

The United Nations, the United States, and the Fork in the Road

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To Cover:

- **Multilateral Cooperation and the United Nations**
- **9/11 and Terrorism**
- **The International context (including the Iraq War and the issues it raised)**
- **The need and the Prospects for UN reform**

The US

- **9/11**
- **The War on Terror**
 - **War on a tactic**
 - **Conflation of all terrorism; strange bedfellows**
- **National Security Strategy in 2002**
 - **Prevention vs pre-emption**
 - **Predominance**
- **The Iraq war**
 - **No international consensus**
 - **No UN resolution**
 - **No legitimacy**
 - **No WMD, al Qaeda connection**
 - **Not much help to US**
- **Result**
 - **No international consensus on the threat, much distrust of motives, considerable hostility to the US (Djerejian, Pew)**

The UN

- **In the autumn of 2001, the United Nations was riding high**
 - Rwanda and Bosnia were receding
 - Kosovo – in charge again
 - East-Timor ultimately Ethiopia – Eritrea
 - Brahimi report—tell the Security Council what it needs to know, not what it wants to hear
 - Sierra Leone Success
 - Millennium Summit – MDgoals
 - SG accepts UN's 9th Nobel Prize

- **But appearances deceptive**
 - Contradiction between the purposes of the Charter and Article 2.1
 - Potential nexus of WMD and terrorists
 - North-South divide generally – especially on sovereignty and poverty
 - Moslem- west divide
 - Intractable problems—Israel Palestine, India –Pakistan, Chechnya, Indonesia
 - UN weak in execution of its core security function

- **Still, the UN remains useful:**
 - Terrorism; UN's 12 conventions and UNSC monitors and capacity building
 - Arms control and disarmament; nuclear non-proliferation regime
 - Health threats; can't bomb SARS or Avian Flu or HIV-AIDS
 - Climate change, – ozone holes
 - International trade and investment rules

- **Also, the funds and agencies:**
 - UNICEF – 575 million children inoculated
 - WFP – 77 million people fed
 - UNHCR – 22 million people housed
 - UNMAS – 65 million sq. meters cleared
 - UNFPA – reproductive health in 140 countries

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- **Social Work or Security or Both?**
 - social work with very human and security benefits
 - well governed societies do not incubate international terrorism, do not give international terrorists room to operate

- **The UN a powerful idea, but limits**
 - **To know what the UN can be, it is important to be clear what it is not and cannot be:**
 - **The UN is not a world government**
 - **The Secretary General is not a head of state**
 - **The Security Council is not a cabinet**
 - **The General Assembly is not a parliament, a forum, a rabble**
 - **Nor is the UN Charter an international constitution, although it has some of the attributes of a constitution, including its resistance to change**

- **The UN needs fixing:**
 - **the Charter, written in and for different age, is not fully up the challenges the UN faces**
 - **membership—old think**
 - **the fundamental reform issue facing the UN as an entity is determining when to intervene in the internal affairs of a member state**

- **The High Level Panel On Threats Challenges and Change**
 - **UN 101**

- **Main Findings**
 - **World needs a new consensus of collective security**
 - **Not just a system for protecting the rich and powerful**
 - **Effective, efficient, equitable**
 - **No state by its own efforts alone can make itself invulnerable**
 - **Mutual vulnerability of weak and strong**
 - **Development is the indispensable foundation of a collective security system**
 - **Six clusters of threats**
 - **Econ and social**
 - **Inter-state**
 - **Intra-state**
 - **Terrorism**

 - **NRCB weapons**
 - **Transborder crime**

- Structural Change—options

- **Main Recommendations**

- **Establish a time table for 0.7**
- **Increase resources for HIV-AIDS**
- **More money to WHO for communicable diseases**
- **Climate warming, re-negotiate**
- **More preventive deployment of troops**
- **Respect NPT obligations**
- **De-alert nuclear weapons**
- **Ratify CTBT**
- **Negotiate FMCT**
- **Verification protocol for BTWC**
- **Join PSI**
- **Telescope Global Threat Reduction/HEU**
- **Ratify UN Counter-Terrorism treaties/Sanctions for non-compliance**
- **GA to Adopt new definition of terrorism**
- **Ratify Convention against Transnational Organized Crime**
- **SC to enforce sanctions**
- **Neither Re-write nor re-interpret Article 51**
- **SC should endorse R2P**
- **Abide by Geneva Conventions; respect Genocide and ICC**
- **Restructure the UNSC; no expansion of the veto**
- **SC to establish a peace-building commission, and Establish peace-building fund**
- **Regional peace ops to seek SC authorization**
- **Membership of UN Commission on Human Rights to be universal**
- **Dels to be led by Human Rights leaders, not officials**

The Future

- **Multilateral cooperation will continue because it must**
 - **Recent US administrations have been ambivalent so work with where possible and work around where necessary**
 - **This ambivalence has not always been the case**
 - **In fact, the opposite was true**
 - **skepticism of the UN has not always been the basic operating principle of US administrations**

- **Franklin D. Roosevelt was the driving force internationally for the creation of a United Nations**
- **Truman**
- **Eisenhower**
- **Kennedy**
- **Richard Nixon**
- **Reagan, Bush I, Clinton**

- **Sec-Gen, September 2003,**
 - **“we have come to a fork in the road” and we must decide “whether radical changes are needed”**

- **It took WWII to create UN, hope that Iraq experience will have scared people enough to reform it**