Different Paths to Peace:
A Perspective from the United Nations

Hiroshima, 6 August 2009

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Outline

1. Origins of UN’s Peace/Security Mandate
2. UN’s Peacekeeping – one practical tool
3. The Arms Trade
1. Origins of UN’s Peace/Security Mandate

Peace and security at the heart of the Charter

“We the peoples of the United Nations…
to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war,
which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind…”

1. To maintain international peace and security, to prevent and remove threats to peace and suppress aggression and other breaches of peace, to settle international disputes or situations leading to a breach of the peace

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples

3. To achieve international co-operation in solving economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all
League of Nations (1920-46)
Geneva, Switzerland

- Came into being after WW I

- Goals included *disarmament, preventing war through collective security, settling disputes, negotiation, diplomacy etc*

- US Congress refused to join the League, majority of US elite/public not willing to be a part of Europe's international disputes

- Members started withdrawing: Germany, Japan in 1933… League failed in its primary purpose—to avoid any future world war

- After World War II was replaced by the UN, which inherited a number of agencies and organizations founded by the League
UN founding in midst of WWII

• **1941** – Atlantic Charter, outlining idea for the UN, signed by Allies in the Little Placentia Sound (Newfoundland, Canada)

• **1943-1945** - idea for the UN is elaborated at wartime Allies conferences
  - First Foreign Ministers’ Conference (Oct. 19-30, 1943)
  - Tehran Conference (Nov. 28-Dec. 1, 1943)
  - Yalta Conference (Feb. 4-11, 1945)
  - Potsdam Conference (July 17-Aug. 2, 1945)

• The US, *at the height of its power*, convinced its reluctant allies of the need for cooperation to prevent future conflicts among nations… by fostering an ideal of *collective security*
UN Founding (cont’d)

- **April 25, 1945** - UN Conference on International Organizations starts drafting the Charter;

- **June 26, 1945** - 50 nations sign the Charter of the United Nations in San Francisco

- **October 24, 1945** - The UN comes into existence after the Charter had been ratified by the five permanent members of the Security Council — Republic of China, France, the Soviet Union, United Kingdom, and the United States — and by a majority of the other 46 signatories.
UN in a changing world

- **Cold War** - Security Council becomes an East-West battleground, leading to its deadlock

- **Decolonization** - newly independent third-world countries become a majority in the General Assembly, radically changing the priorities of the Organization
UN Organs

- General Assembly (Chapter IV)
- Security Council (Chapter V)
- Secretariat (Chapter XV)
  - About 40,000 staff worldwide (as of December 2008)
- Economic & Social Council (Chapter X)
- International Court of Justice (Chapter XIV)
- Trusteeship Council (Chapter XIII)
The General Assembly

- Main deliberative organ of the United Nations

- Composed of representatives of all member states (192 as of August 2006), each of which has one vote (one state, one vote)

- Decisions on important questions, such as those on peace and security, admission of new members and budgetary matters, require a two-thirds majority

- Decisions on other questions are by simple majority
The Security Council

- The Council is composed of five permanent members — China, France, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States

- The General Assembly elects ten non-permanent members of the Security Council to serve for two-year terms

Current members:

- Austria (2010)
- Burkina Faso (2009)
- Costa Rica (2009)
- Croatia (2009)
- Japan (2010)
- Libya (2009)
- Mexico (2010)
- Turkey (2010)
- Uganda (2010)
- Vietnam (2009)
The Security Council (cont’d)

- Decisions on procedural matters are made by an affirmative vote of at least nine of the 15 members. Decisions on substantive matters require nine votes, including the concurring votes of all five permanent members. This is the rule of "great Power unanimity", often referred to as the "veto" power.

- Under the Charter, all Members of the UN agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the SC.

- While other organs of the United Nations make recommendations to Governments, the Council alone has the power to take decisions which Member States are obligated under the Charter to carry out.
Last (failed) reform of Security Council

March 21, 2005 “In Larger Freedom” plan

Proposal 1: Eliminate the veto
Proposal 2: Expand the Council

Candidates for new member seats:
Japan (South Korea says no)
Germany (Italy and Netherlands say no)
India (Pakistan says no)
Brazil (Mexico and Argentina say no)

Source: The UN for Beginners by Ian Williams

Relevant Link: http://www.reformtheun.org
Recent perceptions of the UN

BBC World Service Poll (2004)
The BBC World Service Poll was conducted from November 15, 2004 to January 5, 2005 with a representative sample of 23,518 people across the 23 countries. In eight of the countries the sample was limited to major metropolitan areas. The margin of error per country ranged from +/-2.5–4% Source: http://www.globescan.com/news_archives/bbcpoll4.html

... most favor giving the UN Security Council the power to override the veto power of the permanent members, including majorities in three of the permanent member states: the US, Britain, and China: in France and Russia citizens are divided...
...there is an extraordinary degree of consensus in favor of the UN becoming “significantly more powerful in world affairs.” This prospect is seen as “mainly positive” in every country and by an average of 64 percent. A mere 19 percent on average sees this prospect as mainly negative...

The BBC World Service Poll was conducted from November 15, 2004 to January 5, 2005 with a representative sample of 23,518 people across the 23 countries. In eight of the countries the sample was limited to major metropolitan areas. The margin of error per country ranged from +/-2.5–4% Source: http://www.globescan.com/news_archives/bbcpoll4.html
...adding permanent new members to the UN Security Council, with most favoring adding Germany, India, Japan, and Brazil...

The BBC World Service Poll was conducted from November 15, 2004 to January 5, 2005 with a representative sample of 23,518 people across the 23 countries. In eight of the countries the sample was limited to major metropolitan areas. The margin of error per country ranged from +/-2.5–4% Source: http://www.globescan.com/news_archives/bbcpoll4.html
Perceptions and opinions of the UN

• Positive ratings in the US declined from 77% before 9/11 terrorist attacks to 51%

• Opinions in Muslim countries surveyed vary widely – from very positive (Indonesia) to predominantly negative (Turkey and Jordan)

• In Japan, share of negative ratings (36%) is higher than in most Western countries in the survey

Source: The Pew Global Attitudes Project Report, released on June 13, 2006. Based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International in April – May 2006. Surveys in all countries are based on national samples except in China, India, and Pakistan, where the sample was disproportionately or exclusively urban. Average sample size is about 1000 people.

DK - Do not know
Major criticisms of the UN

**United States**
- Ineffectiveness – the UN is unwilling or unable to enforce its own resolutions in Iraq
- ‘Corruption’ – Oil for Food scandal
- Bureaucracy and lack of accountability and democratic legitimacy
- Weapon of other states, which seek to constrain and hinder US policies

**Developing countries**
- Serves the goals of the US and the West – emphasis on human rights at the expense of economic development
- Threatens countries’ sovereignty – e.g., humanitarian interventions
- Ineffectiveness – the UN not doing enough to help occupied Palestine
“The UN was not created to take humanity to heaven, but to save it from hell”

Dag Hammarskjöld
Second UN Secretary-General
The Nobel Peace Prize Winner (1961)
Tools at disposal of UN in its peace and security efforts:

- **International justice:**
  - *International Court of Justice, (The Hague)*
  - *International criminal court (Rome)*
  - *The international criminal tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY), Rwanda*

- **International regimes (norm setting)**
- **Humanitarian activities**
- **Specialized agencies**
- **Peacekeeping operations**

Source: UN, www.un.org
2. UN’s Peacekeeping- one practical tool
Middle East

**UNDOF** The Golan Heights (1974)
**UNIFIL** Lebanon (1978)
**UNTSO** Middle East (1948)

Europe

**UNFICYP** Cyprus (1964)
**UNOMIG** Georgia (1993)
**UNMIK** Kosovo (1999)

Asia

**UNMIT** East Timor (2006)
**UNMOGIP** India-Pakistan (1949)

Americas

**MINUSTAH** Haiti (2004)

Africa

**UNMIS** Sudan (2005)
**UNOCI** Cote d’Ivoire (2004)
**UNMIL** Liberia (2003)
**UNMEE** Ethiopia and Eritrea (2000)
**MINURSO** Western Sahara (1991)
**MINURCAT** Central African Republic and Chad (2007)
**UNAMID** Darfur (2007)

# PKO Personnel (June 2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uniformed personnel*</td>
<td>92,876*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Including 74,429 troops; 11,236 police and 2,539 military observers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Countries contributing uniformed personnel</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International civilian personnel* (29 February 2008)</td>
<td>5,742*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local civilian personnel* (29 February 2008)</td>
<td>12,279*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN Volunteers*</td>
<td>2,326*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of personnel serving in 17 peacekeeping operations*</td>
<td>113,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of personnel serving in 20 DPKO-led peace operations**</td>
<td>115,231**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of fatalities in peace operations since 1948***</td>
<td>2,599***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Numbers include 15 peacekeeping operations only. Statistics for two special political and/or peacebuilding missions—UNAMA and BINUB—directed and supported by DPKO can be found at http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/ppbrn.pdf

**This figure includes the total number of uniformed and civilian personnel serving in 15 peacekeeping operations and two DPKO-led special political and/or peacebuilding missions—UNAMA and BINUB.

***Includes fatalities for all UN peace operations.
THE UN IS THE LARGEST MULTILATERAL CONTRIBUTOR TO POST-CONFLICT STABILIZATION WORLDWIDE. ONLY THE US DEPLOYS MORE MILITARY PERSONNEL.

Top Twenty Contribution of Uniformed Personnel
(As of April 2009)

Top 20 Providers of Assessed Contributions to UN Peacekeeping Budget

UN PKO – Some Major Failures

- Failure to prevent the 1994 Rwandan genocide, when nearly a million people were killed (Security Council members did not agree to authorize military action).

- Failure by MONUC to effectively intervene during the Second Congo War, which claimed nearly five million people in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), 1998-2002.

- Failure to intervene in the 1995 Srebrenica massacre, despite the fact that the UN designated Srebrenica a "safe haven" for refugees and assigned 600 Dutch peacekeepers to protect it.

... and their causes

- Inaction by the Security Council members
- Lack of adequate resources (has to rely on member states)
- Lack of appropriate mandates
WE CAN APPEAR, DO SOMETHING AND FAIL.

"STRATEGY 1": SOMALIA

OR WE CAN DO SOMETHING AND APPEAR TO FAIL.

"STRATEGY 2": CAMBODIA

...OK WE CAN APPEAR TO DO SOMETHING AND APPEAR TO FAIL.

"STRATEGY 3": BOSNIA

OR WE CAN FAIL TO APPEAR.

"STRATEGY 4": RWANDA
THE UN’S ROLE IN NATION-BUILDING

FROM THE CONGO TO IRAQ

James Dobbins, Seth G. Jones, Keith Crane, Andrew Rothwell, Brett Steele, Richard Teltchik, Ango Timilsina
RAND Corporation Report:  
*The UN’s role in Nation Building: From the Congo to Iraq*

Most UN missions are undermanned and under-funded; troop quality is uneven; the personnel is of mixed quality and tend to arrive late

**BUT**

- UN nation-building tends to be smaller, shorter, cheaper, and, on average, more successful than the American efforts
- UN is more successful in institutionalizing past experience and developing a cadre of trained personnel who carry over from mission to mission
- UN is able to rely on soft power (e.g. impartiality, international legitimacy) to compensate for its deficiencies in hard power, sometimes succeeding with remarkably small forces
- …while US has to rely on hard power, often becoming party to the conflict it is seeking to terminate

Within its limits, UN peacekeeping is highly efficient, while alternatives to the UN are vastly more expensive or considerably less capable

### Nuclear stockpiles 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Strategic</th>
<th>Non-Strategic</th>
<th>Operational</th>
<th>Total Inventory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>2,790</td>
<td>2,050</td>
<td>4,840</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>2,126</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2,623</td>
<td>9,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>~300</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>~180</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>&lt;160</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Korea</td>
<td>&lt;10</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>&lt;10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,766</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,550</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,103</strong></td>
<td><strong>23,335</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)

Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) held every 5 years

Last: May 2005
UN Headquarters (New York)

Agenda: States parties examined the implementation of the Treaty’s provisions since 2000

Result: failed to establish a substantive outcome

Next: May 2010
UN Headquarters (New York)

Work of movements such as Mayors for Peace

Percentage of GDP expenditures on military, education and health

Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)
(in billions of US dollars and % of world total)

2008 Total Military Spending: $1.473 Trillion

- United States: $711 (48%)
- Europe: $289 (20%)
- China: $122 (8%)
- East Asia / Australasia: $120 (8%)
- Middle East / N. Africa: $82 (5%)
- Russia: $70 (3%)
- Latin America: $39 (3%)
- Central / South Asia: $30 (2%)
- Sub-Saharan Africa: $10 (1%)

Source: Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, February 20, 2008.

See important notes in accompanying table.
Top 5 Suppliers and Recipients of Conventional Weapons 2004-2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supplier</th>
<th>Share of global arms exports (%)</th>
<th>Main recipients (share of supplier's transfers)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>South Korea (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Israel (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>UAE (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>China (42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>India (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Algeria (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Turkey (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Greece (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>South Africa (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>UAE (32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Singapore (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Greece (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>USA (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>India (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chile (9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2004–2008 annual average 21 per cent higher than for 2000–2004

USA, Russia, Germany, France and UK accounted for 79 per cent of the volume of exports for 2004–2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recipient</th>
<th>Share of global arms imports (%)</th>
<th>Main supplier (share of recipient's transfers)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Russia (92%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Russia (71%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAE</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>USA (54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>USA (73%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Germany (31%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relevant Link: - SIPRI 2009 Yearbook
JAPAN

“Panel to urge relaxation of weapons export ban”

*The Daily Yomiuri*, 24 July 2009

“Govt panel calls for easing of arms export ban”

*The Daily Yomiuri*, 5 August 2009
Mahatma Ghandi  
(Indian philosopher, 1869 - 1948)  

“Be the change you want to see in the world”

Albert Einstein  
(US/German-born physicist, 1879 - 1955)  

“Insanity: doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results”