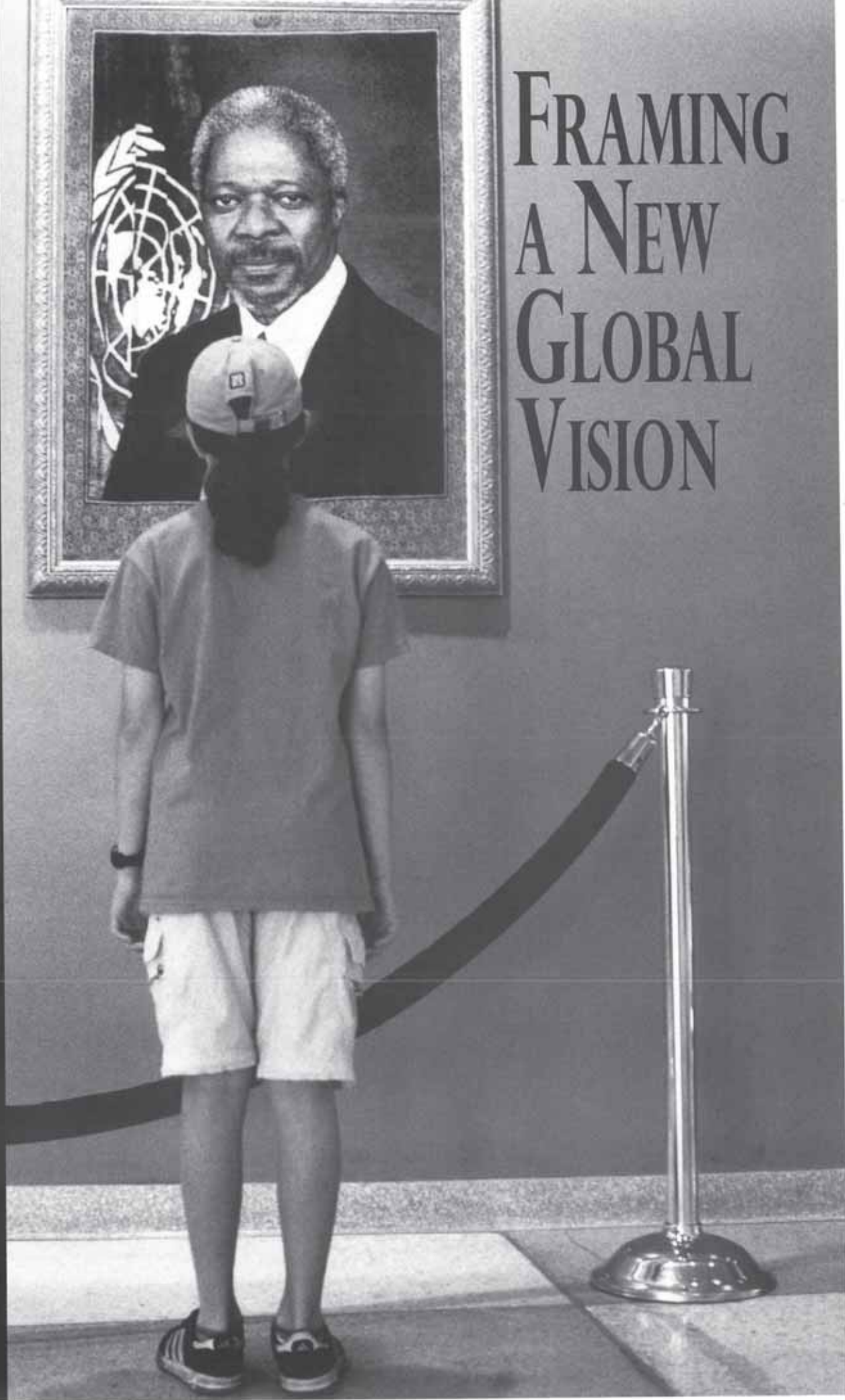


# courier

PROVOKING THOUGHT AND ENCOURAGING DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD

The Stanley Foundation  
Number 45-46

Fall/Winter 2004



# FRAMING A NEW GLOBAL VISION



**PUSH**  
**POUSSEZ**



# Entering a New Era

World seeks new global security framework

*"When it is darkest, men see the stars."*

—Ralph Waldo Emerson

The United Nations itself rose from the dark nights of World War II. Diplomatic failures in the face of fascist aggression led to global war and the use of atomic weapons. Yet the world immediately found a way to organize itself in a remarkably stable condition for the next six decades.

Did that arrangement finally break in 2003 when the United States, United Kingdom, and others launched preemptive war against Iraq without the approval of other UN members? In the days before the Iraq war, US President George Bush said, "The United Nations in the face of Saddam Hussein has not been effective. The question before the United Nations is, Will you be the League of Nations or will you be an effective body to keep the peace?"

Can a renewed global security arrangement rise from the bitter disputes and dark moments of the Iraq war? The Stanley Foundation remains hopeful that it can, and we are encouraged by the actions of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

Annan said the deep division created by the Iraq debate has led the world to "...a fork in the road...no less decisive than 1945 itself." In response, Annan appointed the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change to assess the principal threats to international peace and security in the 21st century and recommend ways to improve how institutions like the United Nations respond to those threats.

The panel's 16 members are expected to deliver their report this December. This issue of *Courier* is devoted to explaining the work and importance of the panel's efforts. And we hope our readers will then join the worldwide discussion on these issues.

The Stanley Foundation, the United Nations Foundation, and other organizations have been deeply involved in supporting the panel's work and encouraging them to seize this moment. Last January our 35th annual United Nations Issues Conference explored ways of maximizing the high-level panel's prospects for success. In the spring we convened four roundtable discussions to advise the panel on very specific

substantive topics. In June the foundation's 39th annual United Nations of the Next Decade Conference brought together a number of leading experts and several representatives of the panel itself to further explore the challenges and opportunities associated with the panel's work.

This summer the foundation also released a one-hour public radio documentary on how the United Nations struggles to meet the complex challenges of human need in every corner of the globe. "UNder Fire: The United Nations' Battle for Relevance" was hosted by veteran broadcaster David Brancaccio and is available on the Web at [www.underfire.org](http://www.underfire.org).

As you will see in the following pages, the Stanley Foundation has a long relationship with many of the people and issues tied to the high-level panel's work. This is no accident. Support for global institutions and positive, multilateral cooperation among nations has been at the core of foundation programming since 1956. When the United Nations was still young, our founder, Max Stanley, said, "We must stop fumbling and mumbling that the problem is complicated. We must use courage and foresight to develop a workable United Nations, capable of fulfilling its essential mission."

We are proud to carry on this important work. And we remain hopeful that the high-level panel's efforts will be marked by both courage and foresight.

—Keith Porter

## ***Can a renewed global security arrangement rise from the bitter disputes and dark moments of the Iraq war?***

**courier**  
No. 45-46, Fall/Winter ISSN 1044-5900

*Courier* is published quarterly by the Stanley Foundation and mailed without charge to interested readers within the United States. The views expressed here are not necessarily those of the foundation.

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## Threats, Challenges, and Change

# Connecting the Dots

*How can the world agree on what the threats to security are?*



According to the US government, 625 people died in the 208 terrorist attacks worldwide in 2003. During that same year, about 40,000 Brazilians were killed in small arms fire. And in sub-Saharan Africa, an estimated 2.3 million people died of AIDS-related illness.

So which is the bigger threat to worldwide peace and security—terrorism, small arms, or infectious disease? Or is it weapons of mass destruction, poverty, or failing governments that make the world unsafe?

The immediate answer likely depends on where you live. But considered on a global scale, all of those threats may be related—and addressing the wide range of threats simultaneously is one of the main challenges facing the nations of the world.

“The best way to deal with the threats is to show they have a linkage,” said Dumisani Kumalo, South Africa’s permanent representative to the United Nations. “Weapons of mass destruction are really important in the North. But poverty, which is a threat in the South, is equally important. It is not an ‘either/or.’”

### **‘Common Responsibility’**

Put another way, an effective system of collective or cooperative security must bolster the security of *all* countries. As the high-level panel tries to lay the groundwork for the kind of unifying international agenda the secretary-general seeks, its working definition of *threat* must include all perspectives.

High-level panel member Gareth Evans said he and his colleagues will address “the whole range of threats to both state security and human security, as they’re experienced now and as they’re anticipated for the next generation.

“It is important to appreciate that different kinds of threats have



different resonance, different impact, in different parts of the world," he said. "But we'll be trying very hard to make clear the impact that is universal in character and requires a sense of common responsibility."

### Balancing 'Softer' Threats

As panel members try to craft a balanced set of findings and recommendations, they remain mindful that indirect or "soft" threats like environmental degradation, disease, and poverty "are

nukes" or the terrorists seeking to obtain them. Poverty and chaos may lead to the collapse of government control over nuclear arsenals in places like Pakistan or North Korea. An underpaid nuclear scientist in Russia looking to make some extra cash might be more willing to sell nuclear secrets or technology to the highest bidder.

"It is very shortsighted to argue that poverty is a problem of the poor countries only," said UN Deputy Secretary-General Louise

draw in international peacekeepers to preserve order.

"We have to get better at preventing state failure," Hannay said. "The analysis end of it is being very heavily treated in a whole number of academic studies. The big challenge is the action end of it.

"At the moment, the track record of the international community at preventing state failure is pretty poor. States have failed all over the globe—from the Solomon

Islands to Haiti, five or six African countries, Yugoslavia. There are an awful lot of those cases.... Hopefully we can come up with some prescriptions that will improve the capacity of the international community to prevent state failure."

Many believe the capacity for the world to intervene in a situation and break the self-perpetuating cycle of poverty

should exist at the United Nations. But the organization remains "very weak" in that capacity, according to Ken Menkhaus, associate professor of political science at Davidson College.

"Organizationally, the UN isn't structured very well to deal with this in a strategic, coherent way," he said. "There are coordination problems. There have been some improvements but generally the UN is very weak."

—Loren Keller

*"...different kinds of threats have different resonance, different impact, in different parts of the world."*



every bit as real to ordinary people as direct threats like terrorism and weapons," said panel member Lord David Hannay.

"We've concluded that the threat agenda is much wider than the very classical weapons of mass destruction/terrorism listing," he said.

Terrorist acquisition of nuclear weapons poses the greatest single threat to the United States. But the nightmare scenario of a "nuclear 9/11" in New York City, for example, would have a crippling effect on the world economy—and the poorest countries would be hit the hardest.

Conversely, countries confronting real or potential instability may be the most likely to produce "loose

Fréchette. "In a world where we're so close together, where people move, we should all recognize that stability will not come about if half the world's population is living in dire poverty."

### Failing States

A failing state may present a troublesome nexus of threats. Countries unable to control their territory, meet the basic needs of their citizens, or establish legitimate public institutions (such as law enforcement agencies or courts of law) provide a fertile recruiting ground for extremists, terrorists, and drug traffickers seeking to exploit weaknesses.

In the worst cases, this can fuel violent conflict, result in the breakdown of society, and ultimately

*“What we’re trying to do is no less than rethink the way the whole international system should be going....”*



### Threats, Challenges, and Change

## “We Need a Better UN”

*Can the global security system be updated to address new challenges?*

In 2002 the United States Congress and President Bush created the 9/11 Commission to examine the facts and circumstances surrounding the September 11 terrorist attacks, identify lessons learned, and provide recommendations to safeguard against future acts of terrorism.

In 2003 UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan established the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change to investigate the fundamental question of whether the United Nations has—or can be given—the capacity to confront modern-day threats with an effective system of collective security.

Neither group had an easy task.

Like the 9/11 Commission, the high-level panel’s mandate is sweeping. Both groups were asked to hammer out a balanced,

long-term strategy for meeting new security challenges. And like those on the 9/11 Commission, panel members hope their own findings and recommendations will inspire vigorous debate and find resonance long after the release of their report in December.

“What we’re trying to do is no less than rethink the way the whole international system should be going in terms of the security problem that the world is going to face for the next generation,” said panel member Gareth Evans, the former Australian foreign minister who now heads the Brussels-based International Crisis Group.

“There are enormous expectations about what the panel can achieve. I don’t know whether we can possibly satisfy those expectations, but we’ll certainly be trying.”

### Not Business As Usual

Panel member Lord David Hannay, former British ambassador to the European Union and the United Nations, said the secretary-general wasn’t looking for “business as usual” when he created the panel.

“He made it clear to the panel that he didn’t want just any old report on UN reform, as it is usually called—which usually means tinkering about with (UN) institutions,” Hannay said. “He wanted a more fundamental look at the underlying threats and challenges...and how to make the UN more effective.”

The creation of this panel reflected a feeling that “everything had changed since the end of the Cold War, but nobody had actually thought through how the United Nations was going to handle the new threats and challenges.”



## Finding Common Ground

UN Deputy Secretary-General Louise Fréchette said the panel was asked to look at threats to peace and security in a "very broad sense"—though panel members must confront the same challenge the international community faces in trying to find common ground on how to deal with those threats.

From an American perspective, terrorism and weapons of mass destruction are high on that list. But when is the use of force by the international community to confront that threat justified? Who decides? And how can that decision be made in a timely manner?

Beyond terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, what are the rules for dealing with genocide and crimes against humanity, where the international community often reacts too weakly and too late?

In much of the developing world, problems of extreme poverty, communicable diseases like HIV/AIDS, and environmental damage might be considered a larger threat to peace and security. How should those threats be prioritized?

"It is a big agenda," Fréchette said.

### The Catch-22

The United Nations also faces the challenge of getting enough resources to do its job effectively—and that's where the United Nations finds itself in something of a Catch-22.

"Governments like mine and the United States—and for that matter

the British, too—are reluctant to volunteer more resources to the UN system because the UN system is so creaky," said John Dauth, Australia's permanent representative to the United Nations.

Since the end of the Cold War, which froze the United Nations into a limited role, it has been saddled with new assignments (such as peacekeeping) and increasing expectations.



Several of its central organs are obsolete or ineffectual. The composition of the Security Council reflects the world of 60 years ago. The General Assembly has evolved into a debating society, using ponderous consensus decision making even for urgent issues. The Economic and Security Council is generally regarded as ineffective. The Trusteeship Council is out of business and the Military Staff Committee has never functioned.

"We have trouble with our publics giving money to the UN. The current government in Australia scores points by saying it's slashed contributions to the UN because the UN's standing is so reduced," Dauth said. "If we want the UN to attract more resources, we need a better UN."

## Beyond the Panel

In a June commencement address at Harvard University, Secretary-General Annan said he hopes the panel's findings will "suggest ways of making our United Nations work better, in an age when humanity needs the organization more than ever."

The secretary-general stressed the need to keep the panel's recommendations high on the international agenda—and follow through with action—after the panel releases its report in December.

"I believe the way forward is clear, though far from easy," he said. "We cannot abandon our system of rules, but we do need to adapt it to new realities, and to find answers to some difficult questions."

"I hope that [the panel's recommendations] will lead to wise decisions by governments. But panels

and governments cannot change the world by themselves. They need not only good ideas but also sustained pressure from internationalists in all countries—people who are both visionary and pragmatic."

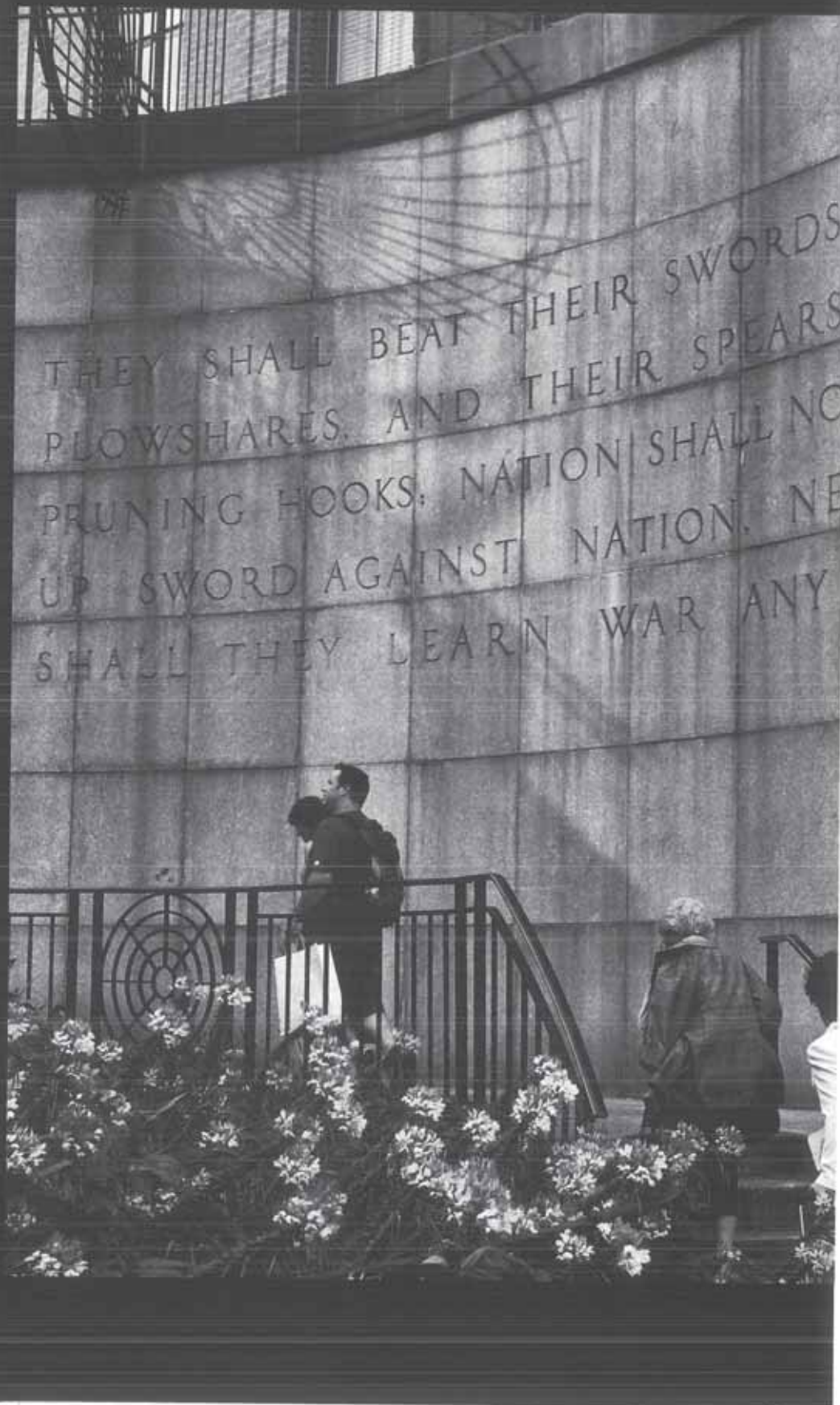
—Loren Keller

*"We cannot abandon our system of rules, but we do need to adapt it to new realities, and to find answers to some difficult questions."*

Threats, Challenges, and Change

## What's Next?

*Response to the panel's recommendations will be crucial*



*Call it an historic "third try."*

The first effort to build a sustainable international security system came in 1919 with the creation of the League of Nations. The second was in 1945 with the birth of the United Nations.

But in 2004, can world leaders transform the United Nations into an effective organization for confronting the shifting threats and challenges of the new century? Can the world body be updated to meet such a challenge as it continues to drift apart from the world's superpower in mutual suspicion and distrust?

In a 2003 visit to the United Kingdom, prior to the war in Iraq, President George Bush stated the crisis this way: "America and Great Britain have done and will do all in their power to prevent the United Nations from solemnly choosing its own irrelevance and inviting the fate of the League of Nations."

In response, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan created the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change to find—among other things—ways the United States and the United Nations might achieve greater harmony.

"I know we can preserve and adapt, for the 21st century, a system that served us well in the second half of the 20th," the secretary-general told Harvard graduates in a June commencement address. "But we shall need, once again, enlightened American leadership."

### **'The Last Best Chance'**

The United States has been crucial to the creation of every international institution that has kept the peace and the world economy strong over the last half of the 20th century—from the United Nations and NATO to economic institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

*Courier*



But will the United States continue to build on its record of multilateral engagement after the high-level panel releases its findings? Will the report's recommendations be taken seriously and acted upon?

"I think the United States as a whole is a force for good in the world, not a force for evil," said John Dauth, the permanent representative of Australia to the United Nations. "We need to engage the United States intelligently...and persuade them it's in their best interests to have a more workable, multilateral system."

If the panel's recommendations are to carry any weight, he said, it must take a hard look at the UN's shortcomings and demonstrate a commitment to making changes.

"That's the sort of image we need to strike, and that's why this is so crucial," he said. "The last best chance is now."

#### **'In America's Own Interest'**

The United States should have a major interest in taking the panel's report seriously, said panel member Lord David Hannay, given a war in Iraq that has lacked strong international support and resulted in overstretched US military resources.

"The idea that the United States' huge military superiority made it able to fix problems and threats on its own has not really survived exposure in Afghanistan and Iraq," said Hannay, former British ambassador to the United Nations.

"In light of that experience, I would hope that the United States would see—as it did in 1945 when the UN was first founded—that it is in America's own interest to have an effective UN. If we come forward with ideas that bear some chance of being effective, I would hope the United States buys into them—but for reasons of national interest, not for reasons of altruism."

Early indications point to a genuine openness on the part of the United States. Despite US differences with the United Nations over the Iraq war, Bush administration officials say the world body remains vital in the effort to bring peace and stability to Iraq.

"There were some people who were disappointed last year when the Security Council could not come together on a unanimous resolution on the war in Iraq," said Kim Holmes, assistant secretary of state for International Organization Affairs. "And we were disappointed also. Other countries were disappointed perhaps for different reasons. But we believe (the high-level panel) is an important exercise.... We certainly look forward to the outcome."

Others warn that Iraq may be the wrong place to begin a discussion about the United Nations. "What's wrong with the UN wasn't actually demonstrated during Iraq," said Dauth, the Australian permanent representative.

"It was demonstrated in other ways for a long time.... In the minds of many—including very intelligent, informed observers—the UN is now in a situation that the League of Nations was in in 1937. That is a catastrophe, in terms of public perception. It's an unfair perception—the UN is not in as bad of shape as that—but it is going to be very hard for governments to justify more expenditures from their publics."

Panel member Gareth Evans said it is important to remember the UN success stories. UN peacekeepers and post-conflict experts, for example, helped end conflict and rebuild governments in places no one else could or would—East Timor, Sierra Leone, and Liberia.

"For all the failings of the UN system, a great deal was achieved in terms of a much greater focus on

conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and peacekeeping and post-conflict peace-building in the 1990s," Evans said.

#### **A Divided Response?**

Bill Maynes, president of the Eurasia Foundation, predicts the panel's report will draw a divided response in the United States.

"Because of what's happened in Iraq, there's going to be more receptivity to the idea of strengthening international institutions—in particular, examining a constructive role for the UN," he said. "But there will still be the die-hard opponents who were upset when Bush went to the UN, are contemptuous of it now, and are attacking it for the alleged mismanagement of the oil-for-food program."

UN Deputy Secretary-General Louise Fréchette is optimistic about the panel's report finding support among Americans if it addresses the concerns of both the United States and other countries.

"Anything that suggests the international community is at one with the United States in thinking that there are some new problems out there that require closer, tighter international cooperation is a message that should touch a nerve in the United States," she said.

"Americans have a history of reaching out to the poorer countries, a history of generosity.... If one puts the issues of poverty and AIDS in the broad context of our common security and the need to achieve some harmony in the world—where every American can live without fear of being attacked or travel around the world without fear of attack—I think that should find some resonance."

—Loren Keller

*"We need to engage the United States intelligently ...and persuade them it's in their best interests to have a more workable, multilateral system."*



**“...the UN cannot do everything. The UN may be a global organization but it’s not the only organization that deals with multilateral issues.”**

The Response

## What the US Is Saying

*State Department official: panel’s work is an ‘important exercise’*

**K**im Holmes, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, was interviewed for the one-hour radio documentary “UNder Fire: The United Nations’ Battle for Relevance.” Some excerpts:

**Give us your view of what role the UN could play in the fight against terror.**

After 9/11, the United Nations really stepped up to the challenge, I believe.... The General Assembly passed a resolution condemning the 9/11 attack. The Security Council passed a number of resolutions that set up a committee on counterterrorism. It passed a number of items that required countries to increase their capacity to combat terrorism. So I think they did a number of things after 9/11 that were very, very helpful. Since that time, it’s been a challenge to try to keep members of the Security Council on message. We have refined the counterterrorism committee and made

it more effective. And we are trying to encourage other countries to do more to combat terrorism. And I think that the Security Council has played an important role in doing that.

**One of the challenges about the UN is that it is an organization of many countries, and it is difficult to get them to really come together on issues as crucial as the fight against terror.**

The United Nations is an organization with universal membership. That means that some of the very countries that are part of the problem are members. And some of the countries that we believe support or harbor terrorists are in fact members, and they do have some friends and allies sometimes in the regions from which they come and which may have other issues with the United States and Europe. And sometimes it will join with these countries to block more effective measures.

**Where you really see that is in the UN Human Rights Commission (headed by Libya.) Does that drive you crazy?**

It is a challenge.... Certainly you find on that commission countries like Cuba, Zimbabwe, and others who tend to get on the commission in order to avoid criticism. Sort of like a protection racket in some ways. We think the commission would do better to elect more democratic member countries that would respect human rights so that it would set a better standard.

**On the question of reform, the UN secretary-general has spoken out and has a process that he hopes will reform the institution in general. How do you think that is going? Is that a positive step?**

Well, the secretary-general’s high-level panel is essentially going to spend the next few months studying how the United Nations should be responding to the new interna-





tional threat environment. And that has implications for reform in the UN. But it's also actually dealing with a larger question of how you deal with weapons of mass destruction, nonstate actors that deal not only in terrorism but also in the proliferation of technology and materials for weapons of mass destruction. So, rightly, I think that there is a major question: "How does the UN respond to this new environment?" There were some people who were disappointed last year when the Security Council could not come together on a unanimous position on the war in Iraq. And we were disappointed also. Other countries were disappointed perhaps for different reasons. But we believe that it's an important exercise. We're glad the secretary-general has undertaken this exercise. And we certainly look forward to the outcome of that study.

**Regarding issues such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism that can be bred across national borders very easily, to what degree might the UN be a useful catalyst for change?**

I think it sets a standard. It sets a light by which other countries

know that they should be following and a standard by which they could be measured.... I would add, though, that the UN cannot do everything. The UN may be a global organization but it's not the only organization that deals with multilateral issues. You have the NATO alliance, the World Trade Organization. You've got the International Monetary Fund and the financial institutions. In order to have a fully effective multilateral diplomacy, you have to be engaging in all these forums—and not just the United Nations—in order to be able to cover the full fabric, if you will, of international relations. That's why we believed as we did in the conflict in Iraq—we did put together a coalition of the willing to undertake that military operation. If you think about it, all regional military alliances are coalitions of the willing. That essentially is what NATO was. And you have a question of other things that you do in the economic and the financial area. So I think it's important to look at all the tools at your disposal. And we believe that the UN is a very important and vital one in many areas. But it's not the only one.

**You have these two visions of the UN. You have those who criticize the United Nations, suggesting that it was irrelevant after the events leading up to the war in Iraq. But now you have the UN playing what is acknowledged as a very important role in the process leading Iraq hopefully toward democracy. Where do you stand in the continuum?**

I have not said that the UN is irrelevant. But from the very moment we engaged the United Nations Security Council on the issue of Iraq we said that the UN was vital to the effort of bringing peace and stability to Iraq. We maintained that all along. And we still do. The United Nations, through the offices of Mr. Brahimi, is playing a vital role, a very important role.... And

we would very much like to see even further and deeper engagement of the United Nations in Iraq.... After the tragic events in August of last year, when there was a bombing of the UN headquarters, the UN believed for security reasons they needed to take their personnel out of Iraq. We understood their security concerns. But almost immediately, we have been trying to encourage them to return because the Security Council Resolutions 1483 and 1511 mandates the Security Council, mandates rather the United Nations to be doing certain things inside Iraq just as it mandates the coalition forces under Resolution 1483 to be doing certain things in Iraq. So it's the Security Council that wants the UN back in Iraq, and we've fully supported that.

**Do you think the United Nations is worth the money that we pay for it?**

We always believed that it's important to have fiscal responsible policy in the UN. We are the largest financial contributor to the UN. So if we are not careful about the fiscal policy, there are a lot of other countries who are not as careful as we are. So we feel that it is our unique responsibility to mind the budget. But having said that, we do believe that it's worth the money. We have requested this year full funding for the UN request for our dues in the United Nations. And we think this is testimony as to how seriously we take our obligations in the UN.

—Excerpted by Loren Keller

*"We would very much like to see even further and deeper engagement of the United Nations in Iraq...."*







*“Our belief in the cause of peace is undiminished, our sense of mission is intact, and our work goes on. And every day we work to further the cause of peace.”*

*—Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations,  
at the memorial service marking the one-year anniversary of the tragedy at the UN office in Baghdad.*



Essay

## Is It Worth It?

*UN costs Americans \$7.51 annually per capita*

**E**arlier this year, the Stanley Foundation produced a one-hour public radio documentary titled "UNder Fire: The United Nations' Battle for Relevance." The program included the following essay by host David Brancaccio.

As we worked on this hour of radio, we operated under one assumption: that few of you wake up in the morning doubled over with worry about the future of the United Nations. Gas prices, maybe. Or how to fund your children's education, probably. But the UN in this new century? While it's a crucial public policy issue, it's not one of those front and center, top-of-mind worries.

Unless, of course, one is a member of the group that paid for a billboard I saw along a North Carolina highway this spring. It read, "Get the US out!"—exclamation point—"of the United Nations." It was brought to us by the John Birch Society. You know the Society: a group that hated communism, didn't like the march toward civil rights, and now is convinced the UN is committing that sin of sins: collectivism. At the Birch Society online, the deep-seated fear of UN power is manifest.

But the striking thing when you spend any time actually at the UN is that one is not necessarily left

in awe of the institution's power. One is struck, instead, with the limits of what the UN can do, either because the challenges are too daunting, consensus among member countries is too elusive, money is too scarce, or its veins are too occluded with the caution and conservatism that hardens in

tion for Americans is this: Is the United Nations worth the money we spend on it? That's a question for you, the taxpayer, to answer for yourself, hopefully better informed by the discussion we've presented. But before you decide, consider a couple of numbers:

US taxpayers will spend about \$2.2 billion on the UN in the coming year. So \$2.2 billion—that's a lot, right? But on the intercontinental scale of government budgets, that \$2.2 billion gets cast in a different light: a single B-2 stealth bomber or one year for America of the UN. Same diff; they cost the same. Let's try it now per capita: the UN costs \$7.51 per year for every man, woman, and child in America. That's equal to what Americans spend in a year on what the International Dairy Food Association calls "frozen novelty desserts," like ice cream sandwiches or fudgsicles.

But few Americans would want to spend even a penny if they knew it would go to waste. That is the challenge for the UN going forward: making the case that it's house is in order and it's ready to roll whenever the dark shadows threaten what Deputy Secretary-General Louise Fréchette referred to as "hell on earth."



bureaucracies of this size. That is to say, with the UN as hamstrung as it is on so many issues, one is left worrying less about the UN's sins of commission and more about its sins of omission—like Rwanda ten years ago.

So given what are clearly limits on the UN's power to act, a fair ques-

***With the UN as hamstrung as it is on so many issues, one is left worrying less about the UN's sins of commission and more about its sins of omission—like Rwanda ten years ago.***



# Snapshots of the UN

All photos in this issue of *Courier* are the work of Judah S. Harris, a photojournalist and fine art photographer based in New York. On assignment from the Stanley Foundation, Harris gained behind-the-scenes access to document life in and around the United Nations' Manhattan headquarters:

Cover: A young tourist looks at a portrait of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan in the main hallway of the General Assembly building.

Page 2: A doorway at UN headquarters.

Page 4: The Carl Fredrik Reuterswärd sculpture "Non-Violence" on UN grounds.

Pages 5: A gallery display of child health images inside the headquarters of the United Nations Children's Fund UNICEF.

Page 6: UN Deputy Secretary-General Louise Fréchette in her office on the 38th floor of the UN Secretariat building.

Page 7: An observance at UN headquarters of the first anniversary of the deadly bombing at the UN's Baghdad office.

Page 8: An inscription at Ralph Bunche Park across Manhattan's First Avenue from UN headquarters.

Page 10: The view from the United States' seat at the UN Security Council.

Page 12: The visitor's entrance to the UN's Manhattan headquarters.

Page 12: The dome of the UN's General Assembly building.

Page 13: Cleaning the glass inside UN headquarters.

Page 13: UN employees head for work.

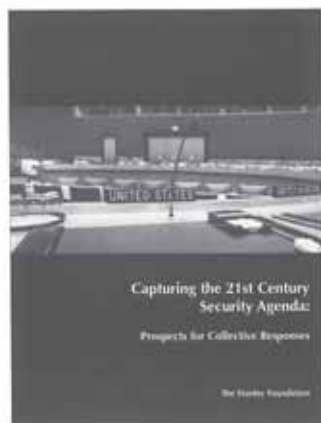
Page 13: The master control room for UN television studios.

Page 14: A street sign in Manhattan near the United Nations.

Page 16: Manhattan skyline reflected in the windows of the UN Secretariat building.

Special thanks to Amy Bakke, Kristin McHugh, and the staff of the UN tour and media accreditation offices for their help on this project. More information about Harris and his work is available at [www.judahsharris.com](http://www.judahsharris.com).

## Capturing the 21st Century Security Agenda: Prospects for Collective Responses



An historic "third try" for international harmony. After the creation of the League of Nations in 1919 and the birth of the United Nations in 1945, can world leaders reinvent the UN to effectively address the 21st century threats? A group of policy experts; UN ambassadors; and members of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change examine how the world body should be updated.

### US and UN: Can this marriage be saved?

How can the world's rules-based multilateral forum and its dominant superpower work harmoniously to guarantee international peace and security?

### A complex, vicious circle

What is the relationship between poverty and security? Can development be used as a tool for conflict prevention?

### The real weapons of mass destruction?

Small arms and light weapons continue to pose a grave threat to human security in the world and remain a cross-cutting problem that highlights the blind spots of the international system.

### Never again?


How could the world community respond more decisively if another bloodletting, such as the Rwandan genocide, were to break out?

### The right to fight

The use of force—such as that employed by the United States in Iraq—remains a complex issue for the international community in the post-9/11 world. How should the principles of the UN Charter be applied to today's threats?

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*“Everything will be all right - you know when? When people, just people,  
stop thinking of the United Nations as a weird Picasso abstraction and see  
it as a drawing they made themselves.”*

*—Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations 1953-1961*

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