New World

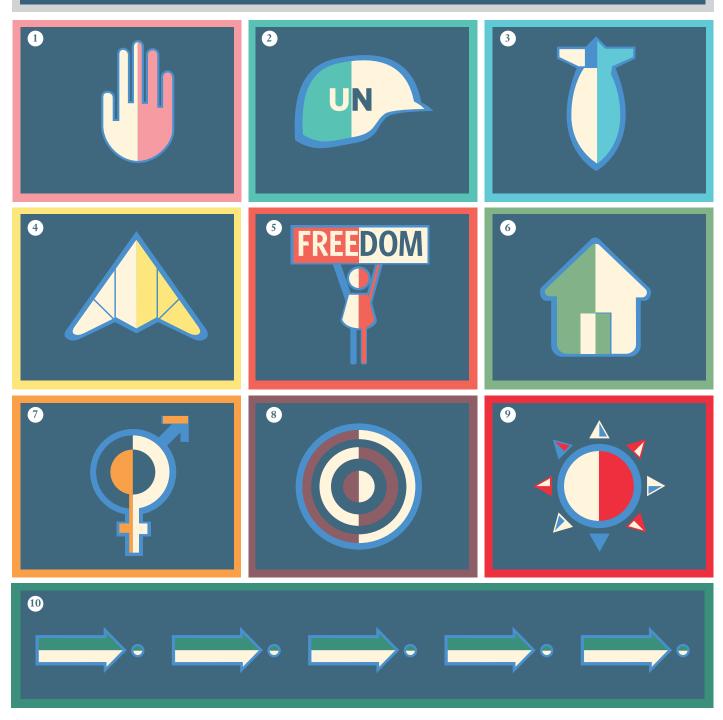


Bringing news and comment on the UN to the UK

Special Issue // Winter 2014

A global force for good?

Britain's role on the world stage



WITH <u>Valerie Amos</u> on the UN's humanitarian challenge / <u>Danilo Türk</u> on priorities for the global agenda / <u>Lola</u> Mustapha on empowering young people / UNA-UK's manifesto: a global force for good / Reports on UN Forum 2014



New World

Special Issue 2014 // www.una.org.uk

Bringing news and comment on the UN to the UK

This Special Issue of New World reports on UNA-UK's flagship UN Forum event, which saw over 1,000 people gather in London to debate global issues and the UK's role on the world stage. It also launches the Association's foreign policy manifesto: A global force for good

This issue's contributors



Valerie Amos

UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator



- Lola Mustapha

UK representative to the Commonwealth Youth Forum



Natalie Samarasinghe

Executive Director, United Nations Association - UK



Danilo Türk

President of Slovenia (2007-12) and UN Assistant Secretary-General (2000-05)

UNA-UK

3 Whitehall Court, London SW1A 2EL / www.una.org.uk Tel: +44(0)20 7766 3454

The United Nations Association - UK is a charitable company limited by guarantee (no. 1146016)

Chairman - Sir Jeremy Greenstock
Executive Director - Natalie Samarasinghe
Head of Finance & Governance - Steve Donnelly
Head of Outreach - Richard Nelmes
Communications & Campaigns Manager - Ben Donaldson
Policy & Advocacy Officer - Hayley Richardson
Peace & Security Programmes Officer - Alexandra Buskie
Administrative Assistant - Natalie Saad

New World is published by UNA-UK

Special Issue Editor - Natalie Samarasinghe Sub-editor - Cormac Bakewell, Soapbox Advertising - richardson@una.org.uk

The deadline for submission of material for the next issue of New World is noon on 5 January 2015. All submissions should be typed and sent by email where possible. Photos should ideally be 300dpi resolution. The next issue will cover the period February to May 2015.

Subscription

New World is included in the UNA-UK membership fee Designed by Soapbox www.soapbox.co.uk



This issue of New World is printed using vegetable-based inks on 100% recycled chlorine- and acid-free paper. When you are finished with the magazine, please recycle if or, better yet, pass it on to a friend.

Contents



"The scale of what the UN is tackling at the moment – caring for people displaced by war, famine, drought – is unlike anything I've seen in my lifetime as a hack" Jon Snow in his remarks to introduce Valerie Amos at UN Forum 2014

4 Scene setter
Natalie Samarasinghe

6— Report

UN Forum 2014 - launching a year of debate on global issues

8 — Speech

Valerie Amos on the UN's humanitarian challenge

0— Debate

Why should the British public care about the UN?

Featuring: Nik Gowing, Peter Kellner, Lola Mustapha, Karen Pierce, Malcolm Rifkind and Mark Seddon

P Comment

Lola Mustapha on involving young people in the UN's work

13— UNA-UK manifesto

Pull-out section featuring ten ideas on how the UK can be a global force for good

7 Youth at UN Forum

Can Britain still cut it on the world stage? Social Mobility Foundation students give their views

18— Speech

Danilo Türk on priorities for the global agenda

— Debate

Do nuclear weapons really keep us safe?

Featuring: Mark Fitzpatrick, Michael Harwood, Kate Hudson, Paul Ingram and Rebecca Johnson

— Debate

How should we respond to crises?

Featuring: Zeinab Badawi, Mike Gapes, David Hannay and Jennifer Welsh

24— Debate

Is our approach to development flawed?

Featuring: Sylvie Aboa-Bradwell, John Githongo, Richard Jolly, Claire Melamed, Maria Neophytou and Michael O'Neill

Publication

Global Development Goals: Partnerships for Progress -

UNA-UK's new report on the post-2015 agenda

Scene setter



Natalie Samarasinghe on why we need more idealism in foreign policy

Can Britain still cut it on the world stage? This was the theme of UNA-UK's UN Forum on 28 June 2014 in Central Hall Westminster, which saw 1,000 people from all walks of life gather in London to discuss pressing global issues.

The title was deliberately provocative, intended to spark debate on Britain's role in the world at a time of introspection on these shores, with a general election due after a referendum on the future of Scotland within the UK. The date and venue were significant too. The centenary of the assassination that spiralled into World War I and the site of the first meeting of the UN General Assembly reinforced the urgency of supporting our international system at a time of increasing global volatility.

The event sought to highlight the connections between national and global issues: the impact of public opinion on government support for the UN; the extent to which national decisions on nuclear weapons affect the global threat environment; the security consequences of responding, or failing to respond, to humanitarian crises; and the benefits that international development can bring to rich and developing countries alike.

This Special Issue of *New World* captures the essence of the Forum, with summaries of each debate, drawing in questions and comments from the floor. It also features abridged versions of the speeches by Valerie Amos, the UN's humanitarian chief (pages 8–9), and Danilo Türk, former President of Slovenia (pages 18–19).

Throughout the day, one key point emerged: building a safer, fairer and more sustainable world is in our national and collective interest.

What of the central question? Ahead of the event, UNA-UK asked students working with the Social Mobility Foundation whether Britain can cut it on the world stage. Page 17 gives a flavour of their answers. Like UNA-

The UK is working with governments, UN agencies and NGOs to combat Ebola, with particular focus on Liberia and Sierra Leone. It has committed to provide a £100m package of assistance, which includes: • Direct support to medical agencies on Deployment of some 400 NHS staff, including epidemiologists Construction of a treatment facility and logistical hub in Sierra Leone Emergency supplies such as food aid, medical kit, blankets and chlorine Support to strengthen the health services in Liberia and Sierra Leone Improved public communications on the disease, including radio programmes Emergency research and support to fasttrack human trials of an Ebola vaccine Diplomatic efforts, including an international conference in London held jointly with the government of Sierra Leone on 2 October A sign in front of a home in the West Point slum area of Monrovia, Liberia © epa european pressphoto agency b.v./Alamy

UK, they conclude that it can, for the most part.

We often speak about Britain punching above its weight. There is a sense of pride in this statement. For centuries, this small island has played a global role. There is some insecurity too, of a country recalibrating its place as world power shifts.

Despite a narrative of decline, Britain remains, by any objective measure, a powerful country. Wealthy and well connected, it continues to be a leading military power and an influential diplomatic actor. But how big a global role can – and should – Britain play?

This century is likely to be dominated by challenges that no one country can solve alone, from climate change to terrorism to pandemics. The UN can provide the platform and the tools for solutions but states must take the necessary decisions. They must support the UN and invest in it, not just when they need it in the short term. Not many have been rushing to the fore.

Since the global economic downturn, the narrowing focus of governments has been a recurring theme for UNA-UK. Preoccupied by domestic concerns, thrown off guard by the pace of global change, they have seemed less willing to respond to global problems, let alone provide leadership at the UN.

This trend has not dissipated but the events of this year appear to have been a wake-up call. In the West, the prospect of conflict in Europe, of 'home-grown' extremists and infectious diseases hitting world cities has made our fragile interdependence painfully clear. But there is some way to travel from recognition to action.

Western countries increasingly call on emerging economies to shoulder more global responsibility. Their involvement is certainly necessary, not just in terms of burden sharing, but also to support the legitimacy of collective action. However, as Mike Gapes MP pointed out in the Forum debate on responding to crises (pages 22–23), it will be some time before China has a power projection to match that of the US, and some time before it is likely to be willing to play a leading global role. It will be some time before countries like Brazil, India, Nigeria and Qatar have diplomatic and military capability on par with the UK. The states vying for new permanent seats on the UN Security Council are often wary of robust action. Which countries can provide the leadership we need?

We at UNA-UK believe the UK is one of those countries. Britain has not been immune to the trend of looking inwards, nor do its own policies always reflect international standards. Like all countries, it keeps its national interest firmly in mind at the UN. However, it continues to be an active player internationally. Despite economic concerns and the military campaigns of the last decade, the idea that the UK should play a global role has never gone away.

What form should this role take? At UN Forum, UNA-UK launched a year of debate on this question. We have now released a foreign policy manifesto, which sets out 10 ideas on how the UK can be a global force for good, as a leader, a convener and an exemplar (see pages 13–16).

By providing leadership and expertise, the UK can support the adoption of global development and climate frameworks. It can set the standard for atrocity prevention by ensuring its policies are geared to early warning and responsive to threat indicators.

As a convener, the UK has demonstrated that it can bring states together to discuss joint action on issues such as sexual violence in conflict and tax evasion. It is widely admired for its ability to solve problems and guide resolutions through the Security Council. It can play a crucial role in bridging different constituencies – whether that is promoting dialogue between the nuclear powers and other states, building

cross-regional support at the UN Human Rights Council, or persuading countries, as it has in the past, to support arms control treaties.

And the UK can serve as an example of best practice. By ensuring that its arms export practices meet the highest standards, the UK can reinforce global implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty. By striving for an unimpeachable record on human rights, it can strengthen its ability to hold other states to account, while protecting its own citizens. From greater engagement with UN peacekeeping to laying out concrete plans for nuclear disarmament, the UK can set the bar high and establish compelling precedents.

Are our ideas ambitious? Yes. Are they principled? Yes. Idealistic? Only if we are ready to abandon the global standards we have worked so hard to create, and willing to accept that we cannot address the challenges we face. It is precisely at times of rapid global change that we need to support our international system.

All our ideas are backed by clear recommendations for specific action. For the most part, they are modest, requiring political will and effort, not vast amounts of funding. These are small steps towards larger objectives.

It is important, though, that we keep these objectives in mind. We need an injection of idealism in foreign policy. Successive UK governments have underscored the importance of dealing with the world as it is, not as we wish it to be. This is undoubtedly true but without a compelling vision, foreign policy risks, at best, preserving the status quo.

Vision has practical benefits. Maintaining stability in a region without addressing the causes of instability can only ever be an interim measure. Instead of simply managing a conflict situation, an idealist will work backwards from the desired results, which could yield very different approaches in terms of what is prioritised on the ground.

Crucially, vision can also encourage public support. For any government to deliver a foreign policy agenda, however much it is in the country's interest, it must feel that it has a mandate from the public.

The Scotland referendum provoked a rare bout of genuine debate about the UK's place in today's world. People are clearly responsive to a positive vision for the future. Foreign policy is unlikely to be top of the election agenda, but UNA-UK hopes that the coming months will be an opportunity to discuss not just what kind of country we want to be, but what kind of world we want to build. This must include a healthy, effective and widely supported United Nations.

UN Forum 2014

Launching a year of debate on global issues

n Saturday 28 June, UNA-UK held UN Forum 2014 – one of the UK's biggest live debates on global issues – at Central Hall Westminster in London, where the UN General Assembly first met in 1946.

Over 1,000 people from across the UK joined top UN and UK policy-makers, experts, campaigners and journalists to discuss fundamental questions on security, development and human rights. Thousands more took part in the debates via social media, which saw UN Forum trending on Twitter during the day.

The event was the third in UNA-UK's series of outreach conferences, which aims to bring the United Nations to life for audiences in the UK and to discuss global issues in an accessible manner. This year's event included a strong focus on the UK's role on the world stage at a time of profound domestic and global change. It launched a year of UNA-UK action to promote public debate on foreign policy issues ahead of 2015, when the UK will hold a General Election and the international community will meet to discuss development, climate change, nuclear non-proliferation and gender equality.

During the day, participants had the opportunity to grill speakers on the following themes:

- Why should the British public care about the UN? (see pages 10–11)
- Do nuclear weapons really keep us safe? (see pages 20–21)
- How should we respond to crises? (see pages 22–23)
- Is our approach to development flawed? (see pages 24–26)

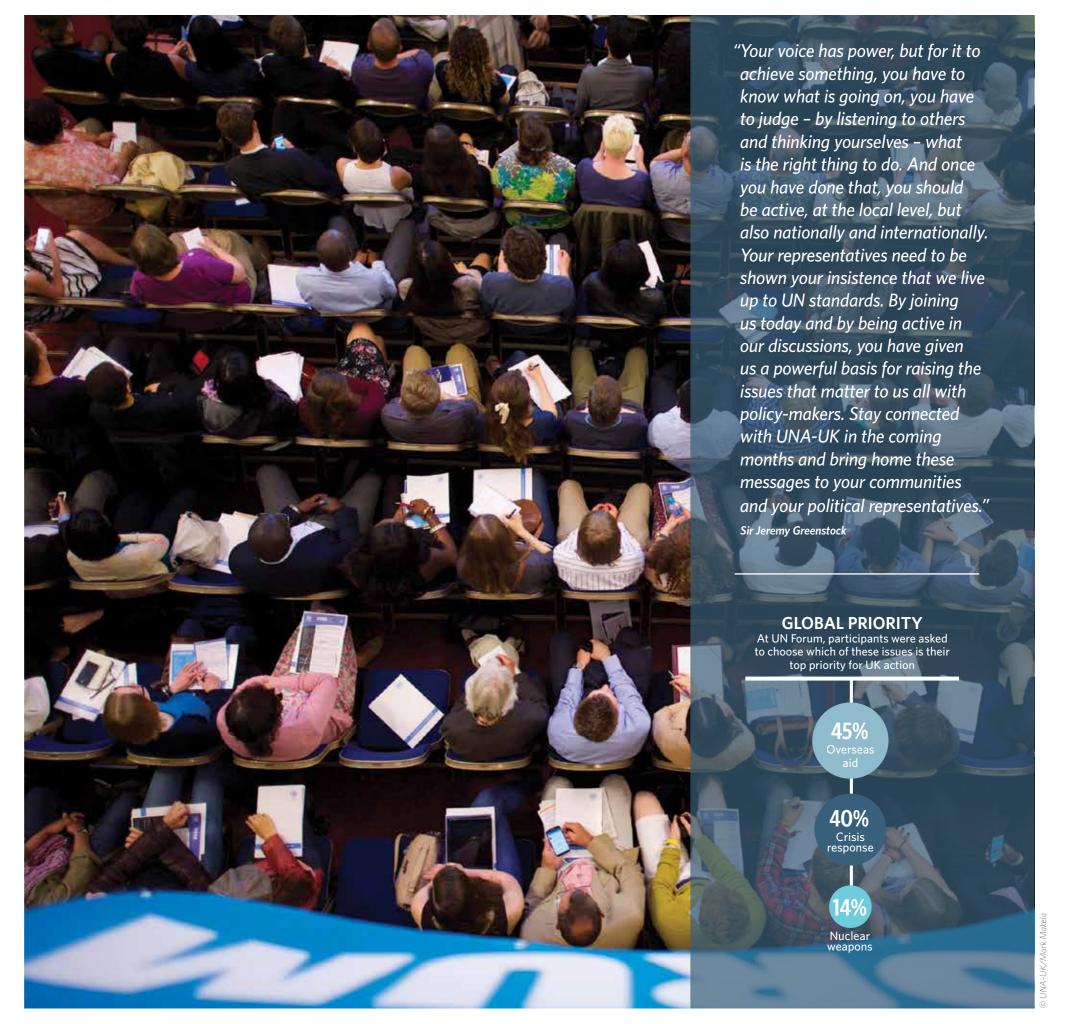
Each theme was covered from the vantage point of genuine public concern. After the sessions, the audience was asked to signal which issue was their top priority (see chart opposite).

The day also featured two keynote speeches. Valerie Amos, UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, used her remarks to share the stories of those affected by crises around the world, each one underlining the need for UN member states to put humanitarian issues ahead of politics and to work together to prevent crises, protect civilians and alleviate suffering. In a Q&A session moderated by journalist Jon Snow, she highlighted the conflict in the Central African Republic as a situation in dire need of international support and media attention (see pages 8–9 for more).

In his wide-ranging speech, H.E. Dr Danilo Türk, former President of Slovenia (2007–2012) and former UN Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, considered issues from Ukraine to the new international development framework, before looking at the UN's capacity to deal with an ever-growing agenda. His presentation was followed by a discussion led by UNA-UK's Chairman, Sir Jeremy Greenstock (see pages 18–19 for more).

Sir Jeremy closed the event with a call to action. He asked participants to build on their contribution to the day's discussions by being active in connecting the 'local' with the 'global' in their own lives and communities. He urged them to show their political representatives that they care deeply about the implementation of international obligations and responsibilities. And he encouraged them to continue to engage with UNA-UK's year of foreign policy debate.

UNA-UK has used the ideas generated at the event, and by its members and supporters, to produce a foreign policy manifesto. Entitled *A global force for good*, it contains 10 ideas on how the UK can contribute to a safer, fairer and more sustainable world. In the coming months, we will work with our grassroots base, policymakers and NGO partners to generate debate on these ideas and – crucially – to build support for global issues to be high on the political agenda. See pages 13–16 and visit www.una.org.uk/manifesto for more information.



UN Forum: keynote

Valerie Amos

Abridged, edited
transcript of the speech
by the UN UnderSecretary-General for
Humanitarian Affairs.
A recording of the full
speech is available at
www.una.org.uk/forum

am so pleased to be participating in an event of this kind in the UK – a country which has sought to support the UN over many years. I will say a few things about why I think the UN remains important and why it remains important here in Britain.

It is easy to be sceptical about the UN and to question its relevance. When we see the UN in the news it is very often the portrayal of a failure of the UN machinery and we don't generally distinguish between the different parts of the UN, the different agencies, the 193 Member States. The UN's governance also doesn't necessarily reflect the current global reality.

What really worries me, though, is when people seem to feel that the issues the UN deals with aren't quite as important anymore. Perhaps it is because the stability we have here in the UK makes many of the conflicts around the world seem a very long way away. I feel the UN's role in promoting peace and security is still front and centre of what we need to do.

The world is going through turbulent times. In Iraq, more than one million people have been driven from their homes in recent months. In Syria, a staggering 10.8 million people – nearly half the population – are in desperate need of humanitarian help. Three million have already fled the country. I deal with the crisis in Syria on a



daily basis and I can't quite grasp the fact that in three years we've gone from one million in need to 10.8 million, and we still don't seem able to deal with it.

We've seen what's been unfolding in Ukraine, the rise of violence in west and central Africa, and an arc of hotspots that could easily join up: Kenya, Somalia and South Sudan

Next year, we will celebrate the UN's 70th anniversary. We will set new targets to replace the Millennium Development Goals. Eradicating extreme poverty: we are the first generation that could actually do it. We will try to reach a new agreement on climate change. Nuclear disarmament, women's empowerment, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, tackling sexual violence in conflict – all of this is on the UN's agenda.

When I get depressed, I go back to the UN's founding principles, which centre on the importance of people. The opening words of the UN Charter are "we the peoples". It makes commitments on saving future generations from the scourge of

war, on human rights and tolerance. It is an aspiration for a better world.

The UN was borne out of a desire to prevent conflict, and despite the conflicts that continue, it has seen some significant successes: Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nepal and Timor-Leste. We forget those successes because we despair at our inability to prevent. And we should. There should be more prevention. We should take seriously the collective commitments we made to our responsibility to protect. We think and talk about Rwanda and Srebrenica but we still don't have peace in Syria or Israel-Palestine.

We have succeeded in making certain weapons and war practices illegal. Landmines are now considered inhumane and indiscriminate weapons of war. 161 states have signed up to the landmine treaty. Several armed groups have agreed to end the use of children in conflict. Two years ago, senior military officers in the Democratic Republic of the Congo were charged with offences including rape and sexual violence. The International Criminal Court

convicted a former head of state – Charles Taylor – of war crimes.

The United Nations has 120,000 peacekeepers in 16 countries. We have vaccinated more than half the world's children against deadly diseases, saving an estimated 2.5 million lives a year. The UN's maternal health campaign saves around 30 million lives a year.

We should be proud of those achievements. But often, people's activism focuses on fragmentation. Governments talk in terms of narrow nationalism, rather than addressing global issues.

Our world is interconnected. We cannot get away from that. Immigration and terrorism are two good examples. They are seen as domestic but they are transnational. Extreme weather events, epidemics – they don't recognise borders. They require international cooperation. The governance of the internet – the privacy of users – cannot be decided by any one government.

If that hasn't convinced you to care about the UN, let me give you three stories.

Two years ago, I visited a refugee camp in Kenya that hosts hundreds of thousands of Somali refugees. I met a woman that had just arrived. She could barely speak, she was totally traumatised. She had fled violence and starvation. I found out later that she had left Somalia with five children but had arrived at the camp on her own. She had lost them all on the way. The only thing that stood between her dying was the work of the UN, supported by the government of Kenya and international donors, including the UK.

I have now visited Syria seven times. I have been to its neighbouring countries – Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq and Jordan – many times. I cannot describe to you how it feels to sit and listen to a group of mothers who tell you that they had to marry their daughters off at age 12 or 13 because they were so concerned for their safety. They felt they could not protect them as they were fleeing the violence in Syria.

Last year I was in Yemen. I'm not sure why this particular story has affected me more than all the others I listen to One of the wonderful things about United Nations
Associations is the ongoing interest people take in the UN, the challenge they pose to the UN about the things that need to be done. There's a better world that we can shape and we all have a role in doing that

day in and day out, but I arrived in the middle of a huge controversy because an eight-year-old girl had been married to a man of over 40 and she had died on her wedding night because of internal injuries. I went back to my hotel room and I cried and cried. We need the UN to set standards and to voice our collective opinion as to what we think is completely inappropriate.

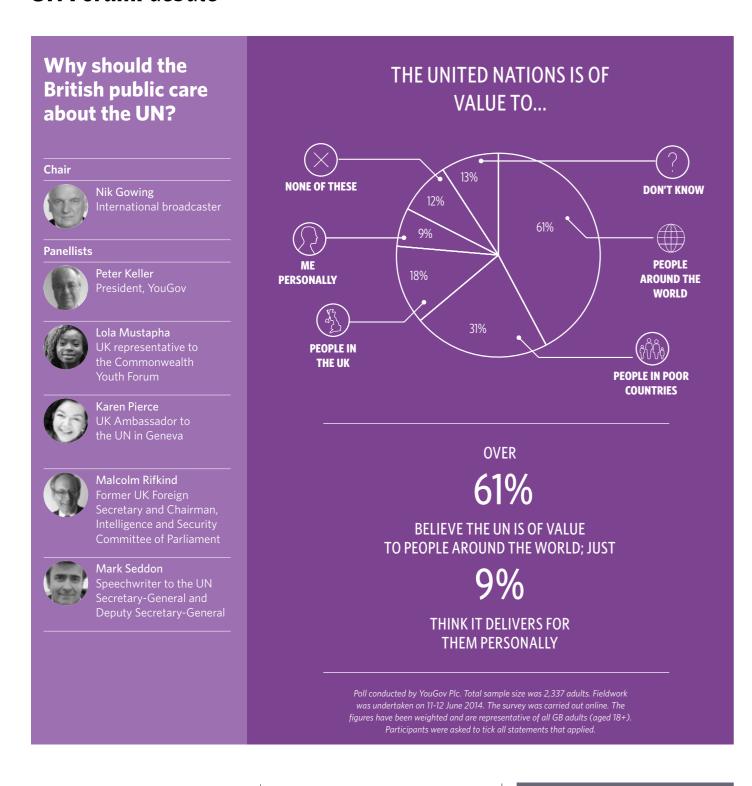
We have moved a long way in the UK. None of us can actually remember children having to go and work in the coalmines. We read about it in our history books. But these things are happening every day across the world.

So I hope the British public is proud of this country's aid efforts and commitment to the UN. Yes, the UK approaches political issues in a political way. Yes, the UK puts its national interests first – every single UN member state does – but we live in a country that believes in human rights, in democracy and in the right of people to exercise their free will. That does not exist in many countries.

At the end of last year, we had 32.2 million people displaced in their own countries. We had 16.7 million refugees. We had 20 million people in the Sahel who did not have enough to eat.

I really believe it is not asking too much to take seriously our global responsibilities.

The UN is where we go to try and work on all of these issues, from climate change to population growth to the urgent peace and security issues that reach the Security Council. The UN deals with the most difficult problems in the world. We do it imperfectly but I am passionate about the importance of the UN because if we didn't have a global forum that was set up to talk about prevention we would be in an even worse place. We need your commitment and support to reform, to innovate and to challenge ourselves to do our best for the people in our world.



Context

UNA-UK believes that the UN delivers real gains for people around the world, including the UK, from creating human rights laws to tackling issues like climate change that require global solutions. In our increasingly interconnected world, the UK stands to gain from an active foreign policy that sees the UN as an essential tool for achieving its global objectives.

Public support is essential for such an agenda to succeed. At UN Forum, we put our views to the test. Ahead of the event,

we commissioned a poll (see chart above) on attitudes to the UN. A majority of respondents – over 60% – felt that the UN was a valuable institution 'for the world'. There was less certainty about the value of the UN to the UK, and to individuals in this country.

Guided by Nik Gowing, the Forum's opening panel explored the relevance of the UN to ordinary people. The discussion is summarised here. Visit www.una.org.uk/forum for the full recording.

THE DEBATE

Nik Gowing (NG): Throughout the day we will use comments and questions to shape our discussions. Let me give you an idea of what people have been saying via email, social media and the question boards outside this room:

- I can see that the UN does good things around the world, but it doesn't do anything for me, so why am I paying for it? (Daniel Hallam)
- The UN talks and talks and does nothing. (Selene Beauregard)
- Why is the British public not told about the return of investment from the UN? (Suheil Sharvar)
- How can we who support the UN get our message across and what role can the media play? (Gillian Briggs)
- Peter Kellner: Some of these points reflect a survey we carried out for UNA-UK. We asked people which issues most influence their voting choices. It will not be a surprise to hear that the economy came top. Foreign affairs came last. The public are not engaged with these issues. When particular things happen in the EU or Syria, for example there will be a spike in interest but people do not follow foreign affairs closely. The poll also found some scepticism towards overseas aid and the use of force for 'broader global interests'.

When I attended my first UNA-UK event in the 1960s, I was motivated by the need to create a safer, fairer and more sustainable world. I think the task for UNA-UK is to show how closely connected our world is now and how international involvement is of practical benefit to the UK.

- NG: This chimes in with a question from Hilary Haystaffs - what is the point of the UN in developed countries?
- Mark Seddon: None of us is immune to global challenges. Issues like climate change, terrorism and pandemics could have serious consequences for the UK. I think it is different in countries like the UK where these challenges can seem remote. In developing countries, where people can observe what the UN is doing and the impact it has, it is a different story. But we do have an enormous job to do in terms of communications, media and outreach. People around the world can get information at the touch of a button. The UN has a good story to tell and we need to get it out there, whilst being honest about the UN's limitations. We should say: if you want us to do more, put pressure on your governments.
- NG: There are a lot of questions coming through on youth. Lola, how do your peers feel about the UN?

- Lola Mustapha (LM): Firstly I'd like to say that it's amazing to see so many young people in the room today because to be honest, a lot of the young people I meet do not know what the UN is. We need to reach those who are not engaged in national politics, let alone global issues. The UN is a great institution. Global issues need global responses. Young people should be involved in that process.
- NG: How can we achieve that?
- LM: The first step is for young people to learn about the UN and why they should care about it. Then, they should learn how to have input. There used to be a programme that enabled young people to go to the UN as part of the UK's delegation. I think that's been cut. That's a shame because experiencing how it works would help us to understand the UN. If we don't, how can we influence decisions that affect our lives? (See page 12 for Lola's ideas on engaging young people in the UN's work)
- Karen Pierce: I agree that we need to find imaginative ways to introduce the UN to new audiences. At the UK Mission in Geneva, we have been discussing a 'Youth Human Rights Council'. In terms of how the UN relates to our lives, this morning, getting off the plane, I found myself dealing with the World Health Organization about the Ebola outbreak. If you care about global health, you should care about the UN. If you care about cyber issues, you should care about the UN's work on privacy and security. If you care about natural disasters, you should care about the UN's humanitarian work. There are lots of parts of the UN that touch the lives of millions of ordinary people.

The Security Council can seem remote. Like one of the comments said – it talks and talks – and it doesn't always come to the right conclusion. Sometimes it does. In Cyprus, South Sudan and Mali it has been able to take action. On human rights, if not for the UN, a lot of countries wouldn't have the incentive to improve their systems. The UN is a multiplier of our interests, whether they are foreign or domestic interests. What the YouGov poll shows is that we are not good enough at telling this story.

NG: Here's a question for Malcolm Rifkind from Helen Doherty – how can we make the case for the UN when so many people in this country have a 'pull up the drawbridge' mentality?

Malcolm Rifkind: We must make the point that the UN is more than the Security Council. Many people in Parliament, even some in this hall, will not realise that 120,000 peacekeepers are currently operating in 16 countries. Not everyone will know that the World Food Programme fed over 90 million people last year, or that 34 million people have been helped by the UN Refugee Agency. There is also little awareness in this country and elsewhere that the UN operates on a shoestring. when you look at the tasks it is expected to fulfil. The second point to get across is that when the Security Council fails, it is not the fault of the UN as an institution but of governments.

I don't think the public is hostile towards the UN. The extraordinary numbers in this room demonstrate that there is a substantial core of the population that is positively enthusiastic about the UN. There is also indifference and disinterest. I wouldn't get alarmed about that. People live their lives; they have their own priorities.

- NG: We have some comments from the floor from former UN staff: Ahmad Fawzi, who used to run the UN information centre in London and who recently supported Lakhdar Brahimi's mission in Syria; and Margaret Anstee, former UN Under-Secretary-General and first woman to head a UN peacekeeping mission.
- Ahmad Fawzi: The UN has been grappling with these issues for 20 years. We've even discussed encouraging UN themes in TV shows. One of our constraints is funding - public information budgets are cut year on year. The UN should be able to enlist specialists and embed communication strategies into everything it does. Education is also vital. Every UN Member State should have a subject in the national curriculum that deals with the UN and global issues (see page 12 for details of UNA-UK's new teaching resource).
- Margaret Anstee: I think we need to remember the power that the media and public opinion can exert over government policy. In my last formal UN posting in Angola, there was so little interest in the situation I called it the forgotten crisis. As a result, governments refused to approve the necessary peacekeeping troops, which could have brought about peace. What people think matters.

UN Forum: views



Lola Mustapha on why young people should engage with the UN and how we can help them to do so

An organisation made up of almost every country in the world; that aims to promote peace, security and development; that champions young people and puts issues that matter to them, like education, at the top of the global agenda – the question could be: why shouldn't young people care about the UN?

But it's not that simple, of course, so I want to share a few thoughts on why the UN should be of interest to all young people and how to address some of the challenges to youth involvement.

For young people understanding and participating in global governance is essential. We care about global issues, like climate change and inequality. We want to share, learn, communicate and collaborate with youth around the world on how to tackle them. The UN World Programme of Action for Youth (WPAY) states that youth participation is "vital for the continuing development of the societies in which they live".

Decisions that affect our lives are made at the UN, and we have a right to be heard. My work as a Vice Young Mayor in London, and now as Commonwealth Youth representative, has always been underpinned by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The Convention sets out the right of children and young people to participate in decisions that affect them. There is a lot of crossover between the themes covered by the Commonwealth and UN, and I am now beginning to engage more with the UN system. The CRC is a good entry point.

Channelling youth

There are many channels for young people to engage with the UN. There is the UN youth delegate programme, under which some governments sponsor young people to be part of their UN delegations; there are UN youth groups that work on specific issues, such as climate change; and youth boards or advisory groups for UN bodies, like the UN-Habitat Youth Advisors.

The UN also supports global youth meetings, like the World Urban Youth

Forum, and provides youth-friendly information, like the UN Environment Programme's TUNZA magazine. There has been real commitment to youth involvement in the post-2015 development discussions. And last year, the Secretary-General appointed an Envoy on Youth.

But the UN can seem daunting to many young people. It's a complex organisation and most young people I meet have very little understanding of it. They feel very distant from decisions and discussions at the UN. Sometimes it seems as though you need to be in New York to get involved and despite the examples I mentioned above, information from and about the UN is not always youth-friendly.

It's also difficult to know the best entry points, especially if you are not part of an organisation that is already involved with the UN. There's no standard national-to-UN level participation process, and only a few countries run youth delegate programmes (the UK does not). There is also no clear coordination of youth engagement across the UN.

What can be done? First, states should live up to the principle of youth participation enshrined in the CRC and WPAY. This could take the form of a properly supported youth delegate programme or 'structured dialogue' between young people and decision-makers, for example.

Second, we need to reach young people at a local level, by making links between their everyday lives and what is happening around the world. This means highlighting the impact of global issues on the things they care about as well as the impact that they can have by taking action.

Third, young people should be supported as partners and leaders in local and national decision-making. By getting involved in their communities, young people can learn about, and contribute to, policies and programmes, which can help them to understand how these things work at the international level.

Finally, we need to increase understanding of the UN, what it does and how it works. We need more accessible



UNA-UK has produced a number of UN teaching materials. The latest, on UN international days, is available from www.una.org.uk/teach

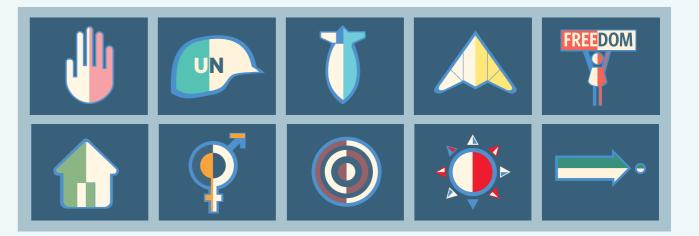
spaces, forums and channels to help young people navigate global decision-making and intergovernmental processes. Better global citizenship education would help, as would youth-led, peer-to-peer engagement, and more hands-on opportunities like the Model UN events that UNA-UK supports.

Young people care about the world and given the chance, they would engage in UN debates and get involved in global campaigns. I hope that through the British Youth Council and our UK Young Ambassadors programme we can help inspire greater UN youth engagement by providing platforms for young people, raising awareness, and signposting information and opportunities.

Lola Mustapha was elected by the British Youth Council to represent young people in the UK at the Commonwealth Youth Forum last year and now serves on the Commonwealth Youth Council. She can be contacted on international@byc.org.uk

A global force for good

UNA-UK's new foreign policy manifesto sets out 10 ideas on how the UK can use its strengths to secure positive outcomes for the British public and the world



Britain's global role has changed considerably over the past century, but by most measures – wealth, trade, firepower – it is still an influential country. Increasingly, this influence is channelled through its membership of the various groups and bodies that make up the international community, particularly the United Nations.

UNA-UK believes the UK can maximise this influence and be a global force for good, as a leader, a convener and an example to others. By providing leadership and expertise, the UK can support the adoption next year of a global development agenda that drives sustainable growth and builds stable, prosperous societies. By galvanising support for a robust climate agreement and resisting lowest common denominator compromises, the UK can help safeguard the environment for future generations.

The UK can also lead by example. By ensuring that its arms export practices meet the highest standards, the UK can reinforce global implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty. By striving for an unimpeachable record on human rights, it can strengthen its ability to hold other states to account, while protecting its own citizens. From greater engagement with UN peacekeeping to laying out concrete plans for nuclear disarmament, the UK can set the bar high and establish compelling precedents.

The case for acting globally

The independence referendum in Scotland produced a rare bout of genuine public debate about the future of the UK and its people in our "global world". It is clear that the multilateral networks that exist today have delivered real gains. We have more opportunities for travel, business, education, employment and relationships. We feel the ease of communication across boundaries. We benefit from international laws that do everything from protecting the rights of people with disabilities to banning ozone-depleting substances.

For better or worse, they have also made us more dependent on others. Our connectivity brings with it the potential for universal impact. Whether it is job creation in Sheffield or the health of honeybees in South Wales, the things we care about increasingly have a global dimension. Climate change, conflicts, pandemics, extremism – what happens in other countries matters to our own lives. A global world is also a smaller one.

Many governments have been slow to embrace the extent to which national and global interests now dovetail. The financial crisis made us look inwards, less prepared to put our efforts into global challenges and institutions like the United Nations, which represent our best hope for tackling them.



Ten ideas for UK foreign policy

UNA-UK believes that these 10 suggestions for action represent an investment in Britain's future and in a safer, fairer and more sustainable world. This is not a wish list requiring huge amounts of expenditure. These are targeted ideas for how, with the full support of its people, the UK can use its strengths – leadership, a global network, expertise and diplomacy – to deliver wide-ranging national and international benefits





A COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGY TO PREVENT MASS ATROCITIES



A CLEAR PATHWAY TO ERADICATE NUCLEAR WEAPONS

After the slaughter of 800,000 people in Rwanda in 1994, the international community vowed: never again. But 20 years on, civilians are still being massacred, from Iraq to South Sudan. Genocide, war crimes, mass rape – these crimes against humanity diminish us all. Intrinsically unacceptable, the fallout from such atrocities can also threaten our security.

The UK has been a champion of international action. It can build on this record by making atrocity prevention a national priority, and ensuring that its foreign, development and defence programmes are geared to support this.

The UK signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1968 in the belief that a world free from nuclear weapons was in the national and global interest. Although 189 states have taken on this legal duty to disarm, it remains unfulfilled, undermining not just our safety but also our system of global governance. It is time for the UK to set out a concrete plan on how it will contribute to multilateral nuclear disarmament. It can do this by reviewing its own nuclear programme and encouraging other nuclear powers to sign up to international treaties and initiatives.





MORE INTENSIVE ENGAGEMENT TO STRENGTHEN UN PEACEKEEPING

Across the world, UN peacekeeping has proved to be the most effective framework for stabilising post-conflict situations and preventing them from threatening regional and global security.

Compared with missions led by individual countries, UN operations have fewer costs and a higher degree of success and legitimacy. While the UK continues to play an important role in the approval, design and funding of UN peacekeeping missions, its practical engagement has decreased over the past 20 years. The winding down of operations in Afghanistan offers an opportunity to reassess this trend.





ROBUST POLICIES TO CONTROL ARMS, DRONES AND KILLER ROBOTS

The UK was instrumental in securing an international treaty to control the trade in conventional weapons, which kill half a million people a year. It can now set a powerful example by implementing the Arms Trade Treaty to a high standard – including through its arms export controls – and by sharing best practice. It can also use its positive record in arms control to define and build support for international regulation of drone use and for a moratorium on the development of lethal autonomous weapons (also known as killer robots).





LEADERSHIP TO PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS INTERNATIONALLY





CONCERTED ACTION
TO PROMOTE
PROGRESSIVE NEW
DEVELOPMENT GOALS

The UK can be proud of its historic role in shaping the international human rights system, which helps to protect millions around the world and to create more stable,

prosperous societies. Unfortunately, too many people see their rights abused or unfulfilled – leading to misery, poverty and conflict. For the sake of these people and to increase global security, the UK must continue to provide leadership on human rights. This includes setting a positive example in its interactions with UN mechanisms, and strengthening the UN's capacity to address violations, for example, by improving the links between the Human Rights Council and Security Council.

The creation of a new development framework, with targets for rich and developing countries, is an opportunity to build on the UN Millennium Development Goals and support sustainable societies around the world. The UK can build on its commendable efforts to date by encouraging greater focus on the mechanisms needed for financing, data collection, partnership creation and public input into the new goals. It can lead by example by embracing the universality of the framework, setting out its own plans to achieve the proposed targets. The UK can also encourage early discussions on how the new goals can complement climate targets.





A STRONG COMMITMENT TO SAFEGUARD HUMAN RIGHTS AT HOME





A VIGOROUS
DRIVE TO SECURE
THE CLIMATE
DEAL WE NEED

International human rights laws, norms and standards provide crucial protections for people in the UK. Indeed, British citizens have played a key role in achieving these hardwon gains at the global level, and in making them a reality at home. By striving for an unimpeachable human rights record and by increasing public and parliamentary scrutiny of how well it implements its international obligations, the UK can serve its own people and set an example to countries, strengthening its ability to act as a credible global advocate for human rights.

The current shape of the global climate agreement due in 2015 - with each state setting its own targets - is a long way off the robust treaty we need. The UK must persevere in raising the level of ambition. It can champion ways to make the treaty more rigorous, e.g. by linking green funds to performance; call for the EU to adopt a stronger 2030 emissions-reduction goal regardless of what other states do; and set an example by adopting more stringent targets during the period before the new treaty is due to come into force.





A BOLD PLAN TO ADVANCE GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT





SUPPORT TO ENHANCE THE UN'S EFFECTIVENESS BY IMPROVING ITS LEADERSHIP SELECTION

There is a real risk that the hard-won gains of the 1995 UN World Conference on Women in Beijing may be lost amid the broad, agenda-setting UN meetings planned for 2015. The UK can use its strong reputation in this area by championing a global development goal on gender, with targets for rich and developing countries; ensuring that its National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security sets the highest possible standards; and using its statements at next year's Beijing review conference to set out a bold plan for the next 20 years of women's advancement.

A skilled UN Secretary-General with a strong mandate could do much to improve the organisation's effectiveness. But the selection process for the role is clearly flawed: the Security Council endorses one candidate for the rest of the UN to rubberstamp – subject to veto by any of the Council's five permanent members (P5). As one of the P5, the UK could be a voice for reform, insisting the appointment of the next Secretary-General is based on selection criteria, reflects best practice in equality, has a clear timetable, and gives the General Assembly a meaningful role.

This shirking of shared responsibility must change. The 21st century will be dominated by challenges that require effective global action. It is essential that institutions like the UN have the tools to respond to these challenges. This is as much about political support and fresh ideas as it is about funding. Making these investments collectively will yield benefits now and in the future.

The UK has a privileged position at the UN. As a top financial contributor, it has great sway over what is spent and how. Its permanent seat on the Security Council gives it real influence, from authorising military intervention to appointing the Secretary-General. The UK is in a prime position to shape and build support for UN initiatives, to champion reform where needed, and to put forward creative proposals on how to make the UN more effective.

The UK did much to create the international laws and institutions we have today. It can best serve its national interests, now and into the future, by recognising the value of its relationship with the UN. Having shaped the global system, the UK is also better than most at navigating and developing that system.

The UK should play to its strengths and use the opportunities presented by these systems to secure positive outcomes for the British public and for the world.

Your support

Public engagement in foreign policy is essential.

Governments must feel they have a mandate to devote

time and effort to global issues. UNA-UK believes that policy-makers, the media and grassroots groups all have a role to play in stimulating interest in foreign policy and action at the global level.

We must make the case that effective international cooperation, with all its compromises, is squarely – and greatly – in the interest of people in the UK, and that we all have a stake in building a safer, fairer and more sustainable world.

People, in turn, need to have confidence in the global action being taken and in the ability of their government to deliver on its undertakings. This requires clarity of purpose as well as clarity on policy. We need a public conversation on the UK's role within the international community today, as well as on the kind of country and world that we want to build.

UNA-UK will play its part. Our UN Forum event in June launched our year of foreign policy discussions and public action on global issues.

In the coming months, we will build on this, working with government, parliament, civil society groups and the media to raise the profile of global issues, making the case for an active foreign policy and generating debate around our 10 policy ideas. We will also support our grassroots members and supporters in engaging people in their schools, universities, businesses and communities across the UK. Together, we can build a critical mass of support for global issues to be high on the public agenda.

Here are four simple ways to get involved:





- commenting on www.una.org.uk/manifesto
- posting on Facebook and Twitter using
 @ UNAUK and #globalforceforgood
- emailing us on manifesto@una.org.uk
- writing to Manifesto, UNA-UK,
 3 Whitehall Court, London SW1A 2EL



Keep in touch – if you are not already a UNA-UK member or supporter, make sure you get the latest news on our manifesto campaign by signing up at www.una.org. uk/join Every month, we will be encouraging our members and supporters to take part in an action that reinforces one of our 10 foreign policy ideas. The first action took place on 21 September, when UNA-UK joined forces with our partners in the Climate Coalition, Avaaz and others in an unprecedented display of public support for urgent action on climate change.

Read more here: www.theclimatecoalition.org

We will also be producing a variety of resources – hustings packs, teaching materials, parliamentary guides and more – that will be available for free from the UNA-UK website.

Our first resource is a major publication on the new global development framework, which looks at the partnerships needed to help design, implement, monitor and finance a truly effective set of sustainable development goals.

Read more here: www.una.org.uk/gdgs

UN Forum: views

Youth at UN Forum

With half the world's population aged under 25, it is vital that young people are engaged global citizens. UNA-UK was keen to benefit from youth voices and ideas at UN Forum and we were delighted that some 500 young people took part on the day.

Lola Mustapha put forward her views on involving young people in the UN in our opening panel (see pages 10–11) – these are set out in more detail on page 12.

Ahead of the event, we ran a competition for 16–17-year-olds working with the Social Mobility Foundation (socialmobility.org.uk), a charity that supports high-achieving students from low-income backgrounds, offering free tickets to UN Forum in return for their answer to the question: can Britain still cut it on the world stage? Selected responses are featured below.

After the event, we ran a careers networking session, where experts from the UN, NGOs and government shared their experiences of working in international roles with students from around the country. For more on UN careers, see www.una.org.uk/un-careers

Kai Potter Britain is a greatly influential country economically and militarily. The state of our democratic parliament ensures domestic political stability, which is key to our credibility, reputation and ability to influence other countries. However, Britain does not hold the same imperial power that it had during the 20th century. Britain is "important" but not "crucial" to global politics – we don't have the same stronghold over the world that America and Russia have.

Hunaa Khan Immigration allows Britain to be an important player on the global stage, increasing its economic and political links to other countries. Britain's strong ties with the US have increased its global prominence. It is able to act militarily to achieve its foreign policy aims. But while Britain has the potential to exercise the forms of power it has globally, this is not enough to solve a lot of the issues facing the world today.



Tayiab Ramzan Britain has been on a downward trajectory in terms of global influence in large part due to the changing nature of its economy. But in terms of political strength, Britain is still fairly relevant. The 'Special Relationship' between the UK and US is still the key global relationship since the two nations effectively lead global foreign policy. Britain is also fairly consistent in its foreign policy, basing decisions on supporting weaker nations and helping to spread democracy and economic growth.

Jasmin Bath Can Britain still cut in on the world stage? Yes, at this moment in time. Britain is the 5th biggest military and 7th biggest economic power and it has political stability. However, the progress of countries like Mexico and Nigeria and a potential departure from the EU could see our status decrease. The real question is whether Britain can continue to cut it on the world stage.

Khobaib Abuelmeaza The last century has seen a monumental shift in the balance of global power. Britain lost its empire but is by no means a 'loser'. One could say that many of the benefits of empire – political and economic ties – remain. Britain is more technologically, educationally and politically advanced. It represents an ideal

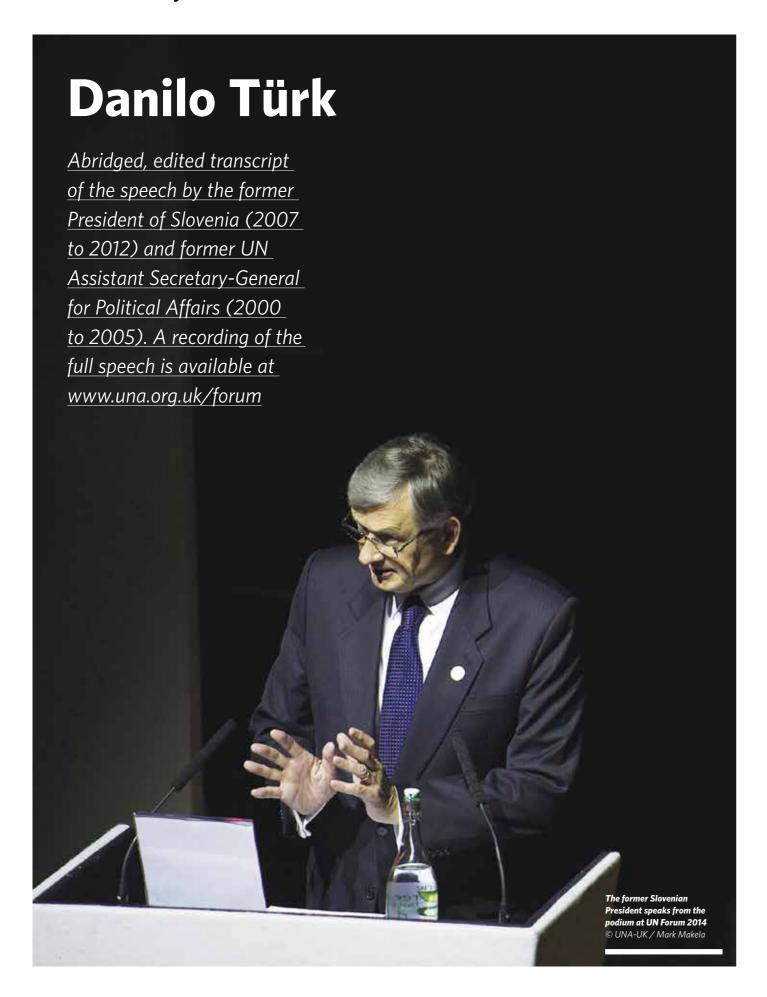
for others. Britain's military continues to outstrip the majority of the nations of the world.

Sukhneet Bhatia Britain is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and a global leader in areas such as development and aid. With 0.7% of GNI now spent on aid, Britain has become the first of the G8 to meet this target. This will help to bridge the gaps between social development and economic growth. Britain will be able to save more lives and help more children to be educated. However, within Britain, there are challenges in terms of unemployment and the provision of services. If these issues are not addressed, Britain may leave itself unable to compete with other successful states.

"At the end of the UN
Forum, there was one thing
that I kept on thinking: I
want to help this world to
become better"

Marianna Marcelline

UN Forum: keynote



ore than 200 years ago, William Pitt the Younger, then British Prime Minister, articulated an important vision. In his seminal memorandum 'Deliverance and Security in Europe' he reflected on the world to be reorganised after the Napoleonic wars. He proposed an arrangement that would enable "a general and comprehensive system of public law in Europe, and provide, as far as possible, for repressing future attempts to disturb the general tranquility".

These two elements remain fundamental: a system of public law – the legal, institutional and normative framework; and the political realism expressed in the phrase "as far as possible". What is possible is not always what is necessary, even less so when compared with what is desirable. It is a reminder that we need to take a view of what is possible at the level of multilateral institutions.

Today, the United Nations is nearly 70 years old. It is a mature organisation, based on sound principles, that has developed a remarkable level of inclusiveness, universality and, as a result, legitimacy. It incorporates both of Pitt's elements: political realism through the Security Council, and institutional stability, which is highly necessary but which can make changes to the system more difficult.

Looking back, we can see that the UN has had many successes: decolonisation, for example – a major transformation of the world; the evolution of peacekeeping, which has defined the UN's work and influenced the activities of other organisations; and the creation of the international human rights system. At the end of World War II the whole area of human rights was undeveloped. Its evolution through the UN provided a good platform for the big changes that happened in the decades that followed.

I was involved in human rights activism in the 1970s and 80s. Just think of the world at that time, characterised by Apartheid in South Africa, military dictatorships in Latin America and communist rule in Eastern Europe. A very important factor of change has been the international system of human rights, and civil society activism based on those norms. We should never underestimate the transformative effect of what the UN has been doing.

It continues to face challenges, of course, in all of the three main areas of its work. In terms of peace and security, peacekeeping has grown in size, in diversity of operations and in the demanding nature of the task. There have been encouraging developments – the multidimensional mission in Mali, which has created a robust presence; and the intervention brigade in the Democratic

Republic of the Congo, which is gaining the experience for effective military action. But there have also been problems. We must, for example, develop further the policy of zero tolerance of sexual abuse by peacekeepers.

When we see the depth of challenges to our security, from Ukraine to Syria, we must also continue to appeal to the permanent members of the Security Council to find ways forward. Time and again, we have seen that common purpose in the Council is a vital ingredient for success – this will remain the case in an expanded Council too.

Turning to development, this is an area in which the UN has always had results, in financing and delivering projects, and in developing concepts, from 'trade not aid' in the 1960s and 70s, to the human dimension of development in the 1980s and 90s, and the Millennium Development Goals later on. The Goals are sometimes considered to be too succinct and basic. However, they build on the words of Nitin Desai, former UN Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs, who said the UN has to deal with "the attention deficit disorder on development issues in the media and higher reaches of government".

Now, more than a decade later, we can see that this approach has helped. As we discuss the next set of development goals, there are three areas I would suggest we pursue. First, we have seen in the report of the UN's High-Level Panel on the post-2015 development agenda, which Prime Minister David Cameron co-chaired, a target to eliminate extreme poverty within the next 15 years. If we are to go seriously in that direction it will be necessary to elaborate the profiles of poverty with more precision. We will need to define who is affected and what kind of policies need to be directed to that end.

Second, we need a broader concept of sustainability. It is often reduced to the environmental dimension but sustainability has social, legal and human rights aspects. For development to be sustainable it has to be seen as socially oriented and has to include fairness.

Third, fairness itself. Development has to be fair and fairness requires us to think clearly about bringing governance and human rights into development in a productive way. Civil and political rights have largely won that battle. We must now look at rights such as the right to education, to mental and physical health, and to an appropriate standard of living.

Lastly, we come to the area of human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the cornerstone of the human rights system, states: everyone is entitled to a social and international order

"It is far too early to be talking about candidates. Now is the time to think seriously about criteria and procedures. One way of improving [the selection process for the **UN Secretary-General**] would be to involve the General Assembly earlier, in a discussion that could - or should - be public. and in which candidates could explain their views ... I would really like the international community. including organisations that support the UN, to get into that. Everything else will follow and what will follow will have to be seen."

Danilo Türk, answering a question about media reports that he will run for UN Secretary-General in 2016

in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realised. Can you imagine the level of ambition that guided the drafters? This is not only about formal recognition of rights, nor fighting for certain priorities. This is about building an order, domestic and international, in which rights are fulfilled. This is an open-ended challenge for the UN.

I will conclude with some remarks that build on this morning's discussion: the UN must improve its image and public outreach. Education is fundamental to this. There is a need to reform the UN Secretariat and give more resources to public information. Each substantive department should have a resourced communications strategy. The UN has many good stories to tell. Conferences like this one are very important because they help us to think about these stories and how we can use them to make the UN – this very necessary organisation – an effective institution for the future.



Context

From the very first resolution of the UN General Assembly in 1946, governments have repeatedly endorsed the goal of a world free from nuclear weapons. Nearly 70 years on, the majority of the world's population still lives in countries that have them, or are protected by those that do.

In the UK, there is broad, crossparty consensus on global disarmament, but here – as elsewhere – momentum has stalled in the face of increased instability around the world. With regard to the UK's own weapons, the three main political parties have focussed on options for replacing the current Trident system. This debate is likely to heat up again around the time of the 2015 General Election.

Campaigners, meanwhile, have called for it to be scrapped entirely, citing the dangers - and cost - of these weapons. Public opinion is not straightforward. Just three per cent of those we polled* felt a nuclear attack was one of the biggest threats facing the UK. But the most popular view on the

country's nuclear weapons - with 36% was "they keep us safe".

Guided by Paul Ingram, whose organisation BASIC ran the Trident Commission, an independent, crossparty examination of the UK's nuclear weapons policy, the panellists were given three minutes each to answer the question: do nuclear weapons keep us safe? Their main points are summarised here. Visit www.una.org.uk/forum for the full recording.

would be enormous. Both said that public support was crucial to making progress on disarmament and called on the UK to

>> Have we reached a period

the answer, we should keep them as an insurance policy.

Michael Harwood, former UK representative to the UN Military **Staff Committee**

- If we look back at the past five years, we realise how difficult it is to predict threats and instability. Going forward, we should be guided by three principles: anticipation, preparation and multi-level deterrence.
- Deterrence seeks to encourage better behaviour through fear of consequences. While diplomacy is the best way forward, there are times when universal values are threatened where it is our clearly explained readiness to use force - with statesmanship, not bravado - that will have an impact. Nuclear weapons have never been and should never be an 'all-purpose' deterrent. The UK needs a combination of soft power and hard power, with our seat on the UN Security Council playing an important role in both those areas.
- Other states are unlikely to care if the UK 'goes to zero'. We need to think carefully about the next 50 years. We can go towards zero but we must watch carefully what others do, not just what they say or commit to.

Kate Hudson, CND General Secretary

- Disarmament has been designed to kill and destroy. By retaining them we are perpetuating an existential threat. Disarmament has been a widely recognised goal in the UK and internationally for decades, with many initiatives gathering momentum, such as on the humanitarian consequences of nuclear-weapon use.
- Unfortunately, the UK is hanging back, even though nuclear weapons cannot deal with the dangers we face. Take climate change, another existential threat. This is where we ought to be

>> Ukraine voluntarily disarmed and now

- spending our money. Or terrorism this cannot be tackled through nuclear weapons. It needs a foreign policy that strives for peace, justice and equality.
- Nuclear weapons only serve to institutionalise inequality and to perpetuate perceptions of double standards around the world.
- Most governments have been in agreement on disarmament for decades but nobody has the courage to take the first step - everyone is waiting for others to act. With the decision on Trident coming up, the UK is in a perfect position to show leadership.

Rebecca Johnson, Acronym Founder and Director

- Did nuclear weapons ever keep us safe? What do we mean by 'safe' and who do we mean by 'us'? There have been dozens of conflicts since 1945, involving nuclear and non-nuclear states. The world has avoided nuclear war by luck, not judgement.
- There are currently an estimated 16,000 warheads in the world. Reductions are welcome but not enough. These weapons pose multiple threats to our security, through accidents, miscalculation, cyber warfare or terrorist attacks. They are embedded in our security doctrines - do we really understand that words such as 'countervalue' mean the targeting of cities full of people?
- The UK and France perpetuate the notion that nuclear weapons confer power on smaller states and the ability to undertake 'independent action'. States that aspire to nuclear weapons, often run by weak or despotic rulers, use the same arguments put forward by nuclear powers: deterrence, power, force projection, etc.
- These are not the weapons of the future. In the context of cyber attacks, our nuclear weapons aren't just useless, they could be used against us.

A FLAVOUR OF THE Q&A

>> Why focus on nuclear weapons when conventional weapons kill more people? (Katarina Horvath)

The panel agreed that there was a need to tackle both and promote peaceful solutions to conflict. Kate Hudson and Rebecca Johnson said that they had chosen to focus on nuclear weapons because the humanitarian, social, economic and environmental consequences of their use

engage with global initiatives.

where nuclear war is impossible? (Emanuele Militello)

The panel agreed that nuclear war is still a possibility. Mark Fitzpatrick said that while

and Russia, there were situations (e.g. India is under threat from Russia. Would it and Pakistan, North Korea) where one have been attacked if it still had nuclear could see it happening. Michael Harwood weapons? (Shashi Shah) pointed out that the world is facing multiple The panel agreed that nuclear weapons challenges. Some are known, like terrorism, pandemics, cyber attacks and deadly

DO NUCLEAR WEAPONS

REALLY KEEP US SAFE?

YES NO

Mark Fitzpatrick, IISS Director of Non-

more generally, has experienced an extended period of peace. The UN

nuclear weapons. Deterrence has been

instrumental in preventing major wars.

Proliferation and Disarmament

Since 1945, the UK, and the West

deserves credit for this but so do

It is true that the world has been

lucky to avoid nuclear war - doing

away with these deadly weapons is

a goal to be supported. But only if it

can be done in a way that does not

have now.

disarmament.

make us more vulnerable or open to

conventional war. A nuclear-free world

must be at least as secure as the one we

The UK has been the most progressive

and transparent nuclear state, reducing

its deterrent to just one delivery system.

But others are not going down this path.

Given current instability, now is not a

Nuclear weapons may not be useful for

about tomorrow? If we are not sure of

all the threats we face now, but what

this was unlikely to occur between the US

weapons that are difficult to uninvent.

Others we can only imagine. We must

make sure we are prepared.

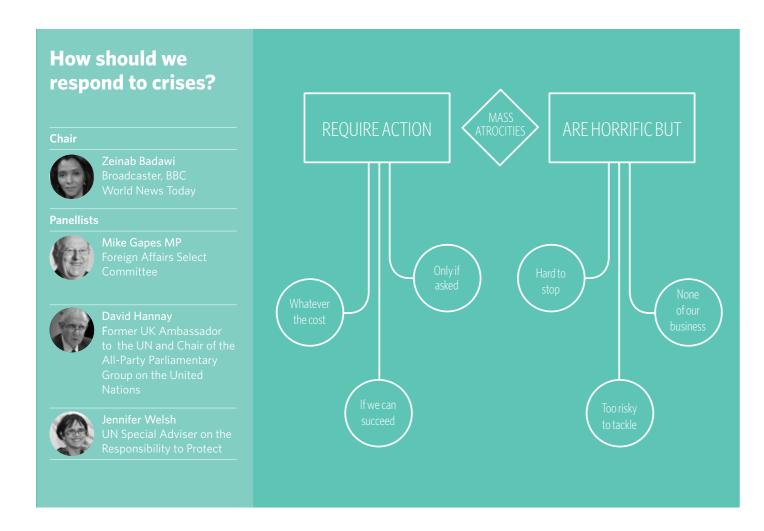
propitious time to advocate nuclear

hadn't been a factor in the crisis. However, Mark Fitzpatrick stated that Russia's actions represented a violation of the undertaking it had made to preserve Ukraine's territorial integrity

and political independence in return for Ukraine eliminating the Russian nuclear weapons stationed on its soil. Broken promises could discourage others from disarming.

*Poll conducted by YouGov Plc. Total sample size was 2.337 adults. Fieldwork was undertaken on 11-12 June 2014. The survey was carried out online. The figures have been weighted and are representative of all GB adults (aged 18+).

20 // UNA-UK **NEW WORLD** Special Issue // Winter 2014 UNA-UK **NEW WORLD** // 21



Context

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the genocide in Rwanda, which saw some 800,000 people killed in just 100 days of slaughter. The Rwandan genocide played a strong part in motivating governments to adopt unanimously the responsibility to protect (R2P) principle at the 2005 UN World Summit.

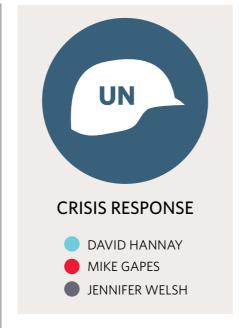
R2P holds that there is a collective responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. States bear the primary responsibility for protecting their populations but the international community has a duty to support them in exercising it. If a state is unable or unwilling to do so, then the international community can take a range of measures.

The most contentious measure – the use of military force – has a number of limitations. It should only be used when all other means have been exhausted, must do more good than harm, result in as little violence as possible and have a reasonable chance of success. It also requires authorisation by the UN Security Council.

Since then, states have struggled with when and how to implement this responsibility. In countries such as Sudan and Sri Lanka, the international response was largely confined to hand-wringing. In Libya and Mali, robust action was taken but not without criticism. In Syria the death toll continues to rise in the absence of adequate action.

As a permanent member of the Security Council, the UK has an important role to play in helping the international community to respond to atrocities. But politicians and the public have different views on what form this role should take. Last year, the UK Parliament narrowly rejected possible UK military action in Syria. The vote was thought to broadly reflect public opinion, but polling shows a more nuanced picture.

43% of respondents in our YouGov poll (see note on page 21) felt that it was right to send British troops to take military action for humanitarian reasons. In a survey we commissioned from Ipsos MORI in 2012, 25% agreed that the UK should intervene if there is "even an indication that civilians are at risk".



Guided by Zeinab Badawi and questions from participants, our panellists discussed whether, and how, the international community can address mass atrocities. Their main points are summarised here. Visit www.una.org.uk/forum for the full recording.

Q: Does responding to crises using military intervention increase the risk of human rights violations? (Farvah Javaid)

David Hannay (DH): I don't think that we can seriously say that if there had been military intervention in Rwanda there would have been *more* human rights abuses than took place in the genocide, or if force has been used earlier in Srebrenica, that it would have led to more violations. Just because we cannot protect everybody all of the time, doesn't mean we shouldn't try to protect anyone.

Mike Gapes (MG): It depends very much on what happens afterwards. If, for example, we look at Libya today, clearly the situation is terrible. Does that mean that stopping Gaddafi from massacring people was wrong? No. But there are issues regarding the aftermath - how we deal with ungoverned areas, failed states and the sustainability of the situation on the ground. I believe that Sierra Leone is an example of success, an intervention with minimal loss of life and ongoing post-conflict support. We should also remember that nonintervention has consequences. Syria is a case in point.

Jennifer Welsh (JW): There is always an obligation to assess whether intervention would do more harm than good, which leads to disagreement about what action, if any, is appropriate. With regard to Darfur, for example, very few people disagreed that there was a grave humanitarian crisis but many disagreed on whether military action would be able to address it.

DH: I think we are at risk here of parodying what critics of R2P say, namely that it is all about military intervention. In the first instance, R2P needs to be preventive. We must move on situations before gross abuses take place. This could be through diplomatic means, sanctions or preventive deployment of peacekeepers. One could say that the action in Mali was preventive – it saved a lot of lives. We ought to get better at acting early.

Q: How can we take action on atrocities when there is an 'impasse' at the UN Security Council? (Viv Williams)

JW: Disagreement amongst the five permanent members (P5) of the Council makes action difficult. But R2P

is not owned by the Council. There are things that states can do individually to prevent atrocities, in terms of controlling the supply of weapons that fuel conflicts, for example. And when the Council is deadlocked, we can continue to pressure the P5 to uphold their responsibilities. There is also the option for the UN General Assembly, under its 'Uniting for Peace' resolution, to make recommendations on collective measures that can be taken.

DH: It is difficult to use R2P as it was intended if one of the P5 vetoes action. France has recently proposed that the P5 agree informally amongst themselves that they will not veto any resolution which seeks to deal with mass atrocities. I would like to see the UK supporting this proposal. I cannot imagine that this country would want to veto a resolution under such circumstances and we should say so.

Q: The international community failed to prevent mass atrocities in Sri Lanka in 2009. Considering the ongoing human rights situation, does R2P apply to Sri Lanka today? (Nirmanusam Balasundaram)

JW: The UN has engaged in an internal review following a report that concluded that there had been a systematic failure to protect the population in Sri Lanka. It was difficult to get the issue discussed at the Security Council - and this would remain the case today for similar situations because its agenda is set by its members. However, the UN has created the 'Rights Up Front' initiative to address its own failings. This includes empowering those in the field to act. In 2009, UN actors in Sri Lanka were developmental and humanitarian - there was no political or peacekeeping force. As for Sri Lanka today, R2P is a preventive doctrine which encourages states to act before abuses occur, and there are a variety of states where there are risk factors.

Q: Should R2P be extended to cover all egregious violations of human rights? *Patricia Whisk* and What is happening with regard to the school girls that have been abducted in Nigeria? (*Fiona Barrie*)

JW: The power of R2P is that it is understood narrowly and that it is meant to apply to the most exceptional, horrific acts on which there is widespread agreement.

DH: On Nigeria, I think the situation illustrates that countries are far too reluctant to ask for help. For a long time, the Nigerian government nurtured the illusion that they could deal with Boko Haram alone. Now, at last they have called for assistance although the girls sadly have not been found. Macedonia is the only country ever to have asked for preventive deployment of peacekeepers and it worked. Why don't more countries ask for assistance sooner?

Q: China is set to take over from the US as the world's leading nation. How will that affect the international community's ability to respond to crises? (Audience, no name given)

MG: I think we are some years away from when China will have the global power projection of the US and the desire to play the role that America has in the last century. China still has modernisation and other internal issues to deal with. But it is worrying that there are growing tensions between China and its neighbours, particularly Japan.

DH: It is in periods like the present, where power relationships are changing very rapidly before our eyes, that there is a real risk of miscalculation and misjudgement. This is when we are most in need of the instruments of international law and the international institutions that we have set up since 1945. At the moment they are functioning partially but not completely. They need to be supported.

Q: I don't think military intervention is ever the right approach. Shouldn't we focus on prevention? (Clarissa Weinmann)

MG: Prevention is vital but I don't agree that it should be our only focus. Sometimes we have to take more robust action once crimes have happened to prevent more violations and to stabilise the situation. The key is to make sure that we always think about the long-term consequences.

JW: Prevention is a popular thing to say but difficult to achieve. Governments need to invest – time and money – into preventive systems. They don't do nearly enough, so ask your governments what they are doing to support prevention.

Is our approach to development flawed?

Chair



Maria Neophytou, Executive Director, The Gender Rights and

Panellists



Sylvie Aboa-Bradwell, Founder and Executive Director, Policy Centre for African Peoples



Commissioner, Independent Commission for Aid Impact



Richard Jolly, Honorary Professor, Institute of Development Studies and former UN Assistant Secretary-General



Claire Melamed,
Director of Growth,
Poverty and Inequality,
Overseas Development
Institute (ODI)



Michael O'Neill, Assistant Administrator, External Relations and Advocacy, UN Development Programme (LINDP)

OVERSEAS AID IS A..

MORAL CHOICE

LEGAL DUTY

GOOD INVESTMENT

SOURCE OF PRIDE MEANS OF CONTROL

LUXURY WE CAN'T AFFORD

BLUNT INSTRUMENT **BIG CON**

_____?

Context

In 2005 – the year of the Make Poverty History initiative, Jubilee Debt Campaign and G8 Gleneagles Summit – millions of people around the world believed that aid, debt relief and sound policies would end extreme poverty.

This was the high-water mark of support for the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Adopted by governments in 2000, they have been hailed as the world's most ambitious antipoverty initiative and with good reason. Significant progress has been made at the global level in reducing extreme poverty, child mortality, deaths from malaria, new HIV infections and the number of girls out of school.

But progress has been uneven, between and within countries. Some goals, like addressing maternal mortality, are unlikely to be met by the target date of 2015. Some groups, such as people with disabilities and the elderly, have been left behind. As a result, there is more cynicism and less consensus on how to tackle poverty today.

The MDGs have been criticised for incentivising governments to pursue the easiest gains, for leaving out issues such as human rights and good governance - crucial to addressing inequality and for focusing on numbers rather than outcomes. They have also been portrayed as representing business as usual: a top-down, North-South view to development, with a narrow approach to key issues such as women's empowerment. Today, aid is under increasing scrutiny, due to economic pressures in donor countries as well as growing calls for transparency and accountability in developing states.

As the international community gears up to adopt a new set of goals in 2015, our panellists discussed whether our approach to development is flawed. The session was chaired by Maria Neophytou, whose organisation has been working with the UK Department for International Development on a groundbreaking piece of legislation which aims to ensure that gender equality is always taken into account in development programmes.

Each speaker was given just 60 seconds for their opening statement. These are presented here, followed by extracts from the debate. Visit www.una.org.uk/forum for the full recording.

Development was subsequently voted the 'top priority' issue by Forum delegates.



THE DEBATE

- Maria Neophytou (MN): Development cannot be measured by economic growth alone if half the population is left behind. We must consider the roles and responsibilities of men and women in society, so that women can succeed in the public sphere - the work place and politics - and men in the private sphere, in domestic labour and care. Gender has an interesting way of subverting and inverting the relationships between the so-called developed and developing world: in terms of gender equality the UK is still a developing country. The inclusion of a universal gender goal in the new development framework could revolutionise gender equality.
- Sylvie Aboa-Bradwell (S A-B): My comments are focused on Africa, my area of expertise, and in Africa, our approach to development is flawed. The foreign aid and the 'beggary industry' - our main policies for the continent - are based on the same thinking that made us believe that slavery was good for Africa. Now this mindset is having even worse consequences because things are happening under the false pretence of change and with more disastrous consequences. How can we remedy this? We must all understand that because of the horrific history of the continent, it is essential for Africans to be self-reliant.
- John Githongo (JG): Our approach to development is increasingly irrelevant because peace, education and the free movement of ideas, goods, wealth and people make growth happen. The rise of Brazil, India and China has seen the greatest number of people lifted out of poverty in human history. There is now enough wealth to go around, even in some of the poorest countries. Inequality, though, continues to grow. Deepening

inequality means greater volatility – politically, socially and economically. The solution? It's no silver bullet but tackling corruption is vital. Corruption can co-exist with both poverty and growth but in every case, it deepens inequality and undermines the legitimacy of states. We need to breathe life into the UN Convention Against Corruption, passed in 2003, and give it teeth to address issues such as money laundering, trafficking in people and counterfeiting.

Richard Jolly (RJ): Is our approach flawed? Yes. Is it fatally flawed? No. Three problems we need to fix are: we focus too narrowly on poverty and not enough on inequality; we focus too much on GDP and not enough on structures for human development; and there is too much uncritical support for the World Bank and IMF, and not enough for the UN. Three things we ought to do: strengthening global governance and making it more humane; providing more multilateral aid to operational parts of the UN like UN Women and UNICEF; and focusing on measures to reduce inequality.

Claire Melamed (CM): Increasingly

- I wonder whether calling what we do development is useful. I think 'development' is now confined to aid ministries in donor countries. It is very difficult today to point to a group of countries and say they are 'developing'. If you are in Mozambique and you are trying to run a health service, this is matter of health policy. If you are in Tanzania concerned about youth unemployment, your concerns are shared by politicians across Europe. If you are in India thinking about financial regulations that will attract investment, so are many others around the world. What we have now is a series of common problems and of objectives that governments pursue individually and collectively. The fact that the new set of development goals will be universal - they will apply to all countries is an important change.
- Michael O'Neill (M O'N): Our approach to development is certainly not fundamentally flawed it is achieving results. But our system could be improved. Although it remains essential, we cannot focus on poverty alone. We need to look at human rights and good governance and, as UNDP is doing, help states to enhance their resilience to crises. We must realise that there isn't a single approach to development. Flows of public money remain indispensable for low-income

countries. They are less important for middle-income countries, which may be more concerned about inequality. And we must continually try to enhance the effectiveness of what we are doing.

Q&A

Should we learn from countries like China, which have stayed away from policy prescriptions from international institutions, and achieved phenomenal economic growth and poverty reduction? (Kavita Dattani)

- S A-B: China is an interesting example for Africa. We can learn from them that we do not need to be framed as poor people who have to rely on others to get ahead. But we must avoid China's approach to human rights and good governance. We must also remember that not all countries are at the same point in their development, In Africa, we have an utterly unique and horrific legacy - the continent has been broken by centuries of the slave trade and suffered from 50 years of corrupt systems put in place by puppets serving foreign interests. So in the case of Africa, there is no framework or template, it is about people taking control of their own lives.
- M O'N: China itself recently produced a policy paper on the development assistance it provides, which indicates that it recognises its approach needs to improve. It is one of a growing number of 'non-traditional' donors, such as South Korea and Saudi Arabia. Aid from these countries quadrupled between 2000 and 2011 and they have enormous lessons that can be shared, which may be more relevant than our own experience in Europe.

There seems to be a growing trend of 'voluntourism' – young people with little experience going to developing countries for short stints. Does this really have any positive effects on global development? (Nicoletta Primo)

RJ: I started my own adult life, not quite as a volunteer, but quite unexpectedly working in Kenya, which changed my trajectory completely. I think that volunteering still has an important role to play and I hope that it will be supported by governments. Volunteering schemes will become ever more important as demographic changes around the world will require a massive enlargement of care.

JG: We had a phase where volunteering became aid, aid became an industry and then an industry that was often self-perpetuating. I think we are pulling back from that now, especially with the young generation. We are returning again to the spirit of volunteering, of human beings connecting with fellow humans around the world.

I heard at a conference that the new set of development goals will not include malaria. Is there a risk that progress will be reversed? (Audience, no name given) and Countries often say that limiting carbon emissions will hinder their development. Is our approach flawed because we value economic growth over tackling climate change and building a sustainable future? (Audience, no name given)

M O'N: It is the intention of the new development agenda to avoid precisely this artificial bifurcation between issues of climate and issues of poverty. They will be called 'Sustainable Development Goals' and there are several targets on various aspects of environmental protection, much more than in the MDGs.

As for dropping certain issues, if anything, the draft of the goals includes too much. Instead of eight MDGs, the current text contains 17 goals with over 200 targets. If we are to achieve an agenda that will attract international consensus and support and that will mobilise enthusiasm, I think we need something more targeted but which continues to address key areas of health

- S A-B: Can I just say that on issues like fighting malaria, it is the responsibility of governments to do that, not ours. We are not encouraging them to do so nor helping accountability in these countries by giving them this kind of assistance. Would the French Revolution have happened if people had been given bread?
- CM: I completely agree that governments must be responsible for, and accountable to, their people. Anything that undermines that isn't good. But this question of whether aid works, it's like asking 'does policy work?' or 'does transport work?'. There are good ways to do it and bad ways. There are examples of where aid has been positive, where it has supported states and achieved dramatic improvements in peoples' lives

in a way that reinforces the functioning of government. Sadly, there are examples of the opposite happening. I am not sure one can draw general conclusions about whether aid is good or not. It depends how it's done, with whom it's done, in what sector, for how long and with what relationships.

- JG: I think we have to remember that when we talk about diseases like malaria in certain countries, we are really talking about a governance crisis, with homegrown roots and homegrown solutions. Malaria prevention, for instance, is as simple as bed nets, which cost almost nothing. The cost of a presidential jet would be able to provide nets for the whole population in some countries. It is a simple issue really.
- RJ: But diseases like small pox would be with us today if there had not been a global approach, led by the UN. These diseases must be eradicated everywhere if they are to be eradicated at all. Today, it is the same with polio and guinea worm.

How can we hope for development when free market ideology still dominates? (Audience, no name given)

- M O'N: The largest source of financial support for developing countries will be the private sector. It is less about dismantling the economic structure and more about making sure there is regulation, corporate social responsibility and so on.
- RJ: It has always been the World Bank and IMF, and not the UN, who have promoted this ideology. The UN has always been multidisciplinary, concerned with health, education etc. as well as with human rights in development. We need to build in human rights into all our global governance structures - that should be a major 21st Century goal.

How can the UN improve its data collection? (Audience, no name given)

CM: Over two million people have responded to MyWorld, the survey that the UN and ODI did on the new goals. Consistently high on the list number three I think at present - is the desire for an honest and responsive government. It is shared by men and women from all countries and age groups. It is a desire that has not been

captured well in initiatives like the MDGs; I hope we will do better this time. Monitoring and evaluation, all those boring technical things, are at the heart of this. We need to have systems that can make decisions in a way that people understand and can influence, and data that will allow people to know whether or not their government is actually doing the things it promises.

JG: Development is about local ownership, accountability and governance. Aid should bolster that. We are all part of the UN and we have a responsibility to ensure that countries respect international treaties and obligations because slippages in this regard can lead to abuses, poverty and crises. The UN still has that essential role because it belongs to all of us.

Global Development Goals: partnerships for progress



UNA-UK has released its second major report on the post-2015 development framework. Building the first edition, which produced ideas on the content of the new goals, this new publication shifts the focus from 'what' to 'how', with sections on financing, delivering results, sharing knowledge, widening participation and creating the partnerships necessary to move towards a development agenda that is truly shared, in terms of responsibilities and benefits.

Contributors include: Talaat Abdel-Malek, Gunilla Carlsson, Helen Clark, Amir Dossal, Jan Eliasson, Arancha González, Georg Kell, Mark Moody-Stuart and Margareta Wahlström.

The publication is available from www.una.org.uk/gdgs

For more information, please contact Natalie Saad on saad@una.org.uk or 020 7766 3454

people are in need of urgent humanitarian assistance and protection right now. That's as many people as live inside the circle.

Humanitarian needs are on the rise.

The number of people in need of humanitarian action The summit will bring together together has more than doubled in the last decade and this number is predicted to keep rising due to global trends such as climate change, urbanization and population growth. Humanitarians are being asked to do more than ever before, and at a much greater cost. At the same time, humanitarian action is riskier than ever, with record numbers of humanitarian workers being the victims of violence in 2013.

Humanitarian action must keep evolving in order to keep pace with our rapidly-changing world. This is why the UN Secretary-General will convene the first World Humanitarian Summit in 2016. During 2014 and 2015, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) is organizing consultations around the globe to gather the inputs of people from all regions of the world. Consultations are also being held online, enabling a truly global discussion to take place.

The preparations for the summit will focus on four key themes: humanitarian effectiveness; reducing risk and managing vulnerability; transformation through innovation; and serving the needs of people in conflict.

OCHA welcomes all partners to take part in the consultations leading up to the summit, and to help set an agenda to make humanitarian action fit for the future.

Join us in looking for solutions.

humanitarian organizations, people affected by conflicts and disasters, governments, civil society, businesses, academic institutions and others to discuss solutions to our most pressing challenges, build new partnerships and shape the next chapter in global humanitarian action.

Here's how you can participate:

Email: info@whsummit.org and sign up to recieve our monthly newsletter and stay updated about the progress of the Summit preparations

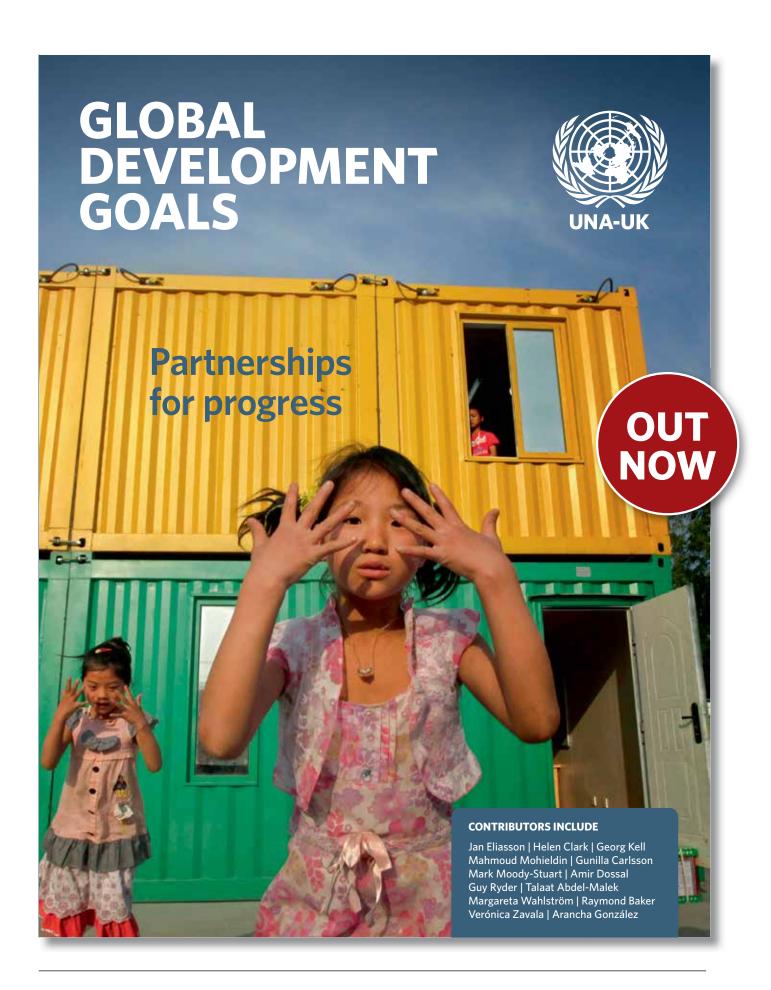
Follow us on Twitter @WHSummit or on Facebook and join the conversation by using the hashtag #ReShapeAid

Hold your own offline consultation event, or visit www. worldhumanitariansummit.org and add to the discussions online



"We need a truly global and innovative humanitarian system in which everyone plays their part. That is why we are convening the first-ever World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul in May 2016."

- UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon



If you would like to receive a copy of the publication, please contact: sara.aru@witanmedia.com

