UK, USA, USSR/Russia
Mandates / Trusteeship

Mandates Commission

Trusteeship Council
Courts of Justice

* Permanent Court of International Justice became International Court of Justice (ICJ or “World Court”) same Statute, same location (The Hague)
Secretariat

Geneva
Palais des Nations

New York
“Glass Palace”
Secretaries-General

Sir Eric Drummond
Nonpartisan “International Civil Service”

Trygve Lie
Expanded SG’s independent role
US Participation

1919/1920
US Senate Foreign Relations Committee:
• Over 40 amendments
• 14 Lodge reservations
• No ratification

1945
US Senate adopts Charter
• Without reservations
• Henry Cabot Ledge Jr. becomes ambassador to the UN
League-UN Constitutions: Main differences

• UN to have armed forces at its disposal
• More power to Security Council
• Removal of qualified unanimity rule
  – P5 veto
• Greater emphasis on human rights, economical and social issues, decolonization

• Greater commitment to UN in West
  – US membership, e.g., Canadian support
• Greater “political will” BUT Cold War limitations
UN’s Six Principal Organs

SECURITY COUNCIL (5+10)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY (193)

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (15)

SECRETARIAT

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (54)
Growing UN Family of Agencies
Selected Events

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)

Seating of Communist China (1971)
“Police Action” in Korea 1950: Vindication of Collective Security
US Leadership
Canadian Internationalism

“The UN’s vocation is Canada’s vocation.”
– Louis St. Laurent, Secretary State for External Affairs, 1946

Contributions to
UN Command
in Korea
– 27,000 troops
– Over 500 deaths
“Golden Age” of Canadian Diplomacy (1945-1957)

General Andrew McNaughton
- Canada's first permanent delegate to UN in New York, 1948; Security Council President, 1949

Brig. Harry Angle
- Chief Military Observer, UNIMOG, July 1950
- First Canadian to die in a peacekeeping mission

Lt. Gen. Tommy Burns
- Chief of Staff, UNTSO, 1955-56
- First Commander, UN Emergency Force, 1956-
Nobel Peace Prize 1957

“given primarily for his role in trying to end the Suez conflict and to solve the Middle East question through the United Nations.”

– Norwegian Nobel Committee

Lester B. Pearson, Oslo, Dec. 11, 1957
Early Evolution of UN Peacekeeping

Observers

Interposed Forces
Peacekeeping Expansion

- 18 established during Cold War, 53 since
- New mandates, new personnel
  - Civilian police, civilians
- DPKO (1992-)
  - Situation Centre (1993-)
    - 24 Hour Duty room
    - Information and Research Unit ('94-'99)
- Sharing peacekeeping with NATO and regional organizations
MISSIONS ADMINISTERED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

- MINURSO: Western Sahara
- UNAMID: Darfur, Sudan
- UNMIK: Kosovo
- UNFICYP: Cyprus
- UNIFIL: Lebanon
- UNDOF: Syria
- UNAMA*: Afghanistan
- UNMOGIP: India and Pakistan
- MINUSTAH: Haiti
- UNMIL: Liberia
- UNOCI: Côte d'Ivoire
- MONUSCO: Dem. Rep. of the Congo
- UNMISS: South Sudan
- UNISFA: Abyei, Sudan
- UNTSO: Middle East
- UNMIT: Timor-Leste

* political mission
Multidimensional Nature of Modern Peacekeeping

- Political
- Military
- Humanitarian
- Police
- Economic
- Social
- Reconstruction
- Judicial
Uniformed UN Peacekeepers (1992–)
Peacebuilding

- Elections monitoring
  - first in UN member state in 1989; dozens since
- Security sector reform
  - Bosnia, Guatemala, etc.
  - Monitoring military, police, customs officials, border guards, corrections, intelligence
- Transitional administration / territorial governance
  - East Timor, Kosovo
- Convergence of development & security
- Peacebuilding Commission & UN offices
Human Rights Monitoring

- High Commissioner, OHCHR (est. 1993)
- Special Rapporteurs/Reps:
  - 6 in '80s;
  - 17 in '90s;
  - 36 in '00s
- “Field presence” in 25 states (on-site staff)
- Truth Commissions created for first time in 1990s
  - El Salvador, Guatemala, Sierra Leone, East Timor, etc.
  - Guatemala Historical Clarification Commission—probed historical record over 30 years (Guatemala) in Central America
  - Ongoing monitoring
International Criminal Tribunals & Court

ICTY (1993-)

ICTR (1994-)

ICC (2002-)

February, 1995, The Hague: Goldstone at left, as Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, with the Tribunal judges.
FREE PUBLIC SCREENING OF PROSECUTOR

SPECIAL APPEARANCE BY:
LUIS MORENO-OCAMPO
Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court

STEPHEN LEWIS
Distinguished Visiting Professor, Ryerson University and co-director of AIDS-Free World

A CONVERSATION ABOUT JUSTICE, LAW, AND THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

Joining them:
BARRY STEVENS, Deputy Prosecutor
RENU MANDHANE, International Human Rights Program, Faculty of Law

ISABEL BADER THEATRE, 93 Charles Street West, Toronto
Monday November 14th, 6:30 pm; Doors Open at 5:45 pm (general seating)

The documentary, Prosecutor, follows Luis Moreno-Ocampo, the chief prosecutor of the first permanent global criminal court, as he tries to bring to justice perpetrators of genocides and war crimes.

FOR MORE INFORMATION: http://www.whitepinepictures.com
MEDIA INQUIRIES: Lucianna Cicocioppo
lucianna.cicocioppo@utoronto.ca / (416) 946-0334
Peace Enforcement: Types

- Sanctions
  - Monitoring compliance; assessing impact
  - Military role

- Enforcement (Military Action)
  - Gulf War (1991), Kosovo Bombing (1999, without SC resolution), **Libya (2011)**

- Coercive Disarmament
  - UNSCOM/UNMOVIC: Intelligence-sharing issues
Sanctions

• Sanctions committees

• National submissions
  – Over 40,000 communications in one year

• Sanctions Enforcement Support Teams
  – Neighboring countries
Tensions and Dynamics

- Sovereignty versus common interest
  - Intervention
  - « Corridor diplomacy »
- Security Council composition
  - Realist vs democratic
  - Achievement
  - Reform process
- Limitations
  - Wide range of interests, cultures, skills
  - Legitimacy
- Global problems require global solutions!
25 Year Predictions

GA:
- Creation of Parliamentary Assembly

SC:
- New seats (e.g., Rotating + Brazil + India + Japan);
- British, French seats merge into EU seat
- Limits on veto and enforcement (including ICJ review of SC decisions)

Secretariat:
- Revamped election procedure for SG;
- global open skies agreement with UN agency
- greatly improved early warning systems
Legal:
- ICJ compulsory jurisdiction nearly universal
- New treaties on jurisdiction over individuals
- ICC Expansion (2017 – Crime of aggression)
- Verification of the ban on secret treaties (Art. 102)

Financial:
- International taxation (e.g., armaments/financial transactions)

Military:
- Standing peace-keeping forces (nucleus under direct UN employment)
Figure 1.
The Structure of World Organizations
A. Current and B. Proposed

A. Current Organization (second generation, uses the first-generation League of Nations Model)

National structure:

Legislative (Parliament)  Executive  Judicial (courts)

International structure:

General Assembly  Security Council  International Court of Justice

B. Future Organization (third generation, proposed model)

National structure:

Legislative (Parliament)  Executive  Judicial (courts)

International structure:

Parliamentary Assembly  World Council and Secretariat  International Court

http://walterdorn.org/pub/11
“Truth is stranger than fiction.”
The UN years

"I have no doubt that 40 years from now we shall be engaged in the same pursuit. How could we expect otherwise? World organization is still a new adventure in human history."

20 May 1956
“What we seek is the rule of law based on the consent of the governed and sustained by the generalized opinion of mankind.”

– President Woodrow Wilson
THE END

… OF THE BEGINNING
A chance for a safer world