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# The United Nations: ITS ROLE AND FAILURES

The collage consists of five black and white images arranged in a grid-like fashion. The top image shows a group of people, possibly refugees or detainees. The middle-left image shows a tank in a field with smoke in the background. The middle-right image shows a large crowd of people, some with their hands raised, suggesting a protest or rally. The bottom-left image shows a UN vehicle parked near a barbed-wire fence. The bottom-right image is a close-up of a globe with a large peace symbol drawn on it.

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## Introduction

*As we get close to the sixtieth anniversary of the formation of the United Nations, the role of this world body, to deliver peace and prosperity to the world's inhabitants, are more than ever in question.*

*Although hundreds of thousands of activists and humanists have hoped that the UN would be a world body that can improve the living conditions of human beings around the world, especially in colonial and semi-colonial countries, we have never been more distanced than we are today from achieving this goal. We live in a world where more than 800 million people are suffering from hunger; in addition to hundreds of millions who suffer from war, occupation and destruction in the poor nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America caused by the aggression of these imperialist powers.*

*The inability of the UN to become an impartial and fair player for weak and poor nations has killed hope for a better future for all oppressed nations. Despite the wishful thinking of the left and humanist communities that the United Nations will eventually make a difference and positive change, this world body has remained fundamentally an extended arm of imperialist nations. The US especially, uses the UN to plunder and exploit the wealth of third world countries.*

*The UN has been designed and formed in such a way that it can mediate the conflict between imperialist powers, caused by world capitalist crisis and third world struggle against imperialist domination, to be in favour of imperialist and colonialist interests. Through the Korean war to the Vietnam war, through the Congo to Cuba, through Iran to Iraq, through war in the former Yugoslavia, through 12 years of sanctions on Iraq, through paving the road for war and occupation in Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine, it shows constantly and consistently the subservient role of the UN to imperialist powers.*

*The first article by Brennan Luchsinger is a historical review and analysis of the UN's politically faulty leadership record since its inception. The second article by Ivan Drury is for the most part an analysis of the disastrous role of the UN in Iraq. The third part is an excerpt of an article about how the US is using the UN in maintaining the occupation of Iraq.*

Ali Yerevani

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# No to US/UK Occupation No to UN Occupation Hands Off Iraq

By Ali Yerevani

*Excerpt from article that originally appeared in Fire This Time # 17 (August 2004)*

## No to UN Occupation

Every social change in general, and especially every social crisis in particular, is marked by the relationship of social and consequently, political forces, whether it is a militant strike of 35 steelworkers at Modern Auto Plating in Vancouver, or the MST landless peasant movement in Brazil who expropriate and distribute land for poor peasants. Our strategic approach in the antiwar, anti-occupation movement is to change this relationship as much as we can in favour of oppressed people, if not decisively but partially. Twenty-five years of Saddam Hussein's rule was not, as some experts want us to believe, just based on tyranny and Saddam's brutality; but his reign of terror was the production of the relationship of social and political forces in Iraq particularly and in the world political situation generally. The US war on the people of Iraq and then the occupation of Iraq follows the same rule. The US has to change the relationship of forces more and more in its favour in this madness war of rivalry with other imperialists over resources and markets. Afghanistan and Iraq are all attempts in this direction. Although the US enjoyed favourable situations when invading Iraq, very soon it became clear that the US, the strongest imperialist in the world, has not just huge, but tremendously huge problems in changing the relationship of forces in Iraq effectively in her favour. The UN factor in the occupation of Iraq is just a helping tool for making this rough process smoother with a human face with a soft imperialist approach. The troops will be the same, the generals will be the same, the repression and terror will be the same. The UN is just new make-up for the imperialist face in Iraq. There is nothing human or progressive about a UN occupation of Iraq. This is what the role of the UN has been for a long time: an imperialist tool, especially for imperial US. The antiwar, anti-occupation movement should not give the opportunity to imperialists to re-organize and re-manage the war and occupation affair in Iraq; the movement should emphasize against all occupations and for the right of oppressed nations for self-determination, whether it is Palestine, Afghanistan, Iraq or Indigenous land in the American continent and particularly in Canada. Hands off Iraq. No to US/UK occupation of Iraq. No to UN occupation of Iraq. Canada out of Afghanistan. Self-determination for Indigenous people. Bring the troops home now.

# Lesson From History: The United Nations and the Imperialist War Drive

By Brennan Luchsinger

*Originally appeared in Fire This Time # 12 (April 2004)*

Recent acts of imperialist aggression, ranging from interventions in Haiti, to the US led occupation of Iraq, are clear signals that we have been entering into an era of war and occupation. Examining the role we as poor and oppressed people play in combating this new era of imperialist attacks is a case of examining political forces and questioning the effectiveness of international governing bodies like the United Nations.

The United Nations (UN) are a key force in maintaining imperialist war and occupation through providing a front for imperialism which can be used to legitimize war and occupation from Canada to Afghanistan to Haiti. The UN does this by using forces to occupy nations, forces that cannot support oppressed nations rights to self-determination. Sending armed forces to create structure is a tactic employed by the UN that thinly veils the true agenda of carrying out imperialist strategy. To examine how the UN functions as a tool of imperialism and its agenda, it's necessary to take a deeper look at the history of the United Nations.

## The Foundations of the United Nations

Similar to the United Nations it's predecessor, the League of Nations, was an international political tool run by powerful imperialist nations. However WW2 changed the balance of forces between imperialist nations, and the U.S. came out as the most powerful of the allied forces. In order to maintain a monopoly over international power the U.S. and England created the United Nations to replace the League of Nations.

The creation of a body like the UN was the beginning of an era in which the U.S. dominated the world political spectrum. In the late 50's and 60's the U.S. domination of the UN came up against the emergence of independent third-world countries that brought poor and oppressed voices to the UN. In order to consolidate power and undermine the efforts of independent nations within the UN General Assembly the UN Security Council (UNSC) was created. The council consisted of five permanent members (U.S., UK, France, Russia, and China) that have veto power over UN General Assembly decisions. This action effectively undermined the importance of the General Assembly and its structure, which included emerging third-world nations. The structure of the UN is based on serving the interests of imperialism, and this is clear through an analysis of the history of UN military interventions.

## A History of United Nations Interventions

### Palestine

In 1922 the League of Nations issued a mandate in support of the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. As a continuation of the colonialist agenda in Palestine, in 1947 the UN approved a partition to split Palestine into two separate states. At the time Palestinians who accounted for 70% of the population and owned 92% of the land were allocated 47% of the territory. During the war of 1948 Zionist Israel expanded their land, and reduced the Palestinian territory to only 23%. More than half the Arab population of Palestine were expelled or fled from their homes through the use of violence and terror.

In 1974 following the Arab Summit in Rabat, the UN granted the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) "observer status" within the UN. The reason behind the UN granting this was to add a sense of democratic discussion to their intervention in Palestine, without actually involving the PLO in the decision making process of the UN.



UN Soldiers break up demonstration in Palestine 1956

In 1990 Yasser Arafat addressed the UNSC to following a massacre of Palestinians to request a UN emergency force for the protection and defense of the lives territories and holy places of Palestinians. In response the UN general assembly called for a fact-finding mission to be sent to Palestine. To ensure that the fact-finding mission would never reveal imperialism the U.S. used its veto power within the UNSC to make sure that the mission would not be sent to Palestine. Since it's inception and first action, the UN has been used as a tool by imperialists to maintain or build power in the Middle East. Countless times the UN has stood by calling for peace conferences and summits, while Palestinians call for an end to the Israeli occupation, and for essential human rights. The Palestinian struggle for self-determination has carried on in spite of UN efforts to protect imperialist interests within the Middle East.

### Korea

Under the cover of the UN, The U.S. government attempted to

the international status quo in the favor of oppressed people against imperialism and threaten the power of all imperialist countries. There is also no illusion about the danger that other imperialist countries and their organizations, the UN and NATO, would face if they joined the occupation of Iraq. In a BBC poll in February 2004, only 0.6% of Iraqi people thought that the UN should be involved in "security" in Iraq, and in the Coalition Provisional Authority's poll in June, 57% of Iraqis expressed zero confidence in the United Nations.

The origin of this lack of confidence is certainly in the decade of sanctions that the UN punished the Iraqi people with, but this feeling that the UN is not on the side of the people of Iraq has only been confirmed as absolutely true by the UN's support of the occupation up to now.



Iraqi man shouting anti US slogans at protest

Nowhere in the proposals put forward for UN or NATO occupation is there any deviation from the path of US imperialism. In fact, all the arguments presented are that the UN and NATO would be better able to carry out the US imperialist agenda in Iraq, as expressed in the timeline towards elections recognized by UNSC resolution 1511.

Whether Iraq is occupied by the green berets or blue helmets makes no difference for the Iraqi people. This is merely an argument between imperialists over how they want to try to divide up the wealth of the people of the world, and how they can buy time to suppress the anti-occupation / self-determination movement in Iraq.

What counts for the Iraqi people is a solution to the occupation of their country, for an end to snipers, tanks, helicopter gunships, blockades, checkpoints and house to house raids. The Iraqi people want jobs and schools and their power and water to stay on. They cannot get this through a UN occupation like the one that is currently crippling Haiti, or a NATO occupation like the one choking and starving Afghanistan. The solution to the problems under occupation is to end the occupation. It is this demand that poor and working people the world over must support, demand and fight for alongside the Iraqi resistance.

**NO US-UK OCCUPATION!**

**NO UN-NATO OCCUPATION!**

**SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE IRAQI PEOPLE NOW!**

## NATO

At the Group of 8 (G-8) summit June 7 to 10 this year, George Bush tested Jacques Chirac to see how France would respond to dumping NATO completely into Iraq. The discussion turned into an argument over the relief of Iraq's debt. Given that Iraq owes France, Germany and Russia collectively more than \$127 billion, Chirac disagreed with Bush's suggestion that the "vast majority" of Iraq's debt should be relieved.

Speaking at the G-8 summit, Iraqi interim president Ghazi Yawar said that he would welcome NATO involvement in Iraq, "especially if it involves the European community. [But] we do not want to have a variety of small numbers of forces which will look like a carnival." With Bush and Chirac's differences over Iraqi debt relief, Yawar's idea did not go over well.

Bush conceded, "I don't expect more troops from NATO to be offered up. That's an unrealistic expectation. No body is expecting that." But Scott McClellan, White House press secretary qualified this statement saying, "these discussions are just getting underway."

Instead of bringing a proposal to the NATO summit June 28-29 to send NATO to Iraq, Bush sent Iraqi Prime Minister Allawi. Allawi requested that NATO train Iraqi military and offer technical support. This request was granted.

NATO is substantially different from the UNSC, and easier for Bush to maneuver within, because it is easier for him to make deals with individual or blocks of countries and get NATO to support them in part. Currently, 15 of the 26 members of NATO have troops in Iraq through this sort of dealing. But Bush has yet to win the commitment of NATO forces, and this will not happen until US imperialism is



willing to give greater ground.

### UN-NATO Occupation: not a solution for the Iraqi people

Interest from rival imperialist countries in supporting the occupation of Iraq has not only picked up because they are now in a better bargaining position than they were a year ago. The bigger factor for their interest lies in the threat that is posed to them by the Iraqi resistance. Through their heroic fight against US imperialism, the Iraqi resistance has emboldened the anti-imperialist movement around the world. The shockwaves that would result from the expulsion of the US-UK forces from Iraq would seriously destabilize



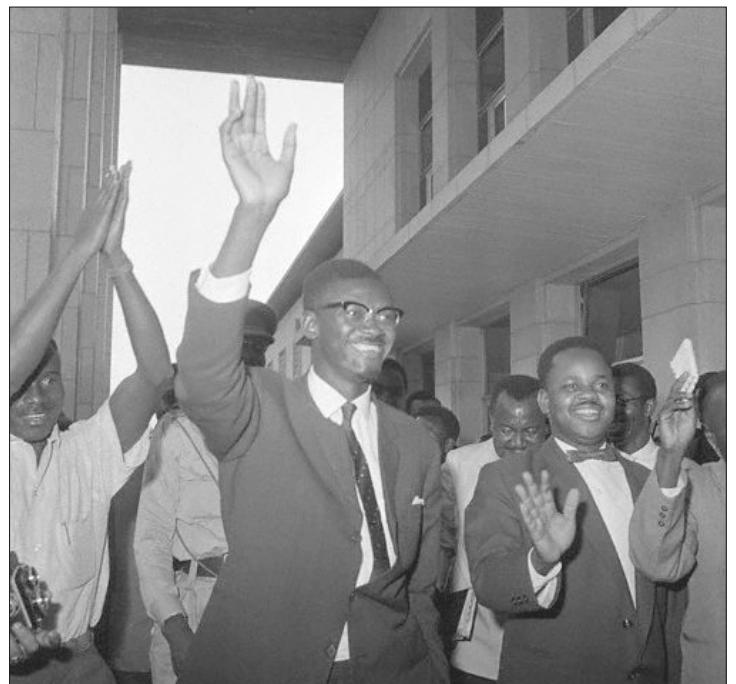
UN Soldiers arresting North Korean troops, 1952

legitimize the division of Korea by holding rigged elections in 1948. Syngman Rhee, a puppet to the U.S. Government led the dictatorship of South Korea for the next 12 years. South Korea under the dictatorship of Syngman Rhee accelerated provocations, causing the North to build its military power. When the Korean War began in 1950 the U.S. government engineered a vote within the UN Security Council to deploy U.S. armed forces in conjunction with 15 other allied forces under the banner of the UN to combat "North Korean Aggression".

After years of brutal war, roughly four million people were killed by foreign troops under the banner of the UN. To this day the Korean War stands as one of the most painful examples of the UN acting as a body that legitimizes military actions of immoral imperialist nations.

## Congo

In 1960 Elections held in the Congo saw Patrice Lumumba, and the Congolese National Movement (MNC) form a nation that



Patrice Lumumba

was independent from its former colonizer Belgium. Lumumba requested that the UN become involved in the defense of the newly independent state in order to fight the divisions between the new Congolese government. The US grasped the situation that could easily be used to attack the new government, and within the UNSC, voted in favor of a UN intervention. By the end of July 1960 8,000 troops were stationed in the Congo, at the height of the occupation the UN had 20,000 troops engaged in the occupation.

Pro US forces eventually ousted Lumumba from power while UN troops positioned outside his home supported this unilateral action. UN troops proceeded to close down government radio stations and disarm all forces that were loyal to the revolutionary leader. The rival Tshombe regime satisfied the interests of both the US, and Belgium, however in the face of popular pressure from the Congolese, Tshombe was forced into exile. On June 30, 1964, UN forces were removed from the Congo and Tshombe returned to power, and proclaimed that the Congolese national army would handle the "rebels". Two days later he reinstated his mercenary troops and called on the US for military assistance. The UN has constantly attacked the sovereignty of the Congo and was the key force that debilitated self-determination of the Congo.

## Cyprus

In 1955 the people of Cyprus took up arms to expel British colonialism from the island. Britain's instant reaction was to divide the Turkish and Greek population of the island in order to rally support for the British colony. While Cyprus maintained its sovereignty, Greece attempted to take advantage of such a new and developing state. In 1964 Greek imperialists sent troops to Cyprus to carry out a military coup with the intent of annexing Cyprus as a Greek colony. Turkey responded by sending 30,000 troops to occupy the northern third of Cyprus. The United Nations actively supported this division by enforcing a 112-mile border, referred to as the "green line", which has been in place since 1974. This "green line" acts as a buffer zone dividing Turkish and Greek Cypriots and perpetuates the division that British Imperialist forced upon Cyprus. Imperialist Britain has managed to gain access to Cyprus through the UN, and can protect the interests of the British ruling class through enforcing divisions amongst Cypriots. In 1996 UN soldiers reported over 900 incidents that occurred in this buffer zone. Four of the incidents lead to deaths.

## Angola

Angola won its independence from Colonial Portugal in 1975, however since then Angola has struggled for the right of self-determination. In 1989 the National Union for the Independence of Angola (UNITA) along with economic and military backing of the U.S. wage a civil war against the government of Angola. Through this military course of action, the U.S. seized Angola's wealthy natural resources, such as oil, gas, and diamonds. The UN became involved in 1991 placing a force of 7,000 troops in Angola. However despite the placement of these troops, and spending over \$1.5 billion dollars, the UN hasn't ended the violence in the Central highlands of Angola. In 1999 UN removed its troops from Angola after a long-winded and ineffective occupation.

UN intervention in Angola was an example of imperialism working to create an illusion of sending aid, while expending the least

that claimed the occupation "over" and recognized the June 30<sup>th</sup> "handover" to be one of sovereignty for the Interim Iraqi Government. At the same time, it mandated the US-UK to continue their occupation until "the completion of the political process." (Paragraph 12 of resolution 1546)

Resolution 1546 also included the mandate for a UN security force of "up to 5,000 troops" (Kofi Annan), separate from the US commanded troops, and specifically to provide protection for the UN team.

Almost two months later, on July 21<sup>st</sup>, Kofi Annan announced that the UN had not been able to secure the commitment of a single troop towards this 5,000 strong security team. The next day, Iraqi Prime Minister Allawi, affirming his previous statements about UN presence in Iraq being "crucial," set out to petition Arab countries to join this force. On August 6<sup>th</sup> he hit paydirt. Pakistan, Tunisia and Morocco all promised troops to the operation. In return, the same day, George Bush announced that Pakistan had become a "major non-NATO ally." This status with the US means that Pakistan has won the "right" to stockpile US military hardware, including depleted uranium, as well as access to defense research and development programmes, and an exclusive US loan-guarantee fund.

Full UN occupation, to take over major military responsibility from the US, is not an option that is officially on the table. The US ruling class is still bargaining that they can get away with giving up less profit than they would have to in order to secure a deal with the UNSC, where they would have to completely appease all three of France, Germany and Russia.

These negotiations can be best understood by the discussions had last year over the UN recognition of the occupation when Germany and Russia stalled over the negotiation table with the US. When the US appealed for an end to the sanctions on Iraq, the Russian foreign minister said, "In its current form the draft resolution presents serious problems for our country." The US bought both Russia and Germany's approval with the "right" to bid on reconstruction contracts in occupied Iraq, and the opposition in the UNSC disappeared.

However, John Kerry's promise that he would be better than George Bush at winning "our allies to our side" means that the US ruling class is keeping this option open, and is preparing to give major concessions to their rivals if it is absolutely necessary to not completely lose Iraq.



Demonstration in Falluja April, 2004



is not the “international” solution that the US is looking for. As John Kerry explained in his acceptance speech as the presidential candidate for the Democrats, “I know what we have to do in Iraq. We need a president who has the credibility to bring our allies to our side and share the burden.”

#### I get by with a little help from my ‘friends’

*“The US will wait until the situation is a complete mess before passing it on to us.” – Senior UN official, May 2003*

The situation in Iraq has certainly become a complete mess for the US. Far from swiftly taking over the country and moving on to take on the “democratization” of the whole Middle East, the US has met nothing but the most incredible resistance from the Iraqi people. Since the war drive began there has been a debate in the ruling class of the US over how much of the profits of Iraq they can afford to give up to buy “allies” in the war and occupation.

US imperialism has reached a critical point; if they do not ‘share the spoils’ of war to ‘internationalize’ the occupation as a tactic to buy more time against the Iraqi resistance and demoralize and divide the increasingly united resistance, they risk losing it all.

#### The United Nations

*“The Bush administration is turning to the United Nations only because it is in a terrible fix, and the United Nations is the only way it can get out of this fix. The bargaining power of the United Nations has suddenly increased.” – Gustave Feissel, former UN assistant secretary-general*

On May 22<sup>nd</sup> 2003 the UNSC passed resolution 1483, recognizing the US-UK occupation of Iraq. On August 14<sup>th</sup> 2003, that extended to resolution 1500 that gave the Iraqi Governing Council official international status as a national body, and the October 16<sup>th</sup> resolution 1511 recognizing the Coalition Provisional Authority timetable-countdown to “elections.”

Throughout this time, the UN, faced with attacks on their operations in collaboration with the US last August, physically pulled back from Iraq. It was not until June 8<sup>th</sup> 2004 that the UNSC unanimously accepted resolution 1546, pledging the UN to “a leading role in assisting the Iraqi people and government in the formation of institutions for representative government.” It was this resolution

amount of effort to establish and support a loyal government. When aggression carried on in Angola, but imperialist interest had been ensured, UN troops withdrew, and left the people of Angola to deal with the violence that remained at the hands of a US backed regime.

#### Suez Crisis

In 1956 Egyptian president Gamal Abdel-Nasser reacted to the broken promises of the US and British to finance the Aswan Dam by nationalizing the Suez Canal. Britain and France afraid of losing access to oil shipments from the Middle East, as well as foreign investments, allied with Israel to organize a military action to invade the canal and kill president Nasser. In October of 1956 Israeli soldiers invaded Egypt. Britain and France severing their allegiance demanded the immediate withdraw of Israeli and Egyptian forces from the canal. The U.S. had reacted by using the UN to withdraw troops and keep the Middle East open for further U.S. imperialist domination. By December of 1956 the UN issued a cease-fire, British and French troops withdrew from Egypt, soon to be followed by the Israeli forces.



Israeli Troops invade the Suez Canal

#### Iran-Iraq war

During the Iran-Iraq war, the UN was used as a bargaining tool by imperialists to control the Middle East by placing and removing power when and where it was beneficial for imperialism. In September of 1980 the Saddam Hussein regime backed by the US attacked Iran. After a week of Iraqi aggression, the UN called for a cease-fire, and ignored the Iranian appeal for the UN to aid in ending attacks. The cease-fire proved to be useless as a drawn out battle pursued. Immediately after Iran had won back its original territory the UNSC met for the first time since the invasion, and called for a withdrawal to prewar borders.

In 1987 U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy Met with Saddam Hussein and agreed on a resolution calling for a cease-fire that would be pushed through the UN, with the provision that whichever side would not accept the resolution would be subject to an embargo. Iraq accepted immediately, having designed the

resolution to place an economic embargo on Iran that would halt their resistance. However, Iran accepted the resolution as long as an “impartial commission” would be setup to investigate the war. Iraq and the US both refused this provision. The UN led peace-talks that resulted in an “undeclared cessation of hostilities”. In 1988 due to widespread pressure, Iran accepted the initial UN resolution, but Iraq having again won land from Iran refused.

### Gulf war

During the Gulf War when Iraq attacked Kuwait, the U.S. intervened to protect their strategic and economic interests in the Middle East. In order to eject Iraq from Kuwait, the UN Security Council authorized the use of “all means necessary”. After the UN deadline was not met, the U.S. under the flag of the UN carried out “operation desert storm”.

The victims of this war were the people of Iraq. The ten years of UN imposed sanctions left Iraq’s infrastructure and economy crippled. Operation dessert storm and the sanctions that followed show the how the UN failed to protect people in Iraq and prepare them only for the total devastation that was to come in March of 2003.

### Somalia

The UN intervention in Somalia was beneficial to the US who sought to create military bases in the region that would provide a launching pad for attacks in the Middle East. The strategy carried out by the UN points out the clear admission that genocide was happening, but UN troops were carrying out their own agenda that had nothing to do with ending violence between Somalian clans. The US pursued creating a loyalty in Somalia through supporting groups with arms and military funding. In 1989 after spending 390 million dollars to supply arms to Somalia, the US opened a base in Saudi Arabia, and Somalia was no longer beneficial for imperialism. At this time the U.S. withdrew its troops, along with all UN troops stationed there. While the troops were removed, what remained were the political and economical conditions of a decade of US supported war and occupation. Ali Mahdi’s regime (one of many fighting for control of Somalia) became powerful enough for the imperialism to take advantage of it, the UN recognized this as the sole legitimate governing council. To consolidate power for this newly supported regime, the UNSC unilaterally approved the deployment of 3000 troops. As the Struggle for power escalated, the people of Somalia suffered from incredible famine and military aggression. The US attempt to end this suffering was to re-establish capitalist economy by selling food to Somalian traders. Thousands of Somalians died during this famine that the UN and US supported through the form of aid chosen. The aggression that took place in Somalia represents a new era of U.S. involvement in the UN. During missions to Somalia, American forces were the only troops allowed entrance to the country, and also refused to wear the uniform of UN peacekeepers. The UN is still involved in the occupation of Somalia, and Somalians still suffer under oppressive regimes.

### Bosnia

With the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords, and the placement of 32,000 NATO troops, the UN has tried to establish legitimacy in Bosnia-Herzegovina through creating the most powerful military

# What Solution for The Occupation of Iraq Are UN or Nato Troops the Answer?

By Ivan Drury

*Originally appeared in Fire This Time # 17 (August 2004)*

*“It is critical that not only the US but also those countries that opposed the war provide the UN with the mandate and other tools that it needs, since on all counts the UN option is better than any realistic alternative. IGC interviews suggest that, despite strong misgivings, Iraqis are far more likely to accept a UN than a US role.” - From “Iraq’s Transition: On a Knife’s Edge” International Crisis Group report, April 2004*

The real motivation for the US-led war on the people of Iraq had less to do with Iraq itself, and more to do with the sharpening of the competition between the US and other imperialist countries and the decline of the international capitalist economy that molded that rivalry.

From the beginning of the war drive, in September 2002, the US appealed to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and NATO for support in the war that President Bush promised would come, with or without them. It was not surprising that these proposals were opposed and blocked by the same countries that the US was (and still is) speed racing with for the control of the resources and strategic territory of the most oppressed people of the world. On March 5<sup>th</sup>, two weeks after the failure of their proposal to intensify UN action in Iraq and establish the country as a UN protectorate and ten days before the US-UK bombing of Iraq would begin, France, Germany and Russia released a joint statement against the war. This statement read, “We will not let a proposed resolution pass that would authorize the use of force. Russia and France, as permanent members of the Security Council, will assume all their responsibilities on this point.”

George Bush responded to this by announcing that the US would prepare for war, whether or not a UN authorization was won. However, the US-UK did not give up on winning any sort of UN concession, introducing three more resolutions in the UNSC in the ten days left before war began. All of these proposals were met with opposition and were dropped.

At that time, a popular slogan in the anti-war movement was, “No war on Iraq, with or without UN support.”

Today, 18 months later, UN or NATO troops are being brought up as the solution to the US’s quagmire in Iraq by everyone from George Bush and John Kerry to major voices in the anti-war movement. Even France and Germany have changed their tune and resolutions for a “UN role” in the construction of elections and stabilization (UNSC resolution 1546) in Iraq and for NATO taking on the training of Iraqi soldiers.

However, running a so-called constituent assembly (which would never be possible under occupation anyway) and training soldiers

## Haiti

In late February of 2004 Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide was the subject of a coup de etat. Aristide states that he was forced onto a plane by US soldiers and flown to Central Africa. After the Ousting of the democratically elected leader, foreign troops have moved in, under the UN banner, and set up the UN occupation. The official aims of the UN in Haiti are to train a police force, and reinstall the disbanded military. Imperialist nations such as Canada and the US have made it clear that the occupation of Haiti will continue until a structure has taken hold of Haiti that benefits imperialism. The agenda of the UN in Haiti is to implement structure that will not support the people of Haiti. Self-determination is a condition that the UN cannot address, as it contradicts the existence of UN forces in Haiti.



UN troops arrive in Haiti 2004

## NO TO UN OCCUPATION! NO TO UN INTERVENTION!

Given the clearest examples of UN intervention, there is no doubt that the UN is not a body that can even aid the poor and oppressed people of the world. In no way is it in the interest of people to have their nation invaded and a new structure created for the benefit of foreign nations. In no way have UN led occupations around the world led to an international community that acts to achieve social justice.

Almost more important than the UN's history of imperialist intervention, is the history of the UN's failure to even address some of the most repressive situations around the world. Examples like the US carrying out war in Vietnam, Panama, Chile, and most recently Haiti.

Entering into this era of war and occupation imperialists, including those within the UN have made it clear that working and poor people's interests are not the same as the interests of the UN. The only way we, as poor and oppressed people from marginalized communities can fight these imperialist attacks is to organize with people who represent the voice of our communities! To call out for an end to all occupations whether they are the US marines, or UN "peacekeepers"! And to support the self-determination of all oppressed nations suffering from the imperialist agenda carried out by the United Nations!

force in the territory. The US designed accord split the former Yugoslav Republic into Bosnia-Herzegovina along racial lines for the benefit of imperialists. After the NATO led bombing campaign



Serbs Argue with a German UN Soldier

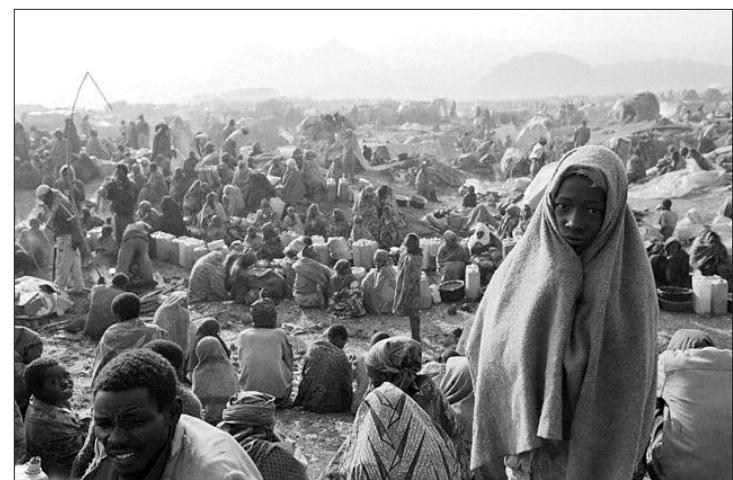
the economic and civil structures of Bosnia-Herzegovina were left devastated and entirely reliant on Western capital.

The United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) has reported a return rate of 27%, though the statistics include people displaced to ethnically divided areas. With this factor considered the actual rate of return is only 5%.

The facts of the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina are the results of a tactic of western imperialism seeking to create many mini states that rely on a US economic monopoly to exist. Not only did the UN fail to accomplish its mandate in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also the intervention stands out as a horrific example of the conduct of UN "peacekeepers". Among the many atrocities attributed to UN "peacekeepers" many cases of rape, torture, mutilation, murder, and prostitution have been documented and are still being exposed.

## Rwanda

The absolute failure of the UN within Rwanda is a case of the ineffectiveness of the UN in itself. In early April of 1994 the president of Rwanda was killed, the Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR),



Rwandan refugee camp

and the Hutu militia began to carry out the mass genocide of the

Tutsi's. The UN forces in Rwanda, UNAMIR (United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda) failed to intervene because it was outside of their mandate as a "monitoring" force. In just over two and a half months, it is estimated that half the country's population of eight million have been slaughtered, or turned into refugees.

By late April, the UNSC had voted to remove UNAMIR troops from RWANDA, slashing their presence from 2,500 to 270. In late May the UNSC voted to restore troops, but the deployment of the 5,500 (mainly African) troops was delayed as the US refused to pay for any of the costs.

In Rwanda we see the type of international aid that is provided by the UN. The UN mission in Rwanda was mandated as a monitoring mission however; they failed to report on the well-documented and eminent genocide. After failing to report, their mandate, along with the hesitant reactions of the UNSC, didn't allow them to react to the genocide. Troops were removed at the exact moment they no longer had control of Rwanda, and sent back as soon as they could establish a UN type of order in Rwanda. Rwanda is an example of UN occupation.

## East Timor

Following a long history of Imperialist intervention, East Timor a former victim of Portuguese colonialism was invaded and annexed by Indonesia. As a result of the invasion, and the oppressive conditions that were created, 200,000 East Timorese were killed.



Demonstration against UN mission in East Timor

Due to resistance in East Timor amid the late 80's and early 90's, Indonesian president Suharto called a referendum. The referendum was to encompass the question of East Timor's independence. Responding to a high voter turnout rate and the high possibility of a push for sovereignty Indonesian militias carried out a violent dispersion of over 200,000 Timorese.

As a result of the independence vote the UN established a force in east Timor by September of 1999. By late October the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor officially Took charge, directly undermining the independence of East Timor. Essentially what peacekeeping forces did in East Timor was establish UN occupation at a time when strategically they could take control of the country and deny any true sovereignty for East Timor.

## Sierra Leone

In the early 1990's due to a struggle for power going on since Sierra Leone was declared independent from Britain in the 1960's, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) began a campaign against President Joseph Saidu Momoh. The UN Security Council imposed sanctions on Sierra Leone in 1997 in an attempt to bar the supply of arms. British imperialists continued to funnel weapons and support into the country. Following talks in July of 1999 a peace agreement was signed between the RUF and ECOMOG -an armed monitoring group set up by the Economic Community of West African States. The peace agreement broke down when UN troops arrived to police the agreement, and RUF forces denounced the presence of UN forces. By November of 1999 UN forces came under attack in east Sierra Leone, and shortly after several hundred troops disappeared. Following the failure to establish UN occupation, British paramilitary troops moved into Sierra Leone to aid in "logistical support" for the UN. With the Military aid of Britain, the UN declared the war over in January of 2000, and established an occupation force to control the region.

## Iraq

In September of 2002 the US followed up the 10 years of UN sanctions, by creating the premise for the war on Iraq through addressing Iraq as a "grave and gathering danger" at a UN General Assembly. In November of 2002 after weeks of pressure, the UN Security Council passed resolution 1441 designed to create the "serious consequences" of Iraq not revealing weapons of mass destruction. UN weapons inspectors were sent to the country for their first field visit that was to take place over the next four years. Thirteen days after Chief UN weapons inspector Hans Blix reported on Iraq's willingness to cooperate, the US unilaterally attacked Iraq to "disarm Iraq and free its people". In May of 2003 the UN Security Council approved a resolution backing the US led administration in Iraq, and in turn promoting the illegal occupation of Iraq.

As the war on Iraq became imminent, the UN took a passive role, and watched as the US demolished Iraq. The role of the UN during the occupation was to legitimize the US position by backing the US led administration in Iraq and providing international support for a unilateral war and occupation where the victims are those who have been allegedly freed.