

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 question having been raised as to the meaning of Article IV of the League of Nations Covenant, we have been requested by Sir Robert Borden to state whether we concur in his view, that upon the true construction of the first and second paragraphs of that Article, representatives of the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire may be selected or named as members of the Council. We have no hesitation in expressing our entire concurrence in this view. If there were any doubt it would be ~~now~~ entirely removed by the fact that the Articles of the Covenant are not subject to a narrow or technical construction.

Dated at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris the sixth day of May, 1919.

U. H. McNeill
Woodrow Wilson
D. Lloyd George

DOCUMENTS RELATIFS AUX RELATIONS EXTÉRIEURES DU CANADA

VOLUME 2

CONFÉRENCE DE LA PAIX
PARIS, 1919

Compilé par R. A. MacKay
Carleton University

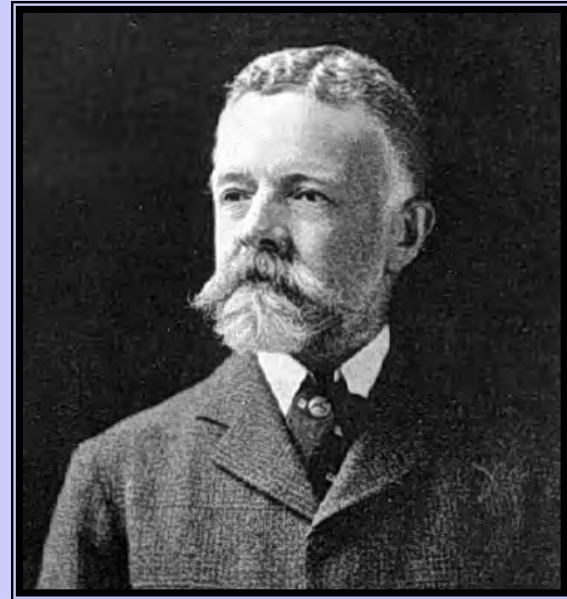
MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

“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



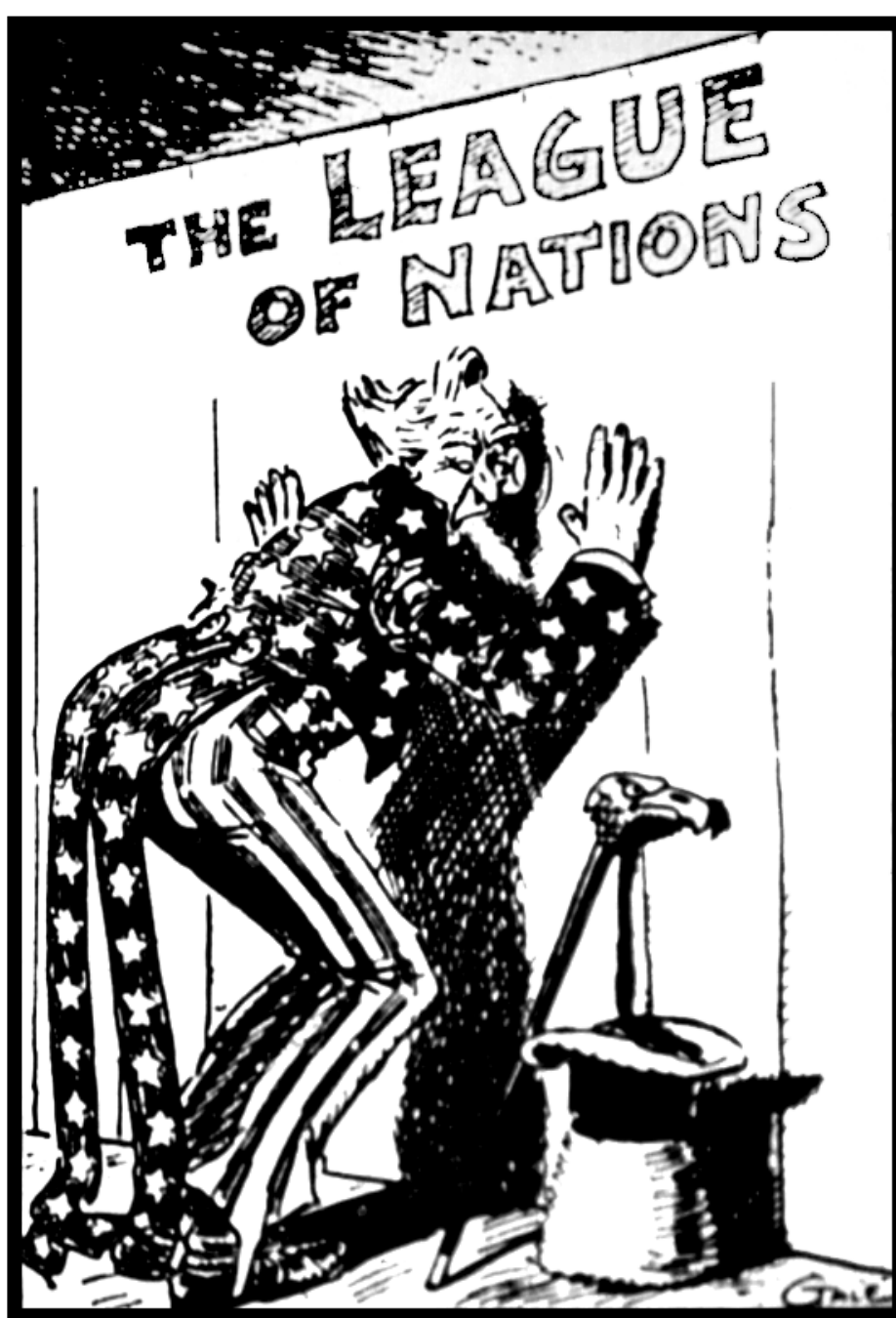
Jay N. Darling. *The Des Moines Register*, c. 1919.

The League of Nations

First international organization for peace



Palais des nations, Geneva



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



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

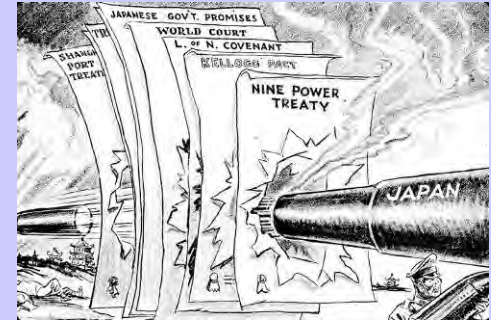
Successes of the League (1920s)

- 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

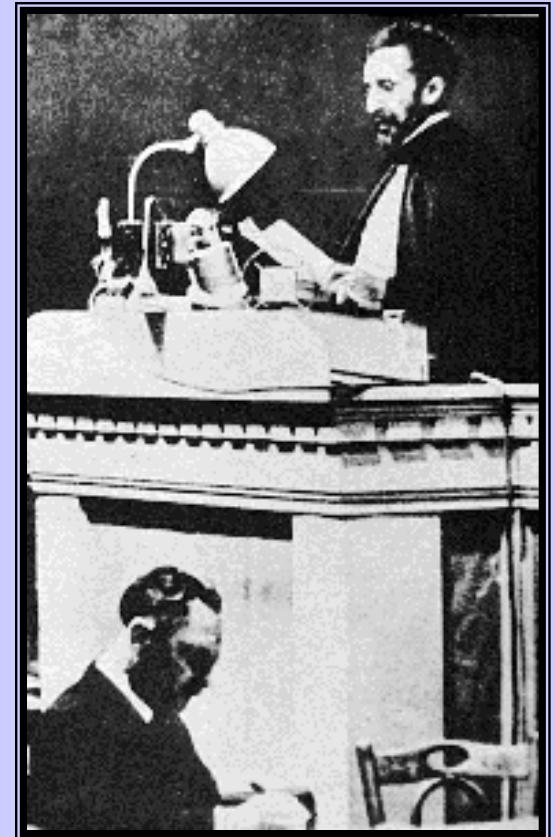


Canadian delegation, 1928

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.”**
 - June 30, 1936



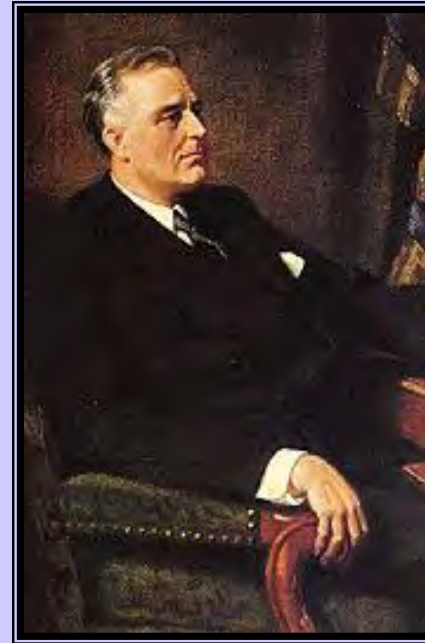
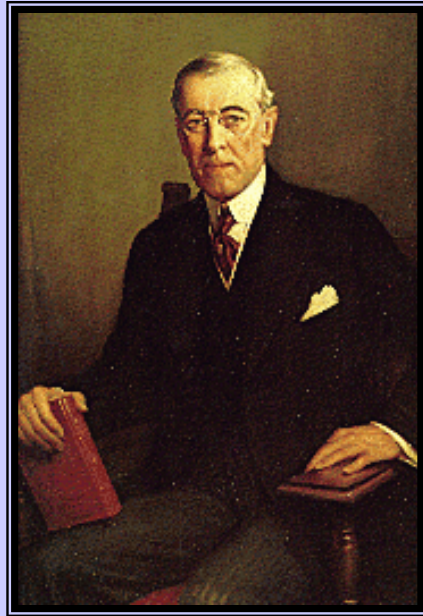
World War II

- 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: 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

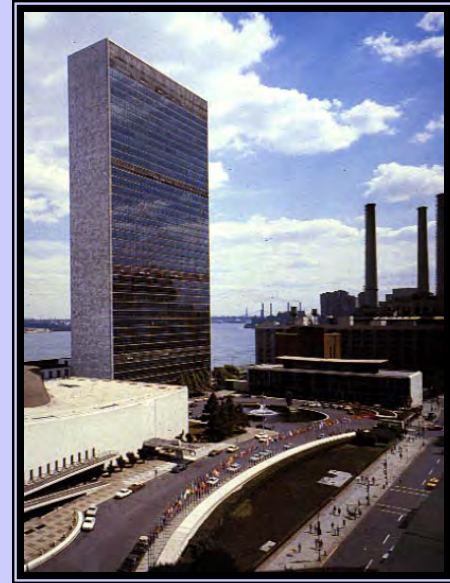


* Permanent Court of International Justice
became
International Court of Justice (“World Court”)
with same Statute, at same location (The Hague)

Secretariat



Geneva
Palais des Nations



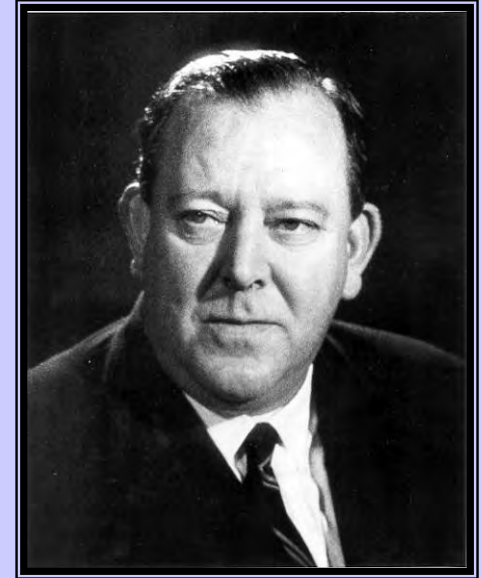
New York
“Glass Palace”

Secretaries-General



Sir Eric Drummond

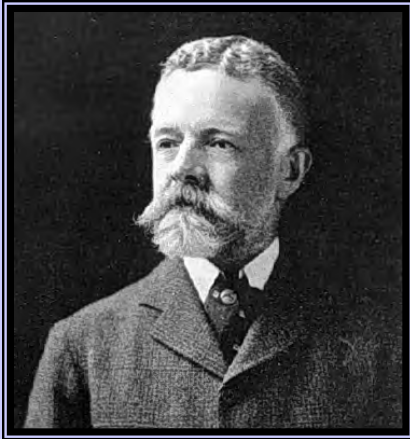
Nonpartisan “International
Civil Service”



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

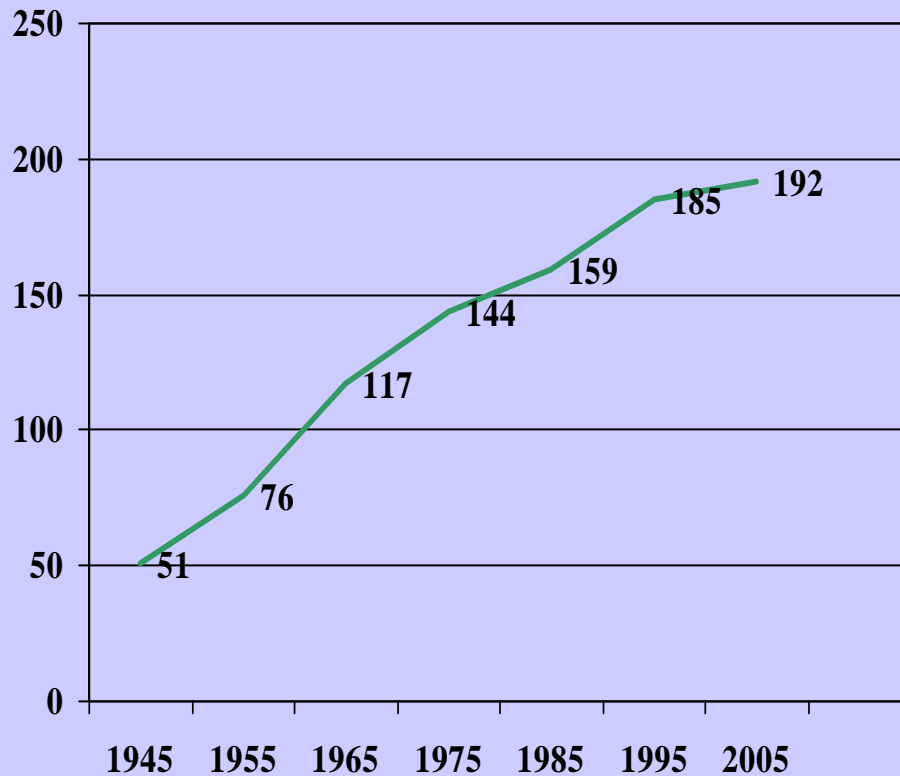
US Senate adopts Charter

- Without reservations
- Henry Cabot Lodge 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



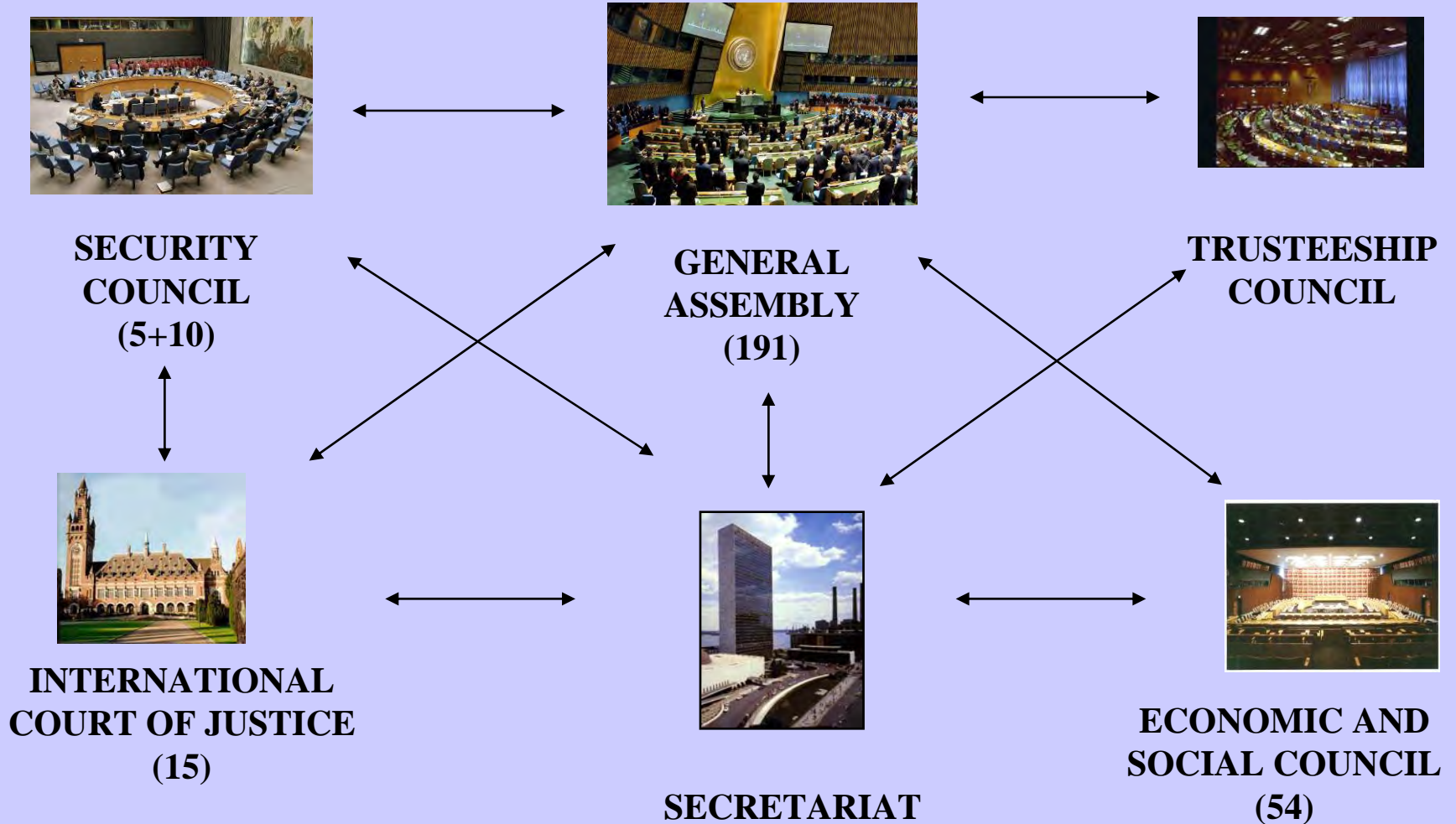
Universality never attained by
the League of Nations

Newest Members:
Switzerland
Timor Leste
Montenegro



Timor Leste joins 27 Sept 2002

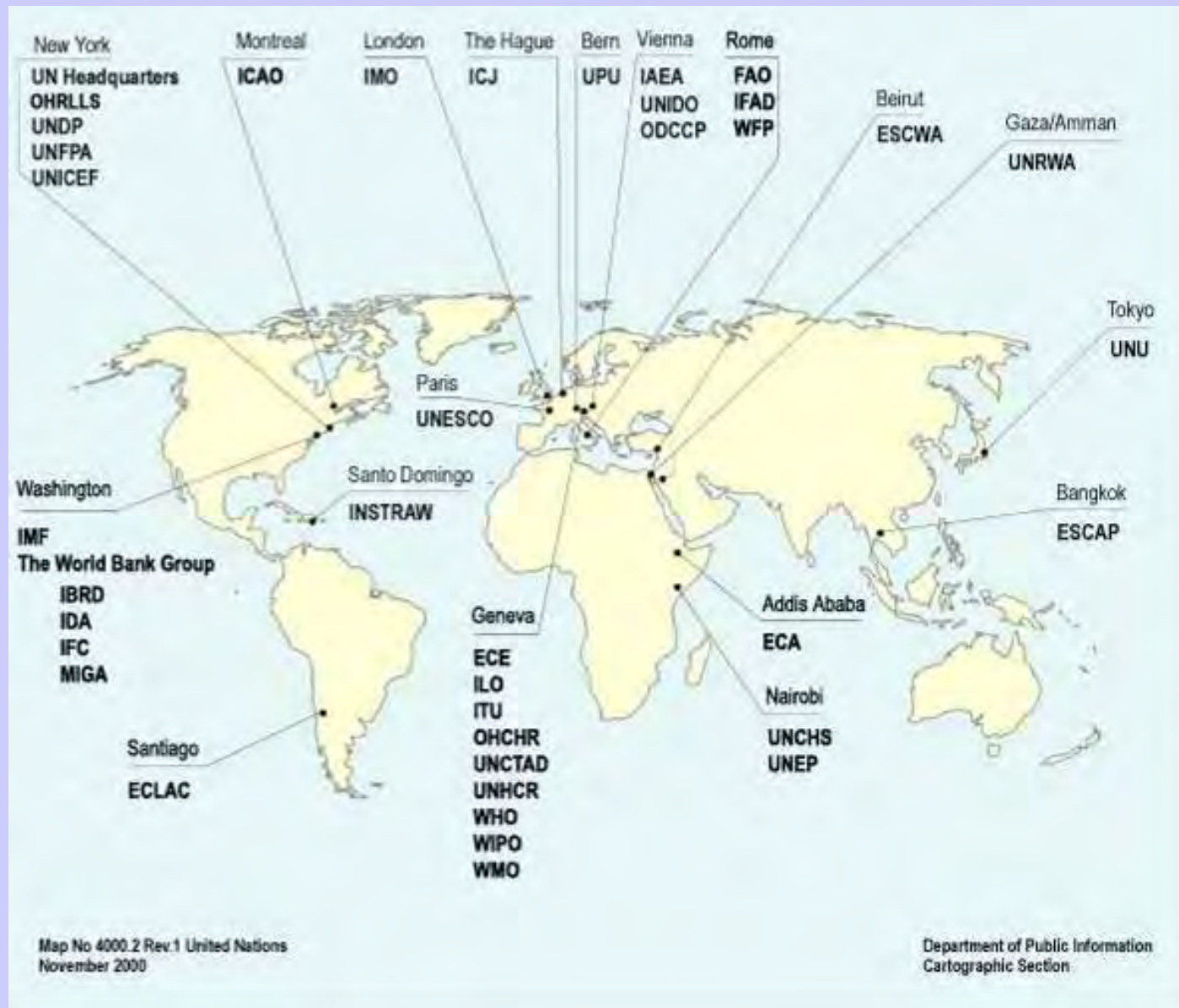
Principal Organs



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



UN Secretaries-General



Trygve Lie



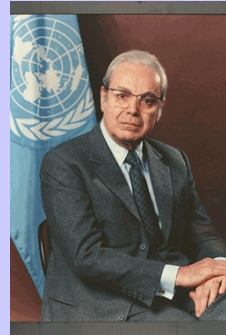
Dag Hammarskjöld



U Thant



Kurt Waldheim



Javier Pérez de Cuéllar



Boutros Boutros-Ghali



Kofi Annan



Ban Ki Moon

Selected Events



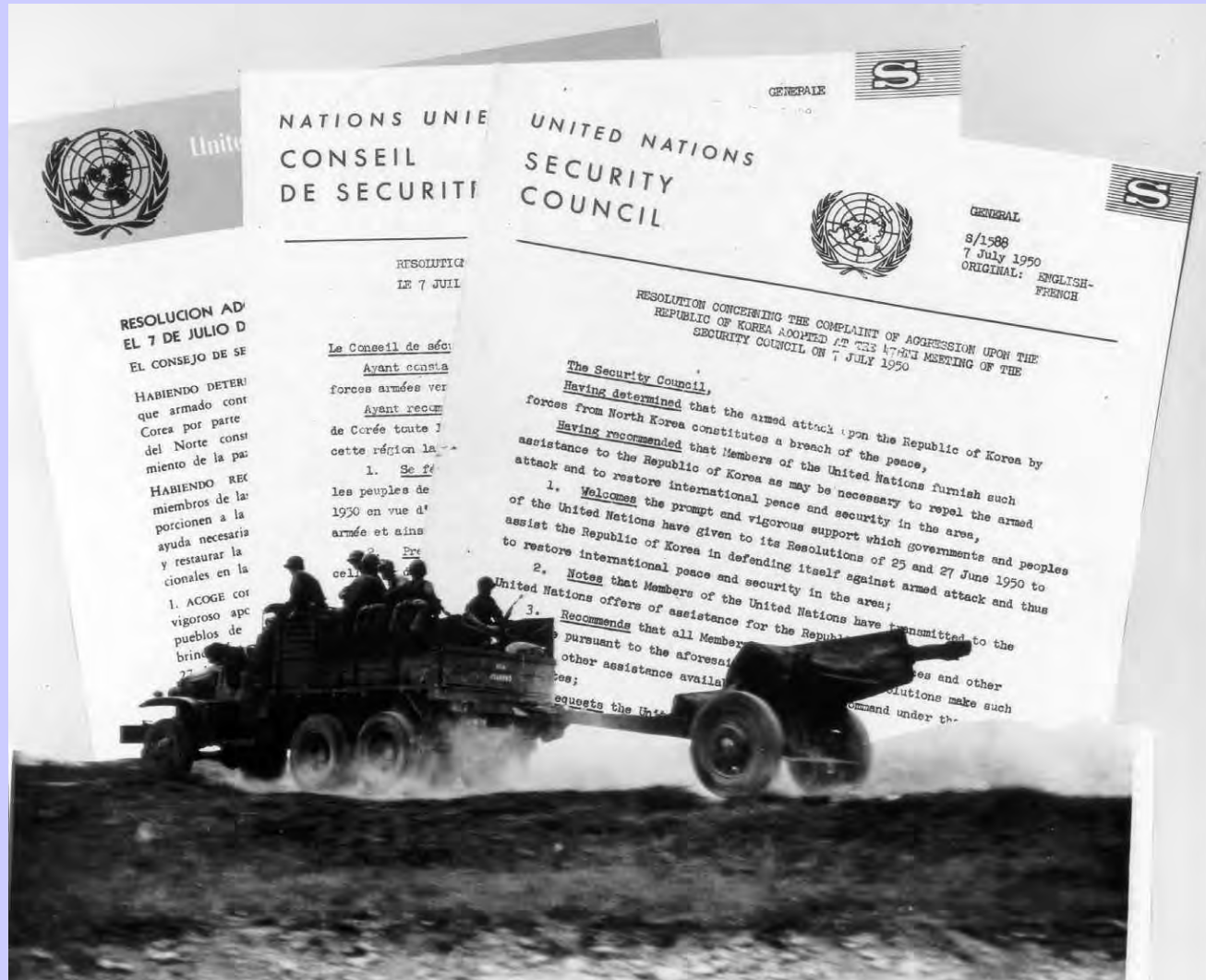
Eleanor Roosevelt and the
1948 Universal Declaration
of Human Rights



Seating of Communist China
(1971)

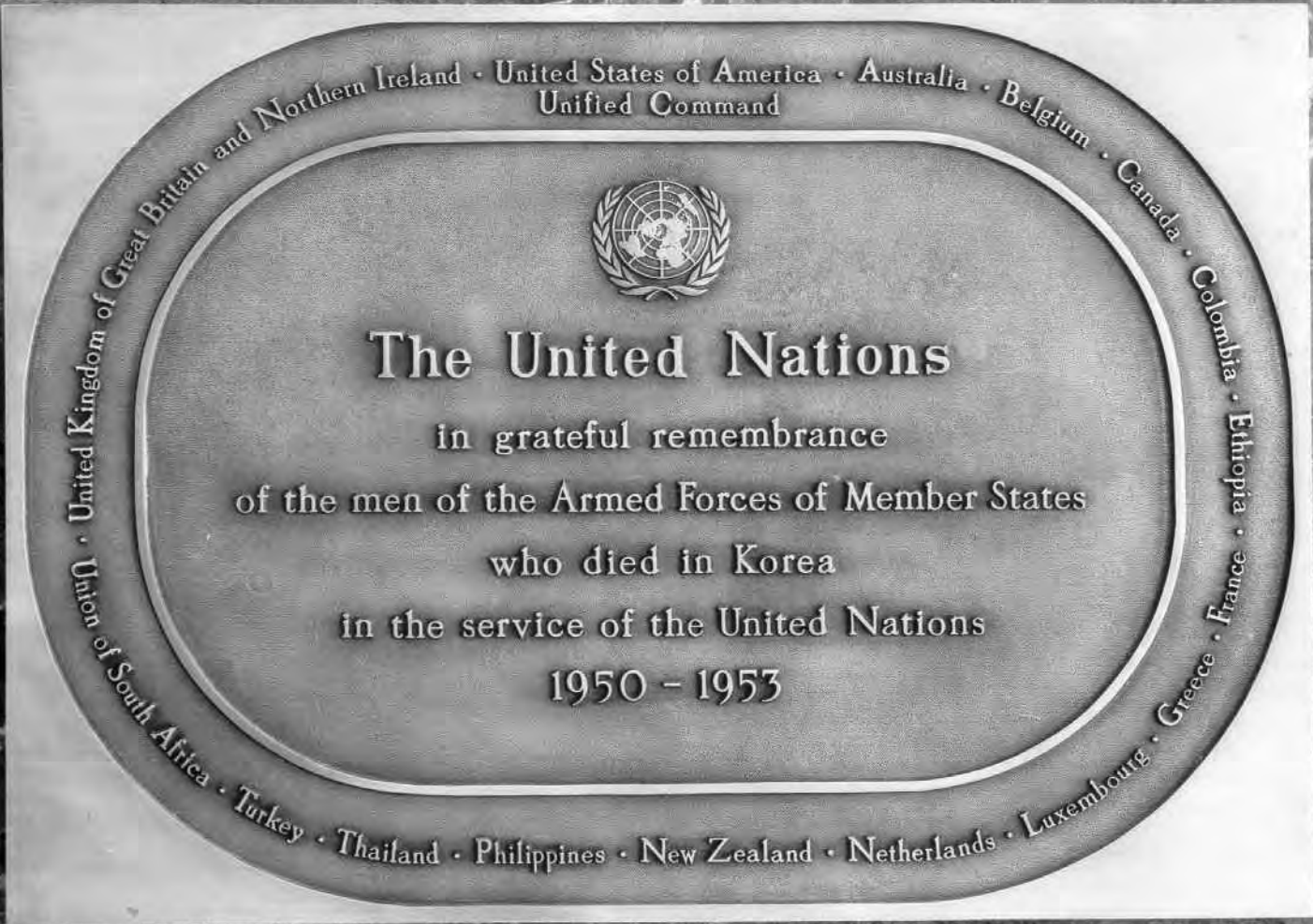


Korea “Police Action” 1950: Vindication of Collective Security



US Leadership





United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland · United States of America · Australia · Belgium · Canada · Colombia · Ethiopia · France · Greece · Luxembourg · Netherlands · New Zealand · Philippines · Thailand · Turkey · Union of South Africa

Unified Command

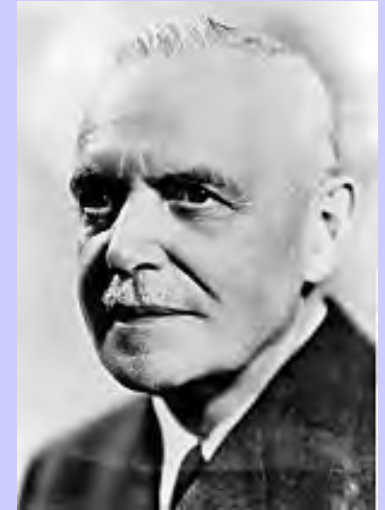
The United Nations

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

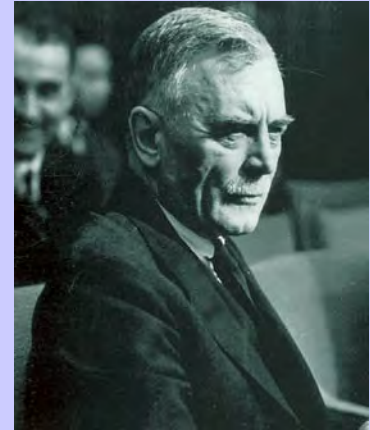


DND

“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, 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

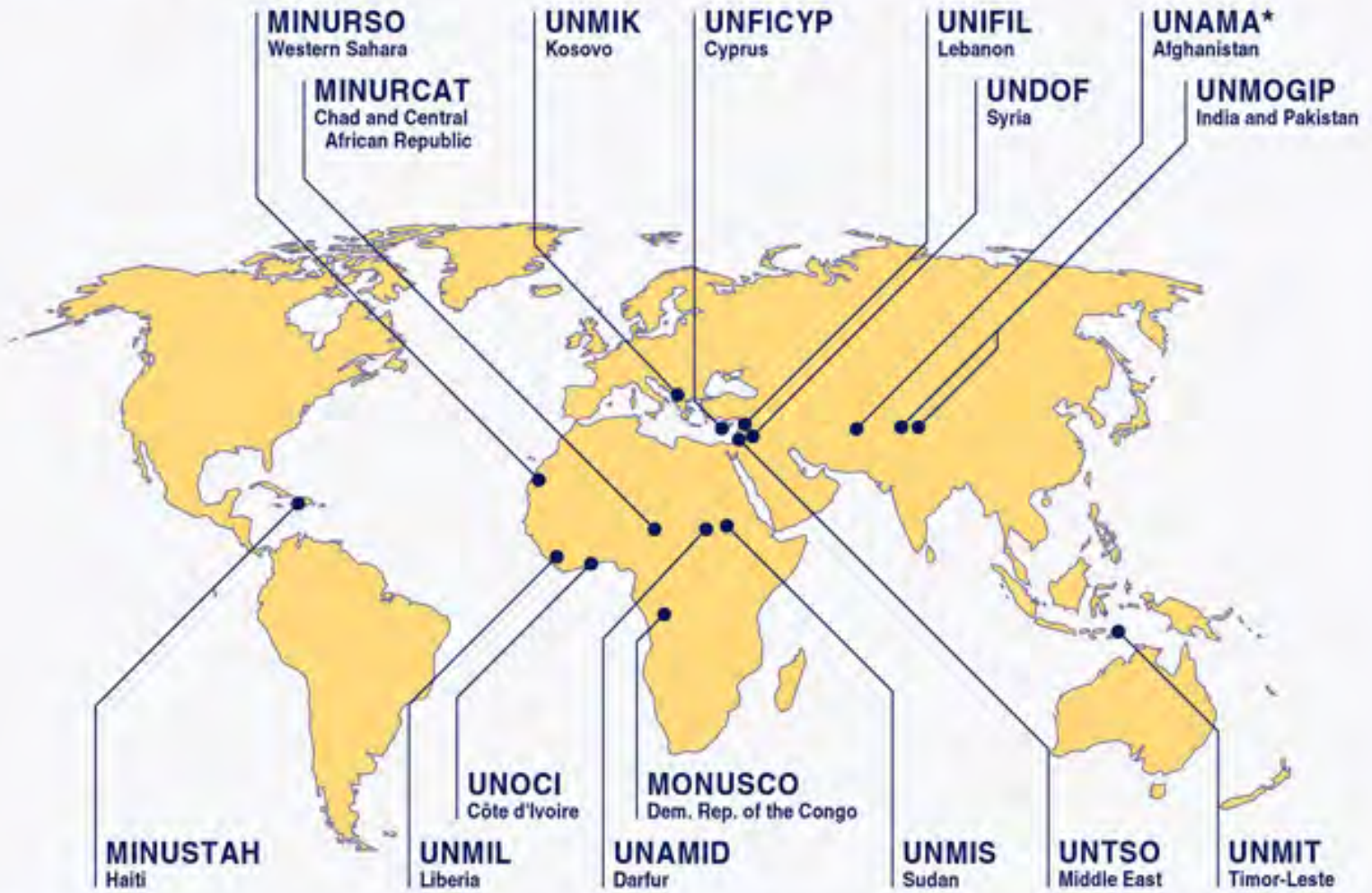
- National → International

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

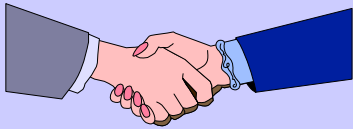
MISSIONS ADMINISTERED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS



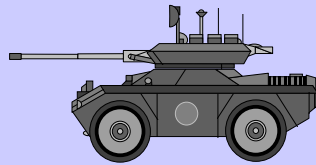
* political mission

Multidimensional Nature of Modern Peacekeeping

Political



Military



Humanitarian



Police



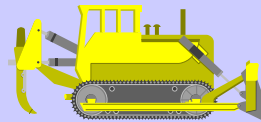
Economic



Social



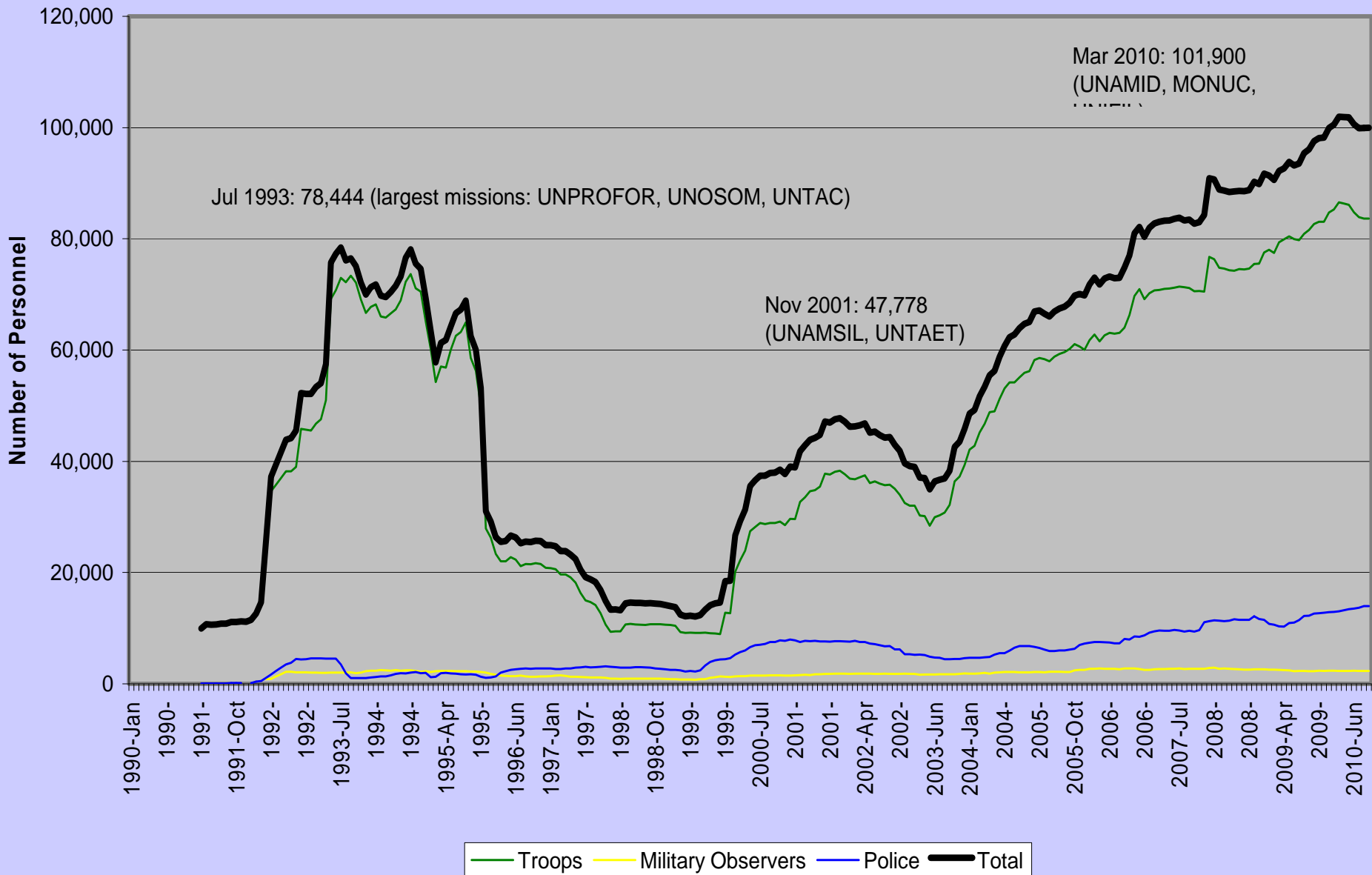
Reconstruction



Judicial



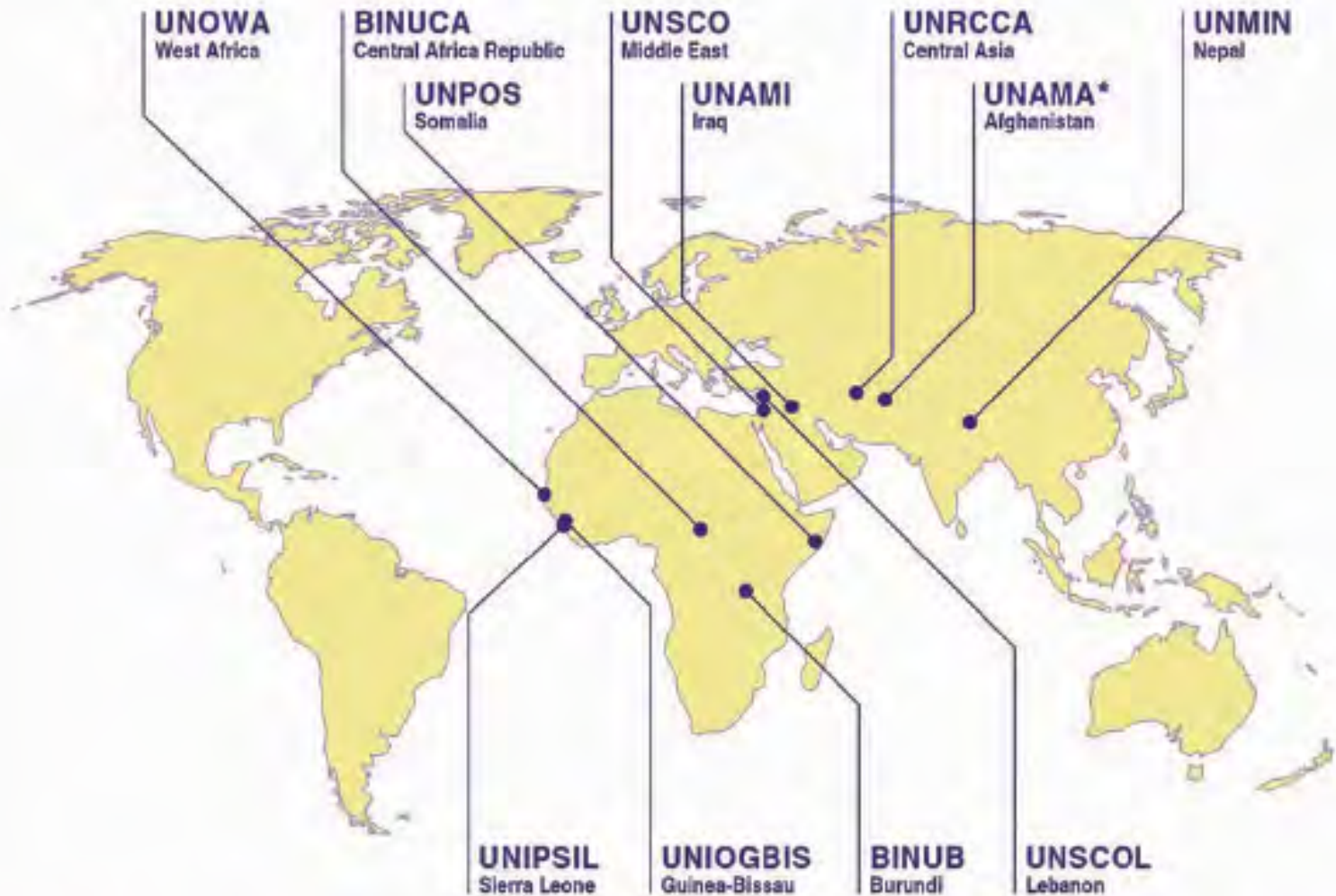
Uniformed UN Peacekeepers (Military and Police, 1990–2010)



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



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-)

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

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
 - 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-)
 - Two in 2000-2001: Eritrea-Ethiopia (2000-01), Liberia (2001); Iran (2006-)
- National submissions
 - Over 40,000 communications in one year
- Sanctions Enforcement Support Teams
 - Neighboring countries



PRESENTED TO THE CANADIAN FORCES
COLLEGE BY CSC 25 IN MEMORY
OF THOSE MEMBERS OF THE CANADIAN
FORCES WHO SACRIFICED THEIR
LIVES IN THE SERVICE OF PEACE.

PRÉSENTÉ AU COLLEGE DES FORCES
CANADIENNES PAR LE CSC 25 EN
MÉMOIRE DES MEMBRES DES FORCES
CANADIENNES QUI ONT SACRIFIÉ
LEUR VIE AU SERVICE DE LA PAIX.

26 JUN 99

26 JUIN 99

WARRANT OFFICER R.B. HERRON 17 JUL 50
 Warrant Officer J. H. ... 19 MAR 57
 Warrant Officer C.C. ... 10 MAY 57
 Warrant Officer ... 18 SEP 57
 Warrant Officer ... 29 SEP 57
 Warrant Officer ... 27 SEP 57
 Warrant Officer ... 19 NOV 57
 Warrant Officer ... 12 APR 58
 Warrant Officer ... 13 MAY 58
 Warrant Officer ... 26 MAY 58
 Warrant Officer ... 10 JUN 58
 Warrant Officer ... 27 APR 59
 Warrant Officer ... 26 JUL 59
 Warrant Officer ... 28 NOV 59
 Warrant Officer ... 04 FEB 60
 Warrant Officer ... 20 FEB 60
 Warrant Officer ... 22 SEP 61
 Warrant Officer ... 08 OCT 61
 Warrant Officer ... 18 NOV 61
 Warrant Officer ... 19 NOV 61
 Warrant Officer ... 08 DEC 61
 Warrant Officer ... 09 FEB 62
 Warrant Officer ... 18 MAY 62
 Warrant Officer ... 03 OCT 63
 Warrant Officer ... 08 NOV 63
 Warrant Officer ... 26 DEC 63
 Warrant Officer ... 29 MAY 64
 Warrant Officer ... 31 JUL 64
 Warrant Officer ... 01 NOV 64
 Warrant Officer ... 23 DEC 64
 Warrant Officer ... 14 AUG 68
 Warrant Officer ... 01 OCT 68
 Warrant Officer ... 14 MAR 68
 Warrant Officer ... 18 MAR 68

WO EDWARDS R.V. UNEF I 28 APR 66
 WO PICARD J.M.L.P. UNEF I 30 APR 66
 PTE BERNARD J.P.E. UNFICYP 09 JUL 66
 SFR LORIENT R.F. UNEF I 12 JUL 66
 SIG CROUSE P.M. UNEF I 19 AUG 66
 PTE BASS L.W. UNFICYP 27 SEP 66
 PTE PICKLING E.J. UNEF I 17 SEP 66
 CPL REDMOND O.J. UNFICYP 10 MAR 67
 CPL SALMON K.A. UNFICYP 24 SEP 67
 PTE LERUE J.A. UNFICYP 09 FEB 70
 PTE HALL T.J. UNFICYP 31 JUL 70
 CPL BIGNOR P.C. UNFICYP 25 OCT 70
 MCPL LESSARD J.R.M.J. UNFICYP 01 DEC 72
 CAPT LAVIOLETTE C.L. ICSC 07 APR 73
 WO HENDERSON D.M. UNEF II 21 NOV 73
 CPL ROACH A. UNFICYP 17 FEB 74
 PO WAMBACK C.A.H. UNFICYP 30 JUN 74
 PTE PERRON J.L.G. UNFICYP 06 AUG 74
 CAPT POSTER G.G. UNEF II 09 AUG 74
 CPL KENNINGTON M.H.T. UNEF II 09 AUG 74
 A/MWO KOREJWO C.B. UNEF II 09 AUG 74
 MWO LANDRY G. UNEF II 09 AUG 74
 CAPT MIRAU K.B. UNEF II 09 AUG 74
 CPL SIMPSON M.W. UNEF II 09 AUG 74
 MCPL SPENCER R.C. UNEF II 09 AUG 74
 CPL STRINGER B.K. UNEF II 09 AUG 74
 CAPT WICKS R.B. UNEF II 09 AUG 74
 PTE BERGER J.J.C. UNFICYP 10 SEP 74
 CPL BLAIS J.P.C. UNEF II 24 DEC 74
 CPL EDWARDS N. UNEF II 24 DEC 74
 BDR MILLER R.W. UNEF II 24 DEC 74
 CAPT PATTEN I.E. UNFICYP 01 APR 75
 PTE KOHLMAN S.J. UNFICYP 11 APR 75
 SFR ABBOTT T.E. UNEF II 14 JUN 75
 CAPT CRAWFORD K.C. UNFICYP 26 DEC 75

PTE ...
 SGT ...
 SGT ...
 CPL ...
 PTE ...
 MCPL ...
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 MCPL ...
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 PTE ...
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Dorn

“We Remember”

Canadian Peacekeeping Tradition



1957



1995



1988



2000



1992



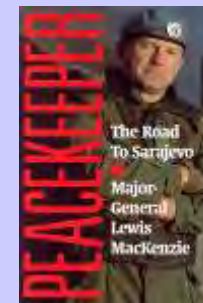
2001



1994



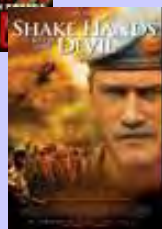
1996



1993



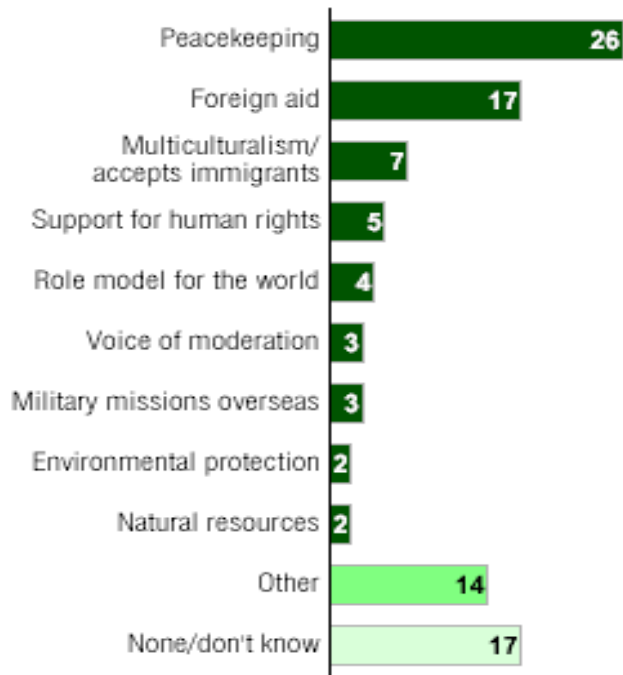
2003



2007

Canadians View Peacekeeping as ...

Canada's most positive contribution to the world



Q.27

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

- Survey in January 2008

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



National Portrait Gallery

The Economist

JANUARY 10TH 2009

www.economist.com

The bull market and its risks

Killing Saddam

What the new US Congress means

Islamists' defeat in Somalia

The wellness industry

A chance for a safer world



THE END

... OF THE BEGINNING



**IF I SEE ONE MORE POWER POINT
SLIDE, I'LL SHOOT!!!**