



NEW WORLD

News and comment on the United Nations and UNA

July–Sept 2006

AS MELTING OF THE POLAR ICE CAPS ACCELERATES

UNA-UK ANNUAL CONFERENCE DEMANDS ACTION ON **GLOBAL WARMING**

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Key International Dates and Events 2006

15-17 July	G8 Summit in St Petersburg, Russia, with a focus on education and energy security
9 Aug	International Day of the World's Indigenous People
12 Aug	International Youth Day
13-18 Aug	International AIDS Conference to be held in Toronto, Canada
23 Aug	International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and Its Abolition
6 Sep	Launch of State of World Population 2006 report
8 Sep	UNESCO International Literacy Day
16 Sep	International Day for the Preservation of the Ozone Layer
21 Sep	International Day of Peace
2 Oct	World Habitat Day
16 Oct	World Food Day
17 Oct	International Day for the Eradication of Poverty
24 Oct	United Nations Day , to mark the date on which the UN Charter came into force in 1945
24-30 Oct	UN Disarmament Week , to promote a better understanding among the public of disarmament problems
6 Nov	International Day for Preventing the Exploitation of the Environment in War and Armed Conflict
17 Nov	UNESCO World Philosophy Day
15-18 Nov	12th International Anti-Corruption Conference , to be held in Guatemala City and Antigua
25 Nov	International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women
1 Dec	World AIDS Day
2 Dec	International Day for the Abolition of Slavery
5 Dec	International Volunteer Day for Economic and Social Development
9 Dec	International Anti-Corruption Day
10 Dec	Human Rights Day
31 Dec	Official end of Kofi Annan's second term as UN Secretary-General

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FROM SAM DAW'S EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Welcome to the summer 2006 *New World* which leads with the policy agenda set by the successful and innovative UNA-UK Annual Conference held in April in Durham. Our cover story focuses on climate change – a prominent concern with delegates at Conference and a challenge which will affect all of us on this planet in coming years. On pages 14 to 20 we have reproduced the inspiring keynote speech delivered by UN Under-Secretary-General Shashi Tharoor in Durham Cathedral. Just one month after speaking at UNA-UK's Annual Conference, Dr Tharoor was named India's official candidate for the position of Secretary-General when Kofi Annan's term comes to an end later this year. The continuing lack of female nominees for Secretary-General is highlighted in an article on page 21 about the Equality Now campaign.

This year UNA-UK has been vocal in following up on the pledges made by governments, including the UK, at the UN World Summit in New York last September. A table featuring some of the commitments made, actions taken and next steps is included on pages 6 and 7. On page 4 you will find some replies received from government ministers in response to specific inquiries made by UNA-UK. We will continue to update you on these and other developments in future issues of *New World*.

March 2006 saw the publication of an ambitious set of proposals by the UN Secretary-General on UN management and budgetary reform. These proposals raised concerns among developing countries, risking a North-South divide. We are delighted to feature in this issue an article providing a

'view from the South', contributed by Her Excellency Lindiwe Mabuzza, the High Commissioner of South Africa, which currently chairs the Group of 77.

UNA-UK's cooperation with the FCO on policy formulation continues with plans for a series of high-level seminars to ensure that momentum is not lost in securing progress on the new UN Human Rights Council and Peacebuilding Commission, Secretariat reform, the 'responsibility to protect', the MDGs, and human rights and business. We are also hoping to host the new UN Secretary-General at a joint meeting with the FCO in 2007. Taking seriously our non-party political mandate, UNA-UK welcomed the opportunity to brief Shadow Foreign Secretary William Hague before his visit this summer to the UN in New York, and Veronica Lie has been leading our advocacy work with parliamentarians of all hues on issues of concern to UNA members.

“ US engagement with the UN is vital if the organisation is to be effective; similarly the US has much to gain from a strong and credible United Nations ”

The year ahead is rich for UNA campaigning, including the December Cardiff conference on non-proliferation and Trident, being co-hosted with UNA Wales and the David Davies Memorial Institute of the University of Wales, Aberystwyth. We also plan to hold meetings in different regions of the UK on climate change. This year's Lobby of Parliament will be

held – as always in partnership with Action for UN Renewal – on UN Day on 24 October 2006. Start booking travel tickets now to obtain cheap fares. We will send branches detailed information about the Lobby in the early autumn, and will also post this information on our website.

Annual Conference saw the launch by Lord Hannay of UNA-UK's new Advisory Panel. On page 46 we list the initial panel of experts who have agreed to advise UNA-UK's national policy committee and staff on the most effective ways to implement UNA-UK's policy priorities.

UNA-UK members have always taken a keen interest in the role of the United States in world affairs. US engagement with the UN is vital if the organisation is to be effective; similarly, the US has much to gain from a strong and credible United Nations. A speech about this relationship by UN Deputy Secretary-General Mark Malloch Brown appears on page 24, along side some details about the terse reaction of John Bolton, the US Ambassador to the UN. These pages also feature a letter about the controversy by UNA-UK Chair Lord Hannay which appeared in *The Financial Times*.

UNYSA is gearing up for this year's university intake, and we are preparing some fantastic new material. If you have not already been contacted by UNA-UK and would like to hold a UNYSA stall at your university's freshers' fair, then contact Matt Ripley on ripley@una.org.uk or 020 7766 3459 for materials and help on getting started.

UNA's Young Professionals Network continues to flourish – see pages 50 to 51 for an update on recent YPN activities and visit www.una.org.uk/ypn for how to get involved in its exciting programme of upcoming events.

UNA-UK in dialogue with the UK government

UNA-UK communicates members' concerns to the UK government on a regular basis. We wrote last November to the Foreign Secretary just prior to the UK's presidency of the Security Council about the situation in northern Uganda and the applicability to that conflict of the September 2005 agreement on the responsibility to protect. Lord Hannay also wrote on behalf of UNA-UK to convey support for the new Human Rights Council, the establishment of which the UK government ultimately supported in the General Assembly, and on the transition of the African Union force in Darfur to a UN mission. The reply of the new Foreign Secretary, Margaret Beckett, is reproduced below. Relevant excerpts from the responses of Ian McCartney MP and Lord Triesman are also included. The full text of all three letters can be viewed on UNA-UK's website.

Ian McCartney MP, Minister for Trade and Foreign Affairs, on the new Human Rights Council

"...we supported the final adoption of the General Assembly resolution establishing the new Human Rights Council on 15 March, and have worked hard since then to take forward preparatory work for its first session in June. We were delighted to have won election to the Council on 9 May, for a term of two years. This puts us in an excellent position to influence the Council's work in its critical early years, and we will continue to work closely with others towards the Council's success.

We would welcome any further input from the UN Association as we take this work forward, and hope that we can maintain continued close cooperation with you on these important issues in the months ahead."

The Lord Triesman of Tottenham, FCO Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, on the situation in Darfur

"The primary responsibility for security in Darfur rests with the government of Sudan, and they are failing. We have made this absolutely clear. We have therefore strongly supported the deployment of the AU Mission in Sudan (AMIS) in Darfur. During his last visit to Sudan, the Secretary of State for International Development, Hilary Benn, announced that the UK will provide a further £20 million to the AU bringing our total contribution to over £50 million, which has largely been in logistical support. This is the largest AU deployment, consisting of about 7,000 military, police, and civilian personnel. The AU is doing a good job in the most difficult conditions. Where they are present there has been a decrease in attacks on civilians, including in incidents of rape against women. They are keeping roads open, allowing the UN and other agencies to deliver much needed humanitarian supplies. However, a peace support operation will be required for some time in Darfur. The environment in which they work is consistently evolving and long-term financial support needs to be secured.

Therefore we welcome the African Union's decision on 10 March to support in principle the transition of AMIS to the UN. Planning is already underway, and we are providing an expert to the UN, and are pressing for the handover to take place when AMIS's current mandate expires at the end of September 2006. We are pressing the government of Sudan to accept transition. In particular, we have made clear that they must stop obstructing the UN planning mission from entering Darfur. This mission is needed to allow the UN and AU to carry out further planning to ensure an effective handover. We will continue to support AMIS in the meanwhile, and are urging other donors to do the same."

23 May 2006

Sam Daws
Executive Director
United Nations Association
3 Whitehall Court
London SW1A 2EL



Dear Sam Daws,

Thank you for your letter of 30 November 2005, to my predecessor Jack Straw, regarding the UK Presidency of the Security Council and the 'responsibility to protect'.

Agreement on the concept of responsibility to protect was one of the major outcomes of the UN World Summit last September. For the first time, world leaders collectively signalled their unwillingness to tolerate gross violations of human rights within states, and acknowledged their responsibility to protect vulnerable populations from such crimes. The UK will continue to work to ensure that the agreement is translated into a willingness to act in specific cases.

As you might be aware, we initiated a debate on the protection of civilians in armed conflict during our Presidency of the Security Council in December 2005. Last month, the Council adopted (by consensus) resolution 1674 on the issue. We pressed hard for the resolution to reaffirm the commitments made at the UN Summit on responsibility to protect. This was the first time that responsibility to protect had been included in a Security Council document, and is an important step forward.

We continue to support the principle of the United Nations developing an early warning capability, although detailed consultations on how this will work in practice have not yet taken place in New York.

Separately, we are considering what further action the governments of Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan and the Security Council might take regarding the situation in northern Uganda. We welcome the issuing of indictments by the International Criminal Court against senior Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) members in October 2005 and these warrants need to be effected. The UK was active in securing agreement for resolutions 1653 and 1663, which condemned the activities of the LRA in the Great Lakes region, and asked the Secretary-General to make recommendations to the Council on how UN agencies and missions could more effectively address the problem of the LRA. We welcomed the government of Uganda's briefing to the Security Council on 19 April on the situation in northern Uganda, and we look forward to seeing their plans for improving humanitarian coordination.

Sincerely

Margaret Beckett

MARGARET BECKETT



Developments at the UN

Alexander Ramsbotham is Head of UNA-UK's John Bright Peace and Security Programme

Darfur

Peacekeeping mission

UN Security Council resolution 1663 on 24 March 2006 requested the Secretary-General to expedite planning for the transition of the AU Mission in Sudan (AMIS) to a UN force.

On 16 May 2006, the Council adopted resolution 1679, which called for a joint UN-African Union (AU) technical assessment mission to be deployed within a week to evaluate options for the size and mandate of the proposed UN mission. On 24 May Kofi Annan dispatched veteran UN diplomat Lakhdar Brahimi as his Special Envoy to Sudan to negotiate the entry of the assessment mission into the country, following obstruction by Khartoum. On 9 June the mission was eventually granted access into Sudan.

Following completion of the AU-UN technical assessment mission, the UN Secretary-General was mandated to report on details for the proposed transition and on additional troop and resource requirements to support AMIS in the interim. A pledging conference is being proposed for the summer, to secure funding for AMIS.

A Security Council mission visiting Khartoum in early June failed to persuade the government of Sudan to endorse the transition of AMIS to a UN peacekeeping operation, despite AU statements supporting such a transition.

Peace process

AU mediation, supported by the UN and other international partners, on 5 May 2006 secured agreement between the government of Sudan and the largest of the three rebel movements, the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM), to sign the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA). The remaining two rebel groups signed a declaration of commitment to the agreement on 8 June. There has been concern over the DPA ceasefire protocol, because it bestows on the Sudanese government responsibility for disarming *Janjaweed* militia, despite the government's failure to live up to earlier commitments to do so.

Iran

On 29 March 2006 the UN Security Council (UNSC) issued a Presidential Statement calling on Iran to suspend all activities relating to uranium enrichment and reprocessing, to be verified by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The IAEA was requested to report within 30 days on progress.

On 1 May 2006 the IAEA reported that uranium enrichment work continued in Iran, and that,

due to Tehran's lack of cooperation, the Agency could make no further progress in determining whether the country was carrying out illicit nuclear activities.

On 3 May, France, the UK and Germany (the 'EU3') presented a draft Chapter VII resolution to the Council which required Tehran to cease uranium enrichment and reprocessing activities, and urged states to prevent nuclear trade with Iran. The draft resolution also expressed the Council's intention "to consider such further measures as may be necessary to ensure compliance". China and Russia indicated that they would oppose such a resolution.

On 1 June 2006, IAEA Director-General Mohammed ElBaradei welcomed the US's announcement the previous day of its readiness to join the EU-led talks with Iran, on the condition that Tehran complied with the IAEA Board's call for the suspension of enrichment and reprocessing activities.

The IAEA reported on 9 June 2006 that it had still made little progress in verifying Iran's nuclear programme.

The agenda of the 12-16 June meeting of the IAEA Board of Directors in Vienna included discussion of the 9 June IAEA report on Iran. With few exceptions, countries on the Board called on Iran to cooperate with the IAEA in order to facilitate a comprehensive settlement.

The EU3 were to brief the UNSC on a separate package of incentives and disincentives for Iran. Incentives proffered were thought to include assistance to the Iranian nuclear programme; disincentives were likely to involve sanctions, but these would require a further UNSC decision.

Timor-Leste

On 25 May 2006 the Security Council issued a Presidential Statement supporting the deployment of security forces by Portugal, Australia, New Zealand and Malaysia, as requested by the government of Timor-Leste, to help restore stability, and welcomed the Secretary-General's plan to send a special envoy to Timor-Leste. The Statement was made in response to increasing violence in Timor-Leste, sparked by riots led by troops discharged by the government over a pay dispute.

On 12 May, the Security Council adopted resolution 1677, extending the mandate of the UN Office in Timor-Leste (UNOTIL) one month past its 20 May expiration, as the organisation considered how to reinforce stability in the country. On 25 May, Kofi Annan announced that he was dispatching Ian Martin, head of the UN High Commission for Human Rights office in Nepal, to Dili as his Special Envoy to assess the situation. Ian

Martin had been Annan's Special Representative in Timor-Leste in 1999, during which time he oversaw a referendum to decide the future status of the island. On 2 June 2006 the UN began an emergency airlift to Timor-Leste of humanitarian supplies for tens of thousands of displaced people.

On 6 June 2006 Australian Prime Minister John Howard called for more foreign peacekeeping troops to be deployed to Timor-Leste, in addition to the 2,500 troops already stationed in the country.

Ian Martin on 13 June 2006 made recommendations to the Security Council for further UN activity in Timor-Leste. Priorities identified by the Special Envoy included:

- reforming the security sector, including the national police
- helping to organise elections for 2007
- promoting national reconciliation
- establishing an independent inquiry to investigate recent violence

High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development

On 15-16 September 2006, the UN General Assembly will hold a High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development. The meeting will explore ways to maximise the benefits of migration for the country receiving the migrants, for the country of the migrants' origin, and for the migrants themselves.

In anticipation of the meeting the Secretary-General, on 6 June, issued a report on migration. The report recognised that developments in communications and transport make international migrants a dynamic human link between cultures, economies and societies. The report also noted the role of migrants in the transfer of technology, skills and institutional knowledge.

The report's recommendations seek to help governments and other relevant bodies to shape the nature of international migration and direct the distribution of its costs and benefits. Proposals include promoting entrepreneurship among migrants, facilitating access to financial institutions, and establishing partnerships to train health and education personnel.

Two panel discussions precede the High-Level Dialogue. The first was held in New York on 8 June 2006, with the second held in Geneva on 4 July. The panels are designed to explore the role of the UN system in assisting member states to make the most of the opportunities that migration brings and address the challenges it poses.



UN World Summit: fol

Commitment made at 2005 World Summit	Actions taken	Next steps
Human Rights Council		
<p>Member states resolve to create a Human Rights Council (HRC), to replace the discredited Commission on Human Rights and request the President of the General Assembly (GA) to conduct negotiations over the details of the Council.</p>	<p>15 March 2006: The GA adopts resolution A/60/L.48 by 170 votes to 4, with 3 abstentions, agreeing to the establishment of the HRC.</p> <p>9 May 2006: The GA elects 47 inaugural members to the Council.</p> <p>Membership and geographical distribution as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Africa - 13 seats: Algeria, Cameroon, Djibouti, Gabon, Ghana, Mali, Mauritius, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Tunisia, Zambia • Asia - 13 seats: Bahrain, Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Jordan, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka • Eastern Europe - 6 seats: Azerbaijan, Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Ukraine, • Latin American/Caribbean states - 8 seats: Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico (Council President), Peru, Uruguay • Western Europe/other - 7 seats: Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland, United Kingdom <p>Note: While several states with dubious human rights records were elected to the Council, a number of others were either discouraged from seeking membership or failed to be elected.</p>	<p>The first two sessions of the Council are scheduled for 19-30 June and 11-29 September, respectively.</p> <p>Members of the Council have been tasked with developing the Council's agenda, working practices and rules of procedure, as well as formulating mechanisms for the universal periodic review of each member state's human rights record. Council members are to be the first states to undergo the review.</p>
Peacebuilding Commission		
<p>Member states agree to establish a Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), an intergovernmental advisory body to marshal efforts and resources in support of post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery.</p>	<p>20 December 2005: The PBC is formally established through joint decisions of the GA and the UN Security Council (UNSC) in resolutions A/RES/60/180 and S/RES/1645, respectively.</p> <p>16 May 2006: The 31 members of the PBC Organisational Committee are selected.</p> <p>Membership is as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Security Council - 7 seats (5 permanent and 2 non-permanent members): China, Denmark, France, Russia, Tanzania, United Kingdom, United States • ECOSOC - 7 seats (5 seats for each region, with 2 extra seats for Africa and Asia): Angola, Belgium, Brazil, Guinea Bissau, Indonesia, Poland, Sri Lanka • Financial Contributors - 5 of the top 10 contributors to UN budgets: Germany, Japan, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway • Troop Contributors - 5 of the top 10 contributors of troops/police to UN operations: Bangladesh, Ghana, India, Nigeria, Pakistan • General Assembly - 7 seats giving special consideration to states with experience of post-conflict recovery: Burundi, Chile, Croatia, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Jamaica <p>16 May 2006: Carolyn McAskie, former Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Burundi, is appointed Assistant Secretary-General in the Peacebuilding Support Office. The Peacebuilding Fund will be administered by the UN Development Programme (UNDP).</p>	<p>The first official meeting of the PBC Organisational Committee was held on 23 June.</p> <p>Key responsibilities of the Organisational Committee include agreeing an agenda and identifying individual cases for country-specific meetings.</p> <p>Country-specific meetings are expected to begin in autumn 2006.</p>
High-Level Panel on System-Wide Coherence		
<p>Member states express support for stronger system-wide coherence across the UN system, to improve coordination across the areas of development, humanitarian assistance and the environment.</p>	<p>17 May 2006: Kofi Annan sets up the High-Level Panel on System-Wide Coherence to identify ways of enhancing the coherence of the UN's work.</p> <p>Key aims of the Panel include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • financing of the UN system • improving business practices within the development sector • enhancing the effectiveness of Resident Coordinators • facilitating the transition from relief to development • mainstreaming environmental issues into development • mainstreaming crosscutting issues of gender, human rights and sustainable development • bridging the gap between the UN's normative and operational work • improving interaction with the international financial institutions • strengthening the UN's role in enterprise development 	<p>The Panel's final report is expected in August or September 2006.</p> <p>The Panel's consultations comprise 4 official meetings, and ongoing thematic discussions in smaller groups to address specific issues. The Panel is considering convening a 1-day seminar with civil society groups.</p>



low-up to pledges made

Commitment made at 2005 World Summit	Actions taken	Next steps
HIV/AIDS		
<p>Member states agree to scale up responses to HIV/AIDS.</p>	<p>31 May-2 June 2006: The GA convenes a high-level meeting to follow up on the 2001 Declaration of Commitment to HIV/AIDS. The meeting, attended by about 800 civil society organisations, considers how to reach targets for achieving universal access to materials for HIV prevention, treatment, care and support.</p> <p>2 June 2006: The GA high-level meeting estimated that \$20-\$23 billion is needed per annum by 2010 to support rapidly scaled-up AIDS responses in low- and middle-income countries. It issues a declaration which includes commitments to promote gender equality; to respect the rights of people living with HIV/AIDS; to strengthen protection for all vulnerable groups; to provide a full range of HIV prevention measures; and to engage fully with the private sector and civil society.</p>	<p>Statistics published by the Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) show that, between 1996 and 2005, available annual funding for the response to AIDS in low- and middle-income countries increased 28-fold, from \$300 million to \$8.3 billion. However, existing pledges, commitments and trends suggest that the rate of increase may be declining, and that available funds will equal \$8.9 billion in 2006 and \$10 billion in 2007.</p>
Responsibility to protect		
<p>Member states accept the collective international responsibility to protect vulnerable populations from grave human rights abuses.</p>	<p>28 April 2006: The UNSC adopts resolution 1674 on the protection of civilians in armed conflict. Among other things, the resolution reaffirms the provisions of the 2005 World Summit outcome document on the responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and condemns in the strongest terms all acts of violence or abuses committed against civilians in situations of armed conflict in violation of applicable international obligations.</p>	<p>It remains to be seen how the responsibility to protect will work in practice, including in relation to current humanitarian crises such as those occurring in Darfur and northern Uganda.</p>
Terrorism		
<p>Member states call for a comprehensive convention against terrorism, to be ready for signature within a year, and for the elaboration of an effective international counter-terrorism strategy.</p>	<p>27 April 2006: The Secretary-General (SG) releases a report entitled <i>Uniting against terrorism: recommendations for a global counter-terrorism strategy</i>, containing recommendations for strengthening UN capacity to combat terrorism. The SG's report stresses the significance of the rule of law and human rights in an effective counter-terrorism strategy. Based on the '5-D' approach set out in <i>In Larger Freedom</i>, the report proposes a strategy which 1) dissuades people from resorting to terrorism; 2) denies terrorists the means to carry out an attack; 3) deters states from supporting terrorism; 4) develops state capacity to prevent terrorism; and 5) defends human rights.</p>	<p>Discussion, based on the SG's 27 April report, is ongoing in the GA to agree a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy.</p> <p>There is no progress, thus far, on a comprehensive convention.</p>
Democracy fund		
<p>Member states reaffirm democracy as a universal value, and endorse the Democracy Fund, which had been established in July 2005.</p>	<p>6 March 2006: The SG opens the inaugural meeting of the UN Democracy Fund. The Fund comprises a 17-member advisory board and aims to initiate and support projects to strengthen democratic institutions, enhance democratic governments and promote the rule of law, independent courts, a free media, political parties and trade unions in various countries.</p>	<p>As at 6 June 2005, 17 countries had pledged \$41 million to the Democracy Fund.</p>
Security Council reform		
<p>Member states reaffirm support for early reform of the Security Council to make the Council more representative, efficient and transparent, and request the GA to review progress on reform by the end of 2005.</p>	<p>6 July 2005: Brazil, Germany, India and Japan (the 'G4') table a draft framework resolution calling for UNSC enlargement to 25 members by adding 6 permanent and 4 non-permanent members, apportioned as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • permanent membership - 2 from Africa; 2 from Asia; 1 from Latin America and the Caribbean; 1 from western European and other states • non-permanent membership - 1 from Africa; 1 from Asia; 1 from Eastern Europe; 1 from Latin America and the Caribbean <p>On 10-11 November 2005, the GA debates reform of the UNSC. The debate reconfirms widespread agreement on the need to expand the Council, but also that views remain divergent with regard to modalities for enlargement, the size of the Council and the categories of its expanded membership.</p> <p>A number of proposals to reform the SC have recently been tabled in the GA:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • G3 (the G4 without Japan) - 10 new members: 6 new permanent seats without veto powers and 4 new non-permanent members • African Union - 11 new members: 6 new permanent members with veto powers, and 5 new non-permanent members • Uniting for Consensus - 10 new non-permanent members which would be eligible for re-election, as would the existing 10. 	<p>Progress on Council reform remains slow and discussion continues in the GA.</p> <p>In his 21 March 2006 report GA President Jan Eliasson reiterates his commitment to Council reform, and encourages member states to work constructively with the Co-Chairs of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Council.</p>



Annual Conference 2006

Dear UNA-UK members,

As Chair of Annual Conference, I am writing to thank those UNA members who attended this year's conference in Durham and who contributed to the stimulating dialogue which took place there.

Thank you, too, for all your constructive feedback. The Procedure Committee envisaged Annual Conference 2006 as an experiment, and the changes instituted were made with a view to widening opportunities for delegates to input into the policy-making process. We will be seeking ways to use experts both more selectively during debate as well as more effectively throughout the day. But the new format is still a work-in-progress, and that is why your views are so important.

Almost all of the comments sent to the Procedure Committee have been decidedly positive, with much praise for the venue, the accommodation and the food, as well as the new format. The policy commissions were judged to have allowed more fluid and informed discussion, and ensured that all who submitted motions were afforded an opportunity to put their positions to their fellow delegates. See Box 1 for a flavour of the feedback.

That said, a few snags were noted, including the separation of each discussion topic and voting on each section, as well as some confusion over the means by which this year's more open and free-flowing discussions will become formulated into UNA-UK policy. The Procedure Committee has taken these points on board in its planning for Annual Conference 2007, for which preparations are already well underway. See Box 2 for upcoming dates of relevance to next year's conference and for information about further changes which the Procedure Committee proposes to make to the policy-making process on the basis of your feedback.

Delegates at Annual Conference 2006 produced a wide and varied mandate for UNA-UK to implement over the coming years. This will be submitted to the Board and the Policy Committee, to be incorporated into UNA's overall strategy and policy documents. Some of the policy positions have already been taken forward; for example, as you will read on page 29, UNA-UK has joined the Stop Climate Chaos coalition. The next pages contain the key outcomes of Annual Conference 2006, and it is intended that future issues of *New World*, branch mailings and Membership Matters will continue to report back on the progress made on these policy issues.

I look forward to seeing you in Warwick in spring 2007.

Andrew Boakes

Chair of UNA-UK Annual Conference

Box 1: Sample feedback from Annual Conference 2006

- The policy commissions gave scope for really informed discussion and prevented the "nit-picking" over wording which has "scuppered" substantive debate in the past.
- Greater use should be made of the external experts; they played a valuable role in correcting factual errors and in establishing the appropriate framework in which the issues could be meaningfully discussed.
- The balloting system was too complex and possibly unnecessary.
- The first night of Conference (i.e. Friday) could be better utilised, for example by holding smaller group discussions on particular themes.
- The Saturday of Conference was too "heavy"; more free time should be provided.
- It would be useful if the introductions to UNA-UK staff could occur at the beginning of Conference.

The complete summary of the feedback received about Annual Conference 2006 can be found on our website: www.una.org.uk



Box 2: Annual Conference 2007, 13-15 April 2007, Warwick University

New procedures for policy formulation

The procedure committee will be asking branches, regions, affiliates, the UNA-UK Board, and groups of six members to submit, instead of formal motions, up to five 'policy issues' of up to 150 words. Policy issues can contain the same substance as traditional motions – e.g. specifics of what UNA would like the UK government to undertake in relation to an aspect of the UN's work – or they can express a more general concern about a topical issue – e.g. such as a civil war or a famine in a country.

These policy issues will be composited into a policy document divided into subject areas. Then, instead of formal amendments, 'comments' will be sought on this document (again, up to five, each with a maximum of 150 words). The comments will be incorporated into a restructured policy document so that it reflects differences of opinion among our membership. These views on policy can then be aired in an informed way at Annual Conference, and votes taken on key issues, so that UNA-UK's new policy positions will be clear.

More information on this, and an example of a policy issue submission, will be included in the October issue of *New World*, but the following time-table is included now, to enable branches and others to plan their meetings for the submission of policy issues and comments to Annual Conference.

- **1 December 2006** Deadline for submission of policy issues for Annual Conference by branches, regions, affiliates, the UNA-UK Board, and groups of six members
- **14 December 2006** Meeting of the Procedure Committee, followed by the compositing of submissions by UNA-UK staff into a policy document during early January
- **22 January 2007** Annual Conference preliminary agenda to be sent out (to include the policy document for comments)
- **3 February 2007** Meeting of the UNA-UK Board of Directors
- **2 March 2007** Deadline for submission of comments
- **15 March 2007** Meeting of the Procedure Committee
- **30 March 2007** Annual Conference final agenda to be sent out (to contain policy document to be debated at the conference)

Cost of Annual Conference 2007

Because of increasing conference venue charges, attending Annual Conference will regrettably cost more this year. So that members can start budgeting for their conference fees, we are giving early notification of attendance fees. These will be:

Early Bird Discount (up to 15 January 2007): £230

After 15 January 2007: £250

Day rate, including dinner: £85



Summary Outcomes of Plenary and Policy Commissions

Peace and Security

Arms trade

- The role of disarmament as a means to promote international peace and stability has been a key issue on the international agenda for many decades, as demonstrated in Article 8 of the League of Nations Covenant and Article 26 of the UN Charter.
- Resources that could be spent on sustainable development are instead being spent on arms.
- The UK government's public commitment to work towards the establishment of a global arms trade treaty is welcomed.
- However, the UK is a major exporter of arms. There is a particular problem with end use of arms sales which can be diverted to violate civilians' human rights.
- The British government should prioritise the reduction of its own level of armaments and of arms sales, paying particular attention to end use.

Darfur

- In light of the insufficient capacity of the African Union (AU) Mission in Sudan (AMIS) to address the crisis in the region, an 11 April 2006 UN Security Council Presidential Statement outlined plans for the transfer of AMIS to a UN operation in October 2006.
- The AU is leading efforts to reach a peace agreement between the warring parties.
- UN Security Council resolution 1591 (29 March 2005) set out the terms of a sanctions regime to be imposed on individuals impeding the peace process in Darfur; the 30 January 2006 report of the Sanctions Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591 made recommendations to enhance the impact of sanctions.
- The UK government should work in the Security Council to increase the Council's efforts to deploy an effective UN peacekeeping force in Darfur, to support the efforts of AMIS, to enhance the effectiveness of sanctions and to increase support for AU efforts to achieve a comprehensive political settlement between the parties.

Women, Peace and Security

- In October 2005, the Secretary-General delivered an action plan for the implementation of Security Council resolution 1325, designed to be used by UN entities to prepare concrete strategies and pro-

grammes to advance the role of women in maintaining peace and security.

- On 8 March 2006, UK ministers announced the launch of a cross-government national action plan to implement resolution 1325 which seeks to link UK humanitarian, conflict, defence and diplomacy activities related to gender.
- The UK government should work at the national and international levels to ensure the effective implementation of the UN and UK actions plans with a view to increasing the role of women in decision-making positions relating to peace and security.

The UK and Trident

- The UK government's commitment to holding a debate on the replacement of Trident is welcome. The decision should be debated and voted upon in the House of Commons, with consideration given to non-nuclear alternatives to Trident.
- The UK's replacement of Trident with a weapons system of similar or greater capacity would contravene the requirement to undertake disarmament under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Aviation security

- Glass bottles, highly inflammable alcoholic spirits and cigarette lighters are potentially usable as lethal weaponry for terrorist purposes on aircraft. The UN International Civil Aviation Authority (ICAO) should establish standards preventing the onboard sale of or access to such items.

Development

Economic development in the Middle East

- The Middle East Roadmap should be complemented by an 'economic roadmap'; such a plan could include enabling the freedom of movement and of trade between Gaza and Egypt, as well as the development of infrastructure in Gaza. Steps should also be taken to encourage trade between Gaza and Israel.

The Millennium Development Goals

- Access to clean water and sanitation is fundamental to achieving the Millennium Development Goals, having important implications for health, child mortality rates, economic development and security. This should be



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reflected in UNA-UK's MDG campaign.

- The policies of rich countries should not impede progress towards the MDGs. Many debts are unjust and should be cancelled. Rich countries should fulfil their promises to allocate 0.7% of GNI to aid. Developing countries should not be forced to liberalise their markets, and rich countries should end the use of subsidies and dumping.
- The World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation should be more transparent and democratic.
- The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative should be given robust support to ensure that natural resource exploitation is sustainable and primarily benefits the country in which the resources are found rather than only multinationals seeking profits.
- The Convention against Corruption and other mechanisms for combating transnational crime, including the flow of 'dirty money', should be implemented by the UK government and promoted widely by UNA-UK.
- Past commitments to gender equality need to be implemented to deliver tangible gains. Without gender equality, the MDGs will not be attained; securing women's human rights are fundamental to poverty eradication. The push to mainstream gender perspectives across the work of the UN needs to be balanced against the need for the UN's institutional machinery to reflect a strengthened commitment to women's rights.

Human Rights

Guantanamo Bay

- The UK government should take the lead at the UN in working towards implementing the recommendation of the 16 February 2006 report of independent human rights experts, mandated by the UN Commission on Human Rights, to close Guantanamo Bay.
- In response to allegations of torture of Guantanamo prisoners, the UK government should: support unrestricted access to Guantanamo Bay prisoners by appointed UN human rights representatives; lead action to bring all remaining Guantanamo Bay detainees to trial under UN supervision and in conformity with internationally recognised legal norms; condemn all forms of torture wherever practised; and work towards the elimination of detention without trial or without due legal process wherever it occurs.

Rendition

- In response to allegations of 'extraordinary rendition', in which alleged terrorists are subjected to torture, the UK government should make guarantees

to ensure that there is no British involvement in any form of extraordinary rendition, and the issue of British involvement in extraordinary rendition should be subject to parliamentary inquiry.

Indigenous peoples

- Indigenous people are often violently expelled from their lands as a result of the activities of extraction industries, in contravention of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
- The UK government should recognise that indigenous people have collective – and not just individual – rights, the exercise of which is essential to the survival of indigenous peoples on their land and with their culture; it should ratify the International Labour Organisation Convention 169, Article 14 of which guarantees indigenous peoples rights of ownership over lands they traditionally occupy, and should support the realisation of the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities' Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (1994).
- The local population in the Niger Delta have been subject to violence at the hands of the Nigerian Armed Forces, security services hired by oil companies and local militia. The UK government should therefore urge the High Commissioner for Human Rights to investigate reports of violence against civilians and the Secretary-General should explore measures to achieve constructive conflict resolution.

Women and natural disasters

- While women and children are particularly vulnerable to the consequences of natural disasters, there is little reference to gender in the recommendations of the 22 January 2005 Hyogo Framework of Action, and governments in areas affected by natural disasters do not always give priority help to the needs of women and children.
- The UK government should work through the EU and the UN to further the aims of Recommendation J of the report of the November 2001 Expert Group Meeting of the UN Division for the Advancement of Women, *Environmental Management and the Mitigation of Natural Disasters: a Gender Perspective*, which advises governments and international organisations to support a range of gender-sensitive environmental management and disaster risk reduction activities, in particular within the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction and the 10-year review process to the *Yokohama Disaster Reduction Action Plan for a Safer World*. It should further seek the implementation of this recommendation by means of a Security Council resolution.



Street children

- The UK government should support UNICEF's work to develop street children's skills to enable them to participate productively in society and gain employment.

UN Institutional Reform

Security Council

- Both models for Security Council expansion contained in the report of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change have advantages and disadvantages. The Council should be expanded to increase the representation of developing countries and the chief financial contributors to the UN.
- UNA-UK urges the UK government to work immediately for the restriction of the Security Council veto so that it is applied neither to situations related to genocide nor to the process of appointing the Secretary-General. UNA-UK also calls for a review to be undertaken of which matters may be considered procedural in nature and thus exempt from the veto, taking as its basis the reports of the Interim Committee of the General Assembly during the 1940s.
- As a longer-term objective, UNA-UK urges the UK government to seek the restriction of the veto to Chapter VII resolutions and, eventually, its abolition.

General Assembly

- UNA-UK urges a stronger role for the General Assembly in the area of peace and security.

Civil Society

- UNA-UK encourages WFUNA to consult with other organisations such as the Union of International Associations (UIA) to further the establishment of a civil society union which would have observer status at the UN.

Human Rights

- The UNA-UK Policy Committee should consult with relevant experts from the UNA Advisory Panel, and interested UNA members, to examine the universality of human rights as contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the two international covenants, with a particular focus on the rights of communities and groups. The results of these consultations should be communicated to members through appropriate means.

UN System Coherence

- UNA-UK supports the Secretary-General's establishment of the High-Level Panel on UN System-Wide Coherence in the Areas of Development, Humanitarian Assistance and the Environment, and urges the UK government to make substantial contributions to the Central Emergency Response Fund (CERD).

UK Foreign Policy

Use of force

- UNA-UK Annual Conference recalls that, in the aftermath of two world wars, the United Nations pledged "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

- We note that the Security Council did not adopt a second resolution giving explicit authorisation for the invasion of Iraq in 2003.
- The UK government must adhere strictly to its international legal and moral obligations in all decisions that it makes involving the use of force, as a signatory both of the UN Charter and of the UN World Summit outcome document.

Rendition

- UNA-UK Annual Conference notes the existence of detention centres in a number of countries that are reportedly involved in extraordinary rendition by the US of detainees suspected of involvement in terrorist activities, and that many European countries, including the UK, have been accused of involvement in these practices by allowing suspect planes to refuel on their territory.
- We are especially concerned by reports that detainees involved in extraordinary rendition can become victims of torture.
- UNA-UK Annual Conference calls on the UK government to refuse landing rights to any foreign flights suspected of involvement in such activities, to renounce participation in the interrogation of prisoners held by countries known to torture prisoners, and to make strong representations to countries known to be involved in such practices to cease them immediately.

Middle East Peace Process

- UNA-UK Annual Conference affirms the need for the protection of Israelis, Palestinians and all ethnic groups living in the Middle East, and for Palestinians to be assured of their human rights to travel, to work and to enjoy economic security.
- The UK government must work urgently with partners in the EU and the UN, in support of the Quartet, to explore ways of encouraging both sides to engage in dialogue with each other.
- The Israeli government should dismantle the 'security barrier', in line with the ruling of the International Court of Justice.
- In the longer-term, the UK government must continue to work with Palestinians and Israelis, and with the members of the Security Council, to reach a long-term and sustainable peace in the Middle East, based around a two-state solution and in line with existing Security Council resolutions and the provisions of the Roadmap.
- UNA-UK reaffirms the desirability of a nuclear-weapons-free-zone in the Middle East.

Iran and the Middle East

- UNA-UK Annual Conference believes that any military attack on Iran would have very grave consequences throughout the Middle East.
- We call on the UK government to ensure that any coercive action in which it is involved in respect to Iran must be authorised by the Security Council.

Commissioner for Peace

- UNA-UK Annual Conference urges the UK government to appoint a Commissioner for Peace, whose responsibilities would include the following:
 - liaising with relevant elements of the UN system;
 - liaising with relevant UK government departments to promote



UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, the leaders of the three main political parties in the UK and UNA Sri Lanka sent messages of support to Annual Conference 2006. These, along with UNA-UK Chair Lord Hannay's speech, can be viewed on UNA-UK's website: www.una.org.uk

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conflict prevention, including exploring non-violent solutions to conflict, and post-conflict peacebuilding; and

- promoting a culture of peace throughout UK society, in conjunction with civil society and non-governmental organisations.

Bank Holiday

- UNA-UK Annual Conference urges the UK government to designate UN Day, 24 October, as a UK Bank Holiday as a commemoration of peace.

Environment

- Immediate steps need to be taken by individuals, by the UK government and by the international community to protect the environment and, in particular, to address climate change. Some climate change is now inevitable but, to avoid the most devastating impacts, it is essential that global carbon dioxide emissions are declining irreversibly by the year 2015.

Individuals, particularly those residing in developed countries, should:

- Alter consumer patterns and lifestyles to lessen harmful impacts on the environment.
- Hold their governments to account on commitments made in international environmental treaties, including the Kyoto Protocol.

The UK government should:

- Ensure that it fulfils its own target of reducing emissions of carbon dioxide by 20% by 2010, including through setting up a 'carbon budget' to guide its reduction schedule, and contribute to meeting an EU-wide target of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 30% by 2020.
- Implement other domestic measures to incentivise better environmental practice by both business and individuals in the UK.
- Give strong support to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Kyoto Protocol, and play a leading role in securing international agreement on a new set of binding targets on greenhouse gas emissions to take effect after 2012.
- Work with its partners at the UN and elsewhere to secure broad political commitment, from both developed and developing countries, to these new targets.
- Encourage, alongside the elaboration of binding emissions targets, technological innovation as a means of reducing emissions.
- Direct higher levels of investment towards identifying and viably exploiting renewable energy sources, in light of the finite store of fossil fuels available (i.e. the 'peak oil' problem) and the implications of this for energy security.

- Support afforestation and reforestation schemes to provide additional 'sinks' for greenhouse gases, as well as greener, more efficient agricultural methods.
- Cooperate with other political parties in the UK to make climate change a central political issue.

The international community and the UN should:

- Make effective use of initiatives such as the Clean Development Mechanism and emissions trading which seek to incentivise international cooperation to reduce emissions.
- Work within the international community to ensure that the most vulnerable developing countries and communities are equipped to deal with the effects of climate change, as some climate change is now inevitable and even ongoing.
- Ensure that, in promoting clean energy use, the sustainable economic development of poor countries is not undermined; given the primary responsibility of industrialised countries for climate change, it is they, and not developing countries, which must bear the initial costs of switching to clean energy, whilst also providing assistance to developing countries so that they can switch to clean energy as soon as possible.
- Consider international measures, such as a tax on air travel, to curb carbon dioxide emissions.
- Adopt a comprehensive approach to environmental protection which seeks to strengthen compliance with both the UNFCCC and other multilateral environmental treaties, such as the UN Convention to Combat Desertification and the Convention on Biological Diversity, in recognition of the interlinkages between climate change and desertification and biological diversity.
- Address urgently the depletion of global fish stocks, in light of the responsibility of states parties to the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea "to take . . . such measures . . . as may be necessary for the conservation of the living resources of the high seas".
- Strengthen the UN's role within environmental protection by agreeing to set up a UN Environment Organisation, with a strong mandate to promote compliance with multilateral environmental treaties.

UNA-UK should:

- Join Stop Climate Chaos.
- Explicitly include the objective of environmental sustainability within its MDG campaign.
- Funding permitting, hold regional and national conferences on climate change.
- Encourage members to keep it informed of local initiatives to raise awareness of and secure progress on climate change.

The of

Shashi Tharoor speaks in Durham Cathedral
Photos © UNA-UK/Benedict Parsons

Future the UN

UN Under-Secretary-General

Shashi Tharoor's

Speech to UNA-UK

Annual Conference

Durham Cathedral

22 April 2006

Thank you Lord Hannay, for that kind introduction. I have had the pleasure of knowing Lord Hannay for many years and of watching him in action as one of the most formidable and effective ambassadors ever to serve in the Security Council. Kind words from him are especially valued.

I am most grateful.

And thank you to UNA-UK for providing me with this opportunity to address all of you in this magnificent setting. Your association, under the

able leadership, as Executive Director, of my good friend and former colleague Sam Daws, has been an invaluable partner of the United Nations, since its inception. To see so many of you here is especially gratifying. I know that most of you have been busy at your annual conference, and I am conscious of how much UNA-UK members have done to keep alive the spirit of the UN in the UK.

Britain inevitably has a special place in the heart of any UN official. Your country played a pivotal role in the drafting of the UN Charter,

our Magna Carta, and London hosted the very first meetings of both the General Assembly and the Security Council just over 60 years ago. No country, surely, can be a better fount of the spirit of law, justice, fraternity and fair play than the land that invented cricket – and no city more appropriate to speak about the rebirth of an institution than Durham, once a minor county, recently the holder of many a wooden spoon, which has demonstrated this week how well it can perform in the First Division of the County Championship.

I know that Sam Daws, who combines intellectual depth and organisational skills in equal measure, is doing a great deal to transform and lead UNA-UK into the First Division of international professional associations. And these efforts have not gone unnoticed across the Pond. When he was here in January, Secretary-General Kofi Annan said publicly that Lord Hannay and Sam Daws make a "dream team". I envy Lord Hannay this remark, because once upon a time that used to be said about Sam and myself.

But that was in the past; and we are here to talk about the future. More precisely, the future of the United Nations. No easy task, since we all know that the future is never quite what it used to be. But I am convinced that the future of the United Nations is indeed a worthy subject for serious thought and passionate discussion in this most worthwhile company, and I will promise you, in this majestic Cathedral, to resist the temptation to offer you a sermon.

Let us instead start with irreverence. Perhaps the first question that I should address is: does the UN have a future? Last year, we celebrated the UN's 60th birthday. At the UN, 60 is the age at which we, the staff, are supposed to contemplate retirement. Should the UN too, be pensioned off?

My firm view is, of course, that it should not

– far from it. Our search must be for a renewed, not a retired, UN.

In 1945, the UN's far-sighted founders, determined to make the second half of the 20th century different from the much-troubled first, drew up rules to govern international behaviour, and founded institutions in which different nations could cooperate for the common good.

Their idea – now called 'global governance' – was to create an international architecture that could foster international cooperation, elaborate consensual global norms and establish predictable, universally applicable rules, to the benefit of all – as an alternative to the military alliances and balance of power politics that wreaked such havoc in the preceding five decades.

The keystone of the arch, so to speak, was the United Nations itself. The UN was seen by those world leaders as the only possible answer to the disastrous experiences of the first half of the century – 50 years in which the world had suffered two world wars, countless civil wars, brutal dictatorships, mass expulsions of populations, and the horrors of the Holocaust and Hiroshima.

The new United Nations would stand for a world in which people of different nations and cultures would look on each other, not as subjects of fear and suspicion, but as potential partners,

able to exchange goods and ideas to their mutual benefit.

And it would provide a means to address what we sometimes like to call 'problems without passports' – problems that cross all frontiers uninvited (climate change, drug trafficking, terrorism, epidemics, refugee movements and so on) – and whose solutions also have no passports because no one country or group of countries, however powerful, can tackle them alone.

It is the resolution of these problems that remains at the very core of the UN's activities.

Indeed, today I think it is fair to say that even those countries that once felt insulated from external dangers – by wealth or strength or distance – now realise that the safety of people everywhere depends not only on local security forces, but also on guarding against terrorism; warding off the global spread of pollution, of diseases, of illegal drugs and of weapons of mass destruction; and on promoting human rights, democracy and development.

Today, whether you live in Durham or Delhi – whether you are English or Eritrean – it is simply not realistic to think only in terms of your own country. Global forces press in from every conceivable direction. People, goods and ideas cross borders and cover vast distances with ever greater frequency, speed and ease. We are



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increasingly connected through travel, trade, the Internet; what we watch, what we eat and even the games we play. As someone once said about water pollution, we all live downstream.

In such a world, issues that once seemed very far away are very much in our backyards. Jobs anywhere depend not only on local firms and factories, but on faraway markets for the goods they buy and produce, on licences and access from foreign governments, on international financial trade rules that ensure the free movement of goods and persons, and on international financial institutions that ensure stability – in short, on the international system constructed in 1945.

And so, in 2006, I would argue that the need for a universal means for global governance, a mechanism for international cooperation – indeed, let us call it by its name, for a United Nations – is stronger than ever.

Which leads me to the next question. What kind of United Nations should we build for the future? Part of the answer to that question must lie in the past.

And in this holy place I must not avoid the confessional. The UN has never been, and will never be, a perfect body. It has acted unwisely at times, and failed to act at others: one need only think of the ‘safe areas’ in Bosnia and the genocide in Rwanda for instances of each. It has sometimes been too divided to succeed, as was the case in Iraq. And all too often, member states have passed resolutions they themselves had no intention of implementing.

But the United Nations, at its best and its worst, is a mirror of the world: it reflects not just our divisions and disagreements but also our hopes and convictions. As our great second Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, put it, the United Nations was not created to take mankind to heaven, but to save humanity from hell.

And that it has. Imperfect though it certainly is, we must not forget that the UN has achieved an enormous amount in its 60 years. Most important of all, it prevented the Cold War from turning hot – first, by providing a roof under which the two superpower adversaries could meet and engage, and second, by mounting peacekeeping operations that ensured that local and regional conflicts were contained and did not

ignite a superpower clash that could have sparked off a global conflagration.

Over the years, more than 170 UN-assisted peace settlements have ended regional conflicts. And in the past 15 years, more civil wars have ended through mediation than in the previous two centuries combined, in large part because the UN provided leadership, opportunities for negotiation, strategic coordination and the resources to implement peace agreements. The UN's 18 peacekeeping operations around the globe continue to do a brave job of dousing the flames of war.

“ The UN remains second to none in its unquestioned experience, leadership and authority in coordinating humanitarian action, from tsunamis to human waves of refugees ”

Over 300 international treaties have been negotiated at the UN, setting an international framework that reduces the prospect for conflict among sovereign states. The UN has built global norms that are universally accepted in areas as diverse as decolonisation and disarmament, development and democratisation. The UN has provided humanitarian relief to millions around the world, most recently after the South Asian earthquake.

The UN remains second to none in its unquestioned experience, leadership and authority in coordinating humanitarian action, from tsunamis to human waves of refugees. When the blue flag flies over a disaster zone, all know that humanity is taking responsibility – not any one government – and that when the UN succeeds, the whole world wins. Our newly-established revolving fund for emergency response to humanitarian disasters reflects and strengthens our ability to make a difference. And these are achievements we can build on.

But since the best crystal ball is often the rear view mirror, I hope you will allow me a personal

look into the past as well. For the UN has not just changed enormously in those first 60 years; it has been transformed in the career span of the one UN official standing before you. If I had even suggested to my seniors when I joined the Organisation 28 years ago that the UN would one day observe and even run elections in sovereign states, conduct intrusive inspections for weapons of mass destruction, impose comprehensive sanctions on the entire import-export trade of a member state, create a counter-terrorism committee to monitor national actions against terrorists, or set up international criminal tribunals and coerce governments into handing over their citizens to be tried by foreigners under international law, I am sure they would have told me that I simply did not understand what the United Nations was all about. (And indeed, since that was in the late 1970s, they might well have asked me, “Young man, what have you been smoking?”)

And yet the UN has done every one of those things during the last two decades, and more: it has administered territory, conducted huge multi-dimensional peacekeeping operations, set environmental standards and deployed human rights monitors to report on the behaviour of sovereign governments – none of which the founders could have envisaged. The United Nations, in short, has been a highly adaptable institution that has evolved in response to changing times.

Since it has worked in practice, my UN of the future must be firmly anchored in its own experience, even as it sails onward. Our walls are lined with Nobel prizes, but we are not resting on our laurels. This is a fascinating time at the UN, because major changes are afoot. As Mahatma Gandhi put it, “You must be the change you wish to see in the world.” The UN is no exception. To change the world, we must change too.

We must embrace reform not because we believe the UN has failed, but because we believe it has succeeded enough to be worth investing in, so that we can find better ways to do even more to fulfil the Organisation's purposes.

Indeed, it was at the height of the highly public debates about the Iraq intervention, when scrutiny of the UN was at its peak and its potential and its deficiencies had never been more in the public eye, that the need for change became graphically clear.



The reform imperatives can be traced back to the divisions over the Iraq war. In the summer of 2003, a poll conducted by the Pew Organisation in 20 countries around the world revealed that the UN's standing had gone down in all 20. It had gone down in the United States because the UN did not agree to support the US administration in the war, but it had also gone down in the 19 other countries, because the UN was unable to prevent that same war. So we got hit from both sides of the debate.

We disappointed both sets of expectations, and some famous and rather powerful voices began to speak of the UN's irrelevance.

Add to this the inquiry into allegations of corruption in the Oil-for-Food programme – although it found very little corruption amongst UN personnel it did bring into harsh relief some serious deficiencies in our management practices.

And the result was a crisis of confidence. But we speak a lot of languages at the UN – indeed, I am the UN's Co-ordinator for Multilingualism. And my Chinese friends tell me that in their language, the Chinese character for 'crisis' is made up of two other characters – the character for 'danger' and the character for 'opportunity'. In 2003, the United Nations saw the danger and seized the opportunity.

A series of far-reaching proposals were made

by the Secretary-General – on the backs of the work of two eminent panels of experts – one that looked at security issues, on which Lord Hannay served, while the other, composed of economists and experts led by Columbia University's Professor Jeffrey Sachs, focused on how to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.

“ This is a fascinating time at the UN, because major changes are afoot. As Mahatma Gandhi put it, ‘You must be the change you wish to see in the world.’ The UN is no exception. To change the world, we must change too ”

And in September of last year, some 170 world leaders – the largest ever gathering of heads of state and government in human history – met

at the United Nations to discuss those proposals and to agree on a plan to reshape the international architecture for the 21st century.

And that they did. It is true that there are several serious and important lacunae in the document the world leaders produced – most notably its failure to redress the international community's stalemate on disarmament and proliferation issues.

But the stage had been set for much-needed change, predicated on what we have learned from our efforts to address global problems, and the changes that the world has undergone.

Let me give you just a few of the headlines, from, and since, the Summit that point the way to the UN's future.

First and foremost, the UN would not be itself if it did not seek to serve the mass of suffering humanity – to wipe the tear from the eye of the hungriest little girl in the poorest country. Despite many late night, last-minute fears that they might not agree, the leaders at the Summit reinforced the commitment by both rich and developing states to work together to promote development.

Those from donor and developing nations alike made a strong and unambiguous commitment to achieving the Millennium Development Goals by 2015, and donors



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repeated their Gleneagles promise of an additional 29 billion pounds a year by 2010 to fight poverty. Will all that money come? Will all of it be put to best use? We live in an imperfect world, and despite some strong efforts by the British government to set the ball rolling, experience teaches us that the answer to both those questions could well be "no". But have no doubt that, if the world's governments even come close to meeting this commitment, the money will help to make the world a fairer and a safer place.

There was also agreement, by both the richest and the poorest countries, on mechanisms that should make successful and sustainable development more likely – agreement that developing countries will create 'management' plans to enable them to achieve the Millennium Development Goals by the end of this year, 2006, and that international trade will be liberalised – thereby reducing the barriers and inequities that prevent poorer states from selling their goods and services in the markets of the North.

Much was made in some circles of the failure of the document to deliver a formal legal definition of terrorism that is acceptable to all. But what few seem to have noticed is that, for the first time ever, we have a clear and unqualified condemnation – by all governments – of terrorism "in all its forms and manifestations, committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes". We now have moral clarity, and legal clarity should follow, if the new-found impetus towards a comprehensive convention against terrorism can be sustained.

Another vitally important development is the acceptance, for the first time, of a collective international responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. As with the development promises, and as we know from the headlines on Darfur, countries still need to put their money where their mouths are – or more accurately, their political will where their political rhetoric has been. But this will, I hope, make it much more difficult for states to hide behind the protective shield of absolute sovereignty while people are slaughtered *en masse*.

A detailed blueprint for a new Peacebuilding

Commission was also created. Too often, in the past, countries have slipped back into conflict once the world's attention has moved on and UN peacekeepers are withdrawn. This body will seek to ensure that there is no glaring gap in international support once the work of peacekeepers is finished, and that there is a continuum, from conflict, through peacekeeping, to development and to democratic institution-building. The Commission is yet to meet, but it is now a reality. Over the next year or two we should have a sense of how well it will function.

Support for democracy is the natural corollary of our support for development. Man cannot live on bread alone – but why live, if it is only to eat more bread? Human beings need to have the right to take control of their own political destinies. Just as the UN fought for decolonisation in the past, we must fight for democracy in the future. And the good news here is that the Summit created a fund to support democratisation, to which some 23 million pounds has already been pledged by 17 countries – not just from the West: India is a leading donor.

Democracy and development are intertwined, and the twine that binds them is human rights. At the Summit, the world leaders set the timer for the creation of much stronger UN machinery to identify human rights violations and gain international agreement to address them. This, in turn, led – on 15 March – to the creation of a smaller and more focused Human Rights Council to replace the over politicised Commission of Human Rights.

To be elected to that Council, states will need to garner the support of 96 of their fellows, compared to the 28 votes – and sometimes none at all – needed for election to the old Commission. And all 50 of the states that have, thus far, expressed their intention to stand must also agree to subject their own records to public scrutiny as a condition of membership. Where sometimes in the past states sought election to the Commission to resist examination of their human rights practices, the Human Rights Council of the future will be one whose every member's human rights record will be subject to review.

Equally important, the doubling of the budget of the Office of the United Nations High

Commissioner for Human Rights will permit us to make a difference in operational terms where it counts – in the field, not just in the conference room in Geneva.

It is too early to say how effective these changes will be – the proof of the pudding is, as every Briton knows, in the eating. But we now have a recipe that should work.

Since the Summit, the Secretary-General has made additional proposals about how the UN should be administered. I know that you would not be here if you were not interested in the United Nations, but I suspect that even the most committed multilateralist among you would be taxed by a detailed account of the changes the Secretary-General has proposed to the UN's budgeting processes.

So I will spare you the minutiae of this new round of proposals, although, of course, I would be happy to respond to your questions on any of these. But it may be enough to say that the report attempts to limit the micro-management that has rendered UN management often difficult and torpid, and free the next Secretary-General to take decisions about how best to use people and funds to fulfil the Organisation's mandates, while, at the same time, proposing new measures that will help states hold us accountable for those decisions. A review of the more than one thousand legislative mandates given to the Organisation has begun, with a view to identifying possible areas of waste or duplication.

And one final, but very interesting, initiative that has just commenced, with the active involvement of your Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, is an attempt to improve the coherence of the UN system of organisations in tackling development, humanitarian and environmental challenges, seeking to eliminate areas of confusion and overlap and to promote synergies amongst the different UN agencies.

These changes are profound, and if they can be properly brought to fruition, they will go a long way to setting in place a structure that will allow us to move into the future with renewed confidence. So our next Secretary-General should have, at his or her disposal, a framework that will allow her (or him) to concentrate on implementation.



I have, I hope, painted a picture of the UN of the future as firmly anchored in its achievements, but eagerly engaged in transforming itself in the light of changing circumstances. A refurbished UN, built on the strong foundations laid out in 1945, buttressed by the innovations and achievements of the last 60 years, and renovated to take account of the problems that we have uncovered in the course of dealing with the real challenges of the changing world outside.

Realistically, it will probably be a UN that is more sharply focused on areas where it has a proven and undoubted capacity to make a difference. It will, for example, continue to be the first port of call to coordinate the world's response when major humanitarian disasters strike. It is currently the most successful practitioner, and will likely remain the means of choice, to monitor peace treaties. And when territories must be administered while political solutions evolve and the *modus operandi* for lasting peace are established, the world will continue to turn to the UN since it transcends any one government's interests but acts in the name of all.

It will not, I imagine, lead military interventions – peacekeeping excepted – although its legislative bodies will undoubtedly remain the primary source of legitimacy for any such interventions. And it will not hunt down terrorists, and

others who commit crimes against humanity, although it will sometimes be charged, particularly where national jurisdictions are weak or unclear, with trying them.

“ The UN is, and must continue to be, a forum where the rich and powerful can commit their strength and their wealth to the cause of a better world ”

And I can see no other entity that could, with the same efficiency and objectivity, provide the means to address the gaps and the cracks in the façade of state sovereignty, through which many of the 21st century's problems – from environmental degradation to global epidemics to human rights abuses to international terrorism – would otherwise prosper.

The UN is, and must continue to be, a forum where the rich and powerful can commit their strength and their wealth to the cause of a better world. And it must continue to provide the

stage where great and proud nations, big and small, rich and poor, can meet as equals to iron out their differences and find common cause in their shared humanity.

So much for the architecture. But, as the old saying goes, a house is not a home. Something more – something extremely important, although not quite so tangible – is needed before we can be happy that our Organisation is all it can be in the 21st century.

The new UN must encapsulate the 21st century's equivalent of the spirit that informed its founding.

It must amplify the voices of those who would otherwise not be heard, and serve as a canopy beneath which all can feel secure.

And my UN – our UN – of the future must never lose sight of the problems facing the vast majority of humanity. It must remain true to the "we, the peoples," in whose name the UN Charter was signed.

The UN of the future must never forget that it is both a child and a source of hopes for a better world – hopes that all human beings share.

To achieve this, those of us who work for the new UN must know when to shout, when to speak ... and when to listen.

And that, I think, is an appropriate note on which to turn the floor over to you.



Photo © UNA-UK/Benedict Parsons



The Next **Secretary-General**

Equality Now: the campaign for a female Secretary-General

As Kofi Annan's term as UN Secretary-General ends in December 2006, Equality Now, the international women's rights group whose supporters include Meryl Streep and Alanis Morissette, is calling on the UN Security Council to consider a woman for the top post at the world organisation. In the 60 years since the UN was founded, no woman has ever served as its leader despite a wealth of qualified women candidates.

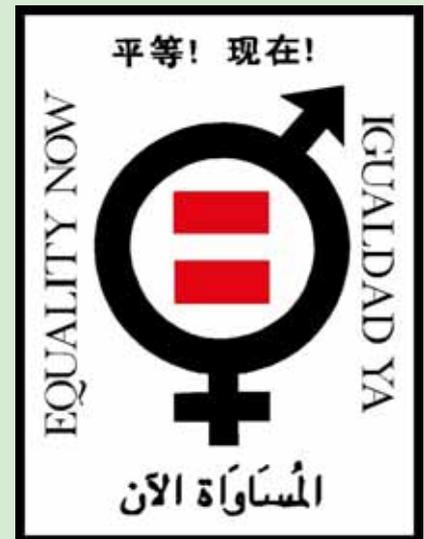
"Tradition has it that the Secretary-General position should rotate to give each geographical region a 'turn'," says Jessica Neuwirth, President of Equality Now, "but women, who constitute more than half of the world's population, have never had a 'turn!'"

As part of its campaign, Equality Now is putting forward names of highly-qualified women world leaders who could be considered for the position, including current and former heads of state, foreign ministers and UN Under-Secretaries-General. The list includes

former Prime Minister of Norway Gro Harlem Brundtland, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Louise Arbour, and current Latvian President Vaira Vike-Freiberga.

"Women candidates for the Secretary-General post should be given full and equal consideration with male candidates," said Angela King, former Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women. "This is surely at the core of the goals of the UN's Charter to achieve gender equality, fundamental human rights and equal opportunities for both sexes."

The Beijing Platform for Action adopted at the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 called for the development of "mechanisms to nominate women candidates for appointment to senior posts in the United Nations". However, the UN continues to fall short of its target of equal representation at the top of its leadership. As of June 2005, women constituted only



16 per cent of UN Under-Secretaries-General.

Further details on Equality Now's campaign for the consideration of a woman Secretary-General, including a sample list of qualified women candidates, can be found on its website www.equalitynow.org. The website of the Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women can be found at www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi

Shashi Tharoor announced as India's official nominee for UN Secretary-General

UN Under-Secretary-General Shashi Tharoor, who delivered the keynote speech at UNA-UK's 2006 Annual Conference, has been announced as India's official nominee for the top UN post of Secretary-General, which becomes vacant on 1 January 2007 at the expiry of Kofi Annan's second term of office.

Shashi Tharoor is the fourth-officially declared nominee for the position. South Korea's Ban Ki-moon, Sri Lanka's Jayantha Dhanapala and Thailand's Surakiart Sathirathai have already been endorsed by their respective governments.

Mr Tharoor has a wealth of UN experience, having occupied senior positions in

peacekeeping and humanitarian affairs and serving as a senior adviser to the Secretary-General. He currently leads the UN's Department of Public Information. In this capacity he has led the reform of one of the largest departments in the UN Secretariat, with some 750 staff and field offices in 63 countries around the world.

Action for UN Renewal to host Jayantha Dhanapala

On Monday, 17 July 2006 Action for UN Renewal will be hosting an event with Jayantha Dhanapala, Sri Lanka's candidate to succeed Kofi Annan as Secretary-General. The meeting will be chaired by

Lord Archer of Sandwell and will take place in Committee Room 10 of the House of Commons. For further information please contact Vijay Mehta on 020 7377 2111, or Jim Addington on 020 8399 2547.

Jayantha Dhanapala is a former United Nations Under-Secretary-General and a former Sri Lankan Ambassador to the US. He is currently Senior Adviser to the President of Sri Lanka and a member of the governing board of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).



Management Reform

On 7 March 2006, the UN Secretary-General issued his report Investing in the UN: for a stronger organisation world-wide. This report made far-reaching recommendations, including the possible outsourcing of certain Secretariat functions, giving greater authority to the Deputy Secretary-General over UN management, and allowing the Secretary-General more freedom over financial expenditure.

On 28 April, the Group of 77 plus China (G77) sponsored a resolution on the report's recommendations. The resolution – passed with 108 votes in favour, 50 against and three abstentions – asserted the primacy of the General Assembly (GA) in financial and personnel decisions, opposed delegating authority to the Deputy Secretary-General, and called for a thorough review of past reform efforts before further steps are taken to implement Annan's proposals.

Proponents of the resolution regard the G77 resolution as a reaffirmation of the democratic primacy of the GA over the

'power of the purse'. The 50 member states which opposed the resolution contribute 86 per cent of the UN's budget.

Some have interpreted the resolution as a sign of a deepening rift between countries of the North and their counterparts in the South, as the latter react to the perceived exceptionalism of certain member states such as the US, and the former grow frustrated that the reform of the UN is not proceeding as quickly or as comprehensively as desired.

Kofi Annan has called for greater unity between developed and developing countries: "It is time for those who really care about reform to come together and form a new coalition – one that bridges the artificial, destructive divide between North and South and brings together all those who are willing to work together because they share the vision of a UN that really works, for the benefit of all the world's peoples."



H.E. Lindiwe Mabuza gives **A View from the South**

H.E. Lindiwe Mabuza is High Commissioner of South Africa to London. In this article she explains the views of the Group of 77 and China, which South Africa is currently chairing, on management reform at the United Nations.

There should be no doubt that the Group of 77 and China strongly supports the ongoing efforts to reform the United Nations.

This is borne out by the fact that developing states stand to benefit from a United Nations that is more efficient, effective and accountable to member states as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

Unfortunately United Nations reform,

particularly as it relates to administrative and budgetary matters, is seen by some UN member states as a way of limiting participation of the wider membership in decisions on how the United Nations is run. These states also see it as a means of centralising decision-making on financial and budgetary matters in the hands of the few. During the negotiations on management and Secretariat reform at the United Nations in April and May of this year, the troubling argument was also

put forward by certain developed member states that those who pay the most towards the running of the United Nations should have the most say in how it conducts its operations.

If there is one characteristic of the United Nations that makes it stand head and shoulders above any other multilateral body in the international arena, it is that it allows all its 191 member states to participate in its activities on an equal basis. No matter how big or small, strong



or weak, everyone is afforded the opportunity to contribute to the work of the organisation. This partnership between rich and poor, developed and developing, guarantees shared responsibility and ownership in the activities undertaken by the United Nations. Without it, the United Nations is doomed to becoming a closed club of rich states prescribing to the rest of the world how it should conduct its business.

The G77 and China therefore believes that reform is a collective agenda and should serve the interest of all member states and any attempt to exclude members of the United Nations from contributing to the strengthening and operation of this organisation contradicts the spirit and the letter of the UN Charter.

Since the adoption of the World Summit outcome document in September 2005, the Group of 77 and China has supported the creation of an ethics office, the finalisation of the whistle-blower policy and increasing the investigation and auditing capacity of the Office of Internal Oversight Services. Suggestions therefore that the Group of 77 and China is somehow blocking or delaying reform is at best misleading or at worst absolutely untrue. It is worth noting that it was not the Group which tried to hold the United Nations budget hostage, or eventually insisted on imposing a spending cap on the UN Secretary-General in an effort to ensure that the United Nations conforms to its agenda or way of doing things.

It is also somewhat bemusing that the states that are so quick to criticise the G77 and China for engaging the various reform proposals are the same states trying to use these proposals to give themselves firmer control over the UN Secretariat, the allocation of funds, the appointment of personnel and the prioritisation of UN programmes.

It should therefore come as no surprise that there was a wide divergence of

views, during the negotiations on management and Secretariat reform in April and May this year, in terms of the reform proposals that touched on the role and prerogatives of member states in the General Assembly, as enshrined in the UN Charter. Contrary to the public pronouncements by some member states, the main issue was not about conditions and measures necessary for the Secretary-General to carry his managerial responsibilities effectively.

“It is also somewhat bemusing that the states that are so quick to criticise the G77 and China for engaging the various reform proposals are the same states trying to use these proposals to give themselves firmer control over the UN Secretariat, the allocation of funds, the appointment of personnel and the prioritisation of UN programmes”

In fact the G77 and China fully supports the Secretary-General in his Charter-defined role as chief administrative officer of the United Nations. However, the G77 could not understand or accept that in order for the Secretary-General to carry out his duties, this should be accompanied by the denial of the right of all member states to pronounce on the administra-

tion of the United Nations, including on its budgetary decisions. To suggest, as was done during the negotiations, that a "small but representative group of member states" can replace the role of all member states in carrying out the oversight responsibilities of the General Assembly is to deny every member of the United Nations the role due to them and to attempt to amend the equality of member states that is enshrined in the Charter.

The Group of 77 and China strongly believes that the right of every member state to have an equal say in the decision-making of the organisation must be upheld. This right is not dependent on the financial contributions of member states to the budget of the organisation.

The resolution which the G77 and China introduced on this matter during the April-May 2006 negotiations reflected the broadest possible consensus between the diverse views expressed by member states on governance and the decision-making processes of the General Assembly. The majority of paragraphs were based on agreed language and agreements that were reached by consensus, some as recently as 23 December 2005, as well as in the course of the negotiations in March and April 2006.

Much remains to be done in terms of the UN management and Secretariat reform, and the General Assembly is scheduled to consider several reports of the Secretary-General on this matter in June 2006. UN member states will consider measures to improve the information and communication technology systems, financial management practices, and accountability of the Secretariat.

The G77 and China will throughout this process continue to engage these issues in a positive manner in order to bring about a system that truly caters for the interests of all its member states.



The US and the UN: an unhappy marriage?

Deputy Secretary-General calls for greater US engagement with the UN

In an address on 'Power and Superpower' delivered in New York on 6 June, Mark Malloch Brown warned that "a moment of truth is coming" since the world's challenges are growing but the UN's ability to respond is being weakened without US leadership.

In his speech Mr Malloch Brown noted that Washington used the UN as a diplomatic tool but did not stand up for it against domestic critics. He went on to praise those US officials who have supported the UN and played leadership roles, but noted that "in recent years, the enormously divisive issue of Iraq and the big stick of financial withholding have come to define an unhappy marriage".

The United States Ambassador to the UN, John Bolton, reacted angrily to Mr Malloch

Brown's address. Commenting to the press, the US Ambassador said the remarks were "a very, very grave mistake" and a criticism not of the American government but of the American people. Ambassador Bolton has called on the Secretary-General to repudiate his Deputy's speech.

In response, UN spokesperson Stephane Dujarric said that the Secretary-General agreed with the thrust of Mark Malloch Brown's speech. Responding to questions on Ambassador Bolton's reaction, Mr Dujarric explained that the speech was not anti-US, but rather that its purpose was to call for greater US engagement in the United Nations, on the basis that the United Nations cannot work without US leadership and UN

reform cannot happen without the United States.

Mark Malloch Brown, the highest-ranking British national at the UN, was appointed Deputy Secretary-General in February 2006. He was formerly head of the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and Kofi Annan's *Chef de Cabinet*.

Lord Hannay of Chiswick, Chair of UNA-UK and former UK Ambassador to the UN, wrote to the editor of *The Financial Times* in the wake of John Bolton's reaction to Mr Malloch Brown's speech. In the letter, Lord Hannay urged for the US to engage constructively with its partners at the UN.

Both Mark Malloch Brown's speech and Lord Hannay's letter to *The Financial Times* are re-printed on these pages.

Power and Superpower: Global Leadership in the Twenty-First Century

Speech by UN Deputy Secretary-General **Mark Malloch Brown**, Century Foundation and Centre for American Progress, New York, 6 June 2006

Thank you for allowing me to speak to you today on power and global leadership. I often get asked to talk about leadership, but rarely about power.

I wonder why. With that thought as my starting point, I am going to give what might be regarded as a rather un-UN speech. Some of the themes – that the United Nations is misunderstood and does much more than its critics allow – are probably not surprising. But my underlying message, which is a warning about the serious consequences of a decades-long tendency by US administrations of both parties to engage only fitfully with the UN, is not one a sitting United Nations official would normally make to an audience like this.

But I feel it is a message that urgently needs to be aired. And as someone who has spent most of his adult life in this country, only a part of it at the UN, I hope you will take it in the spirit in which it is meant: as a sincere and constructive critique of US policy towards the UN by a friend and admirer. Because the fact is that the prevailing

practice of seeking to use the UN almost by stealth as a diplomatic tool while failing to stand up for it against its domestic critics is simply not sustainable. You will lose the UN one way or another.

Founders' Vision

Multilateral compromise has always been difficult to justify in the American political debate: too many speeches, too many constraints, too few results. Yet it was not meant to be so.

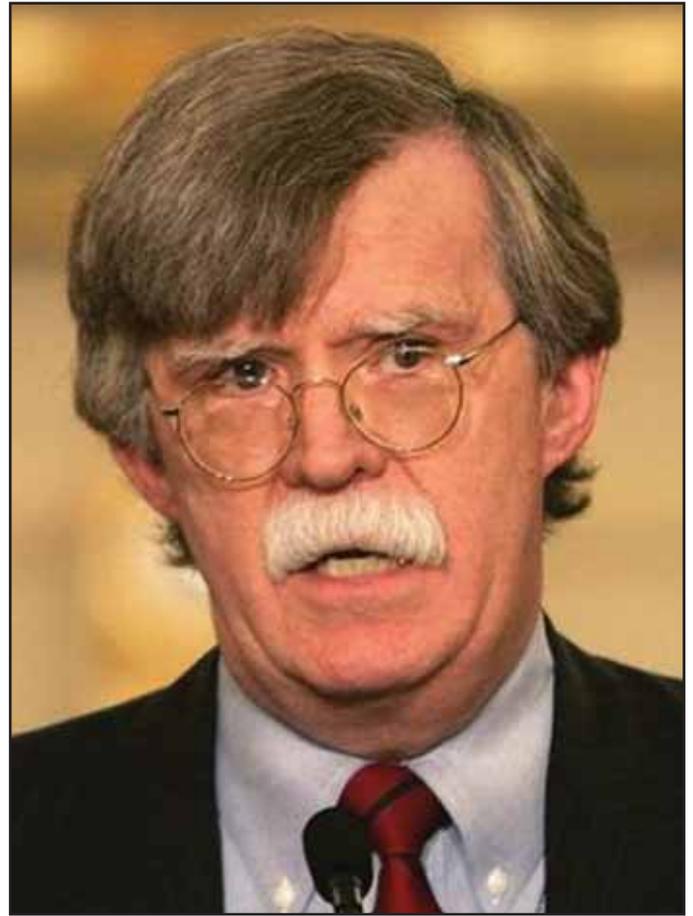
The all-moral-idealism-no-power institution was the League of Nations. The UN was explicitly designed through US leadership and the ultimate coalition of the willing, its World War II allies, as a very different creature, an antidote to the League's failure. At the UN's core was to be an enforceable concept of collective security protected by the victors of that war, combined with much more practical efforts to promote global values such as human rights and democracy.

Underpinning this new approach was a judgement that no president since Truman has felt able to repeat: that for the world's one superpower –

arguably more super in 1946 than 2006 – managing global security and development issues through the network of a United Nations was worth the effort. Yes, it meant the give and take of multilateral bargaining, but any dilution of American positions was more than made up for by the added clout of action that enjoyed global support.

Today, we are coming to the end of the 10-year term of arguably the UN's best-ever Secretary-General, Kofi Annan. But some of his very successes – promoting human rights and a responsibility to protect people from abuse by their own governments; creating a new status for civil society and business at the UN – are either not recognised or have come under steady attacks from anti-UN groups.

To take just one example, 10 years ago UN peacekeeping seemed almost moribund in the aftermath of tragic mistakes in Rwanda, Somalia and Yugoslavia. Today, the UN fields 18 peacekeeping operations around the world, from the Congo to Haiti, Sudan to Sierra Leone, southern Lebanon to Liberia, with an annual cost that is at a bargain bin price compared to other US-led



Mark Malloch Brown (left) and John Bolton (right). Photos © PA Photos

operations. And the US pays roughly one quarter of those UN peacekeeping costs – just over \$1 billion this year.

That figure should be seen in the context of estimates by both the GAO and RAND Corporation that UN peacekeeping, while lacking heavy armament enforcement capacity, helps to maintain peace – when there is a peace to keep – more effectively for a lot less than comparable US operations. Multilateral peacekeeping is effective cost-sharing on a much lower cost business model and it works.

That is as it should be and is true for many other areas the UN system works in, too, from humanitarian relief to health to education. Yet for many policy-makers and opinion leaders in Washington, let alone the general public, the roles I have described are hardly believed or, where they are, remain discreetly underplayed. To acknowledge an America reliant on international institutions is not perceived to be good politics at home.

However, inevitably a moment of truth is coming. Because even as the world's challenges are growing, the UN's ability to respond is being weakened without US leadership.

Take the issue of human rights.

When Eleanor Roosevelt took the podium at the UN to argue passionately for the elaboration of a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the world responded. Today, when the human rights machinery was renewed with the formation of a Human Rights Council to replace the discredited Commission on Human Rights, and the US chose to stay on the sidelines, the loss was everybody's.

I hope and believe the new Council will prove itself to be a stronger and more effective body than its predecessor. But there is no question that the US decision to call for a vote in order to oppose it in the General Assembly, and then not to run for a seat after it was approved by 170 votes to four, makes the challenge more difficult.

More broadly, Americans complain about the UN's bureaucracy, weak decision-making, the lack of accountable modern management structures and the political divisions of the General Assembly here in New York. And my response is: "guilty on all counts".

But why?

In significant part because the US has not stuck with its project – its professed wish to have a strong, effective United Nations – in a system-

atic way. Secretary Albright and others here today have played extraordinary leadership roles in US-UN relations, for which I salute them. But in the eyes of the rest of the world, US commitment tends to ebb much more than it flows. And in recent years, the enormously divisive issue of Iraq and the big stick of financial withholding have come to define an unhappy marriage.

As someone who deals with Washington almost daily, I know this is unfair to the very real effort all three Secretaries of State I have worked with – Secretary Albright, Secretary Powell and Secretary Rice – put into UN issues. And today, on a very wide number of areas, from Lebanon and Afghanistan to Syria, Iran and the Palestinian issue, the US is constructively engaged with the UN. But that is not well-known or understood, in part because much of the public discourse that reaches the US heartland has been largely abandoned to its loudest detractors such as Rush Limbaugh and Fox News. That is what I mean by "stealth" diplomacy: the UN's role is in effect a secret in Middle America even as it is highlighted in the Middle East and other parts of the world.

Exacerbating matters is the widely held percep-



tion, even among many US allies, that the US tends to hold on to maximalist positions when it could be finding middle ground.

We can see this even on apparently non-controversial issues such as renovating the dilapidated UN headquarters in New York. While an architectural landmark, the building falls dangerously short of city codes, lacks sprinklers, is filled with asbestos and is in most respects the most hazardous workplace in town. But the only government not fully supporting the project is the US. Too much unchecked UN-bashing and stereotyping over too many years – manifest in a fear by politicians to be seen to be supporting better premises for overpaid, corrupt UN bureaucrats – makes even refurbishing a building a political hot potato.

Making Reform Work

One consequence is that, like the building itself, the vital renewal of the Organisation, the updating of its mission, its governance and its management tools, is addressed only intermittently. And when the US does champion the right issues like management reform, as it is currently doing, it provokes more suspicion than support.

Last December, for example, largely at US insistence, instead of a normal two-year budget, member states approved only six months' worth of expenditure – a period which ends on June 30. Developing and developed countries, the latter with the US at the fore, are now at loggerheads over whether sufficient reform has taken place to lift that cap, or indeed whether there should be any links between reform and the budget. Without agreement, we could face a fiscal crisis very soon.

There has been a significant amount of reform over the last 18 months, from the creation of a new Ethics Office and whistle-blower policy, to the establishment of a new Peacebuilding Commission and Human Rights Council. But not enough.

The unfinished management reform agenda, which the US sensibly supports, is in many ways a statement of the obvious. It argues that systems and processes designed 60 years ago for an organisation largely devoted to running conferences and writing reports simply don't work for today's operational UN, which conducts multibillion-dollar peacekeeping missions, humanitarian relief

operations and other complex operations all over the world. The report sets out concrete proposals for how this can be fixed while also seeking to address the broader management, oversight and accountability weaknesses highlighted by the Oil-for-Food programme.

“ In essence, the US is stymied before it even passes ‘Go’. It needs the UN as a multilateral means to address Sudan’s concerns. It needs the UN to secure a wide multicultural array of troop and humanitarian partners. It needs the UN to provide the international legitimacy that Iraq has again proved is an indispensable component to success on the ground ”

One day soon we must address the massive gap between the scale of world issues and the limits of the institutions we have built to address them. However, today even relatively modest proposals that in any other organisation would be seen as uncontroversial, such as providing more authority and flexibility for the Secretary-General to shift posts and resources to organisational priorities without having to get direct approval from member states, have been fiercely resisted by the G77, the main group of developing countries, on the grounds that this weakens accountability. Hence the current deadlock.

What lies behind this?

It is not because most developing countries don't want reform. To be sure, a few spoilers do

seem to be opposed to reform for its own sake, and there is no question that some countries are seeking to manipulate the process for their own ends with very damaging consequences. But in practice, the vast majority is fully supportive of the principle of a better run, more effective UN; indeed they know they would be the primary beneficiaries, through more peace, and more development.

So why has it not so far been possible to isolate the radicals and build a strong alliance of reform-minded nations to push through this agenda?

I would argue that the answer lies in questions about motives and power.

Motives, in that, very unfortunately, there is currently a perception among many otherwise quite moderate countries that anything the US supports must have a secret agenda aimed at either subordinating multilateral processes to Washington's ends or weakening the institutions, and therefore, put crudely, should be opposed without any real discussion of whether they make sense or not.

And power, that in two different ways revolves around perceptions of the role and representativeness of the Security Council.

First, in that there has been a real, understandable hostility by the wider membership to the perception that the Security Council, in particular the five permanent members, is seeking a role in areas not formally within its remit, such as management issues or human rights.

Second, an equally understandable conviction that those five, veto-wielding permanent members who happen to be the victors in a war fought 60 years ago, cannot be seen as representative of today's world – even when looking through the lens of financial contributions. Indeed, the so-called 'G4' of Security Council aspirants – Japan, India, Brazil and Germany – contribute twice as much as the 'P4', the four permanent members excluding the US.

Prime Minister Tony Blair acknowledged exactly this point on his trip to Washington last month, and it is something which does need to be addressed. More broadly, the very reasonable concerns of the full UN membership that the fundamental multilateral principle that each member state's vote counts equally in the wider work of the UN needs to be acknowledged and



accommodated within a broader framework of reform. If the multilateral system is to work effectively, all states need to feel they have a real stake.

New Global Challenges

But a stake in what system?

The US – like every nation, strong and weak alike – is today beset by problems that defy national, inside-the-border solutions: climate change, terrorism, nuclear proliferation, migration, the management of the global economy, the internationalisation of drugs and crime, the spread of diseases such as HIV and avian flu. Today's new national security challenges basically thumb their noses at old notions of national sovereignty. Security has gone global, and no country can afford to neglect the global institutions needed to manage it.

Kofi Annan has proposed a restructuring of the UN to respond to these new challenges with three legs: development, security and human rights supported, like any good chair, by a fourth leg, reformed management. That is the UN we want to place our bet on. But for it to work, we need the US to support this agenda – and support it not just in a whisper but in a coast to coast shout that pushes back the critics domestically and wins over the sceptics internationally. America's leaders must again say the UN matters.

When you talk better national education scores, you don't start with "I support the Department of Education". Similarly for the UN it starts with politicians who will assert the US is going to engage with the world to tackle climate change, poverty, immigration and terrorism. Stand up for that agenda consistently and allow the UN to ride on its coat-tails as a vital means of getting it done. It also means a sustained inside-the-tent diplomacy at the UN. No more 'take it or leave it', red-line demands thrown in without debate and engagement.

Let me close with a few words on Darfur to make my point.

A few weeks ago, my kids were on the Mall in Washington, demanding

President Bush to do more to end the genocide in Darfur and President Bush wants to do more. I'd bet some of your kids were there as well. Perhaps you were, too. And yet what can the US do alone in the heart of Africa, in a region the size of France? A place where the government in Khartoum is convinced the US wants to extend the hegemony it is thought to have asserted in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In essence, the US is stymied before it even passes 'Go'. It needs the UN as a multilateral means to address Sudan's concerns. It needs the UN to secure a wide multicultural array of troop and

humanitarian partners. It needs the UN to provide the international legitimacy that Iraq has again proved is an indispensable component to success on the ground. Yet, the UN needs its first parent, the US, every bit as much if it is to deploy credibly in one of the world's nastiest neighbourhoods.

Back in Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt's day, building a strong, effective UN that could play this kind of role was a bipartisan enterprise, with the likes of Arthur Vandenberg and John Foster Dulles joining Democrats to support the new body. Who are their successors in American politics? Who will campaign in 2008 for a new multilateral national security?

Published in all editions of The Financial Times on 12 June 2006

Let disunity give way to persuasive presentation
From Lord Hannay of Chiswick

Dear Editor,

The US Ambassador to the United Nations' latest intemperate outburst ("Bolton hits back over jibes by UN official", 8 June) is a timely reminder of how wise the US Senate was in the first place to decline to confirm John Bolton's nomination. Moreover it proves the main thesis of the UN Deputy Secretary-General's – in my view unexceptionable and perceptive – speech, namely that only US political leaders can effectively shoulder the responsibility for advocating to their own citizens the case for UN reform and for explaining why the US needs the UN every bit as much as the UN needs the US.

The saddest aspect of this is that in the main matter at stake in New York just now – the struggle over Kofi Annan's package of reforms to the UN Secretariat – the US and the UN leadership are natural allies, together with the UK and the rest of the European Union. What is needed if that package is to be adopted is not spectacular displays of disunity, such as the present episode, but a persuasive presentation of the arguments for endorsing Mr Annan's proposals; not muttered threats of dire consequences, but advocacy of the need for a stronger, more effective UN. Perhaps John Bolton could try his hand at those themes next time he makes a speech. That would certainly be more likely to rally support for the cause of reform.

David Hannay

Chair of the UN Association of the UK
UK Ambassador to the UN, 1990-1995

UNA-UK ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2006 SAYS

STOP CLIMATE CHAOS

Veronica Lie is UNA-UK's Head of Advocacy.



At Annual Conference 2006 UNA-UK members voiced a strong concern about climate change and the failure of many member states – including the UK – to take the necessary steps to address this pressing challenge. With a view to conveying to governments the imperative to act now to curb the greenhouse gas emissions, UNA-UK was urged to join the Stop Climate Chaos coalition (see below).

On the basis of this mandate, UNA-UK applied for membership of Stop Climate Chaos. We are delighted to report that our application was accepted, and we have already started working

together with the coalition's secretariat. In the coming months, UNA-UK will be campaigning on climate change and calling on the UK government to provide leadership in curbing greenhouse gas emissions worldwide and in formulating a new set of targets to replace those which expire in 2012. Funding permitting, we plan three or four events in different parts of the country to raise awareness of climate change and its current and future impact on citizens in the UK and around the world, and to galvanise the political will required if climate change is to be tackled effectively. UNA-UK will also review its own practices, to determine how it can become 'greener', including through offsetting its carbon emissions.

“A path to prosperity that ravages the environment and leaves a majority of humankind behind in squalor will soon prove to be a dead-end road for everyone”

Kofi Annan, UN Secretary-General

In anticipation of this heightened engagement, we have included in these pages of *New World* various facts and figures about climate change, what you as an individual can do to help, and information about the role of the UN in meeting the challenge of climate change.

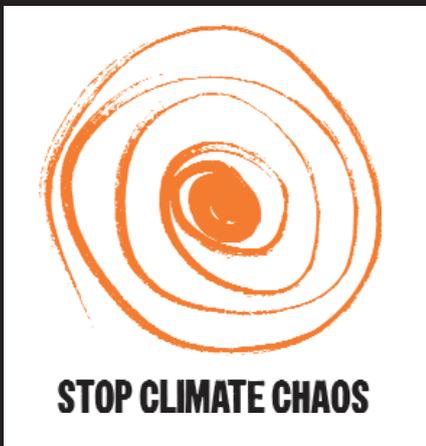


Photo © Stop Climate Chaos/Morgan

Stop Climate Chaos is a civil society movement seeking to mobilise public pressure in support of immediate and comprehensive political action to curb greenhouse gas emissions and so to prevent the 'chaos' that climate change, if unchecked, is likely to cause.

The Stop Climate Chaos Vision:

A world in which human-induced climate change is capped at a level that will allow all of humanity to prosper, by means that promote global, social, environmental and economic justice.

The Stop Climate Chaos Mission:

To build a massive coalition, that will create an irresistible public mandate for political action to stop human-induced climate change.

The Stop Climate Chaos Manifesto:

Without urgent action, climate change will devastate life on earth. Hundreds of millions of people, particularly the world's poorest and most vulnerable, will be put at severe risk of drought, floods, starvation, and disease. By the middle of the century up to one third of land-based species could face extinction.

Politicians have so far failed to take sufficient action to avoid this. Yet the choices made in the next five to 10 years will determine the extent of the devastation faced by future generations. We can save millions of lives and a multitude of species by keeping the average global temperature increase under 2°C. To achieve this, global greenhouse gas emissions must peak and be falling irreversibly by 2015.

High emitting countries, with their responsibility for historic emissions, must reduce their emissions to make certain that this goal is achieved. But because all countries share the obligation to ensure that damaging global warming is permanently avoided each must commit to policies to guarantee that global greenhouse gas emissions decline beyond 2015.

Before this decade is out, world leaders must have lived up to their duty to prevent catastrophic climate change, via open transparent and accountable mechanisms, processes that promote global, social and economic justice and through the use of environmentally sustainable technologies. We will act to ensure that they do.

The Stop Climate Chaos vision, mission and manifesto can be found at www.stopclimatechaos.org.uk

UNA-UK gratefully acknowledges the advice given by Kate Hampton in the preparation of this article.



What can you do to stop climate chaos?

Climate change drives home the reality that national borders cannot defend us against the international challenges of today; these are quintessentially global threats, described by Under-Secretary-General Shashi Tharoor in his address to UNA-UK's Annual Conference in April 2006 as "problems without passports". We will all pay the price for greenhouse gas emissions, regardless of their origin. However, that said, the corollary is also true: we will all reap the dividends of reduced emissions, irrespective of where, or by whom, this reduction was undertaken.

Some climate change is now inevitable, and global warming and the associated effects are a reality. The likely outcome of climate change is now a question of degree; and the extent to which our lives and our environment will change will depend very much on both the actions of individuals and their political decisions.

UNA-UK encourages its members to visit the Stop Climate Chaos website and follow these three online actions:

1. Tell Prime Minister Tony Blair to Stop Climate Chaos by sending him a message urging him to:
 - Work to ensure global greenhouse gas emissions are falling by 2015
 - Ensure that UK greenhouse gas emissions fall by 3 per cent year on year from now on and set a UK carbon budget to make this happen
 - Help poor countries cope with disasters caused by climate change and get access to clean energy to help eliminate poverty
2. Underscore your commitment to stopping climate chaos by saving carbon yourself.
3. Personalise your message to Tony Blair by creating your own version of the Stop Climate Chaos logo.

Facts and Forecasts

- The 1990s was the warmest decade, and 1998 the warmest year on global record. (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change)
- The earth is warming faster than at any time in the past 10,000 years. (IPCC)
- The burning of coal, oil and gas has increased the amount of CO₂ in the atmosphere by 30 per cent over natural levels. (IPCC)
- Estimates suggest that, by 2100, the world could be on average 6 to 10°C warmer. (IPCC and Oxford University)
- The summer of 2003 was Europe's hottest in 500 years. This heatwave caused 28,000 premature deaths across the continent. (WWF)
- Europe's capitals have warmed, some by 2°C in the last 30 years. London's average maximum summer temperature increased the most. This warming trend will increase the likelihood of more frequent and intense heatwaves, droughts and rainstorms. (WWF-UK)
- 150,000 people already die every year from climate change. (World Health Organisation)
- The area of the world stricken by drought doubled between 1970 and the early 2000s. (Greenpeace)
- The economic costs of global warming are doubling every decade. (UN)
- The impact of climate change on some wildlife will already be catastrophic, even with little further change. Up to a third of land-based species could face extinction by the middle of the century. (RSPB)
- 100 million more people will be flooded by the end of the century. (Friends of the Earth)
- Poverty and lagging development exacerbate vulnerability to extreme weather: people in low-income countries are four times more likely to die in natural disasters than people in high income countries. (Oxfam)
- Globally, disaster losses increased from \$71 billion in the 1960s to \$608 billion in 1990s. (Oxfam)
- Water availability could decline: over 3 billion people in the Middle East and the Indian sub-continent could be facing acute shortages of water. (Oxfam)
- Global warming will entirely submerge many low-lying island nations: one of the Carteret atolls of Papua New Guinea has already been cut in half by the ocean, and Tuvalu in the South Pacific has concluded a deal with New Zealand to evacuate its entire population of 10,000. (People & Planet)
- By 2050 30 million more people may be hungry because of climate change. (Hadley Centre, UK)
- There has been a 40 per cent drop in the amount of arctic ice since the 1970s. Were this effect to spread, and the northern ice fields melt, a rise in sea levels of up to seven meters would occur. This would overwhelm not only low-lying countries like Bangladesh, but also major western cities such as London, Rome and New York. (People & Planet)
- The financial costs of flooding could rise in both the UK and the rest of Europe, increasing the annual flood bill by up to £82 billion across Europe. (Association of British Insurers)
- The whole western Siberian sub-arctic region has started to thaw for the first time since its formation 11,000 years ago. The area, which is the size of France and Germany combined, could release billions of tonnes of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. This would be irreversible and would drive up temperatures even more. (BBC)
- In the next 15 years, displacement, disruption to agriculture and food supplies, and damage and destruction to infrastructure would be likely to lead to economic and political instability, both within countries and across international borders, and even to wars as environmental refugees seek new homes and countries clash over scarce water and food supplies. The industrial countries also could find themselves under immense pressure from huge numbers of environmental refugees from the developing world. (Christian Aid)
- Polar bears could become extinct by the end of this century. They are very unlikely to survive as a species if there is an almost complete loss of summer sea ice cover, as is projected by some climate models to occur before the end of this century. (WWF-UK)
- By the end of the century, rising sea levels and crop failures could create 150 million refugees. Even in the UK, 5 million people are at risk from increased flood and storm damage. (Operation Noah)
- In one region of Mozambique, it was common to experience two distinguishable seasons – one hot and one cool. Recently temperatures have risen from 30°C up to 49°C in the hot season and are less cold in the cool season, changing the timing of the rains. The majority of communities are afraid to plant, thinking that it is not the right time. Food security in the region is thus under threat. (Tearfund)

Source: www.stopclimatechaos.org.uk



“The key is actually discarding the idea that has dominated economic policy-making, which is: in order for a country to get rich, stay rich and get richer, you have to put more greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. That isn't true and it hasn't been true for years”

Bill Clinton, former US President

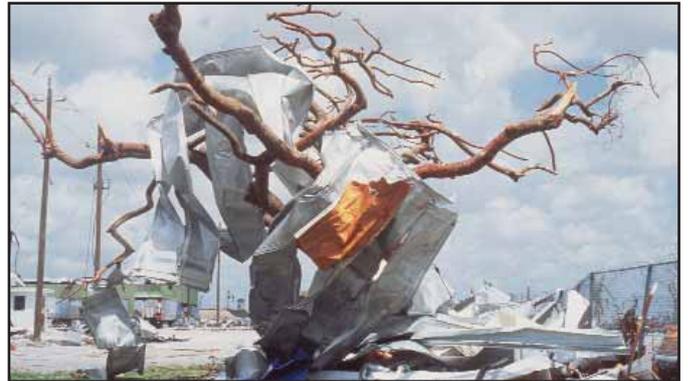


Photo © Greenpeace

What is the UK government doing to tackle dangerous climate change?

Under the Kyoto Protocol, the UK committed itself, by 2012, to have reduced its greenhouse gas emissions by 12.5 per cent of 1990 levels. On track to reaching this target and even surpassing it, the UK government has been lauded for its leadership during its presidency of the G8 in highlighting the need to deal urgently and comprehensively with climate change.

But is this enough? The facts suggest not:

In addition to its Kyoto obligations to curb greenhouse gas emissions, the UK government has also made pledges to cut the UK's production of carbon dioxide (CO₂), the main contributor to climate change. However, despite the government's commitment, enshrined in three general election manifestos, to a 20 per cent reduction by 2010 and a 60 per cent cut by 2050, the UK's emissions of CO₂ continue to rise.

The government recently conducted a review of its climate change policies and produced a new 'UK Climate Change Programme', setting out priorities for action to tackle climate change, both in the UK and internationally. Published in March 2006, the programme was pronounced by Friends of the Earth (FoE) to be "totally inadequate". Below are a few of FoE's criticisms:

- The programme will not allow the UK to achieve the government target for 2010 – i.e. a 20 per cent reduction in carbon dioxide emissions.
- It does not guarantee significant carbon dioxide reductions from industry. The government has noted that, under the next phase of the EU Emissions Trading Scheme, industry will have to cut its carbon dioxide emissions in 2010 by between three and eight million tonnes, an estimate based on projected levels. However, because industrial carbon dioxide emissions are projected to rise, a reduction of just three million

tonnes would actually mean that industrial emissions are higher in 2010 than they are today.

- Despite the fact that road transport accounts for 25 per cent of carbon dioxide emissions, the government's strategy commits neither to reducing traffic nor to ensuring that more efficient vehicles are used.
- Though aviation constitutes the UK's fastest growing source of CO₂ emissions, the review does not address the government's aviation strategy, which heavily subsidises cheap flights and, through the construction of new runways and airport terminals, will lead to a significant expansion in the aviation industry's capacity.

FoE's campaign 'The Big Ask' is calling for legislation to be enacted in the UK which would create a legally binding target for reducing carbon dioxide emissions. The proposed law would oblige UK CO₂ emissions to be cut by three per cent per year, with progress to be monitored by an annual carbon budget.

The Big Ask is encouraging citizens to write to their MPs asking them to sign Early Day Motion 178, a parliamentary petition calling for "a bill to be brought forward in this parliament so that annual cuts in carbon dioxide emissions of three per cent can be delivered in a framework that includes regular reporting and new scrutiny and corrective processes".

More than half of all 646 MPs have signed this EDM. UNA-UK members should visit edmi.parliament.uk/edmi to find out whether their MPs have signed EDM 178.

For more information about The Big Ask visit www.thebigask.com or www.foe.co.uk

Did you know?

- Lighting an average office overnight wastes enough energy to heat water for 1,000 cups of tea.
- A PC monitor on standby uses 51kWh per year of electricity (equivalent to 500 boiling kettles).
- Two photocopiers and three printers switched off saves around five tonnes of CO₂ per year.

Source: BBC

“It is not sufficient to have debt cancellation, aid raised to 0.7% of GDP and fair trade if you also have global warming and environmental degradation. We have to mobilise to make sure climate change is on the same frontburner in people's minds as the other issues”

Mary Robinson,
former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights



The International Climate Regime

Now, and beyond 2012

Another failure of world leaders

A conspicuous gap in the 2005 UN World Summit outcome document is the failure of member states to agree on meaningful ways of strengthening the international response to climate change. The outcome document recognises the scale and scope of the challenge and "emphasises the need to meet all the commitments and obligations...undertaken in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change [UNFCCC] and other relevant international agreements, including, for many [member states], the Kyoto Protocol". Member states reaffirmed their commitment to the ultimate objective of the UNFCCC – namely "to stabilise greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that prevents dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system". Importantly, it is recognised that climate change has its origins in human activity.

While it is under the auspices of the UNFCCC, not the General Assembly, where detailed plans for combating climate change are elaborated, the World Summit failed to give any meaningful direction to guide the development of the climate regime after 2012, when the Kyoto targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions expire. World leaders could have played a valuable role by demonstrating a level of ambition commensurate to the scale of the problem posed by climate change but they did not. No progress, furthermore, was made in bringing the United States around to the need for binding caps on greenhouse gases. Nor was there any agreement on how to rein in the emissions of industrialising countries such as China, India and Brazil which now account for an increasing share of global emissions but which are currently exempted from targets under the Kyoto Protocol.

The need for action now

Climate change is often spoken of as a 'long-term' problem; addressing it appropriately is therefore implied to be a moral obligation we owe to future generations. Whilst this is clearly a valid argument it is also a potentially dangerous one, in that it suggests that the repercussions of climate change are remote when they are in fact imminent and indeed ongoing. The Foreign Secretary's newly-appointed Special Representative on Climate Change, John

Ashton, gave a powerful, and topical, example at a recent conference on climate change at Chatham House, when he noted that Darfur's current drought, a key factor in the crisis there, may constitute the "new normal". That is, the drought may be the product of longer-term alterations in the climate, rather than an anomaly. Mr Ashton also pointed out that any gains made towards the UN Millennium Development Goals by 2015 will be nullified if climate change is not tackled now.

The UN framework for tackling climate change

The UN has played a central role both in providing an international institutional framework for addressing climate change and in galvanising political momentum behind finding and implementing solutions. The creation of the UNFCCC in 1992 was prompted by the first assessment report of the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), an apolitical, global body of scientists tasked with reviewing research into climate change, its causes and its effects. The IPCC, a joint initiative of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organisation, was established in 1988. It does not conduct its own scientific inquiries.

The fundamental purpose of the UNFCCC is to prevent "dangerous" anthropogenic interference with the climate system. The Convention, negotiated within just two years and ready for signature at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, was envisaged as work-in-progress – a loose structure which could be modified and tightened as necessary. Thus, only one year after the UNFCCC came into force member states began discussions to strengthen the existing treaty. The Kyoto Protocol – which, though linked to the UNFCCC, in fact stands on its own – was adopted unanimously in 1997 and entered into force with the ratification of Russia in February 2005.

The Kyoto Protocol's key feature is that it imposes upon its rich state signatories mandatory, time-bound targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions. It does not prescribe targets for developing countries, in recognition of the fact that emissions have originated disproportionately in industrialised countries. The targets on rich economies vary, rang-



Photo © Greenpeace/Hu Wei

ing from -8 per cent to +10 per cent of a country's 1990 emissions levels, "with a view to reducing...overall emissions of such gases by at least 5 per cent below existing 1990 levels in the commitment period 2008 to 2012" (see table 1).

Some countries are required under the Kyoto Protocol only to stabilise their emissions, while others – i.e. Norway, Iceland and, until it withdrew from the treaty, Australia – are permitted increases. To meet its 8 per cent target the EU has devised an internal agreement whereby varying rates are allocated to different countries: for instance, Luxembourg must cut its emissions by 28 per cent while those of Greece can increase by 25 per cent.

The Kyoto framework is also flexible in terms of how it promotes global emission cuts. Countries have the option of partially compensating for emissions through afforestation or reforestation, as forests act as 'sinks' by removing carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. Under the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) countries may also earn 'credits' by sponsoring projects in developing countries which reduce greenhouse gas emissions. In addition to its ultimate aim of lowering greenhouse gas concentrations, the CDM is intended to promote sustainable development (which is defined nationally under the scheme, rather than internationally). For example, countries using the tool effectively can benefit from the infusion of technology to their factories and plants, as well as higher profits through improved efficiency.

The architects of the Kyoto Protocol recognised that compliance with targets would vary among its signatories. The Protocol accordingly allows for countries surpassing their reduction targets to 'sell' any excess on a 'carbon market' to other countries which have not achieved their emissions cuts. The carbon market is thus based on the (novel) premise



Table 1 Kyoto targets (per cent reduction below 1990 levels)

Country/countries	Target
EU, Switzerland and most of the central and east European states	8 per cent
Canada	6 per cent
United States (subsequently withdrew its support)	7 per cent
Hungary, Japan and Poland	6 per cent

that the earth's atmosphere can be assigned a monetary value, with the UN effectively overseeing the government-government exchange of an international carbon currency.

Climate change, perhaps more than any other challenge, illustrates the need to engage non-state actors in the identification and implementation of solutions to global problems. Government-to-government emissions trading is an innovative route to bringing down global greenhouse gas concentrations but, given the contribution of business to emissions, carbon markets will make little overall difference in the absence of private sector input. Recognising this, the European Union created its own internal carbon market, the EU Emissions Trading Scheme (EU ETS), in which the participation of business is mandatory. The EU ETS thus effectively distributes responsibility for reducing carbon emissions beyond governments to the private sector, where the bulk of emissions originate.

This does not negate the need for active government intervention, not least to make investment in the carbon market financially attractive. A shift in government thinking is therefore essential; the transition to a low-carbon economy cannot occur without investment, and investment will not occur in the absence of coherent and sustained public policies.

What next?

The Kyoto Protocol specifies that negotiations should be undertaken, well in advance of 2012, to agree to future commitment periods and corresponding mandatory targets. Thus far governments, with some exceptions, have shied away from taking the necessary steps to meet current targets. Even under the relatively progressive EU scheme, national governments are not being assertive enough with respect to their own businesses. In order for actors such as the EU to maintain credibility in future climate negotiations, existing commitments need to be implemented.

At the September 2005 Summit world leaders

recognised the centrality of the UN to international efforts to curb global warming. Some have proposed that the UN's institutional machinery be strengthened so that it is better able to promote environmental protection and compliance with relevant treaties. Friends of the Earth, for instance, has recommended that UNEP be transformed into a UN specialised agency financed by assessed mandatory contributions.

In parallel, the UN should work to mobilise political will in support of a strong Kyoto Protocol 'II'. A key pillar of the post-2012 arrangement should be stronger contributions from both the principal developing country emitters and previously intransigent parties like Australia and the US. That said, progress on negotiating future commitment periods and targets should not be held hostage to the internal political processes of countries such as the US. Progress is being made on climate change at the state level in the US and it is only a matter of time before the federal government steps in. However, given the US track record on international treaties (not just in the field of environment), the international community should proceed with or without US ratification. Any future targets should be agreed at the multilateral level, given that nationally-set targets often precipitate a 'race to the bottom'.

The post-2012 framework should be based on the fundamental premise that it is the industrialised countries – with growing input from middle-income countries – which must fund the transition to low-carbon economic practices. While this transition will entail some initial sacrifice, economic growth and sound climate policies are not incompatible. For example, between 1990 and 2000, Denmark was able to stabilise its emissions by making its electricity generation more efficient and by switching from coal to renewable energy and natural gas. During this same period, Denmark's gross domestic product rose by 27 per cent.

The obstacles to tackling climate change are ultimately political. There is encouraging evidence that

“A child born in a wealthy country is likely to consume, waste, and pollute more in his lifetime than 50 children born in developing nations. Our energy-burning lifestyles are pushing our planet to the point of no return. It is dawning on us at last that the life of our world is as vulnerable as the children we raise”

George Carey,
former Archbishop of Canterbury

citizens' expectations of their respective governments' climate policies are growing but, given the apparent timidity of governments to take effective action, much more concerted action is required to prevent politicians from renegeing on their promises.

Stop Climate Chaos

Saturday, 4 November
Central London

On Saturday, 4 November, Stop Climate Chaos is calling for thousands of people to gather in central London to call for stronger government action on climate change.

Join supporters from environment, development, faith, women's and other organisations to send a powerful message to world leaders on the eve of the international talks on climate change in Nairobi. We want Prime Minister Blair to show leadership both at home and at the international talks.

Come and be part of an afternoon of entertainment, inspirational speakers and a message of solidarity to those around the world affected by climate change. This demonstration of broad support for tough action on climate change will be a fun, family-friendly day. All are welcome. The event will be the culmination of other supporter events, including the Campaign against Climate Change march.

If you want to know more about venue and timings, or can help with organising people to come from your organisation or area, please call 020 7324 4750 or check our website: www.stopclimatechaos.org.uk

Meanwhile, count yourself in on our online petition and personal pledge:

www.stopclimatechaos.org/action.asp



Peacekeeping Matters

The Annual Review of Global Peace Operations

Dr Bruce Jones is Co-Director of New York University's Centre on International Cooperation (CIC). Dr Jones was also Deputy Research Director for the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change.

The CIC – with the support of the Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the International Peace Academy, recently published the inaugural *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations*, for which Dr Jones is Series Editor.

On 10 May 2006 at Canada House, the 2006 *Annual Review* was launched in the UK, in an event co-hosted by UNA-UK and the Canadian High Commission. Former Canadian High Commissioner Mel Cappe opened the event; Lord Hannay chaired the meeting; and Stephen Pattison, the head of international security at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, also spoke. The main presentation was given by Bruce Jones, who gave an overview of the *Annual Review's* key findings and recommendations.

In this article Bruce Jones assesses the value of peacekeeping as a strategy for conflict management, outlines the principal trends in global peace operations evident from 1999 to 2005, and highlights some key challenges to the UN's peacekeeping capacity. He concludes with a summary of recommendations based on the 2006 *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations*.

The start of the 21st century has seen the resurgence of peacekeeping as a strategic tool. After a slump in the mid-1990s following failures in Bosnia and Rwanda, the Security Council authorised ambitious new missions in Kosovo, Timor-Leste, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo – a new generation of operations that has driven the expansion of the UN's goals and capacities.

While peacekeeping has suffered many setbacks, it has also scored strategic successes: the end of violence in war-torn Liberia, the consolidation of peace in Sierra Leone after a decade of civil war, and the first peaceful transition in Burundi's history after vio-

lence that claimed more than 200,000 lives.

When it works, peacekeeping saves lives and creates stability and the possibility of economic recovery. It can generate, or at least facilitate, democratic transformation. In 2005, missions of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations oversaw or assisted in referendums in countries with populations totaling over 100 million people. And as polls from the Balkans to Iraq have demonstrated, this political dimension of peace operations can help resolve conflicts of global strategic importance. In short, peacekeeping matters.

That peace operations sometimes also fail is beyond question. Indeed, several of the UN's greatest failures



Photo © UN/DPI



Photo © UN/DPI

Police and civilian peacekeepers

As peacekeeping missions are mandated to fulfil increasingly diverse tasks, growing numbers of police and civilians have been enlisted to help carry out the objectives of peace operations.

Police are being used more and more to execute security tasks unsuitable for military forces. Between 1998 and 2005 the number of police officers being employed by UN peace operations swelled from 3,100 to 6,100. In 2005, furthermore, non-UN peace operations accounted for another 3,400 police personnel.

Civilians are similarly playing an increasingly prominent role in peace operations. Because they are often given responsibility for helping build political and security structures, judicial institutions and frameworks for economic governance, civilians in many cases remain in the region following the withdrawal of troops.

have been in places where peacekeeping missions have been deployed – in Rwanda, in Angola and elsewhere. Moreover, even when peace operations record successes at a strategic level, they are often marred by a variety of forms of inefficiency and misbehaviour at the operational level. Most noxious has been the exposure of sexual exploitation by UN peacekeepers.

But whereas some critics have argued that such scandals and failures mean that we should scrap peace operations altogether, a full examination of the record suggests a different conclusion: that making UN peacekeeping work well – making it work effectively, efficiently and predictably – should be central to the international security agenda. This is true not least because, as study after study has shown, the expansion of peace operations in the 1990s has contributed significantly to the overall decline in the level of war in the world. As the recent *Human Security Report* found, the incidence of civil war has dropped by almost 40 per cent since the early 1990s, and UN peace operations, along with regional operations, are an important factor within this trend. Indeed, the UN's

High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change referred to the impact of UN mediation and peacekeeping on the decline in the level of wars as "nothing less than a sea change in global governance".

Trends in global peace operations from 1999 to 2005

Global peace operations have, since 1999, grown dramatically – in size and in complexity. In late 1998, there were 76,000 troops deployed in UN and non-UN peace operations world-wide. By the third quarter of 2005, that figure had risen by half to 116,000 – not including the multinational force in Iraq. This quantitative boom has been matched by a corresponding increase in complexity: peace operations are today more ambitious than ever before, with mandates encompassing military, police and civilian elements.

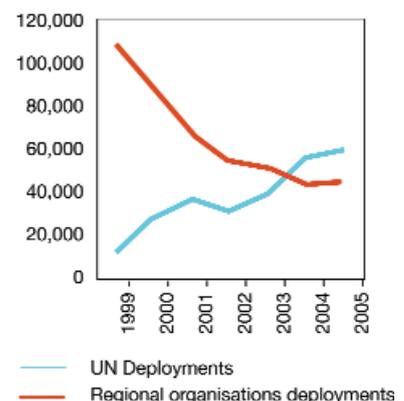
Contrary to conventional wisdom – that is, that the UN's role within peacekeeping is diminishing, and that regional organisations and so-called 'coalitions of the willing' now constitute the principal actors in peace operations – it is in fact the UN which underpins this tremendous growth. While the number of

peacekeeping troops employed by regional organisations has since 1999 fallen by 57 per cent, from 108,000 to 46,000, UN forces have over the same period grown by nearly 500 per cent, swelling from 12,700 to 60,700. In fact,

Box 1: Numbers of troops deployed abroad

United States	592,000
United Nations	60,200
UK	54,200
Turkey	38,000
Russia	34,900
France	25,000

Box 2: Peacekeeping troops deployed by the UN and by regional organisations, 1999–2005





after the US armed forces, the UN is now the largest mover of military personnel in the world.

Challenges to UN peacekeeping: logistical and normative overstretch

The UN is thus the 'market leader' in peacekeeping, and remains unrivalled in its legitimacy as an arbiter of conflict and in its comparative advantage in mobilising peacekeeping troops. Only the UN, for instance, can mobilise troops from South Asian countries. Yet the UN's ability to carry out effective and efficient peace operations faces daunting obstacles, two principal challenges being logistical and normative overstretch.

An assessment of recent UN peace operations reveals some notable logistical challenges. Prominent among these is that it is becoming increasingly difficult for the UN to secure adequate numbers of troops and to get them into place quickly. UNAMSIL, the UN mission in Sierra Leone, has been generally judged a success. In this case, the UN deployed one soldier for approximately every six square kilometers of territory. By contrast, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the UN mission deployed the equivalent of one soldier for every 150 square kilometers. The deployment to Sierra Leone was undertaken with comparative rapidity: more than 12,000 troops were moved into the field within the first nine months of the mission, nearly reaching its planned size. Conversely, when the UN deployed to the Sudan in 2005, it took over nine months to move just 3,600 troops into the field – reaching a mere 40 per cent of the mission's mandated strength.

Exacerbating these logistical challenges is the possibility that the UN is also facing 'normative overstretch'. Mandates are not rooted in clear peace

operations doctrine: UN missions are routinely given mandates to use force to protect civilians and yet there is a large gap between the mandate given and peacekeepers' understanding of their powers and duties. This ambiguity can lead to false expectations of what UN forces are capable of achieving, which may even lead to civilian casualties.

Policy choices

The argument that peacekeeping is of strategic value and must be made to work well does not necessarily mean that efforts to strengthen peacekeeping capacity should be focused on the UN alone. Indeed, it is likely that the demand for peacekeeping will best be met through a strategic partnership between the UN and regional organisations.

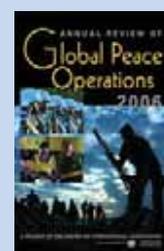
That is why it is essential that, at the global, regional and mission levels, integrated peacekeeping strategies are formulated which link up different components of peace operations and which serve to harmonise the activities of UN and non-UN missions. The international community should therefore implement commitments made at the 2005 World Summit to strengthen the capacity of regional and sub-regional organisations in Africa, home to 80 per cent of the UN's troop deployments. And, within missions, the strategic coherence of military, police and civilian activities must also be enhanced.

UN member states should also search for consensus on the basics of peace operations in order to establish doctrinal clarity on fundamental issues such as the use of force. Involving the key troop-contributing countries within this process is critical. Gaining greater clarity about peacekeeping doctrine would lead to greater coherence in the field and facilitate the management of expectations among personnel contributors, the parties to a conflict, and the broader

population amongst whom the operation is deployed.

While the World Summit recognised the need for "rapidly deployable capacities" to reinforce peace operations, the outcome document produced no clear plan for developing these capacities. It is vital that this recognition is not allowed to succumb to inaction or fantasies about a 'UN army'. The international community should instead focus on developing a formal arrangement whereby major contributors to missions hold some forces ready for rapid deployment (i.e. within 48 hours to one week).

If you want efficient peacekeeping, you have to be concerned with nuts and bolts. Questions of logistics, of planning, and of deployment capacity matter critically to outcomes. These are not glamorous issues. But, as the world saw as its most powerful army struggled with supply-chain issues during the war in Iraq, logistics matter, planning matters, and deployment matters. Either peacekeeping capacity will be strengthened, new peace operations will be mounted effectively, and wars will be resolved or averted, or we will fail these tests, and lives will be lost, wars will spread, and regions will be destabilised.



The Annual Review of Global Peace Operations

is published by Lynne Rienner and can be ordered at www.rienner.com

For more information about the project and its supporters visit:

www.cic.nyu.edu

www.un.org/depts/dpko/lessons

www.ipacademy.org



The House of Lords inquiry into the EU Strategy for Africa

As reported in previous issues of *New World*, **Alexander Ramsbotham**, Head of UNA-UK's John Bright Peace and Security Programme, has been working with the House of Lords Select Committee on the European Union. He is Specialist Adviser to its Sub-Committee C (Foreign Affairs, Defence and Development Policy), assisting with its inquiry into EU relations with Africa.

This inquiry has been examining the effectiveness of the EU's engagement with the African Union (AU), and assessing the capacity of Brussels to implement the commitments made by the EU in its 'Strategy for Africa'. The chief aim of the Strategy is to help African states achieve the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and, in parallel, enhance peace and security across the continent.

The report of the Lords inquiry is being published in the summer of 2006. This article previews some of its key findings, focusing in particular on those areas in which the activities of the EU and AU overlap with the mandate of the UN in Africa.

The EU Strategy for Africa

'The EU and Africa: Towards a Strategic Partnership' was adopted by the Council of the European Union on 16 December 2005. The Strategy acknowledges the complexity of the challenges facing Africa, and identifies the areas in which the EU can best support African efforts to build a

peaceful, democratic and prosperous future. These areas are outlined in the Strategy under six headings: 1) Peace and Security; 2) Human Rights and Governance; 3) Development Assistance; 4) Sustainable Economic Growth, Regional Integration and Trade; 5) Investing in People; and 6) The Future: an EU Partnership with Africa.

The Lords inquiry

2005 saw world leaders – through the G8, the UN and the EU – make a plethora of commitments to Africa. It is now time to deliver on these promises, and it is in this spirit that the Lords Committee's report focuses on what the EU must do to implement its Strategy for Africa.

The Committee first took evidence for its inquiry in April 2004 from UK government officials on the developing relationship between the EU and the AU. It then took evidence in November 2005 from Hilary Benn, Secretary of State for International Development, and Lord Triesman, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the FCO, on the Strategy itself, which was, at the time, being discussed in Europe and in Africa.

In early 2006, following the adoption of the Strategy, the Committee took evidence from a number of officials from the

UK government and from the EU, and from civil society experts in the UK, Europe and Africa (see Box 2).

The Committee's report on the UN, the EU and the AU

The report of the Lords Committee's inquiry into the Strategy affirms the central role of the UN in international efforts to maintain peace and security, and so to create the conditions necessary for sustainable development and the protection of human rights. The Committee acknowledges the significance to the EU's work in Africa of the perceived legitimacy that is gained through the political support of UN bodies such as the General Assembly and the Security Council. The report also outlines the scale of the EU's financial contribution to the UN's activities: EU member states collectively pay 38 per cent of the UN's regular budget and 40 per cent of the costs of its peacekeeping activities; they also provide around half of the voluntary contributions to UN funds and programmes.

The support given to the AU by external partners such as the UN and the EU

**Box 1: The African Union**

The African Union (AU) is the primary African regional organisation and serves as the principal interlocutor for EU engagement with Africa. The AU was officially launched in 2002, when it replaced the Organisation of African Unity. The AU's headquarters are in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The principal aims of the AU are:

- promoting peace and security as prerequisites for the achievement of the MDGs
- promoting good governance
- protecting human rights
- supporting sustainable development
- harmonising policies between African sub-regional bodies

A fundamental objective of the AU is to encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Box 2: List of witnesses*Officials of governments and international organisations*

- Hilary Benn, Secretary of State for International Development
- Lord Triesman, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the FCO
- Javier Solana, High Representative for the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy
- Robert Dewar, UK Permanent Representative to the AU in Addis Ababa
- Elmar Brok, Chair of the European Parliament Foreign Affairs Committee
- Representatives of the Belgian government

Civil society experts

- Myles Wickstead, former Head of the Secretariat for the Commission for Africa (UK)
- Jakkie Cilliers, Executive Director of the Institute of Security Studies (South Africa)
- Alex Vines, Head of the Africa Programme, Chatham House (UK)
- James Mackie and colleagues, European Centre for Development Policy Management (Netherlands)
- Nicholas Grono, Vice-President for Advocacy and Operations, International Crisis Group (Belgium)

News from Parliament: Tom Clarke MP's Private Member's Bill on Millennium Development Goal 8

A bill aiming to increase the government's accountability to its international development commitments overcame another parliamentary hurdle on 16 June when it passed a third reading in the House of Commons. The bill, which has considerable cross-party support, will have to be approved by the House of Lords but now stands an excellent chance of becoming law.

Tabled by Tom Clarke MP, the bill incorporates into law the target of spending 0.7 per cent of national income on aid, along with an assessment of how close the government has come to reaching this target.

UNA-UK would like to thank its members who wrote to their MPs urging them to attend the readings of this bill. To view the full text of the International Development (Reporting and Transparency) Bill visit www.publications.parliament.uk

clearly has potentially positive implications for African development, stability and security. However, the proliferation of actors operating in Africa can also create complications through overlapping and even conflicting agendas. In light of this, the Lords Committee has highlighted some specific areas in which coordination is particularly important, making a number of recommendations. A few examples are included below:

- The Committee notes the strong presence of UN agencies in Africa, many of which have a high level of expertise in the delivery of programmes and in coordinating the activities of various actors on the continent. The Lords Committee urges therefore that the EU collaborates with the UN in Africa to avoid duplicating or undermining the work of UN agencies.
- The report observes that the EU and the AU have become key allies of the UN in peacekeeping and in enhancing crisis management capabilities in Africa. The EU and the AU are urged to continue their efforts to develop integrated approaches to peace and security initiatives and more systematic coordination with the UN, NATO and other operational partners as part of a global interlocking system of peacekeeping capacities.
- The Committee's report encourages the EU and AU to work with the new UN Peacebuilding Commission to assist the recovery of countries emerging from conflict, coordinating their efforts with other key actors including the international financial institutions.
- The Lords Committee notes the EU's instrumental support for African capacity-building programmes, focusing in particular on its role in promoting the AU's Africa Standby Force (ASF). The ASF, planned to be fully operational by 2010, will comprise stand-by multidisciplinary contingents from the five African sub-regions, with rapidly deployable civilian and military components.

The way ahead

The challenges facing Africa are considerable. The AU, with the support of its partners in the UN, Europe and elsewhere, presents a potentially effective vehicle for furthering development, peace, stability and prosperity on the continent. The EU Strategy for Africa presents a very useful framework to take this project forward – but only if it is implemented effectively, and promises that have been made are translated into realities.



LETTERS

Dear Editor,

I very much support Margaret Rayner's plea for a lot more factual information in *New World* about the UN and its activities – we do after all want to educate and inform our members about the UN, not just UNA.

A case in point is the British contribution to UN peacekeeping forces. By the end of 2004 the UN had in the field 64,701 military personnel and civilian police serving in peacekeeping operations, provided by 102 countries. Sadly the British contribution to this great effort was the numerically pathetic 542 (the quality I am sure was good) – a mere 424 troops while we were deploying 8,000 fighting a war in Iraq and are sending another 4,000 to Afghanistan!

No doubt the British contribution to other aspects of UN activity is more satisfactory, but if small countries such as Ghana (3,322) and Jordan (2,950) can make nearly six times our effort in terms of personnel then I would suggest that Britain does not have its priorities right.

Frank Hooley
Presteigne

Editor's note: For Margaret Rayner's letter see the January-March 2006 issue of *New World*.

Dear Editor,

Bringing UNA to the attention of the public is not easy. Further to

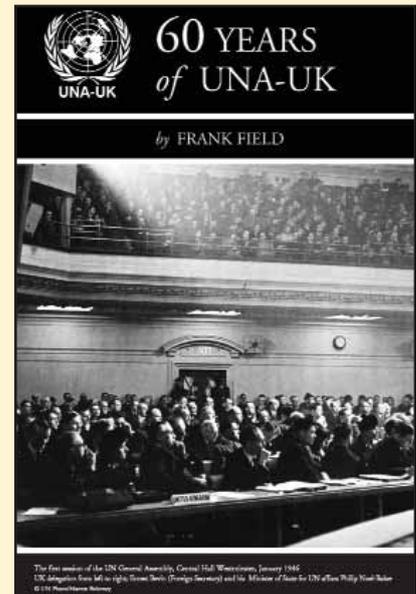
my idea of organising a tree planting by a local figure who attracts attention, another idea is to put forward a prominent member of a branch for a civic award. I know there are many UNA members who have served for a number of years. If the town where they live has a public award system, it is a fairly enjoyable process to make a submission. This involves stating what has been achieved over the years and therefore explains the work of UNA. Receiving the award is an amusing couple of hours with good press attendance leading to a report and a photograph in the local paper. People tend to talk about it for some weeks afterward thus giving further chances to highlight the work of UNA.

Gillian Bailey
Cheltenham

Dear Editor,

Congratulations to Frank Field on his report *60 Years of UNA-UK*. It made fascinating reading.

Limited space made selection inevitable so Frank was not able to pay homage to the inspiring leaders of my day who attracted enormous prestige to the Association. Professor Gilbert Murray, Dame Kathleen Courtney, Nigel Nicolson, General Lyne, General Sir Ronald Adam, Leonard Behrens and a host of others who gave lavishly of their time and energy to the cause, but that must wait for the



comprehensive history which I hope Frank will feel encouraged to embark on.

I am tremendously impressed with *New World*. When I reflect on the modest beginnings of that publication produced on a shoestring, it is a great pleasure to see it in its current form. A very professional job.

I wish UNA every success in its efforts to re-establish its primacy in the United Kingdom. It is vital work and UNA has made a great start.

Bob Lorimer
Hexham

Editor's note: Bob Lorimer is a former regional officer for the northwest. He was also a founder of *World's News*, a forerunner of *New World*. Copies of *60 Years of UNA-UK* are available from head office. Call 020 7766 3459 for further details.



BRANCHES IN ACTION

UNA Westminster

International Day of UN Peacekeepers, 29 May 2006

David Wardrop is Chair of UNA Westminster and a member of the UNA-UK Board.

On 31 May 2006, UNA Westminster branch held its third annual conference to mark the International Day of UN Peacekeepers at the Royal United Services Institute in Whitehall. In his Folke Bernadotte Lecture, Michael Pugh, editor of *International Peacekeeping*, argued that, in rebuilding war-torn states, rich donor states, selfishly, saw more benefit in institutional reform than in development initiatives even though deaths through poverty far outnumber those through violence. Rather than institutional reform, he advocated transformation in the structures of world development to better benefit the multitude. He noted that "building peace is a much broader issue than sending in peacekeepers".

Other speakers included Kees Steenken, of the Swedish National Defence College, who reviewed the range of challenges facing civilians now working in UN peacekeeping operations. Stephen Chambers, FCO Senior Policing Adviser, spoke about new proposals to encourage UK police to volunteer for international service. Stefan Feller, Head of the European Union Police Unit, reviewed options for deploying appropriate integrated police formations to undertake UN and other international police tasks. In a ceremony held at the Cenotaph in memory of UN peacekeepers who lost their lives in action, representatives of 55 embassies laid wreaths. The Band of the Welsh Guards played during the ceremony which included Christian and Muslim prayers.

Commemorations also took place outside of London: UNA Southampton laid a wreath at the Cenotaph in Watts Park, Southampton, and UNA Lakelands laid floral tributes at the War Memorial in Windermere.



Photos © UNA-UK/Benedict Parsons

Bottom left photo: H.E. Kamalesh Sharma, High Commissioner of India, with Michael Pugh who gave the Folke Bernadotte lecture
Bottom right photo: Michael Pugh at the Royal United Services Institute



Bexley UNA Teams up with Working Partners

Humanitarian aid to Sierra Leone

A destructive 11-year civil war which ended in 2002 left Sierra Leone as one of the poorest nations in the world. Although the country is now on a steady path to recovery, rapid urbanisation and population increases have exacerbated problems of widespread poverty. With over 50 per cent of the country liv-

ing on less than one dollar a day, it is not surprising that Sierra Leone came bottom of the UN Development Programmes's 2004 Human Development Index.

Bexley UNA and Working Partners, a national affiliate of UNA-UK, have been working in cooperation with the Sierra Leone

United Nations Association and other NGOs and charities on humanitarian aid projects in the region. George Palmer, Chair of Bexley UNA, made his second trip to Sierra Leone in March 2006. The following is his report on the progress of the humanitarian mission so far.



Near the centre of Freetown, this small, informal school for 45 children was opened in a temporary structure. The Sierra Leone government has now donated some land for a permanent structure. Bexley UNA is trying to fundraise for the materials required for this building, and for other essential equipment. Photo © George Palmer

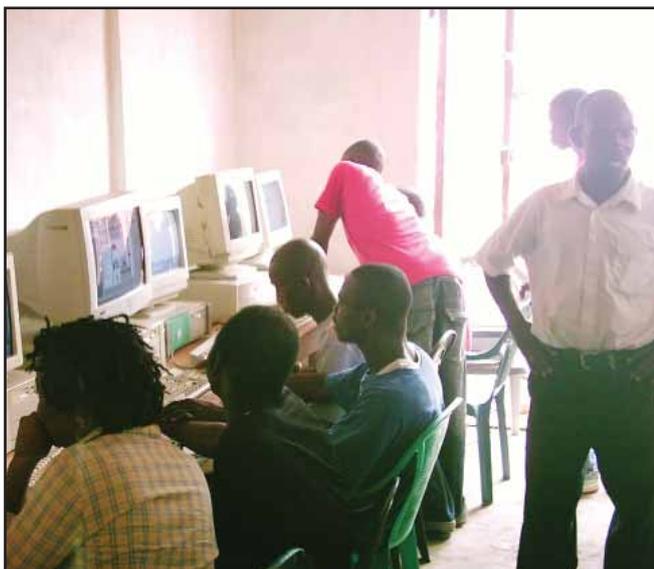


Sierra Leone UNA (SLUNA)

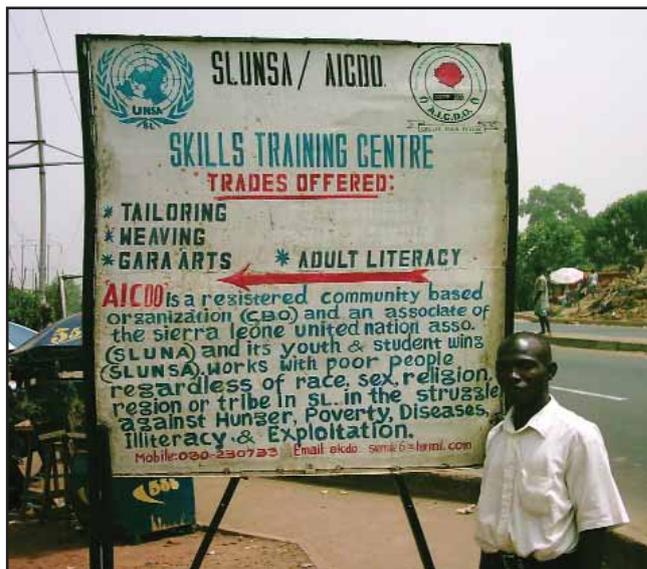
I had a very productive and interesting meeting with Dr Sam Hollist, Secretary-General of SLUNA. He told me the good news that the government of Sierra Leone had recently reinstated its grant to SLUNA which had been terminated at the outbreak of war. SLUNA's priority remains its publishing programme, and it was delighted with the computers it had received from the UNA-UK headquarters.

Many computers had also been sent to the skills training centre of 'SLUNSA', the youth wing of SLUNA. I was delighted to see these computers being used as part of a training programme for women and young people. This is a wel-

come addition to the other courses, such as embroidery, tailoring, gara arts and hairdressing, which are being run at the centre. SLUNSA, and its associated organisation, the Agricultural and Integrated Community Development Organisation (AICDO), is running the skills training centre to empower young people, help raise their awareness of social issues, and provide them with the skills needed to work and earn a living. The training centre's current priority is to focus on training women, many of whom, after becoming widows in the civil war, have had to provide for their children on their own.



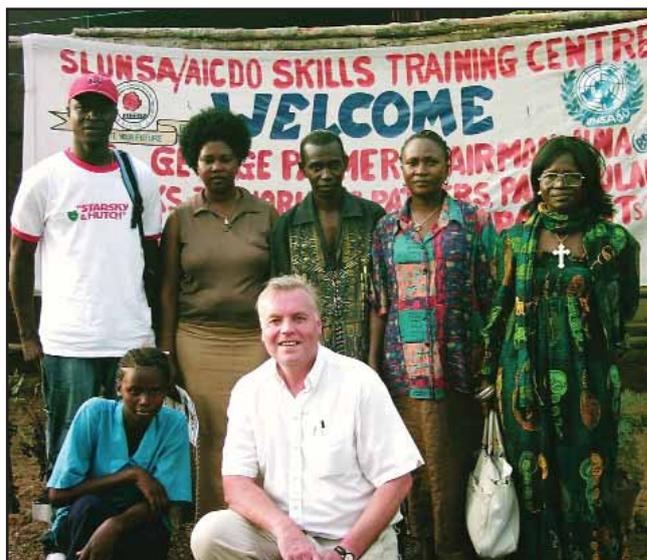
Aruna Turay, youth coordinator of SLUNA, supervises the computer classes. The computers include those donated by UNA-UK headquarters. Photo © George Palmer



Aruna Turay stands by the signpost to the SLUNSA skills training centre at Bottom-Oku. Photo © George Palmer



Working Partners advanced to SLUNSA the basic costs for the skills centre to produce sashes which were then woven with the name of each of the UNAs in London and Southeast Region. Personalised sashes are available to order; the minimum cost is £5. Photo © George Palmer



George Palmer is welcomed by the SLUNSA leaders of the training centre. Photo © George Palmer



Connaught Hospital

On my first visit to Sierra Leone, I spent a considerable amount of time working with Sylvia Blyden, a Lewisham UNA member and former Secretary-General of Sierra Leone UNA, securing the necessary signatures from government officials to grant duty-free status to the contents of a container sent by Working Partners. This container included a mobile X-ray unit for the newly-refurbished Connaught Hospital.

During my latest visit I returned to the hospital and was given a guided tour by Dr Frank Kosia, who

was delighted to show me his X-ray unit – the only piece of equipment the hospital possessed. Dr Kosia hoped to start offering basic diagnostic X-rays, using donated film, to the most needy within a few weeks. Working Partners continues to fundraise for the machine and for more film. Bexley UNA has also sent three second-hand neo-natal resuscitation units to the Maternity and Children's Hospital in Freetown. Hawah Sesay, a nurse at University College Hospital and a member of Lewisham UNA, will be returning to check on the use of this equipment.



Dr Frank Kosia, Director of Radiology and Nuclear Medicine, next to the mobile X-ray unit ready to be unpacked and used in the Connaught Hospital. Photo © George Palmer



Sunset over the Kimbima Hotel. Photo © George Palmer



Margaret Sesay, project coordinator for Working Partners, attended the first graduation ceremony at the SLUNSA skills training centre. Fifteen students received certificates from an array of dignitaries who attended the occasion. The UN was represented by Mr J. Victor Angela, the Resident Coordinator of the UN Integrated Office in Sierra Leone (UNIOSIL). On behalf of Secretary-General Kofi Annan, Mr Angelo spoke of the "fantastic results" achieved by the centre, and praised the management and staff for their hard work. Photo © Margaret Sesay

If you would like more information about the humanitarian aid mission to Sierra Leone, or would like to support a particular venture mentioned on these pages, please call George Palmer on 07732 732 585 or e-mail Working Partners at working.partners@virgin.net



UNA-UK in 2006

Reports received from UNA branch, regional and national events

Canterbury

Canterbury branch's fourth Fairtrade Lunch, using fairtrade and locally-produced food, was held on 11 March in the Methodist Church Hall in Canterbury. Despite the cold and grey weather, over 100 people attended and were entertained by jazz musicians.

This Fairtrade Fortnight was particularly important for Canterbury as Canterbury City, the University of Kent and the local Anglican diocese all attained fairtrade status in March. Three Canterbury UNA branch members attended the celebratory civic lunch hosted by the Lord Mayor at which a Windward Islands banana grower spoke of the importance of fairtrade in providing employment and much-needed services for the Windward Islands people.

Newbury & District

The branch annual dinner was held on Friday, 7 April. Guest speaker Suzanne Long drew on her human rights experience to give an address on the value of including international issues in school citizenship education. The event was attended by a good cross-section of age groups, including a number of UNYSA members.

Bexhill & Hastings

On April 29, Norman Baker MP, Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group

on the Environment, spoke to the Bexhill & Hastings branch about the UN and the environment. Mr Baker praised the work of the UN's Nairobi-based Environment Programme and recommended it should be given more power and leverage to tackle problems associated with climate change. He also suggested that the UN Security Council should look at the environmental causes of war since many future conflicts are likely to originate from disputes over water and natural resources.

Birmingham

On 2 May 2006, the launch of the new Birmingham UNA branch took place at the Birmingham and Midland Institute in the centre of the city. The event was opened by Deputy Lord Mayor Councillor John Hood, and the guest speaker was Sam Daws, who gave an address on the challenges facing the next Secretary-General of the United Nations. There was a good attendance from people of all ages and backgrounds, and "the talk by Sam inspired some people to 'come off the fence' and join UNA!".

UNA Wales

On Saturday, 10 June UNA Wales hosted a public meeting in the new international politics building at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth.

The meeting explored the approach of the United States to international relations and its relationship with the UN. The event provided an opportunity for the public to ask questions and generate discussion with a panel of experts.

James Sindle of the US Embassy in London offered a provocative and informative overview of America's relationship with the UN, especially in relation to US proposals for reform of the organisation. Stephen Thomas, Secretary of UNA Wales, chaired the event and responses to Mr Sindle's address were provided by Professor Nick Wheeler, of the Department of International Politics and Director of the David Davies Memorial Institute, and Frank Hooley, President of UNA Wales.

The discussion focused on the reasons for the challenge displayed by the Bush administration to the UN. In response, James Sindle was keen to explain that, despite many perceptions around the world, the majority of US citizens still believed that the UN should play an important role in international affairs but that the organisation should be made more efficient and effective. His remarks were given added poignancy by the row that had broken out earlier in the week as a result of UN Deputy Secretary-General Mark Malloch Brown's remarks about US engagement with the UN.



Edinburgh MUN

The beautiful debating chamber of the Edinburgh City Chambers was the venue for a Model United Nations General Assembly (MUNGA) held on 19 June. Delegates representing countries from across the globe were welcomed by the Lord Provost, Lesley Hinds, who stated that she was particularly pleased to host this MUNGA since Edinburgh had also played a key part in the **MAKE-POVERTYHISTORY** campaign.

The delegates soon began debating topics ranging from the environment and climate change to HIV/AIDs and global terrorism. A number of resolutions were agreed, which, if put into practice, would make the world a better place. Many delegates remarked that the MUNGA had been great fun and was an excellent way of learning more about the workings of the UN.



Photos © Godwin Jere

Future UNA branch, regional and national events

This list of events is not exhaustive. To be added to our regular e-mail bulletin of upcoming events, write to membership@una.org.uk

Norwich & District

On Friday, 21 July from 1 to 1.45pm there will be a talk by Andy Hewett of the British Red Cross on asylum in Norwich. The event will be held at the Friends Meeting House, Upper Goat Lane, Norwich. You are welcome to bring sandwiches beforehand. Hot drinks and biscuits, served from 12.15pm, are included in the entrance charge of £2. For further details call 01603 435 790.

West Oxfordshire

There will be a wine-and-cheese evening in support of Adopt-A-Minefield on Friday, 21 July at 7.30pm in Charlbury Memorial Hall. For further details contact Malcolm Harper on 01608 810 464.

Harpenden

UNA Harpenden will be holding its annual garden party on Saturday, 22 July from 12.30pm at the Quaker Meeting House, 12 Southdown Rd, Harpenden. Tickets cost £4 at the door. For further details contact J. Trevor Evans on 01582 713 895.

UNA Merton

On Saturday, 29 July from 9am to 12.30pm there will be a car boot sale in support of UNICEF's Java Earthquake Appeal at St Mary's Field, 30 St Mary's Road, Wimbledon. Admission is 50p (£1 before 9am). For more details e-mail alisonwilliams36@tiscali.co.uk

Southern Counties

UNA Southern Counties Region annual conference will take place over the weekend of 26-27 August at the University of Chichester. This year's focus will be on climate change. Speakers include Dr Douglas Holdstock and Dr Saleemul Huq. For further details, programmes and booking forms contact Ruth Barker by telephone on 01276 475 429 or e-mail on ruth.barker@tiscali.co.uk

Stratford-upon-Avon

The branch AGM will be held on Tuesday, 12 September and will be followed by a talk at 7.30pm by Reverend Graham Spicer about the life and work of Lewis Fry Richardson. The meeting will be held at the Friends Meeting House, Maidenhead Road, Stratford-upon-Avon. For more information e-mail limho21@hotmail.com

Twickenham & Richmond

On Tuesday, 26 September the branch AGM will be held at St Mary's Church Hall, Church Street, Twickenham, at 7.30pm. Following the meeting there will be a talk by Sam Daws, Executive Director of UNA-UK. For more information contact Derek Smith on 020 8892 4186.

Birmingham

On Tuesday, 26 September Professor Richard Jolly, former UNA-UK Chair, will be speaking on 'UN achievements and UN challenges' at the Birmingham and Midland Institute. For more information please contact Gillian Briggs on 01214 496 032.

Stockport

UNA Stockport would like to give early notice that the date of this year's international supper has been fixed for Saturday, 28 October at Trinity Methodist Church, Davenport, Stockport. There will be music and the usual splendid array of home-cooked food from many national traditions. For more information contact Joan Abrams by e-mail on abrams_tony@yahoo.co.uk

Lewisham

There will be a human rights lunch on Sunday, 10 December at 48 Bromley Road, Catford SE6 2NP. Patricia Rogers, Jubilee Debt Campaign Director, will lead a discussion on debt relief. If you would like to attend please call David Hamilton on 020 8690 5108.



ANNOUNCEMENTS

Advisory Panel

In the January-March issue of *New World* it was announced that UNA-UK was in the process of setting up a 'virtual' advisory panel, comprised of the UK's leading experts on issues of relevance to the UN. The panel's membership will be developing over the coming months but, at the time of going to press, the following individuals had agreed to participate:

Dame Margaret Anstee

Mr Dominic Bascombe

Mr Greg Barrow

Prof. Mats Berdal

Sir Frank Berman

Dr Rachel Brett

Prof. Christine Chinkin

Prof. Michael Clarke

Ms Juliet Colman

Mr Tony Colman

Dr Ian Davis

Mr Will Day

Lord Tim Garden

Sir Marrack Goulding

Sir Jeremy Greenstock

Prof. John Groom

Ms Kate Hampton

Prof. Mark Imber

Prof. Sir Richard Jolly

Lord Frank Judd

Mr Chandrashekar Krishnan

Prof. Sir Elihu Lauterpacht

Mr Martin Macpherson

Prof. Sally Morphet

Dr Justin Morris

Prof. Michael O'Flaherty

Mr Dan Plesch

Sir Kieran Prendergast

Prof. Michael Pugh

Prof. Oliver Ramsbotham

Lord Ivor Richard

Prof. Paul Rogers

Prof. Frances Stewart

Sir Crispin Tickell

Prof. David Travers

Sir Brian Urquhart

Sir John Weston

Prof. Nick Wheeler

Baroness Janet Whitaker

Prof. Nigel White

Ms Elizabeth Wilmshurst

Sir Michael Wood

Prof. Tom Woodhouse

Sir Robert Worcester

Walk the World 2006

On 21 May people from 117 countries across the globe gathered together to call for the end of child hunger by taking part in the World Food Programme initiative Walk the World. Creating a 'virtual' ring of over one million walkers across adjacent time-zones, Walk the World aimed to re-energise efforts towards achieving Millennium Development Goal 1: the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger.

The World Food Programme is keen to hear feedback from UNA-UK members who took part in the UK walks. If you would like to relay your experiences of the event, please e-mail bideesha.ahuja@wfp.org or call 020 7240 9001.

For more information on Walk the World, please visit www.fighthunger.org



Photo © WFP/Photo Library



Photo © AFP

European Youth Leadership Summit

UNA-UK, in partnership with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, sent two delegates to the UN European Youth Leadership Summit in Vienna from 19 to 21 June. The summit aimed to strengthen the involvement of European youth in the Millennium Development Goals, using sport, peace and culture as entry points to help reach the 2015 targets.

The two successful UK applicants were Sara Fazlali and Richard Bartlett. Sara is currently studying for her MPhil in Social Anthropology at Oxford University and is writing her dissertation on gender construction in sport. She is a member of the British National Karate Team and her keen interest in sport has led her to volunteer for the 2012 Olympics. She is a qualified tennis coach and speaks four languages, including French and Farsi.

Richard works for PricewaterhouseCoopers and is a past president of UNYSA as well as founding member of the Young Professionals Network. He has a wealth of experience of the UN, having been one of the participants in the 10-year Review of the World Programme of Action for Youth in February 2005.

The next issue of *New World* will contain a report from Sara and Rich on their experience of the summit.

Goodbye to Alexander Ramsbotham!

After seven years as Head of UNA-UK's John Bright Peace and Security Programme, Alexander (a.k.a. "Zand") is leaving UNA to take up a new and exciting post at the Institute for Public Policy Research (ippr). There he will serve as Research Fellow on ippr's international team, working specifically on the responsibility to protect in Africa.

We will miss Zand immensely, for his good humour and for the excellent contribution he has made to UNA-UK's peace and security work over the years. We wish him the best in his new role and look forward to future collaboration with Zand in his position at ippr.



ONLINE

Updates to UNA-UK website

A section on UNA-UK and Parliament (www.una.org.uk/parliament) has been added to the website. This section is the new focal point for all UNA-UK lobbying activity, providing information on the latest UN-related parliamentary business, on how to contact MPs, on the input of UNA-UK staff to parliamentary committees and on the All-Party Parliamentary Group on the UN.

As part of the continuing redesign of our website, there is also an updated human rights section. At www.una.org.uk/humanrights you can read about: the latest developments in the Human Rights Council; background information on the responsibility to protect, including a case study on Darfur; the UN human rights machinery; and the work of the UN's humanitarian agencies.



A new website for UNYSA: www.una.org.uk/youth

The new website for the UNA-UK Youth and Student Association – UNYSA – has been launched!

At www.una.org.uk/youth you can find out about the latest UNYSA events, get involved in the Stop AIDS and citizenship campaigns and view pictures from UNYSA's annual conference – as well as much more. UNYSA also has a new contact e-mail address: unysa@una.org.uk

UN System Websites: Recent Additions

UN in General

- 2006 List of '10 Stories the World Should Hear More About'
www.un.org/events/tenstories

Peace & Security

- United Nations Peacekeeping Operations
[background note updated]
www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/bnote.htm
- United Nations Political and Peacebuilding Missions
[background note updated]
www.un.org/peace/ppbm.pdf
- Weapons of Mass Destruction Report
www.un.org/terrorism/wmdcreport
- Report of the Secretary-General
'Uniting Against Terrorism: recommendations for a global counter-terrorism strategy'
www.un.org/unitingagainstterrorism

Millennium Development Goals

- Food and Agriculture Organisation GeoNetwork
[includes new satellite imagery]
www.fao.org/geonetwork

- Millennium Development Project:
The Millennium Villages
A New Approach to Fighting Poverty in Africa
www.unmillenniumproject.org/press/mvpdfactsheet.htm

Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs

- International Labour Organisation Report
'The end of child labour: within reach'
www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/ilc/ilc95/pdf/rep-i-b.pdf
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime report
'Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns'
www.unodc.org/unodc/en/trafficking_persons_report_2006-04.html

UN Reform

- The Human Rights Council
www.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil
- OHCHR Treaty Body Reform
[concept paper on the High Commissioner's proposal for a unified standing treaty body]
www.ohchr.org/english/bodies/treaty/reform.htm

A NEW LOOK FOR UNRIC

On 6 June 2006, the UN Regional Information Centre for Western Europe held a special event to launch the new UNRIC website and signature logo.

After an address by UN Under-Secretary-General Shashi Tharoor, the new UNRIC website was unveiled. The site, which can be read in 13 languages, can be found at www.unric.org

There was also a prize ceremony for Kotkas University's Teemu Karuaho, winner of the UNRIC logo competition. His winning design – which can be seen below – has been adopted by UNRIC. You can view the submissions of the other competition finalists by visiting www.unric-europe.org/competition/winner.html





RESOURCES

Recent books on the UN



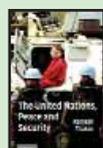
Major Powers and Peacekeeping: Perspectives, Priorities and the Challenges of Military Intervention

Rachel E. Utley (ed.)
Ashgate, January 2006



Uniting Africa: Building Regional Peace and Security Systems

David J. Francis
Ashgate, February 2006



The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect

Ramesh Thakur
Cambridge University Press, June 2006



The Adventure of Peace: Dag Hammarskjöld and the Future of the United Nations

Sten Ask and Anna Mark-Jungkvist (eds.)
Palgrave Macmillan, May 2006



Human Security and the UN: A Critical History

S. Neil MacFarlane and Yuen Foong Khong
Indiana University Press, April 2006



The UN Security Council and Informal Groups of States: Complementing or Competing for Governance?

Jochen Prantl
Oxford University Press, April 2006



Avoiding Dangerous Climate Change

Tony Blair (Foreword), Hans-Joachim Schellnhuber et al (eds.)
Cambridge University Press, February 2006



The European Union at the United Nations: Intersecting Multilateralisms

Katie Verlin Laatikainen and Karen E. Smith (eds.)
Palgrave Macmillan, April 2006



Global Responses to Global Threats

Chris Abbott, Paul Rogers and John Sloboda
Oxford Research Group, June 2006

UNHCR says global refugees at a 26-year low but number of internally displaced people on the rise



A new report launched by the UN's refugee agency, UNHCR, shows that, although the number of refugees worldwide has reached a 26-year low, the annual global count of uprooted people rose last year to nearly 21 million.

Much of the increase is due to a rise in the number of 'internal refugees' – that is, people living in refugee-like situations within their own countries. UNHCR now counts 6.6 million conflict-generated internally displaced people (IDPs) in 16 countries as being 'of concern', compared to 5.4 million in 13 countries at the end of 2004.

"The good news is that global refugee numbers are the lowest since 1980...and that more than six million refugees have been able to go home since 2002," said António Guterres, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, "but the bad news is that the international community still has a long way to go in resolving the plight of millions of internally displaced people in places like Darfur, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo."

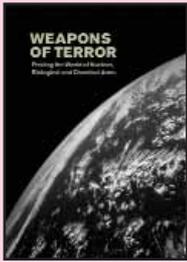
UNHCR has a mandate to protect and find solutions for refugees – people who have crossed international borders to escape persecution and violence in their homeland. While it has also helped specific populations of IDPs for three decades, it is now being asked to take an increasingly active role with the world's population of over 20 million IDPs who are not covered by the 1951 Refugee Convention because they have not left their countries.

2005 Global Refugee Trends is available to read on the UNHCR website at www.unhcr.org



Weapons of terror

The report of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission



The Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission (WMDC) is chaired by Dr Hans Blix, formerly the head of the International Atomic Agency (IAEA) and Executive Chair of the UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Mission (UNMOVIC) in Iraq.

The Commission has sought to identify practical opportunities for achievable progress on disarmament and non-proliferation, and to present realistic proposals to reduce the dangers of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The Commission's report, *Weapons of terror: freeing the world of nuclear, biological and chemical arms*, was released on 1 June 2006.

Recommendations of the Commission

The Commission's report includes 60 recommendations. The 18 most important are grouped under four broad aims: 1) reaching agreement on general principles of action; 2) reducing the danger of existing arsenals by preventing their use by states and by terrorists; 3) preventing proliferation by prohibiting new weapon systems and new possessors; and 4) working towards irreversibly outlawing all weapons of mass destruction.

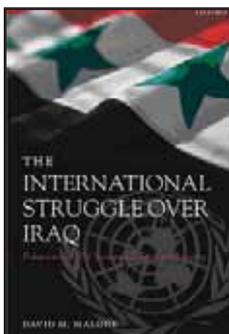
Some key proposals of the Commission are:

- Disarmament and non-proliferation should be pursued through a cooperative and law-based international order, applied and implemented through effective multilateral institutions with the UN Security Council as the ultimate global authority.
- All WMD should be secured from acquisition by terrorists; nuclear weapons should be taken off high-alert status and serious reductions should be made in strategic nuclear weapons.
- The underlying commitments of all states parties to the NPT should be revived: nuclear-weapon states should negotiate towards nuclear disarmament, and non-nuclear-weapon states should refrain from developing nuclear weapons.
- All states should commit to the principle that nuclear weapons should be outlawed, as chemical and biological weapons are, and should investigate political, legal, technical and procedural options for achieving this aim within a reasonable timeframe.

Source: WMDC Report Synopsis, pp 17-19, www.wmdcommission.org

The International Struggle Over Iraq: Politics in the UN Security Council, 1980-2005

by David M. Malone, published by Oxford University Press, June 2006



Iraq has dominated international headlines in recent years, but its controversial role in international affairs goes back much further. The key arena for these power politics over Iraq has been the United Nations Security Council.

Spanning the last quarter century, *The International Struggle over Iraq* examines the impact the United Nations Security Council has had on Iraq – and Iraq's impact on the Security Council.

The story is a fascinating one. Beginning in 1980, in the crucible of the

Iran-Iraq War, the Council found a common voice as a peacemaker after the divisions of the Cold War. That peacemaking role was cemented when a UN-mandated force expelled Iraqi forces from Kuwait in 1991, offering a glimpse of a new role for the UN in the 'New World Order'.

But unilateralism soon set in, as the Security Council struggled under the weight and bureaucratic demands of its changing identi-

ty. The Security Council gradually abandoned its traditional political and military tools for the legal-regulatory approach, but was unable to bridge the gap between those who believed allegations of Iraqi possession of weapons of mass destruction and those who did not.

Growing paralysis led eventually to deadlock in the Council in 2002, with the result that it was sidelined during the 2003 coalition military action. This relegation, when combined with the loss of some of the UN's best and brightest in a massive truck bomb in Iraq later that year, precipitated a deep crisis of confidence. The future role of the UN Security Council has now, once again, become uncertain.

Drawing on the author's unparalleled access to UN insiders, this volume offers radical new insights into one of the most persistent crises in international affairs, and the different roles the world's central peacemaking forum has played in it.

David Malone has integrated a career as a diplomat with academic research. He is currently Assistant Deputy Minister for Global Issues in Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

UNA-UK co-hosted the UK launch of this book, in partnership with the Canadian High Commission, on 26 June 2006.



YOUNG PROFESSIONALS NETWORK

OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION

Ambition with a **Conscience**

Young professionals for peace, justice & sustainable development

Tim Jarman is a member of the UNA-UK Board and the YPN Steering Committee

Welcome to the latest update from the UNA-UK Young Professionals Network (YPN). On 28 March, YPN held an event at the School of Oriental & African Studies (SOAS) in London. The speaker was Lord Hannay of Chiswick, Chair of UNA-UK and former UK Ambassador to the UN, who in a talk titled 'What Next for the UN?' gave a detailed look at the current UN reform agenda, drawing on his personal experience as a member of Kofi Annan's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. He also shared his views on several

important issues, such as the selection process for the next UN Secretary-General, and then followed up his presentation by taking some questions from the audience. YPN attendees subsequently moved to a local pub to carry on the debate in a more informal, social setting, over a few drinks.

Another exciting event involving YPN members took place on 20 April. Two days before he addressed UNA-UK's Annual Conference in Durham, UN Under-Secretary-General Shashi Tharoor spoke at an invitation-only lunchtime event hosted by UNA-UK in Millbank Tower, London. After Dr Tharoor's speech, which highlighted the successes of the UN and its indispens-

ability to the international system, YPN members were invited on stage for a photo.

Since the YPN launch in January 2006, the YPN Steering Committee has been seeking ways to develop the Network further and, in May, organised a meeting of YPN members interested in helping to shape this process. This meeting was a success, bringing to the table a dynamic group of people with a host of fresh and innovative ideas.

As always, we are currently planning several exciting events and initiatives and we'll be telling you all about these in the upcoming *New World*. Join YPN or find out more at www.una.org.uk/ypn



YPN members meet UN Under-Secretary-General Shashi Tharoor after his speech at LEWIS Media Centre on 20 April 2006. Photo © UNA-UK/Benedict Parsons



Above: Young professionals and Lord Hannay in action! Photos © Jason Alvey
Below: YPN members discuss Shashi Tharoor's speech at LEWIS Media Centre. Photos © UNA-UK/Benedict Parsons





Annual Conference 2006

Marina Faggionato is the newly-elected President of the UNYSA Youth Council. Here she reports on UNYSA annual conference 2006, and introduces the rest of the Youth Council.

On Saturday, 22 April UNYSA members from around the country gathered in Durham for this year's annual conference. Like last year, it was timed to coincide with the UNA-UK conference, allowing us to meet with UNA members and share ideas and plans.

After introductions and progress reports from the outgoing Youth Council we held workshop sessions on the debt crisis, on HIV/AIDS, and on what UNYSA can do for its members. Delegates then elected the new Youth Council, before rounding off the day with a trip to Durham Cathedral to hear a very engaging speech by Shashi Tharoor – an uplifting end to a busy conference!

The outgoing Youth Council would like to thank Trisha Rogers and Fionnuala Murphy for their very informative talks. We would also like to thank the UNA Trust for giving the Youth Council, university delegates and individual members the chance to attend the whole UNA conference at no cost.

You can learn all about the new Youth Council on the next page.



Photos © UNA-UK/Benedict Parsons



Welcome to the 2006-2007 UNYSA Youth Council!

The Youth Council is elected annually by UNYSA members to support UNA-UK's youth work and to help represent the views of youth.

Keen to build upon the successes of last year, this year's Youth

Council will focus on forging strong links with university branches, continuing to develop our campaigns, and organising interesting and informative events for our members.

We look forward to meeting as

many of you as possible over the coming year.

Please get in touch with us with news about your branch, ideas for events, or anything else you want to tell us via unysa@una.org.uk.

President: Marina (last year's Vice-President) has finally completed her studies which have included law, philosophy, politics and economics and will be starting pupillage in London in October.

Treasurer: Ravina is a second-year law student at Birmingham University who was last year's Individual Members Officer. She hopes to get all the sums right this year! She is interested in the environment and is terrible at bowling.

Membership Officer: Naila is studying law at Brunel University. She has been part of the Millennium Volunteers project for 3 years and has previously worked as an assistant caseworker for a criminal and immigration solicitor. Her motto in life is 'Equality for All'.

Immediate Past-President: Joanna has previously been the Campaigns Officer and President of the Youth Council. She will bring over four years of experience working with UNA and UNYSA to the role. Jo is also a member of the UNA-UK Board.

Secretary: Jessica has previously served as secretary for York University UNYSA. She has recently completed her degree in English Literature and is keen to move out of the 'Alice in Wonderland' of studying literature to pursue a career in international affairs.

Vice-President: Rory, a recent politics graduate from the University of York, hopes that his experience in the Council and love of politicking will help him to assist Marina. His

hobbies include sports, learning obscure languages and analysing Switzerland's relationship with the EU.

Campaigns Officer: Djandark is currently completing her MA in law and society (specialising in criminal justice) at Brunel University. Her main area of interest is in children's rights. Djandark enjoys traveling, debating and skiing, and is glad to be serving as Campaigns Officer for a second year.

Press and Communications Officer: Matt, a recent graduate from St Martin's College, Lancaster, will be seeking to raise the national profile of UNYSA this year. He lives between Durham and Gibraltar and is into sports, campaigning work and reading.

Campaigns Officer: Simon is delighted to be working on campaigns, ensuring that UNYSA will make its mark. Currently training to be a teacher, he is passionate about education and development, and also loves acting, debating, traveling and radio presenting.

Information Officer: Shengke is currently studying for his doctoral thesis in engineering at Manchester University. He is continuing his strong voluntary work that saw him granted the national volunteer award in 2005.

UNYSA is still looking for an Individual Members Officer and a Model UN Officer. If you are interested, please contact unysa@una.org.uk



The UN and World Heritage

Jo Birch-Phaure is Immediate Past-President of UNYSA and a director of the UNA-UK Board.

Whilst going about our everyday lives in the UK it is possible to imagine that the UN does nothing more than get delegates together in New York for a chat and a cup of tea. For the last few months I have been out travelling around India and the Far East, and have experienced for myself the practical work of the organisation, bringing home to me just how vital and varied the role of the UN is.

I witnessed in particular the crucial work being undertaken by UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) to protect and preserve the world's cultural and natural heritage. UNESCO's World Heritage programme is based on the idea that cultural and natural heritage constitute "irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration" that "we pass on to future generations".

The UNESCO World Heritage site of Hampi in Southern India bears testament to the greatness of the Vijayanagara Empire. The ruins are being excavated and restored, allowing current and future generations to experience the extraordinary architecture and learn about the people who built the temples and monuments.

In Cambodia I visited another

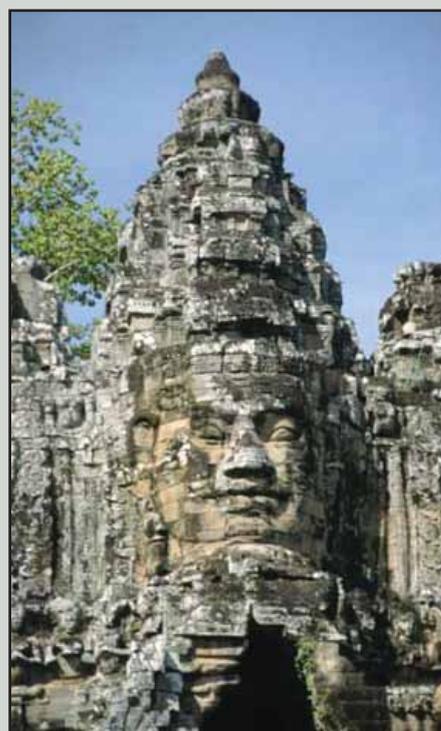
spectacular UNESCO World Heritage site. Stretching over 400 square kilometres, Angkor National Park is home to the remains of the various capitals of the Khmer Empire from the ninth to the 15th century, including the famous temple of Angkor Wat.

UNESCO has established a wide-ranging programme to safeguard this remarkable site. Japan's Sophia University has since 1980 been involved in investigating and preserving the site, and Germany's Apsara Conservation Project is working to protect the devatas and other bas-reliefs which decorate the Angkor Wat temple. A central feature of all of the restoration work at the site is the training and involvement of local craftsmen; for example, the restoration of the temple's western causeway has employed 50 local stone masons and workers. Angkor is a truly breathtaking reminder of the role of the UN as a mechanism for effective international cooperation.

What a wonderful example of how positive action for future generations is best achieved by nations working together!

You can read more about UNESCO's World Heritage work at whc.unesco.org

“What makes the concept of World Heritage exceptional is its universal application. World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located”



A temple at the Angkor National Park
Photo © Dave Perkes

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY 2006

On 17 December 1999 the General Assembly declared 12 August to be International Youth Day. Since then the day has been an opportunity to draw attention to various youth issues, including WPAY + 10 (2005) and Youth in an Intergenerational Society (2004).

This year the theme is 'Tackling Poverty Together,' and you can find more details about the day, and suggestions for how to commemorate it at www.un.org/youth

Do let us know, by e-mailing unyasa@una.org.uk, if you are organising events to commemorate International Youth Day.

Oxford University Branch

Natascha Braumann is MUN Coordinator for Oxford University United Nations Association.

As the academic year is drawing to a close, the Oxford University United Nations Association can look back on a highly successful year of activities.

OU-UNA is proud to have hosted a number of distinguished speakers, including LSE Professor David Held speaking on global governance and Nicholas Morris of UNHCR sharing his experience of working with refugees. Sir Brian Heap presented his views on biological solutions to sustainable development and BBC Diplomatic Correspondent James Robbins shared 'inside views from the outside' on international diplomacy. A definite highlight has been OU-UNA's mini-series on UN

reform, which featured Lord Hannay, as well as former Under-Secretary-General Sir Marrack Goulding.

We also held events of a more practical and less academic nature: particularly well-attended was 'Working for the UN', at which two speakers shared their experiences of internships and employment at the world organisation. Our movie-nights were similarly successful and made memorable by vast amounts of popcorn and the suspense of UN-related films such as *The Interpreter*.

The past year also witnessed an expansion of our range of MUN activities, as we branched out to offer, in addition to the regular full-

scale simulations, specific sessions on public-speaking, writing and defending resolutions and diplomatic procedure. Undoubtedly the biggest MUN event of the year was our very own Oxford International Model United Nations (OXIMUN) conference which ran from 4 to 6 November. In only its third year of existence, OXIMUN managed to attract 370 participants from all over the world and cemented its reputation as not only an exceptionally well-run conference with a very high level of debate but also a fun time all 'round. Preparations for the 2006 conference are already underway. For more information, see www.oxfordmun.org.uk

Birmingham University UNYSA

Carly Newman, President of Birmingham University UNA Society, writes about her pre-event jitters.

As the other committee members of Birmingham University's UNA society readied the room for Lord Hannay's arrival, I was busy making last-minute arrangements for our event. Nicolas, our MUN coordinator, had gone to the main entrance to welcome UNA-UK's Chair Lord Hannay (also former UK Ambassador to the UN). As I re-entered the room

there he stood speaking to other Birmingham UNA branch members that had been invited. I nervously awaited my turn to speak to our distinguished guest, and when Lord Hannay turned to introduce himself to me I came to realise that he was very down-to-earth and easy to speak to. He delivered a very interesting talk on UN reform and prospects for

the future. The audience was comprised of over 50 students, most of whom were in the midst of exams. They listened attentively, and at the end there were many questions, all of which were answered comprehensively. After an hour and a half we wrapped it up, and all applauded as we thanked Lord Hannay with a bottle of whiskey!



STOP CLIMATE CHAOS

100 million more people will be flooded by the end of the century

