

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS *EVOLVING OVER TIME*



Dr. Walter Dorn
Canadian Forces College

2 November 2011

Starting from nothing ...

Medieval Age

Treaty of Westphalia (1648)

Age of Empires

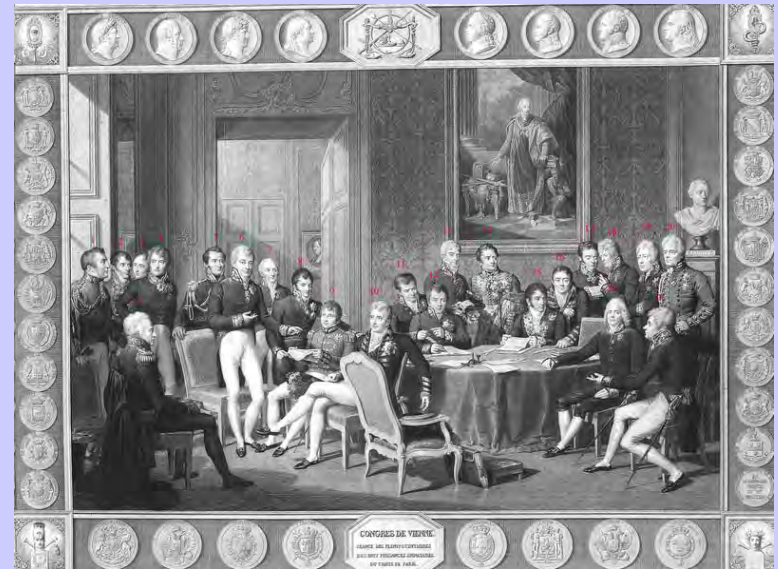
Concert of Europe

Congress of Vienna (1815)

Not centralized or permanent



alchemymedia.blogspot.com



Wikipedia

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



The Seed Idea

“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”



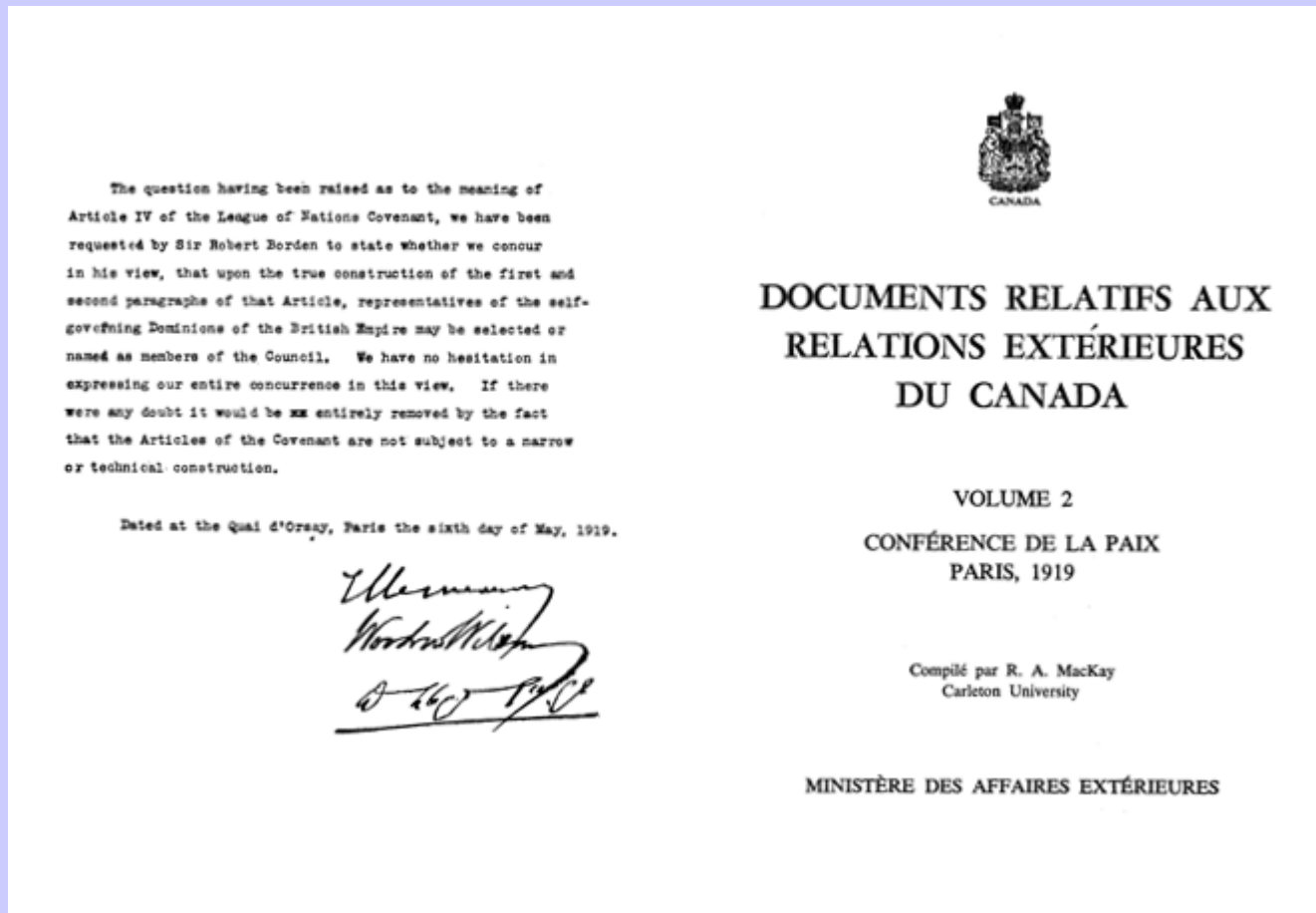
“A living thing is born”

– W. Wilson, 14 February 1919

League Covenant

EIF: January 1920

Canadian Representation

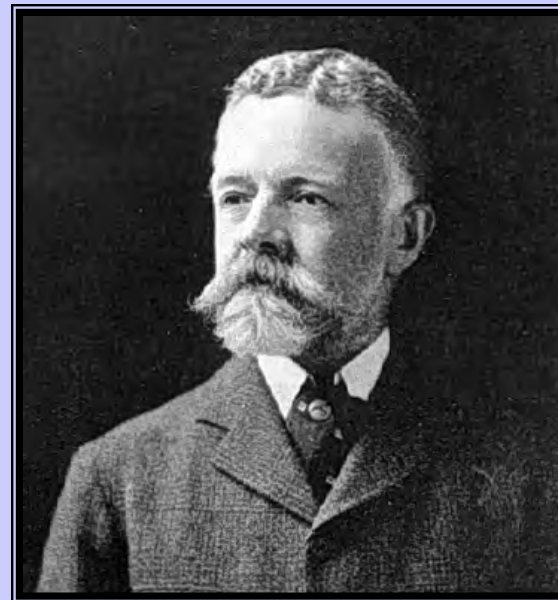


“The self-governing Dominions of the British Empire may be selected or named as members of the [League] Council”

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.

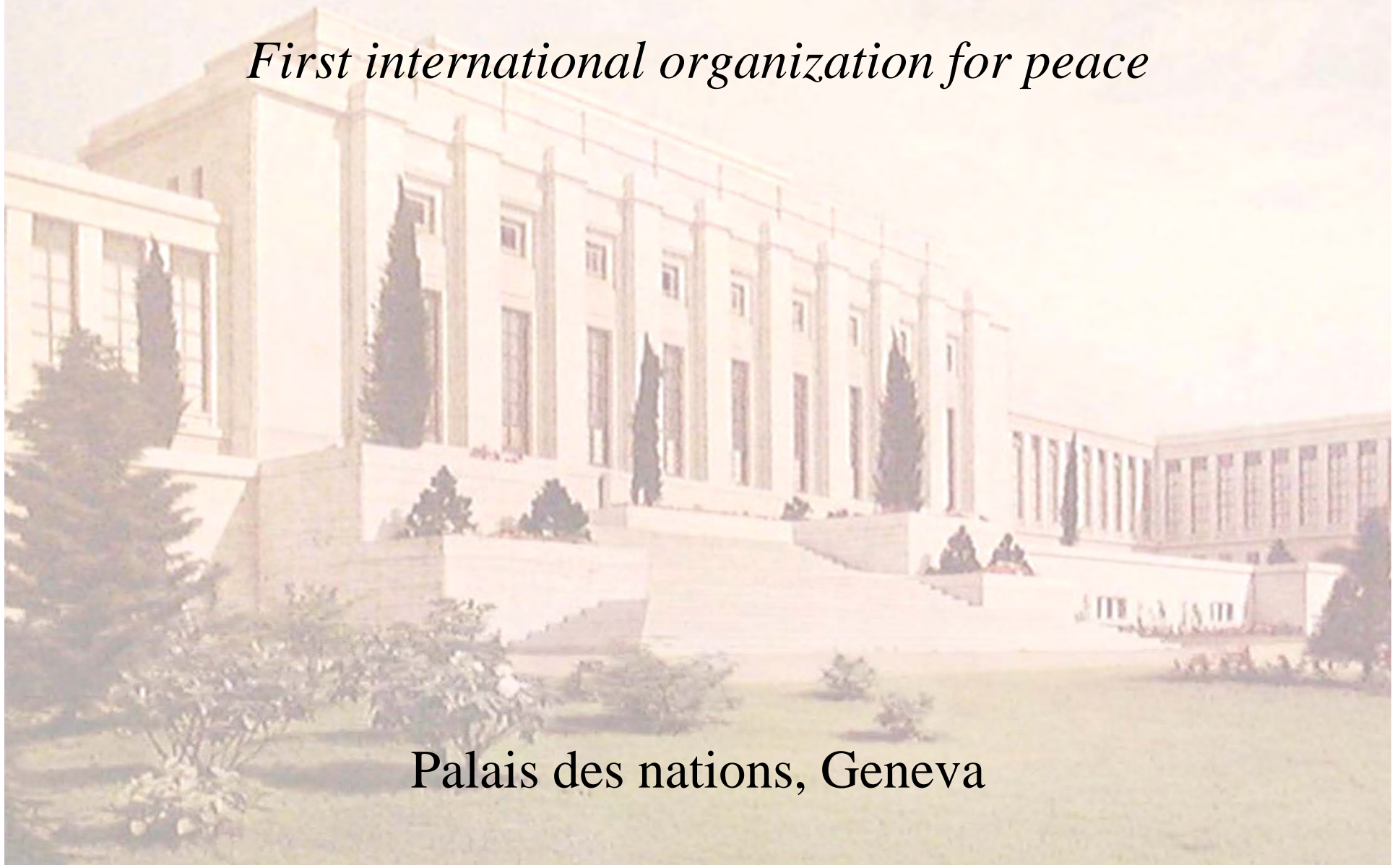
The League of Nations Argument in a Nutshell



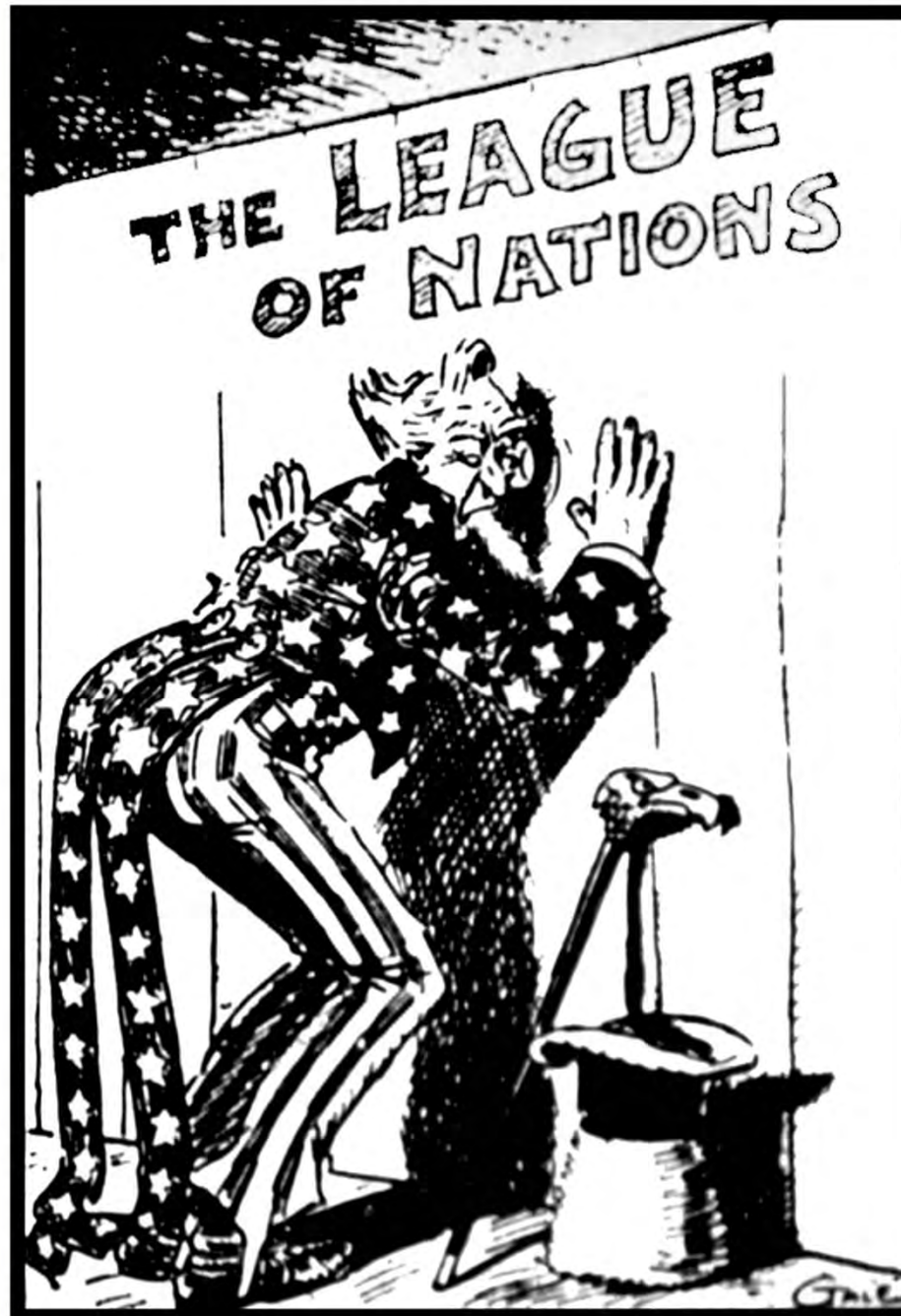
Jay N. Darling, *The Des Moines Register*, 2, 1919.

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



THE SIGNING OF THE "TREATY FOR THE RENUNCIATION OF WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY" (KELOGG PACT) AT THE QUAI D'ORSAY, AUGUST 27th 1928.

National Archives of 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



Canadian delegation, 1928

L to R: O.D. Skelton, P. Roy, Sen. R. Dandurand, W.L. Mackenzie King, C. Dunning and W. Riddell

Haile Salassie in Geneva

“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



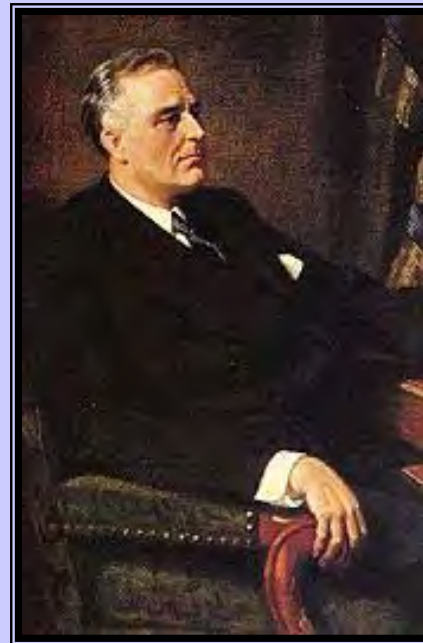
World War II

- 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



1945

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



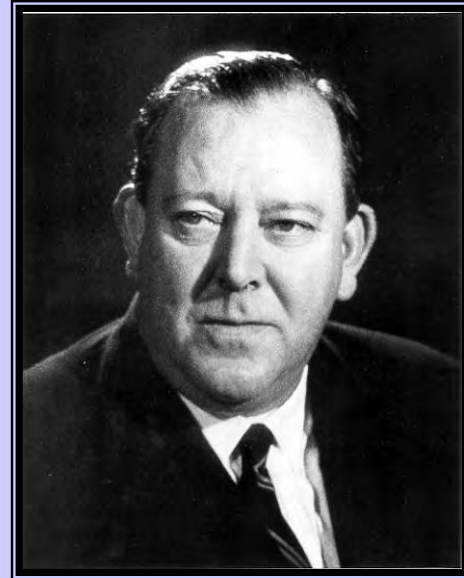
New York
“Glass Palace”

Secretaries-General



Sir Eric Drummond

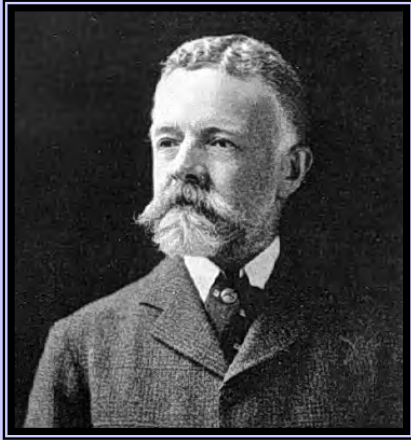
Nonpartisan “International
Civil Service”



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 Lodge 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)

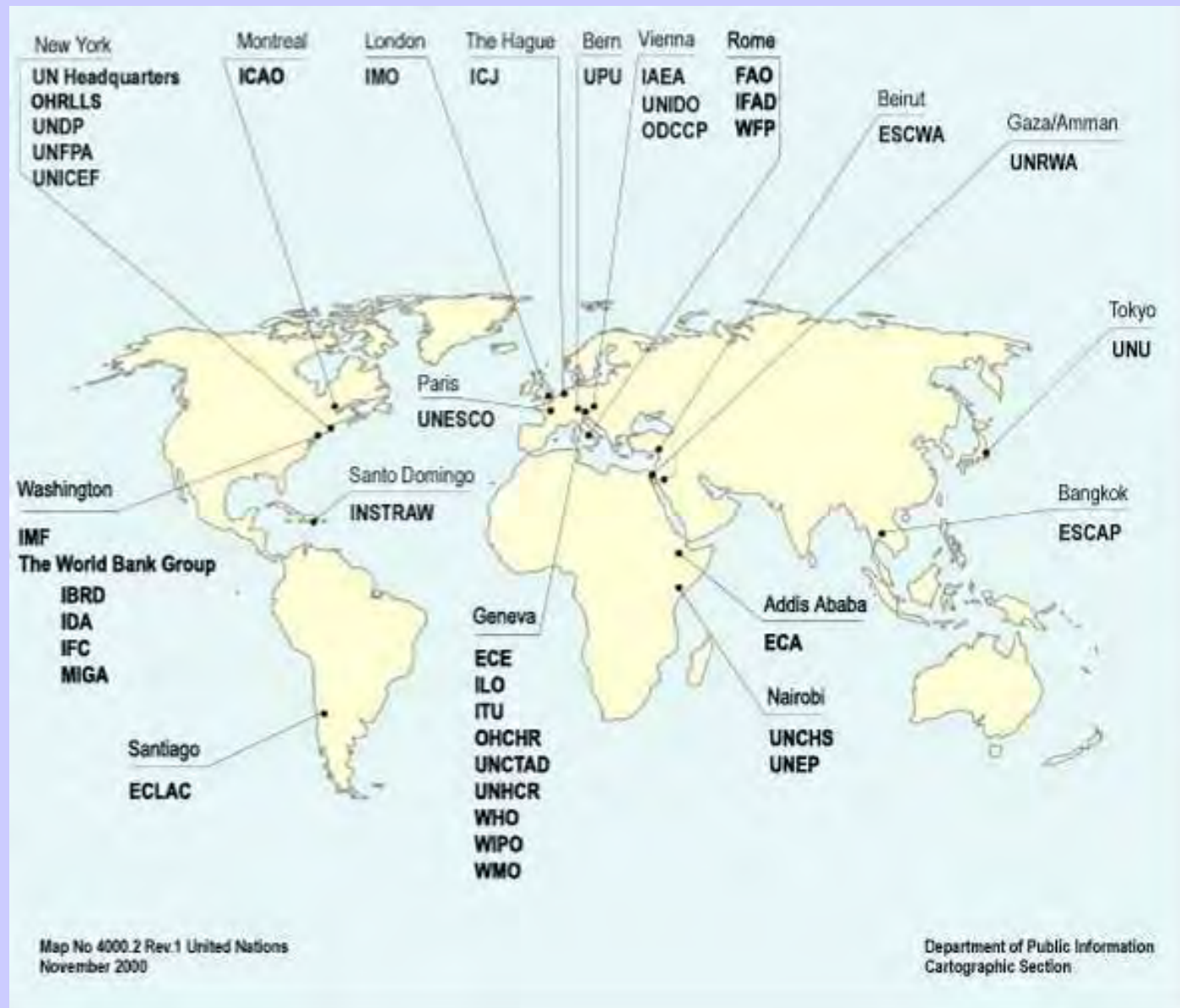


SECRETARIAT



**ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL**
(54)

Growing UN Family of Agencies



Selected Events



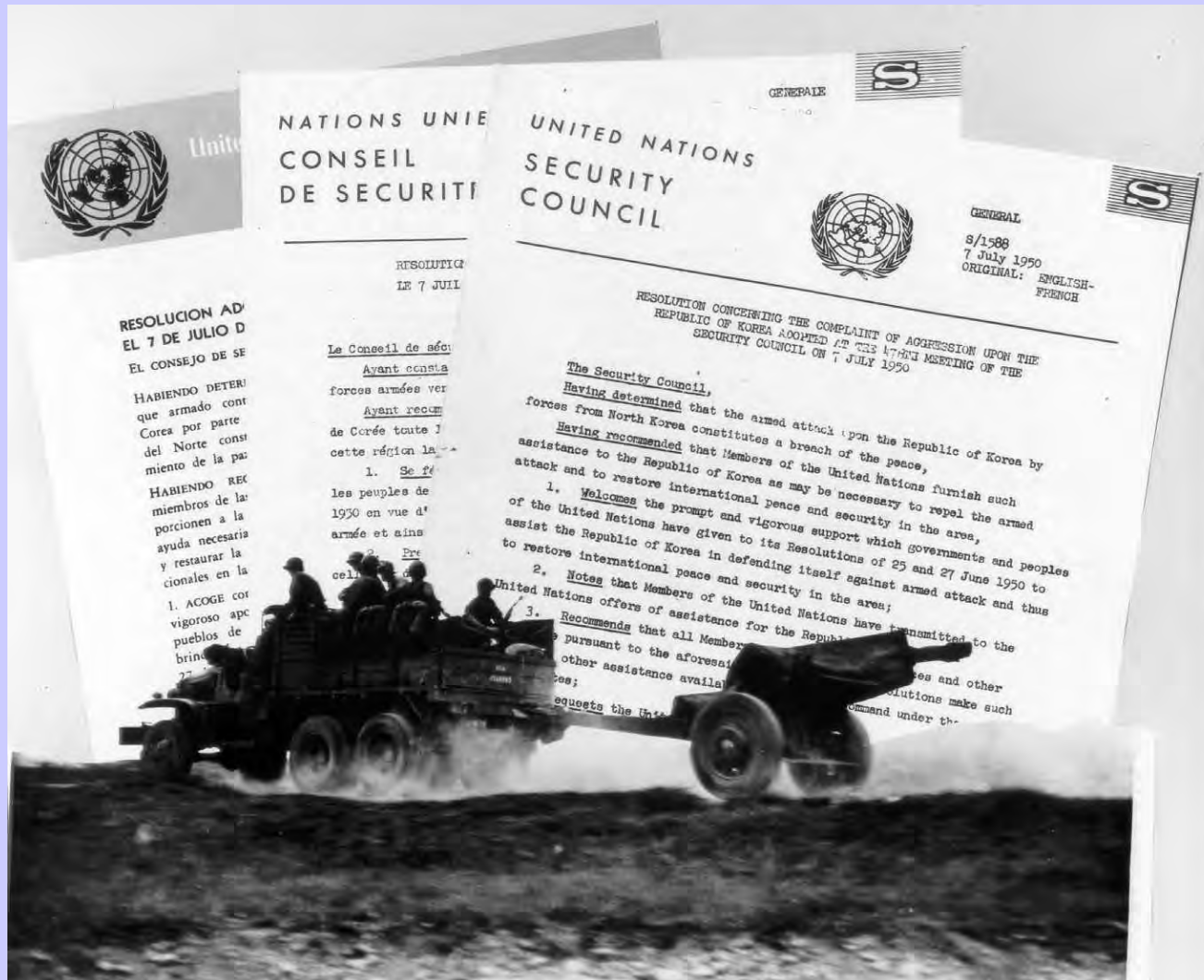
Universal Declaration of
Human Rights (1948)



Seating of Communist
China (1971)



“Police Action” in Korea 1950: Vindication of Collective Security



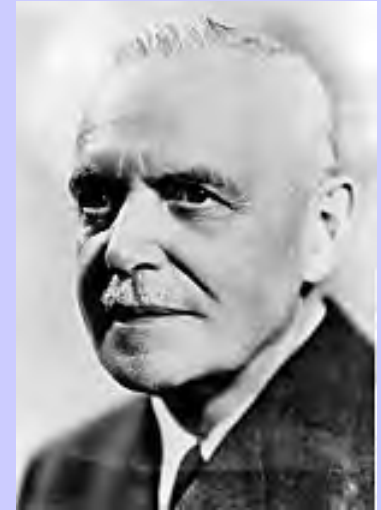
US Leadership



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



DND

“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

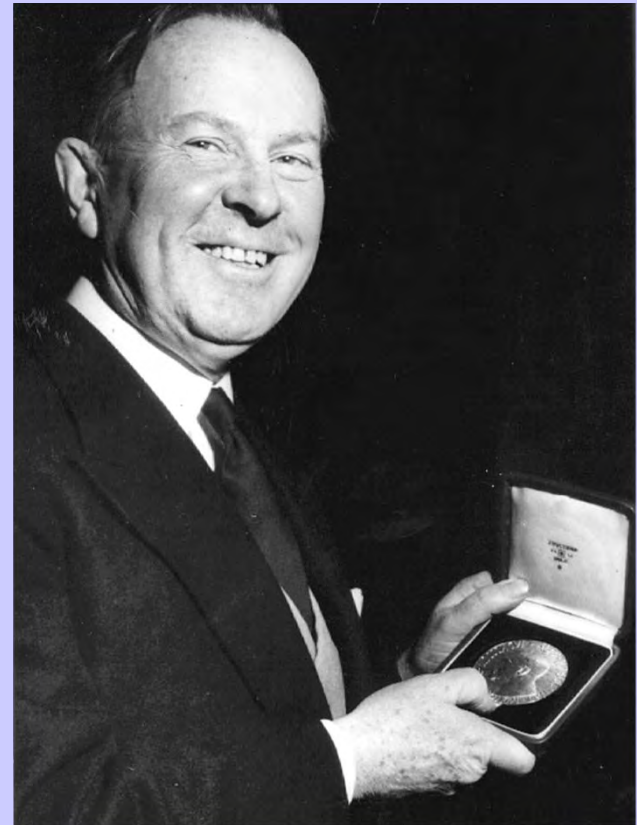
- Chief of Staff, UNTSO, 1955-56
- First Commander, UN Emergency Force, 1956-



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



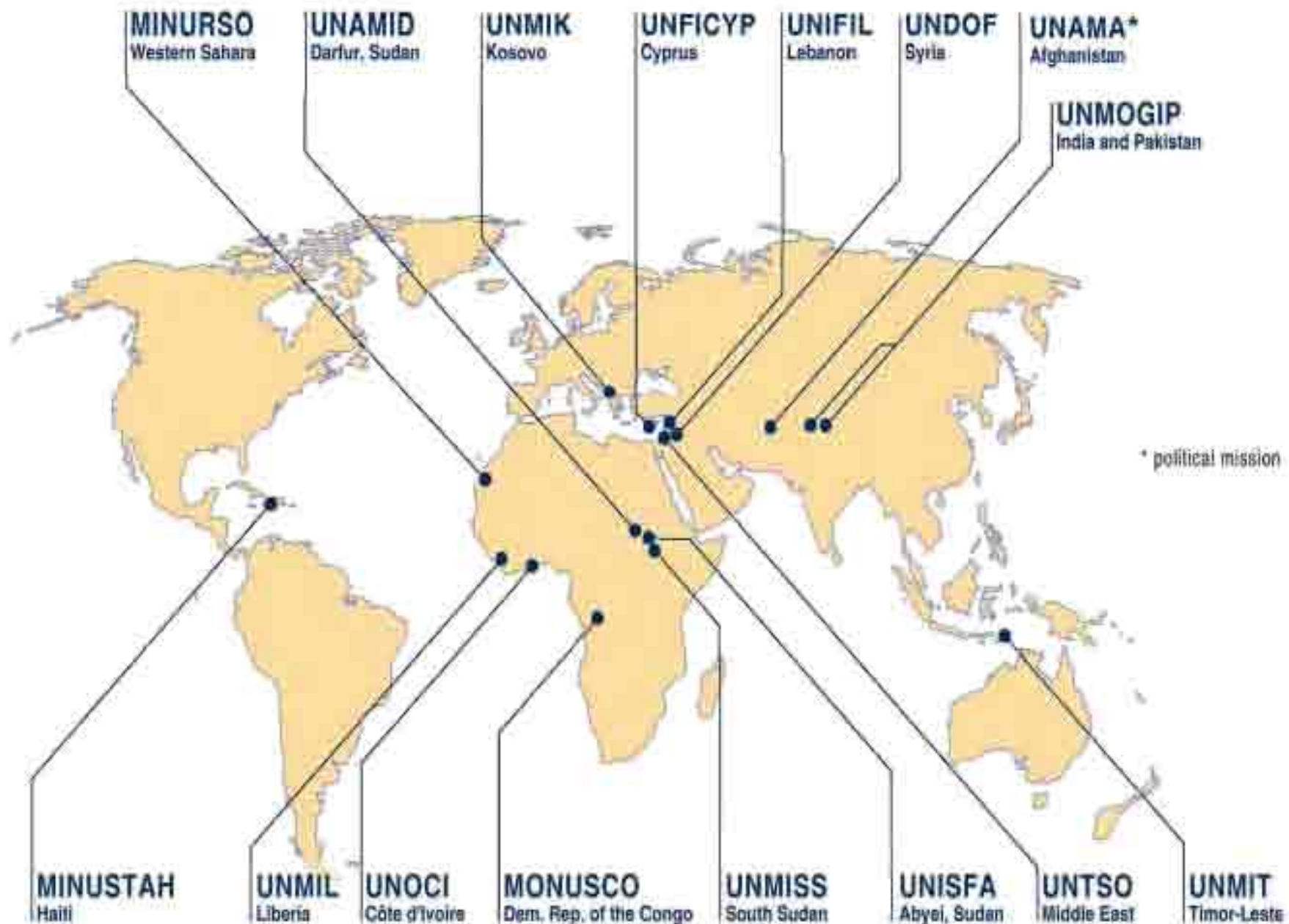
Interposed Forces

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

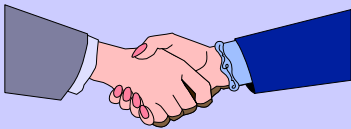


MISSIONS ADMINISTERED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

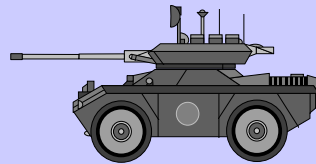


Multidimensional Nature of Modern Peacekeeping

Political



Military



Humanitarian



Police



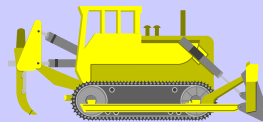
Economic



Social



Reconstruction



Judicial



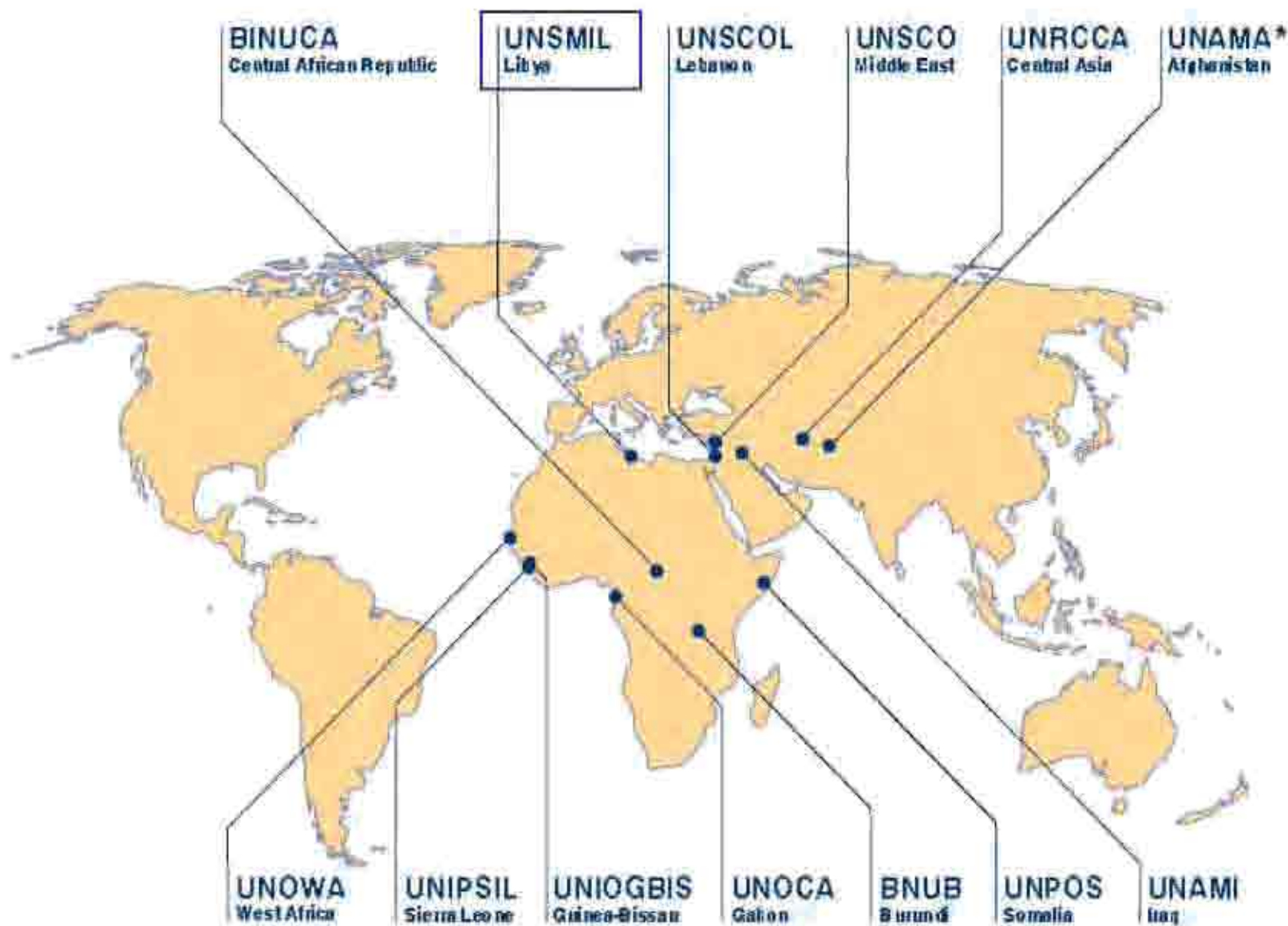
Uniformed UN Peacekeepers (1992–)



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

ONGOING POLITICAL AND PEACEBUILDING MISSIONS



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-)

International Criminal Tribunal
for the former Yugoslavia



Tribunal Pénal International
pour l'ex-Yougoslavie



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

ICTR (1994-)



INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA

TRIBUNAL PENAL INTERNATIONAL POUR LE RWANDA

ICC (2002-)



Rome Statute of the
International Criminal Court



UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
FACULTY OF LAW

INTERNATIONAL
HUMAN RIGHTS
PROGRAM

PROSECUTOR

Law. No order.

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, *Director, 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 genocide and war crimes.

FOR MORE INFORMATION: <http://www.whitepinepictures.com>

MEDIA INQUIRIES: Lucianna Ciccocioppo

lucianna.ciccocioppo@utoronto.ca / (416) 946-0334

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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
 - Only two committees to 1990: South Africa (1963-94), S. Rhodesia (1965-79)
 - Ten in 1990s: Iraq (1990-), former Yugoslavia (1992-98), Somalia (1992-94), Libya (1992-94), Liberia (1992-97), Haiti 1993-94), Angola/UNITA (1993-), Rwanda (1994-98), Sierra Leone (1997-), Afghanistan (1999-)
 - Many in 2000-2010: Eritrea-Ethiopia (2000-01), Liberia (2001); Iran (2006-); Libya (2011)
- 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)

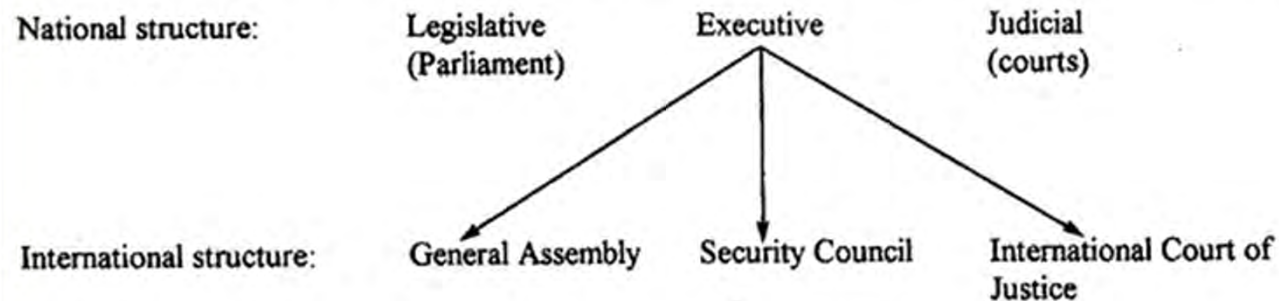
Military:

- Standing peace-keeping forces (nucleus under direct UN employment)

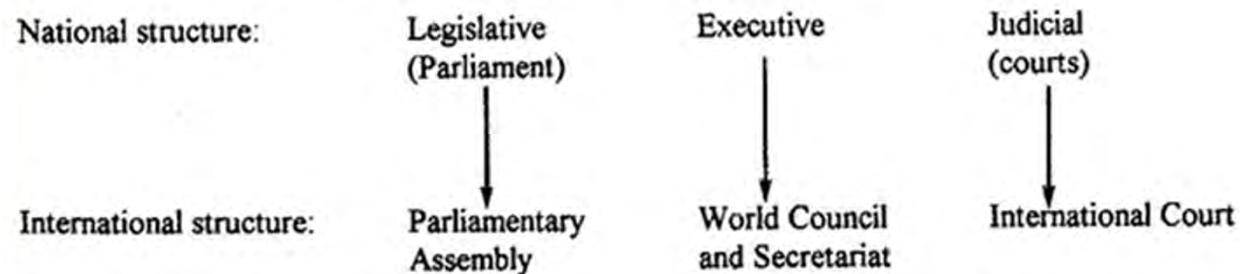
Re-Organization International

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)



B. Future Organization (third generation, proposed model)



“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



National Portrait Gallery

THE END

... OF THE BEGINNING

The Economist

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Killing Saddam

What the new US Congress means

Islamists' defeat in Somalia

The wellness industry

A chance for a safer world



