THE UNITED NATIONS
AN EVOLUTION OVER TIME

Dr. Walter Dorn
Canadian Forces College
3 November 2010
End of World Wars …

Fertile source for international organizations
– After destruction, new hopes and dreams
– Sacrifice, progressive spirit, avoid repetition
1919

- First international organization for peace in world
  - The League of Nations
  - Basic structures and principles of IO

- Recurring tension between idealism and realpolitik
  - Great treaty debate 1919-20
The Seed Idea

Fourteenth Point:

“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.”

– Pres. Woodrow Wilson, 8 January 1918
League of Nations

The Big Four

“A living thing is born”
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 of Nations] 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 'ell of a 'ole!)

Well if you know a better 'ole, go to it.

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

First international organization for peace

Palais des nations, Geneva
The League of Nations

On the Outside Looking In
Outside the League: Misplaced Idealism

*Kellogg-Briand Pact*

1928

- **Idealism without practicality**
- 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
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
Major Failures of the League (1930s)

- Japan invades Manchuria, 1931
- Mussolini invades Abyssinia, 1935
- Germany marches into Rhineland, 1936
- Soviet Union invades Finland, 1939
- Germany invades Poland, 1939
Canada in the League (1920s)

• “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

Canadian delegation, 1928

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.”
  – June 30, 1936

Source: http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/selassie.htm
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: May 8
• End WWII: Sept 2
Two War/Peace Presidents
1945

Refinements on 1919 system

or

whole new system?
Constituent Documents

League Covenant

UN Charter
Assembly: All Members

League of Nations Assembly
Over 60 members

UN General Assembly
192 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 (“World Court”) with same Statute, at 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 Const.: 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 Attains Universality

Universality never attained by the League of Nations

Newest Members:
- Switzerland
- Timor Leste
- Montenegro

Timor Leste joins 27 Sept 2002
Principal Organs

- **Security Council** (5+10)
- **General Assembly** (191)
- **Trusteeship Council**
- **International Court of Justice** (15)
- **Economic and Social Council** (54)
- **Secretariat**
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!
UN Family of Agencies

Map No 4000.2 Rev.1 United Nations
November 2000

Department of Public Information
Cartographic Section
UN Secretaries-General

Trygve Lie

Dag Hammarskjold

U Thant

Kurt Waldheim

Javier Pérez de Cuéllar

Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Kofi Annan

Ban Ki Moon
Selected Events

Eleanor Roosevelt and the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Seating of Communist China (1971)
Korea “Police Action” 1950: Vindication of Collective Security
US Leadership
The United Nations

in grateful remembrance

of the men of the Armed Forces of Member States

who died in Korea

in the service of the United Nations

1950 - 1953
Canadian Internationalism

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

Contribution 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-
“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, Nobel Prize acceptance,
Oslo, Dec. 11, 1957
Early Evolution of UN Peacekeeping

Observers

Interpositional Forces
“Internationalization” of Peacekeeping

Composition:
- States ➔ loaned officers ➔ International civil servants

Command & Control
- Reporting to nations ➔ to UN Organs ➔ to SG

Logistics & financial
- National ➔ International
POST-COLD WAR EXPANSION
Peacekeeping Expansion

- 18 established during Cold War, 50 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
Multidimensional Nature of Modern Peacekeeping

Political
Military
Humanitarian
Police

Economic
Social
Reconstruction
Judicial
Uniformed UN Peacekeepers
(Military and Police, 1990–2010)

Jul 1993: 78,444 (largest missions: UNPROFOR, UNOSOM, UNTAC)

Nov 2001: 47,778
(UNAMSIL, UNTAET)

Mar 2010: 101,900
(UNAMID, MONUC, MONUSCO)

Number of Personnel

120,000
110,000
100,000
90,000
80,000
70,000
60,000
50,000
40,000
30,000
20,000
10,000
0

Troops
Military Observers
Police
Total

Peace-building

- 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
  - Afghanistan? Iraq?
- Convergence of development and security agencies
  - Common reporting
- Peacebuilding Commission
- Peacebuilding offices
ONGOING POLITICAL AND PEACEBUILDING MISSIONS

UNOWA
West Africa

BINUCA
Central Africa Republic

UNPOS
Somalia

UNSCO
Middle East

UNRCCA
Central Asia

UNAMIA*
Afghanistan

UNMIN
Nepal

UNIPSIL
Sierra Leone

UNIOGBIS
Guinea-Bissau

BINUB
Burundi

UNSCOL
Lebanon

* Mission directed and supported by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Map No. 4147 Rev. 32(E) UNITED NATIONS
January 2010

Department of Field Support Cartographic Section
Human Rights Monitoring

- High Commissioner, OHCHR, (est. 1993)
- Special Rapporteurs/Reps:
  - 6 in '80s;
  - 17 in '90s;
  - 5 so far in '00s
- “Field presences” in 25 states with hundreds of 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.
Peace Enforcement: Types

- Sanctions
  - Monitoring compliance; assessing impact
  - Military role

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

- Coercive Disarmament
  - UNSCOM/UNMOVIC: Intelligence-sharing issues
UN IN IRAQ

UN Headquarters, Baghdad, 19 August 2003

UN Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI)
Sanctions

• Sanctions committees

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

• Sanctions Enforcement Support Teams
  – Neighboring countries
“We Remember”

Gift of CSC 25
Canadian Peacekeeping Tradition

1957
1988
1992
1994
1996

1957
1988
1992
1994
1996

1995
2000
2001
1993
2003
2007
Canadians View Peacekeeping as ...

Canada’s most positive contribution to the world

- Peacekeeping: 26
- Foreign aid: 17
- Multiculturalism/accepts immigrants: 7
- Support for human rights: 5
- Role model for the world: 4
- Voice of moderation: 3
- Military missions overseas: 3
- Environmental protection: 2
- Natural resources: 2
- Other: 14
- None/don’t know: 17

Q.27
In your opinion, what is the most positive contribution that Canada, as a country, makes to the world?

Survey in January 2008

www.igloo.org/canadasworld/learnmor/quizzes/pollresu
Canadian Force Commanders (1990s)

MGen Roméo Dallaire
UNAMIR 1994

LGen Maurice Baril
MNF (Eastern Zaire) 1996

BGen Robin Gagnon
UNTMIH 1997

BGen Cam Ross
UNDOF 1998

…None in first decade of 21st century
PREDICTIONS & PROPOSALS

W. Dorn,
Predictions from 1999
5 Year Prediction/Proposals

• GA:
  – membership increases to 190 (e.g., Switzerland, East Timor)

• SC:
  – membership increases to 20-22 through Charter amendment (Germany/EU, Japan & 3-5 developing countries, e.g., India, Brazil, South Africa and/or rotating seats; no new veto rights);
  – more refined sanction system ("Smart sanctions")

• Secretariat:
  – SG develops early warning systems; plays more prominent role in preventive diplomacy

• Legal: Establishment of an International Criminal Court

• Military: Peace-keeping standby forces (nationally based)
25 Years Prediction (2024)

- **GA:**
  - membership decreases to 180 (e.g., unification of Koreas)

- **SC:**
  - British, French, and German seats merge into powerful European Union seat (retaining the veto);
  - New seats to Far Eastern nations;
  - Rules guiding use of veto and enforcement provisions (including advisory opinion and review of SC decisions by the ICJ)

- **S:** Revamped election procedure for SG; global open skies agreement with agency under SG reporting to SC; greatly improved early warning systems ICJ: compulsory jurisdiction nearly universal
25 Year Predictions (Cont’d)

• Legal:
  – New treaties on responsibilities of *individuals*
  – ICC Expansion
  – Verification of the ban on secret treaties (Art. 102)
• Financial:
  – Non-governmental sources of revenue accepted
  – International taxation (e.g., armaments/financial transactions)
• IOs:
  – Reorganization and amalgamation (e.g., of IVOs)
• Military:
  – Standing peace-keeping forces (nucleus under direct UN employment)
50 Year Prediction (mid-century)

- **GA**: weighted voting
- **Parliamentary Assembly (PA)**:
  - New body composed of parliamentarians (elected directly or sent from their parliaments) complements already existing UN bodies
- **SC**:
  - Membership increases
- **Military**:
  - Standing peace-keeping and peace-enforcement units
“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
A chance for a safer world
THE END

... OF THE BEGINNING
IF I SEE ONE MORE POWER POINT SLIDE, I’LL SHOOT!!!