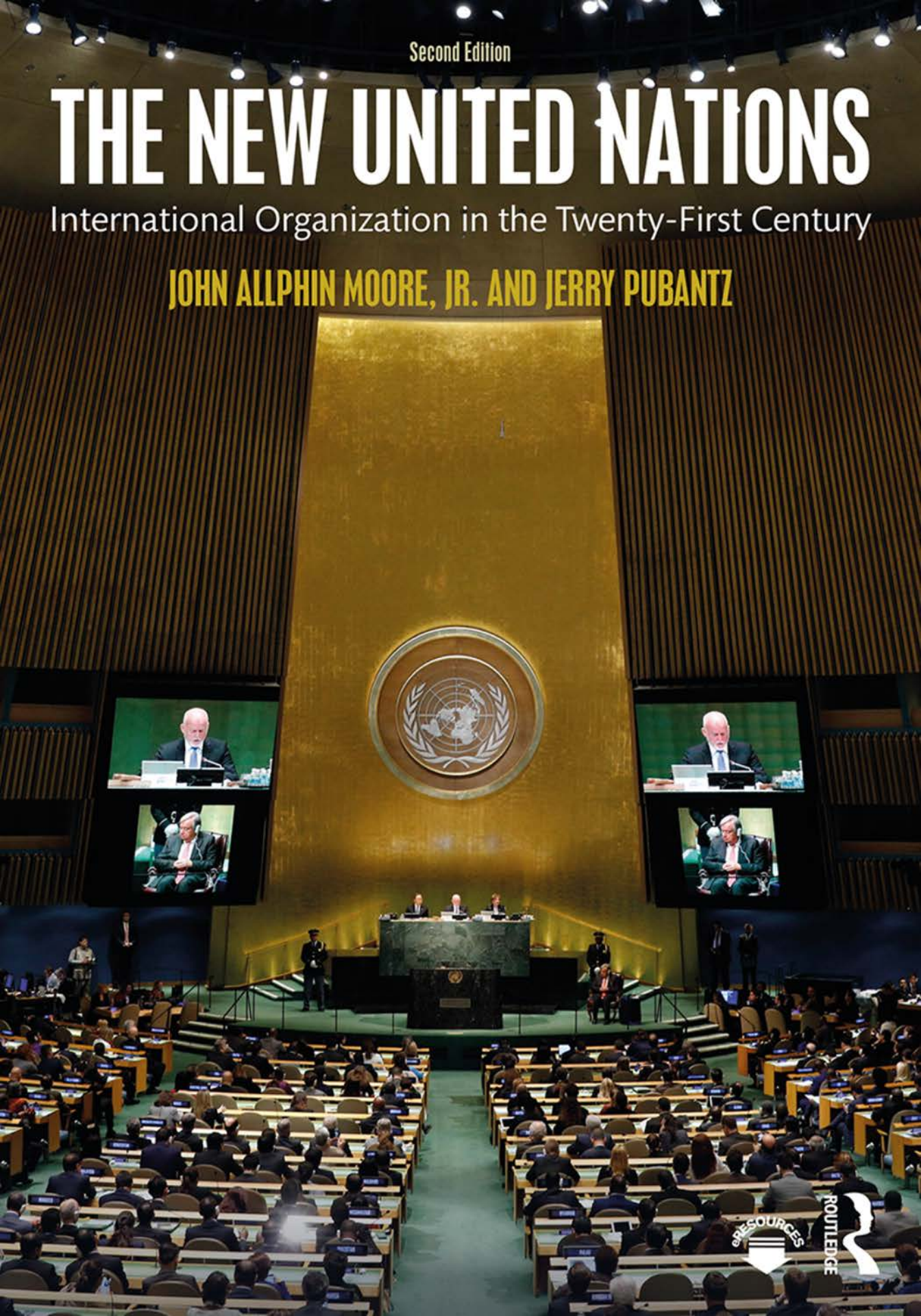
Second Edition

THE NEW UNITED NATIONS

International Organization in the Twenty-First Century

JOHN ALLPHIN MOORE, JR. AND JERRY PUBANTZ



The New United Nations

With a fresh look at challenges to the UN in Syria, Iran, Russia, and elsewhere, the second edition of this successful text highlights new international trends toward global governance, holistic democracy and human development, and progress on peacebuilding and counterterrorism. A comprehensive guide to the world body's institutions, procedures, policies, specialized agencies, historic personalities, initiatives, and involvement in world affairs, *The New United Nations* is organized thematically, blending both topical and chronological explanations making reference to current scholarly terms and theories.

New to this edition:

- Fully updated chapters and a new Introduction, including discussion of the Paris Climate Change Agreement, Human Rights Council, and Peacebuilding Commission;
- New sections on Special Rapporteurs and Special Procedures, the theory and practice of neoliberalism, the UN's endorsement of the "Responsibility to Protect," and Contact Groups;
- Unique special section on the student Model United Nations experience;
- Coverage of the UN's fifteen-year assessment of the Millennium Development Goals and the consequent approval of the Sustainable Development Goals; and
- eResources with supportive materials and documents.

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Dedicated to those who taught us to understand and write about the world, especially:

M. Margaret Ball
Charles S. Campbell, Jr.
Jeane J. Kirkpatrick
Myron Roberts

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Preface

It has been more than a decade since we published the first edition of *The New United Nations*. At first blush, it may press our readers' credulity that a second edition can still talk about a *new* UN. For, after all, at the turn of the century, when we wrote what was then our third book on the United Nations, the world body was in the thralls of a reform revolution; it had just become the first *universal* intergovernmental organization dedicated to peace and security in history, it had set a new course at the Millennium Summit, and the institution was responding rather effectively to the new challenges brought on by the end of the Cold War. Today, we still believe the moniker is valid as, over the last dozen years, the UN System has addressed unremitting international pressures with a flexibility in ideas as well as policies that suggest not only an enduring world body, but one that remains capable of reinventing itself.

In this edition, we describe and assess an institution that has adapted to real-world, and frequently novel, challenges. The UN's many institutions, at least most of them, have evolved, and if the patter of the mid-decade has meant anything, it has foretold of future evolution as well. Since publication of the first edition of this text, the member states have crafted new doctrines, such as the Responsibility to Protect, launched the Sustainable Development Goals, pursued holistic democracy in failing states, sought to empower women both in their own nations and internationally, tried to make the new Human Rights Council truly effective, and, with a self-critical eye, have queried how the world could address Ebola, terrorism, the Arab Spring, sectarian turbulence, climate change, and growing great power tensions with an effective United Nations.

In keeping pace with ever developing events we have made considerable use of Internet sources; URL sites in this book were accessed between June 2015 and June 2016.

While the world's media tends to point to the traditional UN—usually the Security Council—and then only when large geopolitical issues are at the forefront, day-to-day UN behavior, maturing over the past three decades, has signaled an expansion of the UN's role in international affairs, and even in the internal affairs of some countries; all this irrespective of the Charter's injunction against interference in sovereign states. We attempt to chronicle both the seen and unseen United Nations in this volume. In all cases, our hope is to capture the world body as not only the sum of its parts, the instrument of its member states, and a venue for diplomacy, but also as an actor in its own right in the emergent global governance network.

The thesis and ideas found in this text are the outcome of more than a twenty-year research collaboration that we commenced just as the United Nations was celebrating its fiftieth birthday. Along the way, we have published articles on the United Nations and world affairs and contributed to the thinking and publications of other scholars in the field. We have also participated together in a number of conferences, both in the United States and overseas. Four meetings of special note put us in the good company of colleagues whose reflections on our theories and propositions have honed our conception of what we think the UN's importance is to current times. At the University of Tartu in Estonia in 1999; as invited guests of the New World Order Forum at St. George's

College at Windsor Castle in 2002; at the University of the Aegean on the island of Rhodes, Greece, in 2003; and, in 2007, at a special symposium on the United Nations held at Francis Marion University in Florence, South Carolina, we were compelled to clarify our thesis of a new United Nations. We have also attended several meetings in New York through the years, and tested different aspects of our argument at the meetings of the International Studies Association and several regional political science associations. We extend our thanks for the intellectual challenges we have encountered, especially to Peter Ashby, Simon Duke, Taina Järvinen, Elvira Osipova, Warren Kimball, Blanche Wiesen Cook, Scott Kaufman, Dave Benjamin, Errol Clauss, Cindy Combs, and Michael Eaton.

In the following pages, we have drawn on our earlier work, including the book *To Create a New World? American Presidents and the United Nations*, and, more often, our coedited *Encyclopedia of the United Nations*. We have also brought to bear on this volume our recent intellectual journey into trying to understand the philosophical roots of the UN's commitment to democratic nation-building that resulted in our book, *Is There a Global Right to Democracy?* Within the text, readers will find citations to these volumes when appropriate. With that in mind, we would like to acknowledge Facts on File, publisher of the *Encyclopedia*, and to thank, for his guidance and friendship, Owen Lancer, who was our very first editor, being our editor on both these previous works.

We began our joint interest in the subject as young faculty advisers accompanying our students to the National Model UN annual conference in New York, the *Ur*-simulation of the United Nations. Given the significance we judge Model UN to be to the international education of undergraduates, we include in Chapter 7 a discussion of the simulation experience and provide guidance to this generation of "Model UNers." During the more than three decades we pursued this activity, we learned from our students and refined our understanding from contact with talented fellow advisers. *The New United Nations* has benefited from their insights and help. Meaning to forget no one among the Model UN community who has assisted in our work, we could always seek out and receive extraordinary insight and critiques from Kenneth J. Grieb, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh; Douglas Becker, University of Southern California; Sean McMahon, University of Alberta; Robert McNamara, Sonoma State University; Donna Schlagheck, Wright State University; Thomas Weiler, University of Bonn; Shelly Williams, The Osgood Center for International Studies; and Karen Vogel, Hamline University. We are particularly in debt to the Model UN advisers who supplied trenchant critiques serving as Routledge's external reviewers for this second edition. In particular, we extend grateful acknowledgement to Cynthia C. Combs, University of North Carolina, Charlotte; Daniel K. Lewis, California State Polytechnic University Pomona; Larry F. Martinez, California State University, Long Beach; Sunday P. Obazuaye, Cerritos College; Jennifer Peet, Chapman University; and Adam Van Liere, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse.

The UN professional staff have been more than accommodating in our efforts. Our visits to the Dag Hammarskjöld Library in preparation of this book's first edition, especially to the lush photographic unit there, not only was enjoyable, but also resulted in our being able to make use of several official reproductions for that text. This time around, the UN staff has been no less professional, cheerful, and helpful. We especially want to thank Ms. Ayako Kagawa in the Chief Cartographic Unit of the UN Secretariat's Geospatial Information Section. She and her colleagues provided updated maps of UN offices and operations around the world. We are also in debt to senior photo assistant Anne Kellner at the Geneva Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the United Nations Photo Library team for helping us with the necessary permissions to reprint UN materials.

We want to pay our intellectual debt to our academic institutions and colleagues on our respective campuses. At California State Polytechnic University, several colleagues warrant recognition for their assistance: Barbara Way, recently retired dean of the College of Letters, Arts,

and Social Sciences; Amanda Podany, Mahmood Ibrahim, Zuoyue Wang, Steve Englehart, John Lloyd, Georgia Mickey, and Gayle Saverese, all of the History Department; Greg Young, professor of International Law; political scientists Sid Silliman and James Kim; and the now retired Kate Seifert, friend and mentor at the university's cutting-edge library. Jerry Pubantz has spent the last decade at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, first teaching international organization and world affairs courses, and then serving as the founding dean of Lloyd International Honors College. In the latter role, he received his closest perspective on how today's globally oriented undergraduates see our world. As the dean, he had the opportunity to send more than four hundred students to study abroad at universities around the world and to lead delegations to the World Model United Nations.

As our first edition of *The New United Nations* passed from Pearson Publishing to Routledge, it landed in the very able hands of Routledge's senior editor for politics, Jennifer Knerr. Jennifer has been an enthusiastic supporter of this latest edition and an excellent guide in completing the work. She and we have been ably assisted by Ze'ev Sudry. His expertise on everything from production processes to seeking permissions for copyrighted works has been invaluable. Kate Fornadel, of Apex CoVantage, has been efficient, patient, and steady in guiding this work into production-ready form. We have greatly enjoyed our professional engagement with each of these professionals, and we know this book is immensely better for their involvement.

As always, we tender our deep appreciation to our spouses—Linda and Gloria—who each have had their own active careers but are somehow able to tolerate, even appreciate, their conjugal scribblers.

Fortunate as we are with the encouragement and assistance we have received, we remain fully apprised that any errors of omission or commission in the current text rest firmly on our shoulders.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

Our readers who are familiar with the first edition of *The New United Nations* will find some helpful revisions in this volume. They are in response to feedback from external reviewers and past adopters of the book, and to the events, politics, and crises that have affected the United Nations over the past decade.

- Every chapter has been updated and reedited, providing the most current information and reflecting the latest scholarship.
- Routledge has provided eResources to accompany the text at www.routledge.com/9781138185807, where the reader will find five supportive materials: the Statute of the International Court of Justice, a list of the UN member states and their dates of admission, a list of the secretaries-general of the UN, a selection of important UN resolutions, and a list of UN operations since the late 1980s.
- We begin this text with a new Introduction, building the argument for a continually evolving United Nations by using the case studies of the P5+1 Iranian Nuclear Agreement negotiations and the UN involvement with the Syrian civil war.
- The text covers the UN's fifteen-year assessment of the Millennium Development Goals and the consequent approval of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDGs are fully explained and discussed.
- This second edition of *The New United Nations* is the only textbook covering the world body to include a special section on the Model United Nations experience, providing students with guidance on how Model UN works.

- The volume includes new sections on special rapporteurs and special procedures, the theory and practice of neoliberalism, the UN's endorsement of the "Responsibility to Protect," and contact groups.
- There is a full discussion of trends barely underway or nonexistent in 2006, when we published the first edition, including the decline in Security Council unanimity, crises in Georgia and Ukraine, the unfortunate rise in peacekeeper sex crimes, and the outbreak of new violence in central Africa, leading to still new peacekeeping efforts, including in Côte d'Ivoire and the Central African Republic.
- There are updates on the UN and terrorism, UN reform, the rise in importance of regional organizations, the Paris Climate Change Agreement, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, and the UN and holistic democracy.
- Since the first edition appeared on bookshelves, the United Nations has added the Human Rights Council and the Peacebuilding Commission. We have full analyses of these two bodies.
- All charts and tables have been updated through 2016, with many additional pictures provided to give students a real sense of the life of the UN, its people, and its challenges.
- Finally, cognizant of the UN's continuing shift toward cosmopolitan themes, there is a new section in the text on emerging global democratic governance and global citizenship.

Features of This Innovative Text

- Each chapter opens with a preview of the chapter's content to orient students to its context.
- Chapters include a variety of tables, figures, special information boxes, timelines, photos, and additional interest items throughout.
- Each chapter concludes with a consistent set of pedagogical elements, including a chapter Summary, Notes, Key Terms, Discussion Questions (new to the second edition), and Resources for Further Research.

John Allphin Moore, Jr.
Pomona, California

Jerry Pubantz
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January 2017

Introduction

The UN System

IDLIB, SYRIA

In peaceful times, Idlib lies at the heart of its namesake province in northwest Syria. About halfway between the major Syrian cities of Latakia and Aleppo, Idlib, with its tall palm and cypress trees, is just a few miles from the Turkish border and close to the Mediterranean Sea. But 2015 was not a peaceful time. Rebels seized the heavily bombed town in the ongoing civil war, and President Bashar al-Assad's national army retaliated with chlorine bombardments. Civilians fled into neighboring Turkey and Lebanon, filling a string of refugee camps that looked like a pearl necklace on the map. More than two dozen camps in all, established by the Lebanese and Turkish governments, these centers were largely provisioned and financed by the United Nations' primary refugee agency, the **UN High Commissioner for Refugees** (UNHCR). Full to overflowing, camps within an arduous walking distance of Idlib provided safe haven for more than 200,000 of the estimated 850,000 Syrian refugees in Turkey. To pay for the costs of humanitarian aid, both to fleeing Syrians and those displaced internally, the UNHCR appealed for $6.5 billion, the biggest amount ever requested to date for a single humanitarian emergency.

Of the total, $2.3 billion were earmarked for the activities of UNHCR's sister UN organization, the **Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Aid** (OCHA). By 2015, it had been assisting internally displaced or suffering Syrians for four years. The refugees who fled the ruins of Idlib were a small portion of the almost four million Syrians who had escaped the country. Another 7.6 million were internally displaced, with 12.2 million in need of humanitarian assistance.

After five years of civil war, nearly a half million Syrians were living under siege conditions, the fate of many Idlib townspeople hunkered down in the vestiges of their homes, businesses, schools, and hospitals. It fell to the UN to negotiate sufficient safe zones, cease-fires, and rights of passage in order to get essential aid to the victims. When UNCHR finally gained access to Idlib, it brought nine truckloads of Core Relief Items (CRIs), enough to sustain 10,000 individuals. The UN agency delivered over 700,000 CRIs in Syria during that year. For the 3.3 million people they served, the provision of aid by the United Nations was the only ray of hope that they might survive the war in their hometowns.

LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND

The Beau-Rivage Palace hotel on the shore of Lake Léman in Lausanne, Switzerland, is culturally and topographically about as far away as you can get from Idlib, Syria. The hotel opened in 1861,

Photo I.1 An elderly Syrian woman laments the violence in Syria and her newfound life as a refugee in the Akcakle camp in Turkey.

Source: UNHCR/Anna Branthwaite. Reproduced by permission of the United Nations.

and the current main building is constructed in turn-of-the-twentieth-century art deco and neo-baroque style. Its manicured grounds, glass gazebo restaurant facing the lake, and well-appointed public areas speak of another time and an era of opulent European grace. Yet, as UN agencies were making every effort to relieve the people of Idlib, negotiations involving the five permanent members of the UN Security Council were underway at this posh venue that held the possible promise, given the intertwined nature of global politics, of a change of fortunes in the Syrian civil war and, thus, a potential end to the conflict in Idlib.

The five Security Council permanent members (France, United States, China, Russia, United Kingdom) plus Germany (**P5+1**) were not at the Beau-Rivage to discuss Syria, but to negotiate an agreement with representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran concerning decisive limitations on Iran's nuclear program. However, if the two sides could reach a verifiable and binding agreement, then Iran, the Syrian government's primary source of weapons and funds, might find an opening to repair relations with the outside world; but only if Tehran diminished its support for the regime in Damascus.

For nearly a decade, the P5 had demanded through binding resolutions[1] that Iran suspend uranium enrichment and heavy-water-related projects that could lead to it acquiring a nuclear bomb. Beginning in 2006, the powers proposed comprehensive limitations on Iran's program, and when Iran balked, the council imposed damaging sanctions on the Iranian economy. Over the next few years, when negotiations faltered between Iran and the **International Atomic Energy Agency** (IAEA), a United Nations system body, the Security Council tightened the sanctions.

After 2009, most of the negotiations between the P5+1 and Iran gravitated between the UN facilities in Geneva, Switzerland, and in Vienna, Austria. We will say more about these UN sites

a bit later. But in spring 2015, as self-imposed deadlines approached to reach a deal or to break off negotiations, the parties, hosted by the Swiss government and with the European Union (EU) serving as the interlocutor, agreed to meet in Lausanne. In mid-March, the respective foreign ministers and their aides gathered amid the red draperies and walls of the "Salon Élysée" in the Beau-Rivage. On April 2, they announced a framework agreement that would lead, on July 14, to a comprehensive document being signed by all negotiating parties in Vienna.

NEW YORK CITY

One UN diplomat who hoped the breakthrough in Lausanne would lead to a slowing of hostilities in Syria was Staffan de Mistura, the United Nations special envoy to Syria. Appointed to the post in April 2014 by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, de Mistura, a seasoned UN diplomat, spent the next year traveling to Damascus, other capitals in the region, Moscow, Geneva, New York, and other negotiation venues seeking a cease-fire in the civil war. His underlying argument to all of the involved parties was that only a political solution could resolve the fighting. Further military efforts would only lead to civilian deaths and outrages against humanity.

De Mistura reported to the UN **Security Council** on a regular basis. Most of his reports were somber recitations of the continuing decimation of towns, refugee camps, and populations by government forces, Syrian rebels, or terrorist organizations like al-Qaeda and the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). In 2014, the most he could recommend was that the conflict be "frozen locally" so that in the peace brought by stalemate, small steps could be taken to bring in UN humanitarian aid, begin the process of reviving city life and economy, and begin political negotiations. But events in Lausanne convinced the special envoy that a larger settlement could be achieved. After reporting to the Security Council at UN headquarters in New York, he launched a set of consultations in Geneva, hoping to conclude them just as Iran and the P5+1 concluded their agreement. The changed circumstances, in de Mistura's view, might lead backers of the war in Syria to reassess their positions.[2]

The United Nations was founded as an **intergovernmental organization** (IGO) to secure the maintenance of peace and security. In that scheme of things the Security Council, seated at the headquarters building in New York City, was intended to play the central security role within the organization—managed by its permanent members acting in concert and endorsed by the plenary General Assembly. It was perfectly appropriate for Ambassador Staffan de Mistura to report to it on this most serious threat to peace, and to gain its endorsement for his proposed consultations with all of the Syrian parties in Geneva.

Based on the TV and news images people have seen for the past half century, the intimate Security Council chamber to which Ambassador de Mistura reported and the much larger **General Assembly** Hall, with its magnificent 75-foot-high dome and cascading rows of seats for the representatives of the world's nations, within the imposing complex of buildings on the East River in New York City *are* the United Nations. Here, for better or worse, the member states bring the most serious challenges facing the world community. And with varying degrees of success or failure, the United Nations responds to those challenges with resolutions, programs, military force, funds, or negotiation. Its actions often lauded, and many times criticized, the United Nations since its creation in 1945 has rarely been ignored or avoided by the international community. Even the UN's harshest critics may concede that here in New York sits "the institution that comes closest to providing a forum for global governance."[3]

In late September each year, representatives of the UN's 193 member states gather in the Assembly Hall for the opening of the latest annual session of the United Nations. The opening week of the General Assembly is marked by **General Debate**, during which time national

Photo I.2 United Nations Headquarters in New York City. On the left is the General Assembly building and to the right is the Secretariat building.

Source: UN Photo. Reproduced by permission of the United Nations.

presidents, foreign ministers, and ambassadors address the world community on what they see as the most pressing challenges facing the international system. But in that same marble and steel building where the world's leaders gather for formal speeches, governments use the occasion to lobby for UN action on a myriad of other issues important to their national interests. They also consult with their colleagues in their respective UN missions scattered across the city. Over the ensuing year, they combine **parliamentary diplomacy**—democratic legislative procedures, committees, and political persuasion, while representatives of sovereign governments pass resolutions, usually by large majorities, in support of their interests—with old-fashioned intergovernmental negotiation. The member delegations seek to commit the United Nations on not only matters of peace and war, but also human rights, economic development, humanitarian assistance, peacekeeping, environmental issues, social well-being, and gender equality.

In order to address these issues—issues that were not central to UN consideration sixty years ago—the United Nations has developed a comprehensive bureaucratic and policy-making structure, much of it out of the view of world attention. Other principal organs created by the Charter operate in the same political environment of UN headquarters as the General Assembly and Security Council, and may have even more impact on a day-to-day basis on the world's population. The **Economic and Social Council** (ECOSOC), charged with carrying out the Charter's instruction "to promote social progress and better standards of living in larger freedom,"[4] coordinates and recommends funding for the work of dozens of UN commissions, standing committees, programs, special funds, specialized agencies, and regional bodies. In Chapter 4, you will read about the extensive work and responsibilities of the fifty-four nations on ECOSOC. Its agenda each year

includes reports from commissions that range in subject matter from the status of women, indigenous peoples, children, and political prisoners to the vast economic and social needs of poverty-stricken parts of the globe.

Looming over the UN Plaza in New York is the 544-foot-tall office building that houses the UN **Secretariat**, headed by the **secretary-general**. The secretary-general is the chief administrative officer for the organization, responsible for managing more than 40,000 employees scattered around the globe. Only about one-third of the staff works in New York City.[5] These civil servants provide administrative support for all UN activities in New York and around the world. Divided into departments for every aspect of international policy making at the UN, the secretariat's personnel are often the human face of the United Nations to those who are the recipients of its activities. They are the professional bureaucrats who are charged with carrying out the decisions made by the member nations. But they also help crystallize the agenda, the hopes, and the initiatives of the world organization.

From the New York Headquarters building, the **Department of Peacekeeping Operations** oversees more than 125,000 peacekeepers serving around the world, operating in as many as sixteen separate dangerous missions.[6] On a much smaller scale, also among the headquarters staff are such units as the **Office of the High Representative for Least Developed, Landlocked, and Small Island Nations** (OHRLLS) working to mobilize the international community's resources to assist particularly vulnerable, smaller countries, as they confront rising oceans due to global warming, severe economic development issues, and humanitarian crises. What these two very different types of operations demonstrate is that the work of the United Nations has expanded to areas of concern well beyond those contemplated in the 1940s. With this expansion, so too has the organization grown, both in terms of its institutional structure and what is demanded of it. Today, the institution is expected to respond as well to ethnic and religious violence, HIV/AIDS, childhood diseases, disintegrating nations, demands for democracy, human rights violations, and sundry other "people problems." You will find in Chapters 7 and 8 discussions of UN policy making on these issues.

As an evolving institution, the United Nations is an expanding organization with offices beyond the UN Plaza in New York, reaching into many cities of the world—the most important being Geneva, Switzerland; Nairobi, Kenya; Vienna, Austria; Rome, Italy; The Hague, Netherlands; Paris, France; and Washington, D.C., in the United States. In addition, significant UN operations can be found in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Bangkok, Thailand; Tokyo, Japan; Santiago, Chile; Beirut, Lebanon; and all of the major cities in countries where a peacekeeping presence exists. During any given week, the United Nations is active on every continent, with much of its work having a significant impact on both international and domestic affairs around the globe.

For many UN agencies and bodies other than the organization's principal organs, New York provides the hub for their activities as well. Even as the world gathers in the Assembly Hall or urgently convenes in the Security Council, critical work is being done by these agencies. In New York, for example, if you walk a couple of blocks west on 42nd Street from UN headquarters on First Avenue, you will pass near the offices of the **UN Population Fund** (UNFPA). A subsidiary organ of the General Assembly, UNFPA receives voluntary contributions from UN member states amounting to more than $400 million annually. Since its founding in 1969, the agency has worked to make available family planning education, restored health care systems in war-torn countries, safe motherhood practices, gender equality, and the resources necessary for women to make their own fertility choices. The Population Fund shares an executive board with the **United Nations Development Programme** (UNDP), also located in New York. UNDP is the largest and most comprehensive economic assistance organization in the world. With more than 130 offices in all geographic areas, UNDP has struck partnerships with other development agencies, environmental organizations, the World Bank, governments, and **nongovernmental organizations** (NGOs).

It serves as the coordinator for nearly all UN initiatives in the developing world. The **United Nations Children's Fund** (UNICEF) also has its headquarters in New York, and has worked from there since its creation in 1946. So too the chief executives of the key agencies in the UN System fly regularly to New York to orchestrate plans for coordinated UN activities worldwide. Still, most UN initiatives take place beyond the borders of New York and the United States, and define a large portion of all ongoing global diplomatic affairs.

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Located in Geneva's beautiful Ariana Park overlooking the lake with Mont Blanc beyond, the Palais des Nations houses the **United Nations Office at Geneva** (UNOG), which oversees more than three hundred international conferences and 6,500 half-day meetings annually. More conferences are convened each year in Geneva than in New York.

It's here that Staffan de Mistura, after gaining Security Council endorsement, moved the diplomatic consultations on finding a political solution to the Syrian civil war. While few gave his mission much chance of success, de Mistura invited all parties to continue diplomatic dialogue with him. Pressed by a mid-summer deadline in the Iran nuclear talks, he also traveled to Damascus to meet with Syrian officials in hopes of bringing the sides closer to a political solution. Diplomacy, which is at the heart of UN activity, often is meant to set the stage, even in apparently hopeless moments, so that when the parties find their self-interests best served by an agreement, the architecture will have been created for successful negotiations.

Critical discussions about resolving Middle East tensions were not the only important work going on in Geneva. Such high-level diplomatic colloquies as de Mistura's meetings with the warring Syrian groups and their state benefactors are common happenings in Geneva. It is often the first choice of parties seeking a venue for conflict negotiations, given its long pre-UN history as the seat of diplomatic activity and its presence in hospitable, neutral Switzerland.

Geneva is also the focal point for UN activities in social, humanitarian, and cultural fields. Many of the UN's specialized agencies and treaty-monitoring committees have their headquarters here. Many of these groups hold their meetings in the Palais Wilson, a former grand hotel for the wealthy and famous on the shore of Lake Geneva dating from 1875. It was occupied in 1920 by the secretariat of the **League of Nations**, the ill-fated predecessor to the United Nations. Today, it holds the offices of the **UN High Commissioner for Human Rights** (UNHCHR). The presence of the UNHCHR, one of the UN's newest creations, in the halls and offices of this magnificent *grande dame* on the Rue des Pâquis, has brought new attention to the role of the Geneva headquarters.

The Palais des Nations on the Avenue de la Paix is an extraordinarily spacious facility first opened in 1936 to house the League permanently. When the League was dissolved in 1946, the United Nations took over the Palais with its large Assembly Hall, added new wings to the building in subsequent years, and used it for conference and negotiation purposes.

More than 170 governments maintain permanent missions in Geneva accredited to UNOG, as do several intergovernmental organizations, including the European Union, the African Union, and the Arab League. At least 3,300 NGOs are accredited to the Geneva headquarters. Approximately nine thousand employees work for components of the UN System in Geneva, more than 4,300 of them for UNOG directly.[7] Large staffs also serve the **United Nations Conference on Trade and Development** (UNCTAD—discussed in Chapter 8) and the Economic Commission for Europe. Specialized agencies, some predating the creation of the United Nations, are also located here. The oldest and most famous is the **International Labour Organization** (ILO), founded at the time of the League's initiation. Attracted by the presence of the United Nations in Geneva,

Photo I.3 Palais des Nations, UN Headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland.

Source: UN/DPI Photo/P. Klee. Reproduced by permission of the United Nations.

more than thirty thousand diplomats, international civil servants, and NGO representatives work in the city, making it the "most active center for multilateral diplomacy in the world."[8]

The Palais des Nations biennially hosts the Economic and Social Council, and every year it serves as the venue for meetings of the **Human Rights Council**, both for its regular meetings and special sessions. On rare occasions, the UN General Assembly has met here in special session. The United Nations staff also provides administrative services for the autonomous **Conference on Disarmament**, the world's principal multilateral negotiating forum for disarmament issues. Additionally, the ILO and the **World Health Organization** (WHO) convene their annual plenary assemblies in the facility.

Many specialized agencies and non-UN intergovernmental organizations have taken up residence in the city. Accordingly, while very important and visible negotiations occur at UN headquarters, other important but more technical UN sessions are almost always in progress—each with long-term consequences for millions of people around the globe. The active use of Geneva for disparate negotiations symbolizes the emerging "new" United Nations, an institution increasingly decentralized, but centered on basic human needs, in addition to the diplomacy of nation-states. This activity gives new life to this old seat of international organization.

NAIROBI, KENYA

If Geneva, Switzerland, is a reflection of the old European roots of international organization, then the UN headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya, represents the new directions in which global governance

is taking us. Due in part to the growing universality of the world body produced by the national liberation movement of the mid-twentieth century that added new states to the world community, the UN General Assembly and Secretariat over the past fifty years have given increased attention to states of the South.[9] These countries have serious development challenges, grievances with the old colonial powers, and different value priorities than those states that originally created the UN.

The UN Gigiri Compound, with nature trails in over twenty-seven acres that let the visitor wander past indigenous African trees, spot Egyptian geese, green pigeons, marsh mongooses, and olive baboons, and view a seasonal swamp, seems even farther than its 7,360 miles as the crow flies from UN Headquarters in New York City. As one of the four UN "headquarters" worldwide, Nairobi feels like a place that none of the founders of the world body could have contemplated as a center of the organization's activities. Yet, the Nairobi office services many of the fifty-five UN Funds, programs, and agencies operating in Kenya. The city is recognized as the capital of the UN global environmental effort, and it provides facilities for the work of many international organizations—private and public—that are addressing the overwhelming human challenges confronting the people of Africa.

The **UN Office in Nairobi** (UNON) was officially created in 1996, but UN operations here date from the 1970s commencement of efforts to solve the emerging issues then presented by environmental degradation and Third World development. In 1972, the United Nations convened the world conference on the human environment in Stockholm, Sweden. The attending governments recommended creation of an agency to address the problems associated with environmental conservation. Developing nations attending the Stockholm meeting, however, worried that efforts to create environmentally friendly global policy would limit what national governments could do in terms of industrial growth and development. The General Assembly's placement of the **United Nations Environment Programme** (UNEP) headquarters in Kenya sent a signal that the organization's mandate was not antithetical to the developing world's interests.

An executive director administers UNEP and oversees its work in many nations around the world. The 1997 Nairobi Declaration, which launched an era of activism for UNEP, guides the agency's programs in the new millennium. The Declaration set a global agenda that includes developing international environmental law aimed at sustainable development, monitoring state compliance with environmental agreements and principles, and serving as a link between the scientific community and policy makers.

In the 1970s, the United Nations Environment Programme was the sole UN organ primarily attentive to environmental matters. It became the catalyst and energizer for an international movement that gained public attention and support. UNEP officials focused much of their work on organizing the international bargaining process and promoting new ideas for international environmental cooperation. It became an important negotiator in moving the world community toward pollution control, protection of the ozone layer, regulation of transboundary shipments of hazardous wastes, and the protection of biodiversity.

UNEP provides the secretariat for several international environmental conventions, including the Convention on Biological Diversity, the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, and the Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals. It also provides secretariats for conventions on climate change, desertification, and regional seas. Its success can be credited in significant part to the development of scientific and technical expertise that it employs in a number of successful monitoring and information-sharing programs. UNEP also carved out areas of special expertise. Early efforts to protect the world's oceans resulted in a number of regional seas agreements. Nine were signed in the 1970s, beginning with an agreement among countries bordering the Mediterranean. This was followed in the 1980s with six more agreements, together covering many of the regional seas of the world.

In addition to UNEP, **UN-HABITAT** (UN Human Settlements Programme) has its headquarters in Nairobi. It is the UN agency dedicated to the promotion of socially and environmentally sustainable cities and towns, with the goal of providing adequate shelter for everyone. UN-HABITAT is the central agency for implementing the Habitat Agenda, derived from a Declaration and Global Plan of Action adopted at the UN Conference on Human Settlements held in Istanbul, Turkey, in June 1996, and by the Millennium Development Goals established by the United Nations in 2000. Its work is directed by a Governing Council that meets every two years in Nairobi.

UN-HABITAT, under its 2014–2019 strategic plan, is working in Africa, Asia, and Latin America to provide basic urban services, improve housing and ameliorate slum life, and enhance urban planning and economy. Its work is all the more important considering the UN prediction that by 2025, over 60 percent of the world's people will live in urban areas, creating enormous strains on prospective social services, housing, and health facilities. As the diplomatic activity surrounding UNEP and UN-HABITAT demonstrate, Nairobi reflects the broadened mandate of the United Nations.

VIENNA, AUSTRIA

The Viennese refer to it as "UNO-City." Its official name is the Vienna International Centre, located on the Danube River not far from downtown. It serves as the newest of the UN's four headquarters and is home to several UN bodies and treaty organizations, the most important being the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). It has been at the center of the debate over Iran's nuclear program, citing Tehran several times for not living up to its obligations under the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). It was the findings and reports of the IAEA that led to the sanctions against Iran and the subsequent negotiations between Iran and the P5+1. And once the framework of a deal was reached in Lausanne, the negotiators returned to Vienna for intense talks, meeting five days a week on the details of a comprehensive final agreement. The parties carried on seventeen days of marathon negotiations in yet another ornate nineteenth-century hotel, the Palais Coburg. They reached accord on a Final Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) on July 14, 2015.

As in most negotiations, the hardest issues avoided resolution until the end, forcing the talks to go beyond the self-imposed deadline of June 30. Once agreement, or at least compromise, was reached on these issues, a formal signing occurred in the Palais, a structure built by the uncle of England's Queen Elizabeth, Frederick of Saxe-Coburg. The JCPOA prohibited Iran's nuclear development for at least ten years, barred it from obtaining conventional weapons for five years and ballistic missiles for eight, imposed international monitoring of the flow in and out of the country of materials needed for nuclear production, and provided for "snap-back" sanctions should Iran not live up to terms of the agreement. Iran agreed to subject itself to the Additional Protocol of the IAEA that allows the agency to inspect military facilities. In return, once the IAEA certified that Iran was living up to the terms of the agreement, international sanctions against the country would be lifted.

Not incidentally, also on July 14 Ambassador Stephan de Mistura flew from Geneva to Beirut, Lebanon, for his first-ever meeting with the Syrian rebels fighting the Assad regime on the southern front. The pressure of an agreement between the world powers and Iran, Syria's most important benefactor, had apparently brought the opposition to the negotiating process, an outcome de Mistura had hoped would occur.

To much fanfare—and regret from critics of the nuclear agreement—the U.S. secretary of state and the Iranian foreign minister were on hand in Vienna on January 16, 2016, as the IAEA

reported Iran had met its obligations under the Joint Programme and, thus, UN-imposed sanctions could be lifted. Not purely by coincidence, one week later Ambassador de Mistura was able to convene in Geneva for the first time a meeting between the representatives of the Syrian government and the rebel forces arrayed against it. The purpose of the meeting was to find a political resolution to the five-year civil war.

The events in Vienna reinforced the importance of the International Atomic Energy Agency to slowing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Under the signed comprehensive plan, the IAEA was assigned the key role in monitoring the implementation of its terms.

The IAEA's founding statute commits the agency "to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world." To that end the agency, an independent intergovernmental organization under UN aegis, maintains a safeguards program first developed to implement the verification provisions of the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty. More than 1,200 nuclear facilities are under IAEA safeguards. IAEA members have employed the system to enforce the compliance terms of international treaties, including nuclear-weapons-free zone agreements in Africa, Latin America, and the South Pacific. Following the 1991 Gulf War, IAEA safeguard inspectors enforced nuclear provisions of the armistice agreement imposed on Iraq. Forced out of Iraq in 1998, the inspectors returned in 2002 at the direction of the Security Council to verify whether Saddam Hussein's regime still had a nuclear program. The international concern about weapons of mass destruction, their possible use by terrorist groups or aggressive states, and the proliferation of nuclear materials and technology since the end of the Cold War, has elevated the agency's visibility. The regular budget has risen to more than $380 million annually.

In addition to IAEA, the Vienna International Centre also provides a headquarters for the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), the preparatory commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO), the United Nations Commission for International Trade Law (UNCITRAL), and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). The last of these encourages international efforts to stop the production and trafficking of narcotic drugs. Much of its effort is undertaken in cooperation with nongovernmental organizations. UNIDO assists with the development of industry in developing countries and states with economies in transition. It provides information, skills, and technology to its members in order to promote industrialization that will be economically sound and environmentally friendly. It is also one of four implementing agencies of the **Montreal Protocol**, which phases out the use of ozone-depleting substances in industrial production. UNIDO maintains field offices in thirty-six nations. UNCITRAL's mission is to harmonize national trade laws, to draft model laws and conventions on international trade law, and to encourage conformity among states to common standards, leading to one worldwide commercial law. With accelerated globalization, the commission reflects an effort by the United Nations to play a more active role in reducing or removing obstacles to the free flow of international trade.

THE HAGUE, NETHERLANDS

In contrast to the political swirl that surrounds UN activities in Vienna, Nairobi, Geneva, and New York—where delegates and NGO representatives seek support for resolutions, reports, and individual agenda items—there is a sedate decorum to the serious UN work conducted in The Hague. Here, the only principal organ of the United Nations located outside of New York City, the **International Court of Justice** (ICJ), can be found. Its fifteen judges continue a long tradition of applying international law to cases brought by sovereign states. It is the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ), the judicial arm of the League of Nations. Chapter 4 will

introduce you to the work of the Court and its importance. The seat of the Court, like that of the PCIJ, is at the Peace Palace, a gift of American entrepreneur Andrew Carnegie.

As is tradition, each of the permanent members of the Security Council has an individual on the Court, although they serve as independent jurists. They are joined by ten other judges elected by the UN General Assembly and Security Council to nine-year terms. No two sitting judges may come from the same country. There is a concerted effort to represent all of the regional blocs in the United Nations. In 2015, there were three African, two Latin American, three Asian, five Western European, and two Eastern European judges, which corresponded to the membership distribution of the Security Council. The Court's docket is made up of disputes between states and requests for advisory opinions by either states or international organizations. Since the turn of the century, the Court has heard nearly forty cases and issued three advisory opinions.

The real courtroom drama in The Hague, however, is not in the stately chambers of the ICJ, but in the criminal proceedings at 1 Churchillplein, where the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) has been meeting since 1993 to prosecute alleged war criminals in the aftermath of the Balkan civil wars of the 1990s. These bloody conflicts, encompassing Serbia-Montenegro, Croatia, Kosovo, Bosnia, and Slovenia, produced some of the worst human atrocities Europe had witnessed since World War II. The world community responded to the tragic events in the former Yugoslavia with peacekeeping operations in the area, but also with trials at the ICTY of war criminals charged with genocide and crimes against humanity. Chapter 7 will give you a full description of these judicial proceedings.

Among the most sensational of trials at the ICTY was that of Slobodan Milosevic, Yugoslavia's former head of state. Charged with crimes against humanity, war crimes, and genocide, Milosevic challenged the authority of the international community to try him, the former leader of a sovereign state. He demonstrated his contempt of the proceedings by defending himself at trial. His courtroom tactics wore thin with prosecutors and judges, but he vigorously defended his decisions, blaming others for any excesses in the Balkan wars. Two hundred ninety-five witnesses testified and five thousand exhibits were presented. The trial went on with no resolution imminent. Milosevic died of a heart attack before the trial could be concluded.

The ICTY is the first war crimes court created by the UN and the first international war crimes tribunal since the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals. The Security Council established it in accordance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter. During its lifespan, the tribunal has indicted more than one hundred seventy individuals and convicted nearly one hundred. Its proceedings validate the UN's commitment to normative principles of international law, reviving an interest in judicial instruments that can be used to deal with those who violate the laws of humanity.

MONTREAL, CANADA

The United Nations responds to countless other human challenges through a broad system of specialized agencies, programs, funds, and research and training institutes, in addition to using the formal organs created by its Charter. Each **specialized agency** is an intergovernmental organization with a contractual relationship to the United Nations. Some of these bodies were established well before the founding of the United Nations, others came about at the behest of the world organization. Chapters 3 and 4 provide extensive information on these agencies. An additional dozen "programmes" report to both the General Assembly and ECOSOC. Finally, five research and training organizations are part of the UN System.

In Montreal, the **International Civil Aviation Organization** (ICAO) serves as the primary agency for the cataloguing of standardized rules and practices in the aviation industry worldwide. Created by the Chicago Convention of December 1944, the ICAO became a UN specialized

agency in 1947. It is a good example of an IGO within the UN System that addresses an important functional task necessary for safe and effective travel and communication. Through negotiation among its nearly universal membership, the agency adopts standards that are then put into practice by its member states. Areas of standardization include the operation of aircraft, personnel licensing, air traffic services, navigation rules, aeronautical communications, search and rescue, accident investigation, airworthiness, and the transport of dangerous goods. ICAO is also involved in the development of satellite-based navigation systems, regional planning, the facilitation of passenger movement through national terminals of entry and egress, and the development of international air law.

One of the services provided by ICAO is the facilitation of negotiations among specific states over contentious bilateral aviation issues. For example, on the eve of the 58th General Assembly session, ICAO announced that it had brought about an "historic" agreement between Greece and Turkey.[10] In the short term, the agreement would facilitate air traffic services in the route network over the Aegean Sea during the anticipated 2004 Olympic Games in Greece. More importantly, it marked another step in improving relations between two states that regularly have had tense relations over territorial claims in the area.

ROME, ITALY

If Montreal is the world's capital for international aviation policy, then Rome is the food policy capital. Two UN specialized agencies—the **Food and Agriculture Organization** (FAO) and the UN's **World Food Programme** (WFP)—have their headquarters here and work closely together to feed the starving and malnourished around the globe. The founding date of FAO—October 16, 1945—is now observed as World Food Day. FAO has operated from Rome since 1951. The World Food Programme was added in 1961, reporting to both FAO and ECOSOC. Also in the city is the **International Fund for Agricultural Development** (IFAD). It commenced operations as an international financing institution in 1977. In 1996, FAO hosted the World Food Summit in Rome, where 186 nations approved a set of commitments intended to achieve universal food security and halve hunger by 2015. Following the Summit, there was a concerted effort to coordinate the work of the three agencies. This effort received reinforcement from the UN's Millennium Development Goals announced in 2000, which committed the entire UN System to meeting the Food Summit's target on hunger.

More than thirty-seven hundred staff personnel worked for FAO by the turn of the century. At any given time, it had about eighteen hundred field operations in place. The organization provides help to developing nations through assistance programs; it collects, analyzes, and disseminates information about nutrition, food production, agricultural issues, and forestry and fisheries matters; and it acts as a clearinghouse for farmers, scientists, and governments on food and agriculture issues. It encourages nations to seek its advice on strategies for rural development, food security, and poverty reduction, particularly in rural areas.

The World Food Programme is the largest international food aid provider in the world. At the beginning of the century, it expended in excess of $1 billion annually, supporting a field staff of more than five thousand that each year distributed more than 3.4 million tons of food. The organization is funded and receives food supplies from donor nations on a voluntary basis. At the turn of the century, more than sixty nations supported WFP's projects. In 2000, the United States was the largest donor ($796 million); Japan was second in donations ($260 million), followed by the European Commission ($118 million).

The WFP uses its food to meet emergency needs, support economic and social development, and provide logistical support for the delivery of food. Its services include food distribution

to people in emergency circumstances—natural or human-made—to poor people in developing countries, to communities where the food assistance will help with economic development projects, and to refugees in civil conflicts.

In the middle of the second decade of the twenty-first century, the World Food Programme was responding to huge food crises in central Africa, South Sudan, Iraq, and, indeed, in Syria. The changing nature of world politics has seriously affected UN food efforts. In 1990, two-thirds of all UN food aid went for development projects, attempting to make individuals self-reliant. By the end of the decade, 80 percent of food distributed went for the humanitarian relief of people in crisis. For example, the World Food Programme fed several hundred thousand refugees who were displaced by civil war in Syria, and in 2013 the WFP fed eighty million people in seventy-four other countries as well. It directed much of the relief aid to vulnerable populations, such as women and children, and provided food to ex-combatant soldiers. In order to get food efficiently to those who need it, WFP maintains working agreements with several international nongovernmental organizations, including Catholic Relief Services, Save the Children, CARE, World Vision International, and Food for the Hungry.

The International Fund for Agricultural Development works with the World Bank, regional development banks, and UN agencies to co-finance projects in poor countries. These countries use the funds for rural agricultural projects and repay the loans, usually over forty years. From the time it began work in 1977 through 2015, IFAD financed over 970 projects in 122 countries and territories. The cost of these projects was about $24 billion in grants and loans.

PRISTINA, KOSOVO; KABUL, AFGHANISTAN; BANGUI, CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

We began this introduction to the United Nations by taking you to the war-torn city of Idlib, Syria. We close this tour of where the UN works by briefly introducing you to three peacekeeping/nation-building and/or political operations where the UN is trying to repair broken states and protect vulnerable populations; it is doing so at great cost to peacekeepers' lives.

Let's look first at Kosovo. Former American president William Clinton was in Pristina, Kosovo, on September 19, 2003. He received the cheers of a public throng, the likes of which any sitting president could only dream about on the campaign trail in the United States. Ethnic Albanian Kosovars turned out to thank Clinton for his 1999 "liberation" of the province (using NATO forces) from oppressive Serb domination under the former government of Slobodan Milosevic. It could be assumed that not many ethnic Serbs joined in the celebratory welcome for the president, since most Kosovar Serbs saw the subsequent UN-managed administration as reversing ethnic fortunes in the province and, thus, diminishing Serb rights and political participation. Since 1999, Serbs had been both the targets and the perpetrators of persistent ethnic violence.

Following the invasion, the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) undertook the governance of all aspects of Kosovar life, with NATO providing fifty thousand troops (KFOR—Kosovo Force) to handle security. UNMIK sought to bring Serbs and Kosovar Albanians together in a peaceful multiethnic state, not an easy task in a place where not only ethnic hatred had a long history, but where many Serb residents sought full unification with the rest of the country and Albanians wished for nothing less than an independent state. In every hamlet and town of Kosovo, government consisted of Serb-Albanian-UN committees determining every detail of public policy, with the UN representative retaining final authority.

The Security Council charged UNMIK with performing basic governmental functions, providing essential services to the population, and facilitating a political process to determine Kosovo's future, while in the meantime establishing autonomy and self-government in the province,

providing humanitarian aid, maintaining law and order, repatriating more than one million refugees, and promoting human rights. The long-term outcome sought by the UN administration was a freely elected multiethnic government. In the interim, the secretary-general's special representative retained the right to override all local decisions.

Actions by NATO in 1999 and the subsequent UN administration of Kosovo challenged a central tenet on which the United Nations was built—the inviolability of a sovereign state's domestic jurisdiction. It represented a continuing expansion of UN peacekeeping efforts authorized by the Security Council. Neither the Kosovars themselves nor the central government in Belgrade was left with the decision on the final status of the province. The world community, through UN procedures, decided there would be autonomy, but no new state would be added to the community of nations. At least until 2008, that was the plan. On June 15 of that year, the Kosovo Assembly declared independence and promulgated a new constitution. The international community resigned itself to accept this *fait accompli*.

Since independence, the UN Mission's main objective has been the promotion of security, stability, and respect for human rights through engagement with all communities in Kosovo and with the governments in Pristina and Belgrade, Serbia. Other tasks have been handed off to regional international organizations, in particular the European Union and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. But a decade and a half after intervention, KFOR maintained nearly five thousand troops on the ground to secure the peace among ethnic groups.

Two years after intervention in Kosovo, and following the horrific terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001, the United States and its allies, with UN endorsement, intervened in Afghanistan, driving the al-Qaeda leadership that had orchestrated the attacks underground and its allied Taliban government from power. After the overthrow of Taliban rule, the UN and other major actors convened the Bonn Conference, which effectively mandated nation-building in the country to establish a stable and democratic Afghan government with constitutional safeguards. In addition to security forces commanded by the United States and by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Security Council established the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) with its headquarters in Kabul.

Early on, one of the major tasks of UNAMA was to coordinate the efforts of nearly one thousand international nongovernmental organizations operating in the country. The massive Afghan need for assistance left much of the construction of social service infrastructure (schools, clinics, housing) and basic services (food, shelter, medicine) to the international community. Coordination by UNAMA was critical to avoid duplication, wasted efforts, and corrupt practices. After thirteen years in the country, UNAMA launched the "Transformation Decade" (2015–2024), signaling the intention to continue its work in Afghanistan for a long time to come.

From Kabul, UNAMA heads its own large collection of UN operations that include the involvement of many of the organizations we have already highlighted in this introduction, including UNDP, OCHA, UN-HABITAT, UNEP, UNHCR, OHCHR, UNIDO, WFP, ILO, and FAO. Remember, these agencies have their own agendas and operate from disparate headquarters around the world. Through these components of the UN System, the Mission has attempted to provide relief efforts, reconstruction, disarmament, conflict resolution, social services, food aid, and fair elections.

More recently, the world's attention has been drawn to the center of Africa, where the continent has experienced the collapse of national governments' authority and the rise of rebel and terrorist movements, with the concomitant effects of mass migration, violations of human rights, civilian deaths, and devastated economies. A good example is the Central African Republic.

This is one of the poorest countries in the world. Liberated from the French colonial empire in 1960, the country has known little but autocratic rulers or sectarian strife. UN agencies have been providing humanitarian assistance for much of the Central African Republic's history.

Divided largely between Muslim and Christian communities, the country erupted in violence in December 2012, when an alliance of Muslim fighters seized the capital, Bangui. Christian fighters regrouped and launched counterattacks that led to thousands of deaths, an exodus of more than four hundred thousand refugees to surrounding countries, collapsed governmental institutions, and more than half of the population in need of basic supplies and services. Nearly 85 percent of the nation's Muslim population fled their homes.

With conditions spiraling into chaos, France and the African Union decided to act. Supported by a Security Council resolution in December 2013, peacekeepers poured into the country. Under the provision of the UN Charter's Chapter VII, the Security Council decided in March of 2014 to reinforce the regional peacekeeping effort by authorizing a new UN Mission (MINUSCA) of nearly eleven thousand troops. Thirty-eight nations contributed forces. This peacekeeping operation put UN personnel directly into combat conditions as they attempted to protect civilians, deliver much needed humanitarian assistance, repatriate refugees, and disarm the warring sides.

Security Council Resolution 2149 (2014) authorized MINUSCA to do far more than return security to the Central African Republic. The peacekeeping mission was asked to facilitate a transition process that would install a stable government, protect the country's territorial integrity, and extend the government's authority to the nation's borders. It was also to promote human rights protections, the rule of law, and the reintegration of fighters into civil society. It was directed to seize and collect arms that could be used in future violence. In other words, it was asked to rebuild a broken and failed state, a call to nation-build under dire conditions.

Whether UN intervention can achieve these important goals remains open to future assessment. But in May 2015, the Security Council could congratulate the various actors on the convocation of a National Forum in Bangui. The negotiators produced the Republican Pact for Peace, National Reconciliation and Reconstruction, including commitments for early presidential and legislative elections, decentralization of the political system, and a stronger judiciary. The parties also committed themselves to end the recruitment of child soldiers and to liberate all children associated with the conflict from their ranks.

The "success" or "failure" of the United Nations in the new century turns not only on how debates turn out in New York on the potential for nation-building, but also on the "facts on the ground" in Kosovo, Afghanistan, the Central African Republic, and other conflict zones where more than one hundred thousand UN peacekeepers and civilian employees are challenging old principles of state sovereignty and trying to create or maintain viable and peaceful communities. We will discuss thoroughly UN peacekeeping efforts in Chapter 6. In these out-of-the-way "places" of the United Nations, it is not at all clear that the organization has the ability to turn events decisively toward peace and stability.

THE NEW UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations is an intergovernmental organization that is more far-reaching than a review of its Charter would suggest, and more comprehensive than its founders contemplated. The history of its formation, Charter development, and unique evolution will be outlined in the next three chapters. Today, as Figure I.1 on the next page demonstrates, the United Nations is a collective of specialized agencies, institutional structures, forums, programs, and funds scattered around the world that increasingly addresses global and domestic issues that formerly were not considered central to the maintenance of international peace and security. Former Secretary-General Kofi Annan described a "new" United Nations in his Millennium Summit Report in September 2000, titled *We The Peoples*. At this extraordinary gathering of world leaders, nongovernmental organizations, and private individuals in New York City, the secretary-general noted the diplomatic

origins and purposes of the United Nations that made it a "forum for sharing information, conducting negotiations, elaborating norms and voicing expectations, coordinating the behavior of states and other actors, and pursuing common plans of action." But he also described it as something much more than a universal IGO committed to collective security. Noting that the Charter was written in the name of "We the Peoples," he called for a new emphasis on the rights of the person in both domestic and international life. He envisioned a United Nations that acknowledged state sovereignty, but that would never let that principle stand in the way of defending individual rights or providing critical international humanitarian assistance.

What Annan was describing is an institution in the throes of change. In at least five ways, an evolutionary process is occurring, changing the character and mission of the United Nations. First, the UN agenda early in the millennium includes a new interest in **thematic diplomacy**, by which is meant a consideration of human problems that confront humankind on a global level, and require for their solution the involvement of not only national governments but also the cooperation of international and subnational organizations. **Functionalism**, the belief that peace and security between nations may best be achieved through the "spill-over" effect of expanding cooperation among peoples and through international organizations on nonpolitical problems that confront the world community, has a rich two-century history of advocates and organizational experiments. But the impetus to the UN's creation was the "high" politics of diplomatic relations on the questions of war and peace between states, with functional concerns such as economic development and human welfare relegated to the periphery of its work. Annan's promotion of thematic diplomacy moved functional world politics to center stage. Today the United Nations is pursuing many areas of thematic diplomacy, but twelve topics of international cooperation predominated. They are the

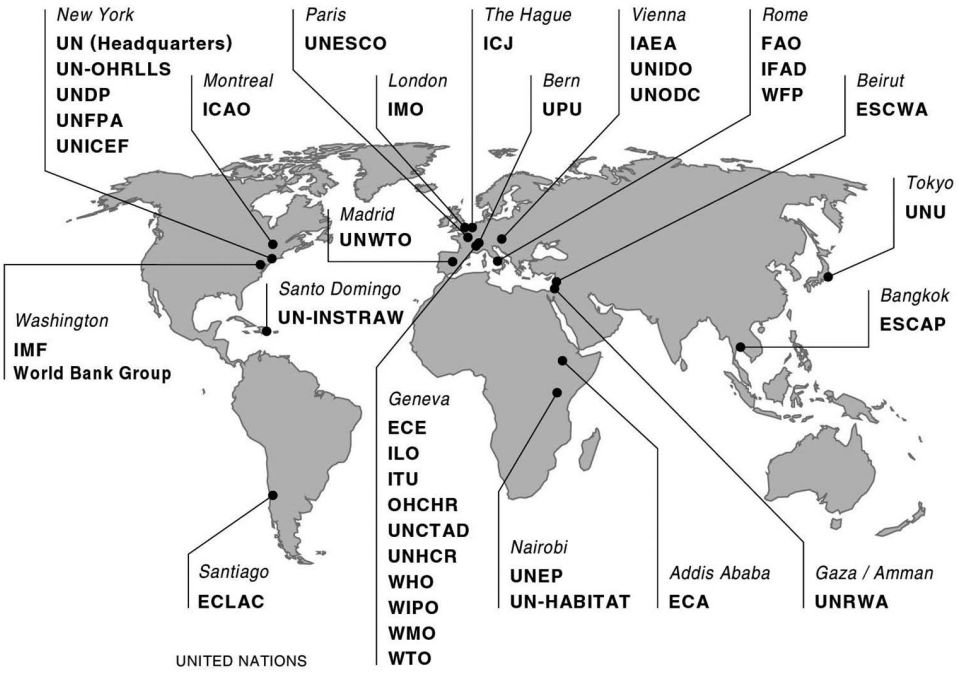

Figure I.1 Principal offices of the United Nations. Department of Field Support, Cartographic Section. Map No. 4218(E) Rev. 1, March 2008.
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environment, women, the control of HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases like Ebola, disarmament, sustainable development, globalization, human rights, nation-building, poverty eradication (especially in Africa), population, democratization, and international law. Only slightly less attention is being given to human settlements, migration, and the information revolution.

Each thematic policy area originated as a focus of UN attention at a particular point in the history of the organization. Concern for the environment, for example, can be dated, as we noted in our discussion of UNEP, from the 1972 Stockholm Conference. Each developed through the adoption of declarations, conventions, and UN resolutions. In the field of human rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights laid out the principles to which the world community committed itself. They were subsequently codified in two international covenants in 1966. In the areas of sustainable development and nation-building, UN efforts created evolving definitions and international standards of behavior for nation-states and their leaders. In all of these areas, world conferences, preparatory meetings, implementing programs, special funds, and intense multilateral negotiations were used to address perceived human problems.

Second, while the United Nations is an organization made up of sovereign states, increasingly non-state actors play a role in its deliberations, in the formation of UN global policy, and in the success or failure of established UN programs. The growth in thematic diplomacy has accelerated this trend. Two groups of non-state participants can be easily identified. The first is nongovernmental organizations. These are associational members of international civil society. In effect, they are global interest groups or domestic groups that have an international agenda. Welcomed in a peripheral way by the UN Charter to "consultative status" with the Economic and Social Council, the NGO community now dominates much of the work of UN world conferences, formulates a global agenda that the world organization generally addresses, and serves as the most serious critic of UN programs. Since the early 1990s, UN secretaries-general have courted the participation and goodwill of NGOs, hoping through them to mold public opinion and to implement UN initiatives more effectively than could be done solely through member governments. The second group of non-state actors is the private for-profit sector of the world economy. Once viewed as the enemy of UN social, economic, human rights, and social policy, global corporations are now recruited as helpful financial supporters for UN activities. Beginning with Secretary-General Annan's "Global Compact" initiative in 1999, more than one thousand companies have voluntarily associated themselves with the work of the United Nations.

Third, the United Nations increasingly seeks to impose the rule of law on individuals within countries as much as it does among its member states. This trend is controversial, since it is in obvious conflict with the Charter's admonition in Article 2 that "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state." In domestic democratic society, nothing is more central to its functioning than the rule of law. In the broader international community of states, the proclamation and enforcement of law have been extremely difficult given the sovereign nature of nation-states. International law allows for the voluntary adjudication of controversies among states, but it does not reach to individuals nor carry the force of imposable sanctions. In the past, only in rare cases has the world community sought to apply legal standards and penalties to individuals who have been found to have violated standards of universal legal decency. The Nuremberg tribunals stand as an isolated example of that natural law tradition in the twentieth century.

The 1990s, however, witnessed a revival of this international legal trend with the establishment under UN auspices of the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda to try "war criminals." The experience of the Yugoslav and Rwandan ad hoc tribunals laid the basis for the creation of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in the Rome Statute of July 17, 1998. The ICC is intended as a permanent judicial body with a universal jurisdiction over the crimes outlined in its founding document.

Intervention in the form of intrusive peacekeeping, a post–Cold War evolution of an earlier relatively neutral monitoring process, also reflects the new concern for individual rights over state sovereignty. Decried by some, and imposed with varying degrees of effectiveness, "nation-building" and the defense of minorities clearly mark a move away from the letter of the UN Charter, but may be a proper reinterpretation of its spirit in the context of the twenty-first century.

Fourth, the United Nations appears to be moving away from being solely an IGO of sovereign states primarily concerned to keep the immediate peace among its members to becoming a member itself of international civil society. In 1997, Kofi Annan released his long-awaited reform program for the United Nations, titled *Renewing the United Nations*. In it, he described the United Nations as the central institution of that society, itself a product of irreversible globalization. He defined civil society as that

> sphere in which social movements organize themselves around objectives, constituencies and thematic interests. These movements include specific groups such as women, youth and indigenous people. Other actors have also taken on an increasingly important role in shaping national and international agendas. They include local authorities, mass media, business and industry, professional associations, religious and cultural organizations and the intellectual and research communities.

Annan contended that international civil society was the product not only of globalization but also of "the quest for a more democratic, transparent, accountable and enabling governance." He also warned that there was an "uncivil society" made up of terrorists, drug traffickers, those engaged in organizing prostitution and trafficking in women and children, and others who have taken advantage of the processes of globalization. Only new multilateral partnerships between the United Nations and subnational levels of government and non-state actors could provide a basis for UN success in countering these challenges. The United Nations System increasingly has sought these kinds of cooperative ties, enlarging its role beyond its traditional character as a forum for interstate negotiation and decision-making.

Fifth, the United Nations has made an ideological choice, opting for democratization, externally in new and troubled nation-states, internally in terms of its own reforms (which we will discuss in Chapter 3), and substantively in terms of the issues that have moved to the head of its agenda. The United Nations was founded as an intergovernmental organization for the maintenance of peace and security. To be sure, there were other concerns. These desires were reflected in Charter provisions for a trusteeship system, economic and social functions, decolonization, and human rights, and in specialized agencies to address the many functional issues shared by humans in all settings. This was the first international organization that recognized the rights of women in its originating document. These features of international attentiveness anticipated what we call the "Other UN." These concerns were primarily enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, not in the UN Charter. The former document was crafted in the late 1940s by the Commission on Human Rights, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt. Mrs. Roosevelt placed her faith in world public opinion, and its ability ultimately to win the day and move governments and the United Nations to secure these rights for all individuals. If the primary United Nations was Franklin Roosevelt's, the "Other UN" was Eleanor's. And, increasingly, the United Nations of the post–Cold War era is also Eleanor's UN. The "rebirth" of the United Nations has been characterized by its rapid "democratization," with the concomitant diminution of state sovereignty's claim on the institution's life. People's rights, people's participation, the application of the rule of law all take up far more UN time, attention, and resources than was the case during its first forty-five years of existence.

In late 1999, demonstrators gathered in the streets of Seattle, Washington, to protest the third ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organization, successor to the Bretton Woods institution,

GATT (The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). Among other charges, the activist alliance criticized the WTO for its undemocratic nature. Like other post–World War II institutions, it was seen as unaccountable to the populations it affected, particularly in the developing world. Accused of being in the hands of corporate giants and government bureaucrats, WTO meetings were subsequently subjected to violent protests not only in Seattle, but also in Washington, D.C.; Prague, Czech Republic; and Genoa, Italy.

It is probably not without significance that the United Nations so far has avoided the popular fate of the Bretton Woods institutions. It has been able to do so in part because of a timely democratization that has provided for greater participation, accountability, and transparency. It has also changed its agenda, making the "Other UN" central to its work, implicitly recognizing that the maintenance of international peace and security depends in due course on fulfilling human needs.

SUMMARY—BUT FIRST, A RETURN TO NEW YORK

The Security Council convened at New York City headquarters on July 20, 2015, for its 7488th meeting since the UN's founding in 1945. It was a highly charged but congratulatory meeting as the fifteen council members gathered to vote on Resolution 2231, codifying and endorsing the P5+1/Iran agreement worked out finally in Vienna six days earlier.

The council's resolution triggered the 90-day countdown clock until the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action would come into force. Resolution 2231 urged full implementation of the

Photo I.4 Security Council unanimously adopts Resolution 2231, July 20, 2015, following the historic agreement in Vienna between the P5+1 and Iran on a Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) regarding Iran's nuclear program.

Source: UN Photo. Reproduced by permission of the United Nations.

JCPOA and directed the IAEA back in Vienna "to undertake the necessary verification and monitoring of Iran's nuclear-related commitments."

Whether the agreement would hold in the years to come would be determined by the national interests of the states involved, and on global politics as they played out of the next decade. On that day in July 2015, however, it could be said that the UN System and the global structure of diplomacy over which it provided an institutional umbrella had served their purpose of "avoiding the scourge of war." The same could not be said of the continuing civil strife in Syria, to which the nuclear agreement had been linked by Ambassador de Mistura. On the same day that the council approved Resolution 2231, the world learned of a deadly terrorist attack on Suruc, Turkey, and its largest refugee camp for Syrian displaced persons. Twenty died and hundreds were hurt. The government of Turkey two days later—following the killing of two Turkish border guards—launched its first airstrikes into Syria. The Syrian war was spreading across its borders. With the changing dynamics, Ambassador de Mistura met with the Security Council at the end of July and sought its endorsement to continue his efforts in Geneva and elsewhere. He received it, but to little avail. Unlike in the nuclear negotiations, Russia and Iran showed little interest in a diplomatic resolution of the civil war. Over the next year and a half, they joined the Syrian government in crushing the rebel movement located in the western part of the country. Aleppo, Syria's second largest city, and not far from Idlib, became the epicenter of the war, with several hundred civilians caught in the fighting. The city fell to government forces in December, 2016. The United Nations, having failed to produce a ceasefire, turned to the humanitarian task of providing what was needed to the city's population.

By 2015, the Syrian civil war and Iran's nuclear capabilities were high-stakes world crises. But the vast majority of international issues that affect the survival of millions of human beings every day and year do not play out in the headlines as Syria and Iran do. Far beyond the drama of global politics conducted for all to see in UN facilities in New York City, the international organization, located in its many "homes" around the world, has forged a web of agencies, programs, and initiatives that more and more address human needs, in the belief that these concerns underlay much of the conflict in the world today. The UN System of the twenty-first century exceeds the envisioned breadth of the organization as conceived by its founders in 1945. Its aims have extended beyond the traditional interest in interstate diplomacy to include the "sovereignty" of the individual, with all of its concomitant implications for global UN efforts. Thus, we postulate a "new" United Nations, with new opportunities, but as well new limitations, and difficult if novel challenges. Challenged in some quarters as irrelevant, a leftover from the last era of international politics, the United Nations nonetheless remains the only truly universal international organization in today's world.

The United Nations is more than speeches, resolutions, and negotiations at world headquarters. It is also soldiers in blue helmets, aid workers in developing countries, civilian administrators in post–civil war states, police, doctors, engineers, volunteers, demining experts, agronomists, and a wide variety of professions and services. The "United Nations System" is found in many more places than the photogenic buildings on the east side of Manhattan. In other offices in New York, and in special cities around the globe, UN operations are underway on every continent. While other international organizations, alliances, and even states of the Cold War era have vanished or have had to remake themselves wholly, the United Nations shows both the wear of changing times and the durability that makes it as potentially relevant today as when Franklin Roosevelt, Joseph Stalin, and Winston Churchill first agreed to replace the far more mortal League of Nations. With all of its warts and weaknesses, the United Nations simply is part of our expected international reality, and the epitome of international organization in the twenty-first century.

In the following pages, we offer a thesis and a structure meant to help the student grasp the full range and meaning of the United Nations. We present the history and functioning of the

institution by looking at both the "old" United Nations—that is, the organization as its founders envisaged it in the 1940s and as the public often views it today—and, markedly, the "new" United Nations, by which we mean what it has become in the seven plus decades of its evolution.

At times, students may find themselves in a state of bewilderment—as one would while studying U.S. government and politics—trying to absorb a battery of information. We have tried to assist the student in several ways. We have organized each chapter with sections and subsections around clear themes. We have highlighted certain words or phrases in each chapter and then listed them at the end of the chapter to encourage the student to focus on and distinguish specific institutions and ideas. Cross-references to other chapters covering similar topical material appear throughout the text. A brief and select bibliography of books, articles, documents, and Web sites at the end of each chapter provides access to further information about the topics. Finally, the inclusion of graphics should clarify textual comment.

NOTES

1. UN Security Council Resolutions 1696 (2006), 1737 (2006), and 1747 (2007).
2. Somini Sengupta, "Iran's Nuclear Talks Open a Tangled Path to Ending Syria's War," *The New York Times*, May 4, 2015. http://nyti.ms/1zr4AMw.
3. Charles A. Kupchan, *The End of the American Era* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 114.
4. UN Charter, Preamble.
5. United Nations. Department of Management, November 2011.
6. As of March 15, 2015.
7. http://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006AC19C/(httpPages)/BE8ACD4E8CD424F2C1257CE60042D970?OpenDocument.
8. Geneva Eco'Diagnostic, *International Geneva Yearbook, 2000–2001* (Geneva: United Nations, 2000), 74.
9. The "South" is a common parlance reference to the poor and developing states that are largely located in the Southern Hemisphere. It is a term used in counterpoise to the "North," a category including the major industrialized developed states found mostly in the Northern Hemisphere.
10. "Historic agreement on the Air Traffic Services route network in the Aegean Sea," ICAO press release, September 15, 2003.

KEY TERMS

Conference on Disarmament (page 7)
Food and Agriculture Organization (page 12)
Functionalism (page 16)
General Debate (page 3)
Intergovernmental organization (page 3)
International Atomic Energy Agency (page 2)
International Civil Aviation Organization (page 11)
Nongovernmental organization (page 5)
Parliamentary Diplomacy (page 4)
Specialized agency (page 11)
Thematic Diplomacy (page 16)
UN-HABITAT (page 9)
United Nations Environment Programme (page 8)
United Nations Population Fund (page 5)
World Food Programme (page 12)

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

How important and effective was United Nations involvement in the P5+1/Iran negotiations that led to the agreement of the parties in July 2015?

How important and effective was United Nations involvement in the resolution of the civil war in Syria?

What factors explain the difference in UN effectiveness in these two international events?

RESOURCES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Relevant Web Sites

United Nations Department of Peacekeeping (http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/)
United Nations Homepage (www.un.org)
United Nations Office at Geneva (www.unog.ch/index.html)
United Nations Office at Nairobi (www.unon.org)
United Nations Office at Vienna (www.unov.org)
Website Locator for UN System bodies (www.unsystem.org)

Books, Articles, and Documents

Basic Facts about the United Nations. New York: UN Department of Public Information, published periodically.
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Moore, John Allphin, Jr., and Jerry Pubantz. *Encyclopedia of the United Nations*. 2nd Edition. New York: Facts on File, 2008.
Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization. New York: United Nations, published annually.
United Nations Handbook. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, published annually.

Introduction

United Nations Department of Peacekeeping (http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/)
United Nations Homepage (www.un.org)
United Nations Office at Geneva (www.unog.ch/index.html)
United Nations Office at Nairobi (www.unon.org)
United Nations Office at Vienna (www.unov.org)
Website Locator for UN System bodies (www.unsystem.org)
Basic Facts about the United Nations. New York: UN Department of Public Information, published periodically.
Canton, Helen (ed.). The Europa Directory of International Organizations, 2012. 14th Edition. London: Routledge, 2012.
Eco'Diagnostic, Geneva . International Geneva Yearbook, 2000–2001. Geneva: United Nations, 2000.
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Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization. New York: United Nations, published annually.
United Nations Handbook. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, published annually.

Ways of Thinking about the United Nations and International Organizations

International Relations, Principal Theories (www.princeton.edu/~slaughtr/Articles/722_IntlRelPrincipalTheories_Slaughter_20110509zG.pdf)
The IR Theory Homepage (www.irtheory.com)
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Cold War International History Project (http://wwics.si.edu/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=topics.home)
Foreign Relations of the United States Web site (www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/frus.html)
NGO-ECOSOC information (www.un.org/dpi/ngosection/)
UN Millennium Development Goals Web site (www.un.org/millenniumgoals/)
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The Evolving UN Charter

See Resource 4 on the Routledge eResources page for the Statute of the International Court of Justice : www.routledge.com/9781138185807
Global Policy Forum (https://www.globalpolicy.org)
International Law-Related Web Sites on the World Wide Web (http://ejil.org/links/index.php)
International Law Site of the United Nations (http://www.un.org/en/sections/what-we-do/uphold-international-law/index.html)
UN Foundation (www.unfoundation.org)
UN Office of Internal Oversight Services (https://oios.un.org/)
UN Wire Web site (www.smartbrief.com/un_wire/index.jsp)

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Evolving Institutions

See Resource 4 on the Routledge eResources page for the Statute of the International Court of Justice : www.routledge.com/9781138185807

International Court of Justice (www.icj-cij.org/)

International Monetary Fund (www.imf.org)

United Nations Human Rights Council (http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/Pages/HRCIndex.aspx)

United Nations Peacebuilding Commission (http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/index.asp)

World Bank Group (www.worldbank.org)

World Trade Organization (www.wto.org)

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International Atomic Energy Agency (www.iaea.org)

Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (www.opcw.org)

Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (https://www.ctbto.org/)

UN Institute for Disarmament Research (www.unidir.org)

UN Mine Action Service (http://www.mineaction.org/)

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Peacekeeping and Nation-Building

See Resource 8 on the Routledge eResources page for current information on UN Peacekeeping and Nation-building operations : www.routledge.com/9781138185807
An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-Keeping (http://unrol.org/files/A_47_277.pdf)
Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (http://unrol.org/files/brahimi%20report%20peacekeeping.pdf)
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Making Global Public Policy: Promoting Civil Society, Human Rights, and Women

Commission on Human Rights (www.unhchr.ch/html/menu2/2/chr.htm)
International Criminal Court (www.icc-cpi.int)
NGO Branch, UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (http://csonet.org/index.php?menu=14)
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Economic Development, the Environment, and Health Policy

Group of 77 (www.g77.org)
Millennium Development Goals (www.un.org/millenniumgoals)
Sustainable Development Goals (www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sdgoverview/post-2015-development-agenda.html)
UN Climate Change Conference 2015 (www.documentcloud.org/documents/2646001-Final-COP21-draft.html)
UN Conference on Trade and Development (www.unctad.org)
UN Development Programme (www.undp.org)
UN Division for Sustainable Development (www.un.org/esa/sustdev/index.html)
UN Environment Programme (www.unep.org)
UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and Kyoto Protocol (www.unfccc.int/2860.php)
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