

The United Nations: Challenges and Change



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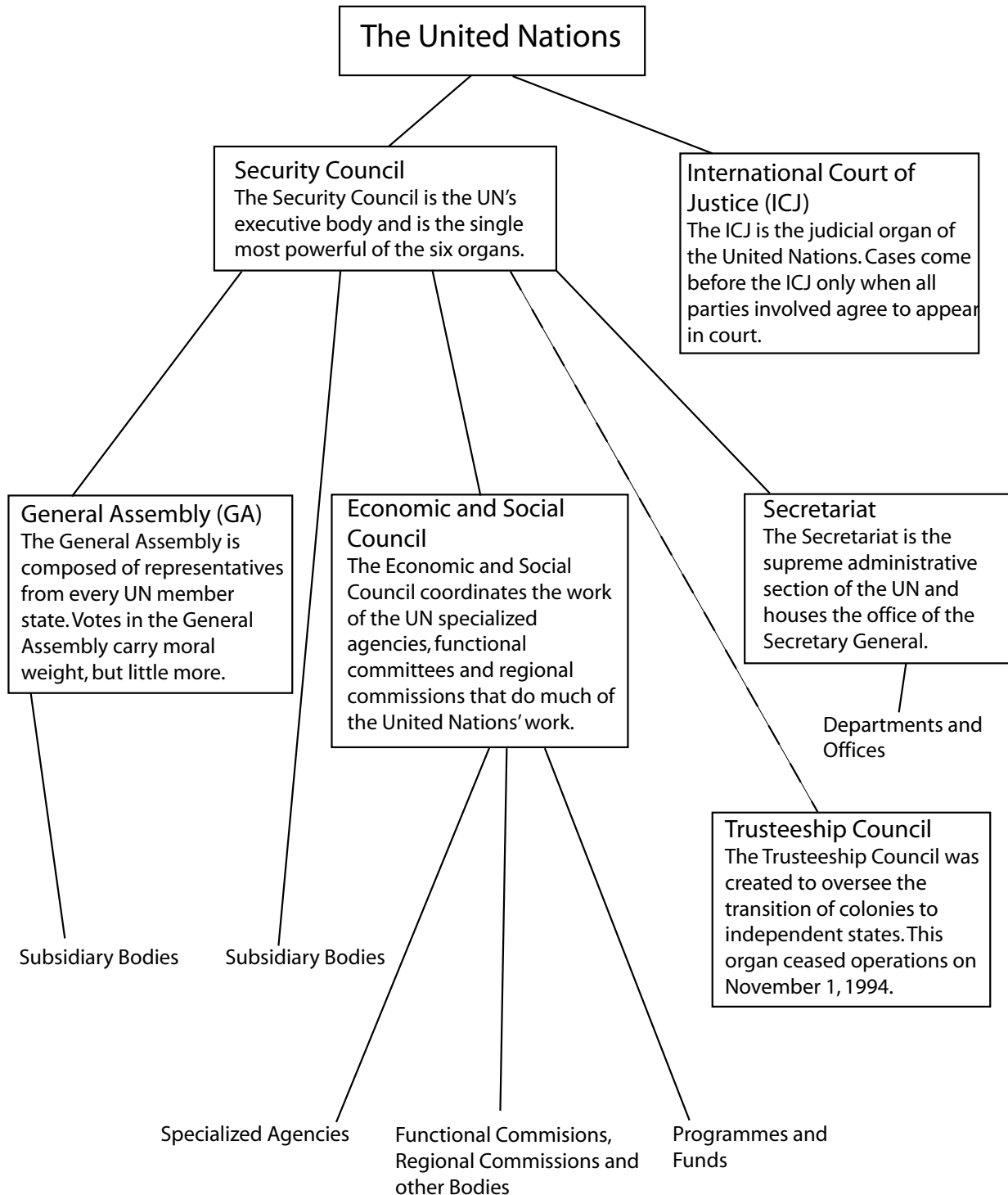
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The Structure of the United Nations



Introduction: The UN Today

The United States played an important role in the founding of the United Nations in 1945. After the terrible destruction of World War II, Americans believed the United Nations could provide the foundation for maintaining international peace and security. They were proud of their leadership and vision and hoped that it would establish the basis for a more peaceful world. Yet today, the U.S. commitment to the UN is uncertain at best. In fact, the role of the UN is part of a larger debate about U.S. foreign policy.

While this debate is global, it is particularly heated in the United States. The role of the UN raises an important question about how the United States should go about addressing security concerns. Many Americans question whether the UN helps or hinders U.S. foreign policy. Many others remain committed to the UN.

Internationally, much discussion about the UN's future involves the question of U.S. cooperation with the organization. The debate is about the role of the UN, its effectiveness, and its fairness. Some have called the UN a place for humanity to unite for peace and security, while others have deemed it naive and idealistic. While upholding faith in the aims of the UN, some criticize the way the organization operates. Some critics accuse the UN of serving only the interests of powerful states, while others regard it as an inefficient and meddling institution.

“The UN is failing to promote liberty, democracy, and human rights for all citizens.”

—U.S. Senator John Ensign (R-Nevada)

Today the world faces threats that no one foresaw at the time of the UN's founding in 1945. AIDS, terrorism, the spread of nuclear weapons, and global climate change, for example, were not international concerns when the UN was formed. Some wonder if the UN has the capacity to face the challenges of a rapidly changing world. Others note that the UN's success is, above all, a matter of the commitment its members have to working together to solve problems. They argue that the UN itself does not fail or succeed; the countries that make up its membership do.

“The United Nations is only as good as its members, especially its primary members, want it to be.”

—Brent Scowcroft,
UN High Level Panel on Threats,
Challenges and Change

In the following days, you will have the opportunity to immerse yourself in this debate. Part I will introduce the history and Charter of the UN. Part II will examine the role of the United Nations in the world and present the debate about the future of the UN. After completing the readings, you will be invited to take part in a role-play discussion about U.S. involvement in the reform of the UN.

Part I: The UN and the International Community

During World War II, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt led an effort to create an organization that would bring countries together in a new system of international cooperation. On June 25, 1945, fifty countries signed a document known as the United Nations Charter. According to the Charter, the central aim of the United Nations is to “maintain international peace and security.” The Charter discusses issues of human health and well-being as well as safety from violence as key matters of security.

Roosevelt was not the first U.S. president to propose a system of international cooperation. Having seen Europe devastated by the violence of World War I, President Woodrow Wilson entered the war in hopes that it would be “the war to end all wars.” In addition to committing troops, Wilson outlined a proposal for an organization of states he called the League of Nations. His proposal led statesmen from around the world to give real thought to the idea of organizing the international community.

What is the international community?

Both Roosevelt’s and Wilson’s visions for a world organization were founded on a concept of an “international community.” Each foresaw an organization run by representatives from governments around the world. By the twentieth century, the world’s population had come to be organized under various governments. These governments, also known as states, oversaw distinct geographic regions. International law gave states supreme authority, or

sovereignty, over all those living within the boundaries of that territory.

At times of widespread international conflict, like the two world wars, it became clear that the system of state sovereignty alone could not prevent war. The world faced the question of who ought to govern the interactions between sovereign states. The international community had established the United Nations, and the League of Nations before it, as international bodies of authority. Both organizations faced the challenge of balancing their authority with the participating states’ sovereignty.

Statesmen founded the United Nations and the League of Nations with the belief that respecting state sovereignty would promote international order. In addition, they hoped that international cooperation could address hunger, deprivation, poverty, racism, exploitation, slavery, and disease.

How did the League of Nations intend to serve as the “conscience of the world?”

Nine months before the United States entered World War I, President Woodrow Wilson proposed a plan to end the fighting and prevent future conflict. Wilson suggested the creation of a new international system. The new international organization would eliminate secret treaties and the causes of war through open diplomacy, securing freedom of the seas, developing free trade, and reducing the production and trade in arms. He called this permanent global organization

What is the difference between a nation and a state?

The 191 official members of the United Nations are not actually nations, but states. A nation is a group of people who are united by a common language, religion, history, or homeland. A state is a system of government that presides over a defined geographic area. States may contain one or more nations within their boundaries, and nations within a state may or may not feel that their state accurately represents them as a group. Many nations within states rally behind the cause of “self-determination” claiming that they, and not the states claiming to represent them, should govern their affairs.

the League of Nations. Wilson believed that if states held one another accountable for preserving peace, each would behave more conscientiously in its international relations. In this way, Wilson hoped the League of Nations would serve as the “conscience of the world.”

In a document known as the League of Nations Covenant, Wilson and other world leaders outlined the principles of the proposed organization. A central feature of the Covenant was the idea of “collective security.”

Collective security was based on a member’s promise “to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League.” It urged states to respond to an attack on any League member as though it were on attack on itself.

Many Americans bristled at the idea of collective security. Critics of the League of Nations said signing would obligate American troops to fight in conflicts abroad. They worried that joining the League would threaten the sovereignty of the United States. Furthermore, Wilson’s conflicts with congressional leaders hampered any possibilities for compromise. Wilson, a Democrat, did not include Republicans in the drafting of the League of Nations Covenant. In response to this snub, his opponents in the Senate were sceptical of his ideas before they even reached the table. In 1920, the United States Senate defied Wilson and rejected U.S. participation in the League.

Why did the League of Nations fail?

The organization began to fail after the League of Nations treaty took effect in January 1920. The League lacked an effective mechanism for enforcement and did not have the power to compel sovereign states to respect



The Big Four—Prime Minister Lloyd George of Britain, Prime Minister Orlando of Italy, Premier Clemenceau of France, and U.S. President Wilson—played leading roles in the creation of the League of Nations.

Photo courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration.

its authority. Members had little incentive to honor their pledges of cooperating to stop aggression, protect human rights, and limit the production and spread of armaments. Also, the League required unanimous decisions, which slowed processes and prevented productive action. Differences of opinion prevented the League from acting in many cases.

The League struggled to live up to its promise of being a global organization. Because the covenant’s authors were enemies of Germany during World War I, the covenant reflected anti-German sentiments. Britain and France saw to it that Germany, and a number of other important countries like the Soviet Union, were excluded from League membership. Their exclusion, along with the fact that the United States never joined the organization, diminished the League’s credibility as an international entity.

“[The] League was considered a European and not a world organization.”

—Lord Grey, British Foreign Minister

The UN Takes Shape

As World War II erupted, the League of Nations’ goal of preventing another world

conflict had clearly failed. Not only did the death toll of World War II surpass that of World War I, but the fighting caused unparalleled destruction. World War II also alerted the international community to the human capability for mass execution of civilians on an unprecedented scale, known as genocide. While it was clear that the League of Nations had failed, the search for a lasting solution to conflict had never been more urgent.

What conditions made another international organization possible?

Following World War II, the U.S. public’s attitude towards international collaboration was more favorable. After the attack on Pearl Harbor and the U.S. entrance into World War II, Americans began to see themselves both as vulnerable and as connected to other countries.

Franklin Roosevelt, though he had denounced the League of Nations in 1932, took the lead in creating the new international institution. Recalling Wilson’s inability to get the League passed in Congress, Roosevelt resolved not to bring the United Nations Charter to the Congress for approval until he knew he had the votes to guarantee ratification.

Roosevelt was not the only one to see new value in cooperating with governments internationally. The League had also alerted the public’s attention to world issues and made international organization seem necessary to preventing future conflicts. Still, the League’s record of failure and its reputation as a tool of Britain and France made people wary. The United States, in particular, could not overcome its suspicions about the League and demanded the formation of a new organization.

“If it [the League] were to disappear today, nearly every treaty of a political character which has been concluded during these thirteen years would vanish with it... A state of chaos would result...the first task which would confront the statesmen on the League’s disappearance would be to reinvent the League.”

–League Secretary-General Eric Drummond

Even when statesmen recognized the League’s ineffectiveness and resolved to abandon it, they did not do so until they had a formal plan to replace it.

How was the UN established?

Of the fifty states to sign the United Nations’ founding document, the Charter, only a handful played a role in its drafting. Discussions of the new organization’s design and purpose began four years earlier in 1940. Initially, the four main players were the wartime allies Britain, China, the USSR, and the United States.

Three weeks before the Germans surrendered, bringing the European war to an



Egypt signs the UN Charter, June 6, 1945, San Francisco.

United Nations photo library. Reprinted with permission.

Choosing a Headquarters

The decision to house the UN headquarters in New York City marked a new phase in the history of the international community. Prior to the two world wars, Europe was seen as the center of international politics.

World War I and World War II called European stability into question. After World War II, the United States emerged as a strong and stable player in the international arena. Switzerland, though it had housed the League of Nations, had concerns about hosting the United Nations. Its priority after the Second World War was to maintain neutrality. (In fact, Switzerland did not join the UN until 2002.) Indeed, the failure of the League of Nations had tainted all of Europe as a site for the new international organization.

Many in the world believed that placing the headquarters of the United Nations in the United States would help engage Americans in world politics. The technological capabilities, democratic media and available facilities in the United States made it a practical choice as well. Americans saw hosting the UN headquarters as a step towards spreading American values and pursuing American interests around the world. In a vote of 30 to 14, the UN decided to place its headquarters in the United States. Cities like Boston, San Francisco, Philadelphia and New York vied for the honor. New York City was chosen as the temporary site. U.S. oil businessman John D. Rockefeller offered the UN \$8.5 million in order to purchase a specific piece of property in New York City. The deal was settled, and the United Nations set up headquarters in New York City in early 1946.

end, President Roosevelt died. His successor, Harry S Truman, assured the world that the conference to establish the UN would go on as planned. Fifty countries gathered in San Francisco to approve the Charter and the United States footed the bill for the event—\$2 million. They adopted the Charter on June 25, 1945.

The Charter gave the five major victors of World War II—Britain, China, the USSR, the United States, and France—permanent positions on the UN Security Council. The League transferred its powers to the United Nations, and the League of Nations ceased to exist.

Fundamental Principles of the UN Charter

In the nearly sixty years of its existence, the UN Charter has undergone few changes. As the first international treaty of its scale, the Charter is one of the most important documents in international relations. There are, however, a number of statements in the Charter that lend themselves to multiple interpretations and dispute.

What values does the Charter prioritize?

Sovereignty: The first underlying principle of the United Nations Charter is the sovereignty of all Member States. Sovereignty means the absolute authority of the state to govern itself without outside interference. Governments support the UN on the condition that their right to govern themselves will be respected. The Charter, however, gives the permanent members of the Security Council authoritative power over others.

Self-determination: Self-determination is the right of a people to choose their own government. The cause of self-determination has inspired small nations to challenge empires who rule them. World leaders have often viewed self-determination struggles as a threat to peace and stability. With thousands of ethnic groups in the world, fully honoring the principle of self-determination could lead to the creation of thousands of countries.

Territorial Integrity: Territorial integrity is the idea that international boundaries should not forcibly be changed. The United Nations is committed to upholding the sanctity of boundaries. When disputes arise over where rightful

borders lie, this commitment to territorial integrity can conflict with both the principles of state sovereignty and self-determination.

The Structure of the UN

The United Nations is a vast network spanning the globe and employing more than fifty thousand people. The organization is divided into sections known as “organs.” There are six principal Organs of the UN: the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Secretariat, the International Court of Justice, the Economic and Social Council, and the Trusteeship Council. The Charter gives only the Security Council the legal means to enforce its decisions through diplomatic or military action.

Who sits on the Security Council?

The UN’s executive body, the Security Council, holds the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. The Security Council has fifteen seats. Ten of the seats are for elected states. Elections are held for five seats every two years. Terms are for four years. Current practice allocates five elected seats to African or Asian states, two to Latin American states, one to an Eastern European state and two to Western European states.

The five remaining seats belong to the per-

manent members—the United States, Britain, France, China, and Russia. Each of the five permanent members has the right to veto Security Council decisions. In order for a resolution to pass, nine of the fifteen members on the Security Council must vote in its favor, and no permanent member can employ the veto. All UN members are legally required to abide by resolutions of the Security Council.

What impact has the “veto power” had on UN activities?

As was the case with the League of Nations Covenant, the five major powers worried that their countries might be obligated to intervene in conflicts that neither concerned nor interested their states. They also worried that the UN would intervene in their own country. Knowing that their governments would bear the largest responsibility for funding UN activities, the five permanent members granted themselves the power to veto resolutions as a way of ensuring themselves the final say in UN Security Council resolutions.

From the very beginning, many states worried about the fairness of the veto power. They worried that disagreements between the permanent members of the Security Council could create stalemates. The UN’s creators hoped that the permanent members of the

The Organs of the United Nations

The Security Council: The Security Council is the UN body responsible for peace and security. It is the most powerful of the six organs.

The General Assembly: The General Assembly is composed of representatives from every UN member state. Votes in the General Assembly carry moral weight, but are not binding.

The International Court of Justice: (ICJ): The ICJ is the judicial organ of the United Nations. Cases come before the ICJ only when all parties (states, not individuals) involved agree to appear in court.

The Secretariat: The Secretariat carries out the decisions of the organs of the UN and is the administrative section of the UN. The Secretary General is the head of the Secretariat.

The Economic and Social Council: The Economic and Social Council coordinates the work of the UN specialized agencies, functional committees, and regional commissions that do much of the United Nations’ work.

The Trusteeship Council: The Trusteeship Council oversaw the transition of colonies to self-government or independence. This organ ceased operations on November 1, 1994.

Security Council would share a common interest in maintaining global peace. The permanent members vowed not to obstruct operations of the Council with their veto power. Though many states were dissatisfied with the promise, they understood that the support of every powerful country was essential for the organization to succeed where the League of Nations had failed.



Kirk Anderson. Reprinted with permission from Artizans.com.

“The Proposals have many serious flaws, and they all add up to this: the plain reliance on Big-Power agreement is so desperate that no peaceful alternative is envisaged.”

—*Time Magazine*, 1944

The concerns over the veto power quickly proved valid. Following World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union became involved in a long drawn-out conflict that caused half a century of non-cooperation between these two states and their allies. This conflict, known as the Cold War, limited the Security Council’s ability to act. The Security Council passed an average of fifteen resolutions a year during the Cold War. Today the Security Council passes one resolution per week.

What was the role of the UN during the Cold War?

The Cold War limited the effectiveness of the UN. Nevertheless, during this period three important developments took place. First, the UN invented peacekeeping operations and began its first operation in 1948. During the Cold War there were eighteen peacekeeping operations. Second, developing nations of the world discovered that the UN forum was a good place to voice their concerns. Finally, the UN became an international leader on issues

GLOBAL DEMOCRACY

of development, human rights, and the environment.

How did the end of the Cold War affect relations in the UN?

The end of the Cold War was like a rebirth of the UN. By 1990 the international community realized that the UN had changed dramatically. UN membership had nearly quadrupled since the charter was signed. Cooperation among the permanent members grew, but demands on the UN were greater than ever and the changing nature of global concerns required the Security Council to consider the reach of its authority.

The question of how to confront global concerns has ignited discussions of the advantages and disadvantages of a global organization. In one respect, a global organization such as the UN is uniquely positioned to address these concerns.

At the same time, action often requires states to relinquish some of their sovereignty. As a result, contentious questions often arise about when and how the UN should act. The next section will discuss the UN’s work on leading concerns of the day and consider several of the debates surrounding it.

Part II: Debating the UN's Role

As you read in Part I, the victorious Allied powers of World War II established the United Nations to maintain “international peace and security.” The importance of this primary aim has not decreased since the UN’s founding in 1945. But the world has changed dramatically since then.

Maintaining security in 1945 meant protecting states from war. Today, security is no longer solely a matter of war and peace between states. In addition to safeguarding states from the attacks of other aggressive states, defending human rights has become a leading concern for the United Nations. Terrorism, climate change, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and the spread of nuclear weapons are also important issues that were not on the agenda in 1945.

By all accounts, the UN faces tall challenges at the dawn of the twenty-first century. Debates about how the organization operates and how it might change exist in the context of these challenges.

“Today we face events of such magnitude and complexity. Diplomats of this generation now have the obligation to envision a second phase, a new chapter on collective action so as to eradicate these modern threats.”

—Mexican Foreign Secretary Luis Derbez

Part II of the reading focuses on the Security Council, peacekeeping, and human rights. Each section discusses real cases that demonstrate the successes and shortcomings of the UN. In addition, each of the cases helps address three key questions about the UN’s changing role in the world.

First: who should hold power within the UN? This is among the most lively and heated controversies today. Some countries express frustration that decision-making power is not shared equally among states. Second: what is the scope of the UN’s responsibilities? For

example, should the Security Council decide all matters of war and peace? Third: Can the UN be run better? Some critics contend that the UN is inefficient and ineffective.

Identifying Three Key Questions

Representation: Who should hold power within the UN?

Mandate: What should be the UN’s responsibilities?

Effectiveness: How should the UN be organized and run?

The Security Council

In 2004, Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi stood before the UN General Assembly and declared that his country deserves permanent membership on the Security Council. The UN today faces many critics who say a few powerful states run the organization. In particular, they accuse the Security Council of placing great power in the hands of only a few. Recent proposals for reforming the UN call for expanding the permanent membership of the Security Council. Member States are divided about which states should be added or whether the current system needs changing at all.

Who is permanently on the Security Council and what is it authorized to do?

Since the UN’s formation after World War II, five major victors of that war: the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia, and China, have led the security council. Each of these countries has a permanent seat on the Council. Any one of these five states can stop a resolution from passing by voting against it—or vetoing it. Many find the makeup of the Council unfair. Some desire a Security Council that accurately reflects the political situation in the world today—not 1945.

“The time has come for world views to prevail at the UN, rather than those of the West.”

—Cameron Duodo
Ghanaian journalist

In addition to more democratic representation, debates about reform revolve around the question of the Security Council’s reach and effectiveness. In reviewing the history of the UN, some critics point to conflicts in which the Security Council did not intervene but should have, like the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Other critics cite instances of conflict in which the Security Council did authorize intervention, as in East Timor in 1999. They claim that it overstepped the boundaries of its power. This difference of opinion highlights a disagreement about how much say the Security Council should have on decisions to go to war.

The workings of the Security Council came under particular scrutiny in 2003, when the permanent members were torn over the question of authorizing military action against Iraq. This was not the first time the Security Council had addressed conflict in Iraq. Thirteen years earlier, the Security Council met under different circumstances to debate military action against Iraq.

These two Security Council decisions are outlined in the following two case studies. In the first Iraq war, the Security Council, led by the United States (who was joined by its former foe, the Soviet Union), authorized an intervention that succeeded in ending an act of aggression by one state against another. Many believed that this decision, made shortly after the end of the Cold War, was the beginning of an era of international cooperation.

The Security Council, however, did not authorize the U.S.-led 2003 invasion of Iraq, which the United States justified by arguing incorrectly that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. The U.S. decision to go to war without Security Council authorization

raised questions about the commitment of the United States to the United Nations and the rule of law.

“In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.”

—UN Charter, Article 24:1

■ Iraq 1991: Persian Gulf War

Under the leadership of Saddam Hussein, long known to be a repressive dictator, Iraqi forces invaded the neighboring oil-rich kingdom of Kuwait in 1990. The invasion of Kuwait, a clear act of

aggression, incited immediate international concern. It led the UN Security Council to authorize military action against Iraq in early 1991. The Security Council imposed comprehensive economic sanctions against Iraq and later authorized the use of force to drive the Iraqi army out of Kuwait. The end of the Cold War produced an atmosphere in which states were once again willing to cooperate. President George H. W. Bush put together a military coalition of twenty-eight nations under the UN banner to end the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. Within a few short weeks, the international force ejected Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Hussein, however, remained in power.

The outcome of the Persian Gulf War seemed to suggest that a new age in international relations was at hand. The world’s leading powers had stood together in the Security Council to oppose an act of international aggression. The UN’s success in Iraq gave the UN confidence to address other areas of conflict.

After the war, Iraq continued to top the



headlines. At American urging, the UN Security Council imposed economic sanctions and limited the sale of Iraqi oil, because Iraq had not lived up to all the terms of the ceasefire agreement. As part of this ceasefire agreement, UN monitors conducted regular inspections of Iraq to prevent the production of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, and destroyed any stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons that they found. In 1998, Iraq imposed limits to the UN inspectors' searches, leading to a series of UN-authorized air strikes. Iraq then refused to allow UN inspectors to operate in Iraq at all until late 2002. The Security Council unanimously passed a resolution calling for Iraq to comply with earlier resolutions and to allow unrestricted access for weapons inspectors.

International Treaties: A Case Study

Treaties are used to solve problems ranging from eliminating terrorism and reducing the spread of nuclear weapons, to protecting the environment and regulating international trade. One of the four original purposes of the UN is to strengthen international order through greater respect for treaties and other multilateral agreements.

The United States enters into treaties after considering its options and interests. As the most powerful member of the United Nations, the United States plays a leading role in the drafting of international agreements.

A prominent treaty of the twentieth century is the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The United States played a leadership role in drafting the NPT. For over three decades the NPT, which regulates the production, trade, and dismantling of nuclear weapons, has been a centerpiece of U.S. foreign policy. U.S. leadership has been key to the success of the NPT.

When the NPT was signed in 1968, statesmen feared that anywhere between fifteen and fifty states would acquire nuclear weapons in the following decade. Nearly half a century later, only eight states are known to possess nuclear weapons.

Russia and the United States have approximately 28,000 of the 30,000 nuclear weapons in the world. Since the end of the Cold War, the United States and Russia have worked together to dismantle and dispose of nuclear weapons materials. The UN has helped in bringing most existing nuclear powers to sign treaties committing them to cease the production of nuclear weapons. Still, many non-nuclear states feel that nuclear powers have made only half-hearted attempts at disarmament.

Two states, North Korea and Iran, present prominent nuclear concerns. Intelligence sources believe North Korea may have as many as six nuclear weapons, and that Iran has a nuclear weapons program. Though it signed the NPT, North Korea withdrew from the treaty in 2003 and has declared itself a nuclear power. Iran is still party to the NPT, and claims that its nuclear program is for the generation of electricity, which is allowed under the NPT. The United States and Europe do not believe that Iran's nuclear program has purely peaceful intentions. They demand that Iran cease some parts of its nuclear program. Controversy has arisen over whether or not they can force Iran to give up privileges that the NPT allows.



Mike Lane. Reprinted with permission. Cagle.com.

threatened to veto any Security Council action against Iraq which called for military action.

Gathering support from some allies abroad, President Bush organized a coalition and ordered it into action without getting UN Security Council approval. The invasion of Iraq stirred protest around the world, including in the United States. Still, the war drew support from the majority of Americans. Three weeks after the ground offensive began, the Iraqi government fell. Months later, Saddam Hussein was captured alive.

■ The 2003 Iraq War

As weapons inspectors returned to Iraq, a disagreement emerged among members of the Security Council about how to confront Iraq's tyrannical leader. The United States and Britain argued that the inspections were not working. They contended that twelve years of UN sanctions had failed to persuade Hussein to comply with the 1991 ceasefire agreement. Secretary of State Colin Powell argued before the UN Security Council that Iraq had links to al Qaeda and weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). President Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair advocated military action to remove WMDs, leading to "regime change" as the next step.

The international community agreed that Saddam Hussein was an unjust and untrustworthy leader, but France and Russia opposed the idea of "regime change." They argued that the UN inspectors should continue trying to ensure the disarmament of Iraq through peaceful means. The five permanent members of the Council were torn on whether to continue the weapons inspections or take military action against Hussein's regime. France and Russia

During their advance, U.S. officials worried that the Iraqi army would use chemical weapons. This did not happen. An intensive search for biological, nuclear, and chemical weapons in Iraq recommenced, taking up where UN weapons' inspectors left off. No evidence of weapons, or of Iraq's connection to al Qaeda, was found. These missing weapons and the rationale for making war against Iraq have spurred debate among Americans. Americans face additional debates as the United States confronts post-war violence and supports Iraqis in their efforts to establish democratic institutions.

■ Current Debates about the Security Council

The Security Council's role in the two Iraq wars raises questions about the authority the UN has in decisions to go to war, and about who leads this decision-making process. The 2003 invasion in particular caused public debates about the role of the UN and state's use of force.

A central principle of international law is that a state will not attack another state except

in self-defense. Some contend that U.S. action against Iraq violated this principle because Iraq was not a direct and immediate threat to the United States. Supporters of the war argue that the principle of making war only in the face of direct threat is dangerous in an era of terrorism and nuclear capabilities. President Bush said that the world could not afford to wait.

Within the American public, some dislike the idea of the UN Security Council claiming authority over matters of war and peace. On the other hand, some suggest that with a commitment from its Member States, the Security Council could work effectively against aggression as it did in Iraq in 1991. They believe that with Security Council backing, military action would have international legitimacy.

What proposals are being considered for reform of the Security Council?

Following the 2003 disagreement over Iraq in the UN, Secretary General Kofi Annan appointed the High Level Panel to consider reform of the Security Council. The 2003 Iraq war raised questions about whose voices and interests are represented in the UN. Many feel that the organization's decisions to authorize war should not be left up to a handful of powerful states. The importance of each permanent member's vote was underscored by stark disagreement on the issue of Iraq.

Many suggest that permanent memberships should be granted to a handful of other states. Some of them go so far as to grant veto power to new states. Regional powers like Brazil and India and major UN contributors such as Germany and Japan are vying for seats.

Opinions about giving more countries permanent seats on the Council are split. Some see it as a natural and necessary reform, citing the historical example of UN Security Council expansion in its early years from eleven to fifteen members. Others contest this, arguing that U.S. leadership in the UN would be diluted and that an enlarged council would make reaching agreement more difficult.

What is the U.S. government's position towards the Security Council?

The Iraq war highlighted the Bush administration's position about the Security Council. The government believed it had the right to take military action without the authorization of the Security Council. Claiming its right as a sovereign nation, the United States did not give the UN authority over U.S. policy decisions.

Peacekeeping

For one hundred consecutive days in 1994, thousands of Rwandan men, women and children were mowed down by machine gun fire, machetes, and hand grenades. Within four months nearly one million people were murdered simply because of their ethnic origin. Escalating tensions between Rwanda's Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups overwhelmed the UN's tiny peacekeeping force.

In the wake of the UN's failure to prevent genocide in Rwanda and other tragedies of the twentieth century, some Member States proposed the creation of a standby UN military force. This idea has sparked intense debate among Member States. Some states are unwilling to give control of their troops to the international organization. Other objections include the financial cost of maintaining a standing UN force.

The UN deployed the first "peacekeepers" to secure peace in 1956 during the Suez Crisis. At that time, the international community was primarily concerned with preventing war between countries. Today, civil war and other types of local conflict take far more lives than do wars between countries.

What is the difference between peacekeeping and "peace enforcement"?

Early peacekeepers were unarmed and were impartial in conflicts. Due to the changing nature of conflict, peacekeepers today are often well armed. The challenges they face are often complex civil conflicts, commonly involving governments making war on their own people, rather than conventional wars between

states. Their missions often involve military engagement, sometimes referred to as “peace enforcement,” that places these soldiers on a particular side of the conflict. In addition, peacekeeping troops fulfill an increasingly wide range of non-military tasks. The UN does not have a standing army of its own, so the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) relies entirely on member states to contribute troops and resources for its operations.

The debate surrounding peacekeepers is fueled on both sides by the history of previous peacekeeping operations. The following case studies describe two peacekeeping operations, one in the former Yugoslavian republic of Bosnia and the other in the Asia-Pacific Island of East Timor. The work of peacekeepers in East Timor and in Bosnia illustrates a number of the issues that dominate current debate about the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions, their mandate, and whether or not a permanent standing military force would better serve the international community.

■ Bosnia

The former state of Yugoslavia slowly began to disintegrate after the death in 1980 of its longtime leader, Marshal Tito. The republics that had been united under the state of Yugoslavia came apart. Several, including Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Macedonia sought independence. Nationalists in many of the republics exploited this chaos. An extremist, Slobodan Milosevic, rose to power in the republic of Serbia. His nationalist message reached Serbs across the former Yugoslavia.

In the early 1990s, ethnic Serbs in Bosnia grew nervous when they heard rumblings of aspirations for an independent Bosnian state.

While Bosnia’s Muslims and Croats supported the creation of an independent state, local Bosnian Serbs feared they would be subject to persecution. The conflict in Bosnia quickly erupted into violence. Although all sides were guilty of atrocities, Bosnian Serb forces were responsible for most of the brutality against civilians. The Serbs sought to expel or kill Muslims and Croats from the region by targeting civilians. This process of “ethnic cleansing” utilized torture, gang rape, concentration camps, and massacre.

How did UN peacekeepers try to end the violence?

Because neither Europe or the North

“All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.”

UN Charter, Article 43:1

Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) wished to be involved, the UN sent a peacekeeping force to Bosnia. The mission mandated peacekeepers to enforce sanctions and a no-fly zone against Serbia, but gave the peacekeepers no authority for military action. In 1993, the UN Security Council designated several “safe areas” throughout Bosnia, where displaced Muslims and Croats could take refuge, and have the protection of a small peacekeeping mission. In the midst of

a war-zone, peacekeepers were still not given authority to take military action to protect civilians, nor were the 35,000 extra troops the Secretary-General requested from member states for the job.

In July 1995, one safe area in the city of Srebrenica fell after Serb forces conducted widespread shelling. As fighting worsened, Serb forces took thirty peacekeepers hostage. The commander of the peacekeeping forces

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UN peacekeepers fulfill a range of duties, from monitoring elections to armed enforcement of borders.

filed a request with the UN for air support to suppress Serbian attacks. No air support came. Peacekeepers later learned from UN headquarters that the support had not come because the request had been filed on the wrong form. The request was resubmitted correctly, and NATO planes then targeted Serbian bases with two airstrikes. The delay highlighted the difficulties of sending a peacekeeping force without the capability or mandate in the midst of a full-scale war.

Serb forces responded to the air strikes by threatening to kill the hostages they had taken. Shelling continued. As the situation worsened and no support came for peacekeepers to defend their position, the peacekeeping mission

left Srebrenica altogether. Meanwhile Serb forces lay siege to the city, deported more than twenty thousand women and children, and killed some eight thousand males between the ages of twelve and seventy-seven.

What was the effect of NATO intervention?

Serbian massacres of Bosnian Muslim villagers and artillery attacks against Sarajevo stirred international anger. In July 1995, NATO launched a hard-hitting bombing campaign against the Bosnian Serb army. NATO’s air war, spearheaded by U.S. pilots, allowed Bosnian Croat and Muslim fighters to take the initiative on the ground. In a few weeks, the Croatian army drove more than 200,000 Serbs

UN Peacekeeping Operations Statistics

Peacekeeping Operations

Peacekeeping operations since 1948	60
Current (2005) peacekeeping operations	16

Personnel-2005

Military and police personnel	68,431
Countries contributing military and police	107
Top ten troop contributors	Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Ethiopia, Ghana, Jordan, Nigeria, Uruguay, South Africa
Total fatalities in peacekeeping since 1948	2,011

Financial

Approved resources July 2005-July 2006	\$3.55 billion
Estimated total costs from 1948-September 2005	\$36.01 billion



out of eastern Croatia, a region in which their people had lived for three centuries. The Croats, along with the Bosnian Muslims, quickly followed up their advance by attacking the Bosnian Serbs in western Bosnia. By the fall of 1995, the ethnic cleansing that the international community had tried to prevent was mostly complete.

The combatants reached a cease-fire in October 1995 and signed a formal peace agreement in Dayton, Ohio, in December 1995. The Dayton accord set forth ambitious goals. The agreement was meant not only to end the war, but to build a democratic, multi-ethnic society. Several thousand peacekeepers under European Union leadership remain in place to enforce the accord. Hundreds of millions of dollars in economic aid have been spent to restore the economy. The United States and its allies remain hopeful that their investment will pay off. More than one million refugees have returned to their homes. In addition, the former leader of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic, as well as other officials and soldiers from both sides of the conflict, are on trial for war crimes at a UN-sponsored tribunal in the Netherlands.

■ East Timor

For more than four hundred years, Portugal ruled the eastern half of the Pacific island

of Timor. The Dutch ruled the western half of the island, along with the islands that today make up Indonesia. The Indonesians gained independence from the Netherlands in 1949 and for the next sixteen years grappled with mounting political instability. The turmoil erupted into civil war in 1965. The Portuguese colony of East Timor was shielded from the violence in Indonesia. In 1974, however, Portuguese colonial rule over East Timor suddenly ended after Portugal's dictatorial government fell from power. The East Timorese hoped that the collapse of the Portuguese empire would allow them to achieve independence.

Indonesia's President Suharto had other plans for East Timor. In December 1975, he ordered his army to invade the island. Indonesian forces massacred thousands of unarmed civilians. In the months and years that followed, entire villages were destroyed in air attacks.

Indonesia's actions met with little opposition from the international community. The UN General Assembly passed a resolution condemning the invasion. However, because Indonesia was a key trading partner of the West, the United States, Britain, Germany, France, and Australia abstained from voting, while Japan opposed the resolution. The UN Security Council passed a resolution calling on "all states to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor."

Suharto ignored the UN resolutions and tightened Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. The East Timorese, however, did not give up their struggle. In 1998, a severe economic downturn forced Suharto to resign and suddenly opened up new opportunities for the East Timorese. Suharto's successor, B.J. Habibie, promised to transform Indonesia into a democracy. As part of his reform program, he declared his support for a plan to allow the East Timorese to decide their own political future.

How did UN peacekeepers aid East Timor's transition to independence?

In 1999, the UN deployed a mission to

assist East Timor's transition to independence. Shortly thereafter, violence erupted, apparently with the backing of Indonesia's military, despite Habibie's promises. The Indonesian military forcibly transported one quarter of the population across the border out of East Timor. The UN authorized a military peace enforcement intervention, led by Australia, to stop the violence. Soon after, Indonesia pulled out of the region.

After Indonesia's retreat, UN peacekeepers resumed efforts to establish law and order and distribute humanitarian aid to the East Timorese people. The UN gave the peacekeepers the task of creating an East Timorese government from scratch. It was the first time in history that the UN stepped in to play the role of government and build a nation from the bottom up.

In May 2002, the UN transferred full sovereignty to the people of East Timor. The peacekeeping mission remained in the country to ensure security, enforce law, and train police and civil servants. By 2003 most refugees had returned to their homes in East Timor. In 2005, the political situation remains stable, the country's infrastructure has steadily developed and the economy shows growth. However, over 40 percent of the population lives below the poverty line.

■ Current Debates on Peacekeeping

The history of UN peacekeeping missions in conflict areas such as Bosnia and East Timor frame the debate about peacekeeping. These missions evoke questions about whether the UN's mandate should include intervening in conflicts within states at all, whether the UN is capable of properly supplying and supporting its missions, and who should have responsibility for peacekeeping.

The reasons for the UN mission's failure in Bosnia and the resulting tragedy of Srebrenica are contested. Some argue that the mission's mandate was unclear and insuffi-

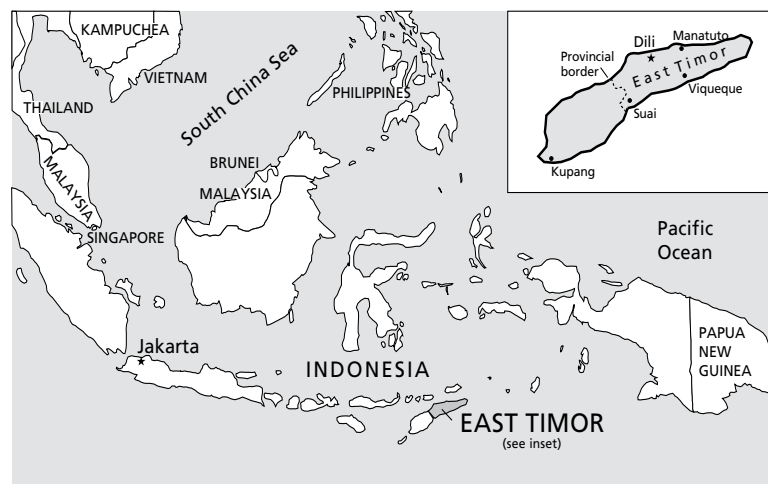
cient or that it was not effectively carried out. Many argue that the UN's failure in places like Bosnia suggests that it should not continue to intervene in tricky and costly conflicts, at least until there is a cease-fire. The peacekeeping mission in East Timor was unprecedented in its scope and scale. Though there was limited debate about the mission's success, some object to peacekeepers taking such a far-reaching role in building a nation from the ground up.

Many look to the list of failed peacekeeping missions as an indication that peacekeeping requires more attention and resources. Peacekeeping is consistently underfunded. In addition, the system of enlisting national armies for all UN missions is identified as a root problem. Member states are not always eager to contribute troops to end conflicts in which they are not involved.

One proposal to fix the problem, the creation of a standby military force, is highly controversial. Supporters argue that the proposal would allow the UN to respond to crises more quickly and effectively. Critics worry that an independent standing UN force might violate state sovereignty.

What is the Peacebuilding Commission?

In September 2005, the UN agreed to form a Peacebuilding Commission. Noting the UN's past successes and failures, the member states agreed to devote resources to identify states in danger of collapse, to provide assistance to



prevent state collapse and conflict, and to help rebuild states after there has been a conflict. In addition, remembering the tragedies of Rwanda and Srebrenica, states agreed that they were prepared to take prompt collective action through the UN Security Council to prevent genocide and other crimes against humanity. How both of these reforms will play out remains to be seen.

What is the U.S. position on debates surrounding UN peacekeeping?

The United States has been active in lead- ing enforcement operations, like that in the

1991 Persian Gulf War, and has also played a critical role in operations led by regional organizations like NATO. The United States often provides transportation for peacekeeping operations to reach their destination, but the United States does not contribute a significant number of troops to peacekeeping operations for several reasons. The UN directly controls peacekeeping operations and the United States traditionally has avoided giving command of its soldiers to the UN or any non-U.S. leaders. Many in the United States oppose the idea of creating a standby UN military force because they fear giving too much power to the UN.

Humanitarian Aid and Development

The UN's role in humanitarian aid and development work may be the organization's most visible presence around the world. UN aid and development takes on a variety of forms. Sometimes the UN agencies administer projects independently, sometimes the UN channels aid to specific governments, and sometimes UN agencies work alongside or provide funding to NGOs. UN agencies and affiliated NGOs must navigate political complexities and extensive bureaucra- cies.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) is one of many organizations within the UN working on development. Others include the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the World Food Program (WFP). The UN's vast net- work of organizations is involved in addressing long term problems like AIDS and environmen- tal degradation and crises like natural disasters or refugee crises.

In 2000, the United Nations Development Program issued a report outlining its goals for the beginning of the new millennium. The eight proposed Millennium Development Goals, including eliminating poverty and hunger, were proposed to be reached by the year 2015. Secretary General Annan has estimated that it would take at least \$50 billion annually to achieve the goals. Some see the goals as necessary and achievable, others think they are overly ideal- istic and reach beyond the UN's capabilities or mandate.

The resources and commitment involved have caused some people to question how highly the UN should prioritize aid within its wider agenda of peace and security, whether there is a better method of administering aid, and what a state's responsibility to help other states is.

-
- //...the United Nations shall promote:**
- a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;**
 - b. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation;**
-

—UN Charter, Article 55

UN Commission on Human Rights

When Sudan won a seat on the UN Commission on Human Rights in 2001, the U.S. representative walked out of the session. An undemocratic government guilty of massive human rights abuses runs Sudan. The U.S. gesture of disapproval reflects a growing concern about the membership and effectiveness of the Commission on Human Rights. In his April 2005 address to the commission, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan declared that the commission is failing.

“We have reached a point at which the Commission’s declining credibility has cast a shadow on the reputation of the United Nations system as a whole, and where piecemeal reforms will not be enough.”

—Secretary General Kofi Annan to
Commission on Human Rights

To prove the UN’s commitment to human rights, Annan proposed that the UN replace the commission with a new body—a Human Rights Council.

What is the current system for addressing human rights abuses?

The denial of human rights is a leading cause of violent conflict. In 1946, the UN Economic and Social Council recognized the link between ensuring human rights and maintaining international peace and security. It created the Commission on Human Rights and charged the commission with examining, monitoring, and reporting on human rights situations.

Increasing concern about human rights led the UN to create the position of the High Commissioner for Human Rights 1993. The high commissioner’s task is to integrate concern about human rights standards throughout the UN system. The commissioner reports to the secretary general, reports on the human rights situation around the world, and works with governments to address concerns.

Nevertheless, Secretary General Annan

Major Elements of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Everyone is entitled to:

- life
- liberty
- security
- a nationality
- freedom from slavery, discrimination, or torture
- equal protection under the law
- presumption of innocence until proven guilty
- freedom from arbitrary interference with privacy
- freedom of movement
- freedom to marry and start a family
- ownership of property
- freedom of thought, opinion, expression, association, and religion
- suffrage (the right to vote)
- social security
- work and membership in trade unions
- equal pay for equal work and just remuneration
- rest and periodic holidays with pay
- an adequate standard of living
- free fundamental education

believes the UN has reached a point at which it must re-examine and possibly reform its approach to preventing human rights abuses.

■ The International Bill of Human Rights

The Commission on Human Rights’ greatest achievements have been its successes at defining international human rights standards.

Led by Eleanor Roosevelt, the commission published the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. This document, and two later “covenants,” make up the foundation for current international standards of human rights. Together they are known as the International Bill of Human Rights.

The International Bill of Human Rights broke new ground. Never before had the world come together to agree on universal expectations of individual rights and freedoms. These documents have become guidelines for states’ domestic laws, as well as for the conduct of business among states. Three examples of areas in which the Bill of Human Rights has had significant impact are in securing women’s rights, labor standards, and voting rights as international standards.

The commission has not, in the opinion of many, successfully enforced the ambitious agenda set by the International Bill of Human Rights. In fact, the commission has little authority to enforce its standards and resolutions. While successful in creating widely recognized standards, the international community does not have a system for implementing them universally.

“The era of declaration is now giving way, as it should, to an era of implementation.”

—Secretary General Kofi Annan



Eleanor Roosevelt displays a poster of the Declaration of Human Rights.

United Nations photo library. Reprinted with permission.

The end of the Cold War, the growing prominence of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the globalization of communication have made human rights abuses increasingly more visible. This has led to demands for better enforcement of the human rights standards put forth a half-century ago.



M.E. Cohen. Reprinted with permission.

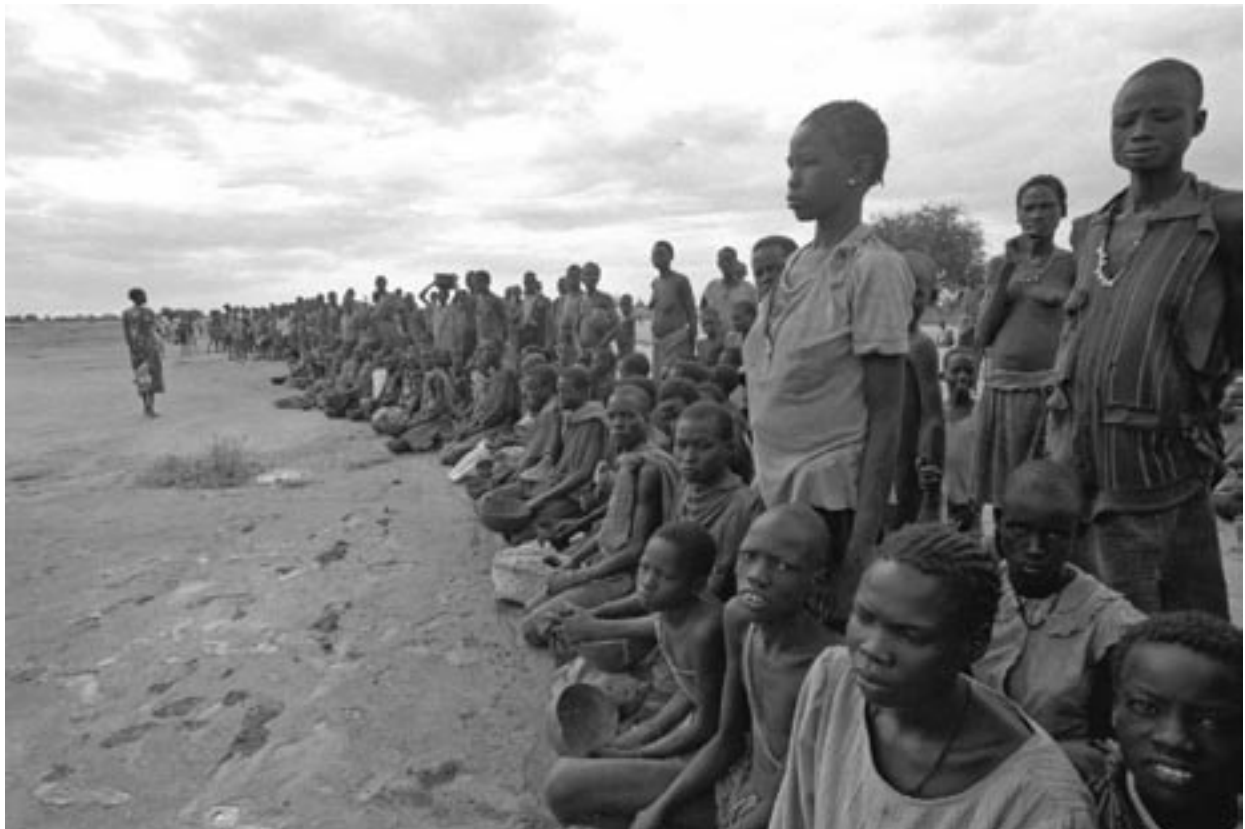
■ **Humanitarian Crisis in Darfur, Sudan**

The country of Sudan has been embroiled in civil war almost constantly since it gained independence from Britain in 1956. The largest country in Africa, Sudan is one of the poorest in the world. The population is divided between black and Arab Sudanese. Seventy percent of the population—both black and Arab—are Muslim.

Sudan faces multiple conflicts between the Sudanese government and various opposition groups throughout the country. The largest of these conflicts, between the northern Muslims and the non-Muslims in the south, has divided the country over the last fifty years. A brief period of peace relieved the country from 1972-1982, but the government’s attempt to establish Sharia—Islamic law—prompted rebel attacks in 1983. The North and South signed a peace accord in January 2005 and are working, with the aid of ten thousand UN-authorized peacekeepers, to maintain a ceasefire.

The peace talks between the North and South, however, have been overshadowed by another outpost of conflict—the persisting humanitarian crisis in Darfur, a western region of the country. Blacks and Arabs in the area battle over claims to the land. Severe drought in Darfur has increased tensions over resources. The government of Sudan has sided, if unofficially, with the Arabs.

An Arab militia group known as the Janjaweed is responsible for the killing of some seventy thousand black Sudanese and the forced displacement of nearly two million others. Though the government claims that the Janjaweed acts independently, it has provided the militia with resources to carry out attacks and turned a blind eye to violence. Refugees have fled from Darfur to the neighboring country of Chad, where the refugee camps and services are overcrowded and overwhelmed.



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Sudanese gather along an air strip ready to collect food aid dropped by plane.

United States Voted off Commission for Human Rights

The United States was voted off the Commission for Human Rights in 2001. It was running for one of three seats reserved for “Western” states, and lost to France, Austria and Sweden. The United States had had a seat on the commission since its 1947 founding. There are a number of speculations about why the United States lost the election. Among the possibilities are the U.S. policies in the Middle East, U.S. refusal to sign a ban on child soldiers or landmines, U.S. refusal to sign on to the International Criminal Court (ICC), and U.S. refusal to sign the Kyoto Protocol. In response, the United States withdrew \$244 million in dues owed to the UN until its seat on the Commission was restored. In 2003, the United States was readmitted to the commission.

How has the UN responded to the crisis in Sudan?

The Commission on Human Rights investigated the situation in Sudan from 1993 until 2003. In 2004, many urged the commission to call a special session to deal with the atrocities in Darfur. Instead, the commission waited to meet until its next session. When it met, it passed no resolution on the situation in Darfur because the African bloc of states supported Sudan. In that same session, Sudan was elected to the commission.

In the summer of 2004, former U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell visited Darfur and labeled the crisis “genocide.” Genocide is the intentional and coordinated killing of a national, racial, or religious group. All states that signed the UN Genocide Convention are committed to “prevent and punish” genocide. In late 2004, the Secretary General appointed a UN team to investigate the crisis in Darfur. The team produced a 2005 UN report declaring the situation a “humanitarian crisis,” but not genocide. The report proposed three resolutions. None of the resolutions authorized troops specifically for the protection of

civilians in the Darfur region. Instead, the UN offered to support a regional organization, the African Union, in its efforts to reduce violence in Darfur.

One resolution suggested referring the case to the International Criminal Court (ICC). This evoked resistance from the Bush Administration, which has refused to become a part of the ICC. Instead, the United States hoped a new African tribunal could be formed to deal with the criminals in Darfur. In March 2005, however, the UN Security Council passed the resolution allowing the ICC jurisdiction over the criminals responsible for human rights abuses in Darfur. Four states, the United States, Brazil, Algeria, and China, abstained from voting. The resolution marks the first occasion on which the Security Council has referred a case to the ICC.

■ Current Debates about the Human Rights Commission

The question of representation on the Human Rights Commission stirs some of the most heated debates about UN reform. A number

International Criminal Court

In the late twentieth century, questions arose about how to ensure that individuals guilty of committing genocide, war crimes, or crimes against humanity were punished. Only states, not individuals, can be tried before the International Court of Justice (ICJ). In 1998, a separate criminal court was created for the purpose of trying individuals. This court, the International Criminal Court (ICC) is controversial because the United States opposes an international court that can judge and sentence U.S. citizens. Some fear politically-motivated prosecutions of U.S. soldiers. Supporters of the court argue that there are enough safeguards in place to ensure U.S. citizens would receive due process.

of current members of the commission have accusations of human rights violations against them. The presence of states with histories of human rights abuses—such as China, Cuba, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Zimbabwe and Sudan—on the commission fuels debate about the commitment of members to upholding human rights standards. Inconsistencies—such as the commission electing Sudan but taking no action in Darfur—have led critics to claim that the Commission on Human Rights is a safe haven for abusers and that it mocks the victims of human rights violations.

The Human Rights Council Annan proposes would be smaller than the current commission, and membership on the council would be limited to those who achieve the “highest standards” in upholding human rights. Annan proposes that the entire General Assembly approve members of the proposed Human Rights Council with a two-thirds majority vote.

In addition to flaws in the structure of the commission’s membership, critics blame recent ineffectiveness on lack of funds, infrequent meetings and the procedures the commission uses. Receiving only two percent

of the UN’s budget, the commission meets only once a year, and therefore cannot always respond to human rights abuses immediately or effectively. The selection process the commission uses to decide which violations it will handle is bogged down by lengthy investigations and procedures. Some believe that states deliberately use these complicated procedures to stall resolutions.

What is the U.S. position on debates surrounding the Human Rights Commission?

The United States supports Secretary General Annan’s suggested reforms to the Commission on Human Rights. In particular, the United States endorses the idea of a small council and of limiting membership to those who uphold high standards. The United States has made clear its disapproval when states that are known human rights violators sit on the commission. Yet the United States itself has been the subject of recent accusations. During the 2005 commission session, the U.S. abuse of prisoners in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guantanamo Bay, Cuba were discussed as human rights violations.

The case studies you have read highlight some of the debates surrounding the United Nations. In the coming days you will have an opportunity to consider a range of alternatives for U.S. policy on this issue. Each of the three viewpoints, or Options, that you will explore is based in a distinct set of values or beliefs. Each takes a different perspective on our country’s role in the world and our relationship with the UN. You should think of the Options as a tool designed to help you understand the contrasting strategies from which Americans must craft future policy and their relationship to the UN. At the end of this unit, you will be asked to make your own choices about where U.S. policy should be heading. In doing so, you may borrow heavily from one Option, combine ideas from several, or take a new approach altogether. You will need to weigh the risks and trade-offs of whatever you decide.

Options in Brief

Option 1: Utilize the UN to Protect U.S. Interests

The United States should not launch any grand crusade to save the world, but neither can we afford to withdraw into a shell. It is in the interest of the United States to nurture relationships with other countries, especially on matters of terrorism, immigration, and trade. The UN is an important tool for the advancement of U.S. foreign policy interests. Though ultimately we are not tied to the decisions or mandates of the UN, we should uphold our leadership role in the UN to promote our interests in the organization and around the world. We would do well to lead UN reforms that would make the organization more efficient. Others may dream of an international system based on the goodwill of states, but the realities of the twenty-first century require the United States to look out for itself.

Option 2: Recommit the UN to its Founding Principles

The problems of the world in the twenty-first century are interconnected and global in scale. In the face of transnational threats such as terrorism, HIV/AIDS, environmental degradation, and nuclear proliferation, no state, even a superpower like the United States, can go it alone. The future of the planet depends on our commitment to working together. We must deepen our commitment to international

cooperation by reforming the UN to make it more democratic and just. In order for the UN to meet the challenges to international peace and security successfully, it must give all Member States a more equal voice in the UN's decisions. We must hold the UN to higher standards of accountability and take necessary measures to make the organization efficient in its work. We must exercise leadership to spur the UN into action, and hold the UN to its founding principles.

Option 3: Scale Back the UN

We must reduce the size and power of the UN and return primary authority to state governments. The United States needs to strike a new balance between international and domestic issues—a balance that addresses the real security concerns of Americans. We must recognize that the peace and stability of the world is best served by respecting the principles of state sovereignty. Our first loyalty is to the U.S. Constitution and to U.S. citizens. We must think of the safety and well-being of Americans at home. If we over-commit ourselves abroad, we ignore the needs of American citizens. We also risk creating more resentment abroad or sacrificing our economic interests by sticking America's nose into problems around the world. Let us recall that our country's founders sought to make the United States a model for the world, not its police officer.

Option 1: Utilize the UN to Protect U.S. Interests

The world today is a tangle of shifting alliances and conflicting interests. The United States must carefully choose where and how it gets involved. The United States should not launch any grand crusade to save the world, but neither can we afford to withdraw into a shell. The United States must never forego its right to act as a sovereign nation in defense of its national interest. Yet it is in the interest of the United States to nurture relationships in the international community, especially on matters of terrorism, immigration, and trade. The UN is an important tool for the advancement of U.S. foreign policy interests. Though ultimately we are not tied to the decisions or mandates of the UN, we should uphold our leadership role in the UN to promote our interests in the organization and around the world.

We should approach UN reform with the interests of the United States as our first priority. The United States must protect itself at home and involve itself abroad only when our interests are directly affected, for example when trade relations are threatened by war. We should not agree to reforms that will entangle us in conflicts that do not affect us, or hinder us from pursuing our interests. By the same token, if the UN fails to act on security matters of importance to the United States, we should not hesitate to act independently. We would do well to lead UN reforms that would make the organization more efficient. However, it is unwise to support reforms to extend the UN's mandate or change its structure in ways that may compromise U.S. sway in the organization. Others may dream of an international system based on the goodwill of states, but the realities of the twenty-first century require the United States to look out for itself.

Option 1 is based on the following beliefs

- With the threats posed by nuclear proliferation and terrorism, we cannot let international organizations place limits on self-defense.

- The UN can be a useful foreign policy tool, but strengthening its authority is not in U.S. interests.

- We should not expect the world's leading powers to share a common set of goals in addressing international conflicts.

- As a major financial contributor and a key player in the founding of the UN, we have earned our voice of leadership.

What policies should the United States pursue?

- **Security Council:** We should defend our veto power on the Security Council and oppose efforts to give new members the right to veto.

- **Peacekeeping:** We should oppose the creation of a UN standby military force.

- **International Courts and Treaties:** We should adhere to international treaties when it serves our best interest and should

not accept compulsory ICJ jurisdiction.

- **Commission on Human Rights:** We should maintain our representation on the Commission on Human Rights.

- **Aid and Development:** We should not pour money into unrealistic UN projects to end all human suffering, except in cases of strategic importance.

From the Record

Supporting Voices

*Newt Gingrich and George Mitchell
Task Force on the United Nations*

“Just as the United States took the lead in forging the consensus that led to the creation of the United Nations in the aftermath of World War II, we believe the United States, in its own interests, must lead the organization toward greater relevance and capability in this new era.”

Condoleezza Rice, U.S. Secretary of State

“We have great respect for and want to use the United Nations and the Security Council. But there are times when other mechanisms are equally important. I think we will need to be judged by how effective we are, not just by the forms that we use.”

John Bolton, U.S. Ambassador to the UN

“The UN should be used when and where we choose to use it to advance American national interests, not to validate academic theories and abstract models. But the UN is only a tool, not a theology. It is one of several options we have, and it is certainly not invariably the most important one.”

Kim R. Holmes, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of International Organization Affairs

“The United Nations works best when its member states and the United States work together. This requires U.S. leadership. Not all countries may agree with everything the U.S. espouses. But most would agree...that the UN can accomplish very important things when the United States and the member states of the United Nations act as partners.”

Opposing Voices

Ambassador Daniel Carmon, Charge d’Affaires of Israel to the United Nations

“The major actors in the international system have indeed changed since the UN was established and it is logical, for example, for states who are major contributors to the UN to expect to have greater influence and responsibility in the areas of international peace and security.”

Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, President of Brazil

“After the Cold War, the world has become more global and pleads different representations from what we had before. And, therefore, part of the institutions must go through this new reality, get ready for this new reality.”

Mark Malloch Brown, UN Secretary General’s Chief of Staff

“This ungainly giant of a nation that has led the world in advancing freedom, democracy and decency, cannot quite accept membership in the global neighborhood association, and the principle of all neighborhoods—that it must abide by others’ rules as well as its own.”

Keizo Obuchi, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan

“If the United Nations is unable to reform itself to meet the demands of the coming era, but simply engages in an aimless repetition of detailed arguments in which each Member State pursues its own interests, the confidence of the international community in the Organization will be severely undermined.”

Option 2: Recommit the UN to its Founding Principles

The problems of the world in the twenty-first century are interconnected and global in scale. In the face of transnational threats such as terrorism, HIV/AIDS, environmental degradation, and nuclear proliferation, no state, even a superpower like the United States, can go it alone. A threat to one is a threat to all. The responsibility and authority for maintaining international security lies with no one state, but with the community of states in the UN. The UN Charter aimed to establish an international system in which states cooperated to make the world more secure.

The future of the planet depends on our commitment to working together. We must deepen our commitment to international cooperation by reforming the UN to make it more democratic and just. In order for the UN to meet the challenges to international peace and security successfully, it must give all Member States a more equal voice in the UN's decisions. A UN that speaks for all its Member States will have the capability to take action against genocide or terrorism.

Today, notorious human rights abusers have seats on the UN Human Rights Commission, UN officials have been accused of corruption, and resolutions required for action against imminent crises can take years to take effect. Such shortcomings hurt the UN's credibility. We must hold the UN to higher standards of accountability and take necessary measures to make the organization efficient in its work. We must exercise leadership to spur the UN into action, and hold the UN to its founding principles.

Option 2 is based on the following beliefs

- The UN is the best-suited institution for addressing the transnational challenges of twenty-first century.

- A world grounded in strong democratic principles will make us more secure.

- Maintaining global security is the only way to ensure national security.

- The UN is a bloated bureaucratic organization that must be streamlined and held accountable.

- A more democratic UN can best address challenges to international peace and security.

What policies should the United States pursue?

- **Security Council:** We should support proposals for the expansion of the Security Council and aim to eliminate existing veto powers. We should support Security Council efforts on all pressing matters of international security.

- **Peacekeeping:** We should support the creation of a standby military force available to the UN for acting quickly in the face of threats.

- **International Courts and Treaties:** We should work with other countries to make and enforce more international treaties.

- **Commission on Human Rights:** We should admit only states that meet high human rights standards on the Commission for Human Rights.

- **Aid and Development:** We should promote human welfare by increasing funding and assistance to UN aid and development efforts.

From the Record

Supporting Voices

Brent Scowcroft, High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change panel member

“If we want our own security concerns to be recognized by the United Nations, ... we must recognize the security concerns of others. ...[F]or much of the world, it is not issues of global war. It is not issues of weapons of mass destruction attack and so on. It’s how they can continue to survive in the face of poverty, in the face of disease, and so on.”

Dumisani Kumalo, South African Ambassador to the UN

“[We must look seriously at] the fact that Africa doesn’t have a permanent member in the Security Council.... Permanent members of the Security Council set the agenda.”

Kenzo Oshima, Permanent Representative of Japan to the UN

“We have noted that our discussions concerning the Security Council indicate that an overwhelming majority of Member States, totaling some 120 countries, have expressed their support for the expansion of its membership in the permanent and non-permanent categories.”

Dato Seri Abdullah bin Haji Ahmad Badawi, Former Malaysian Minister of Foreign Affairs

“We must seek to remove—or at least, as a first step, restrict—the use of the veto power. Democracy in the United Nations is a mockery if the voice of the majority is rendered meaningless by the narrow interests of the dominant few.”

Richard Williamson, former state department official

“The goal is not to expand or not expand the Security Council. It’s what can make it more effective and efficient.... The world’s worst humanitarian crisis is in Darfur, Sudan; 200,000 people killed.... Yet the Security Council has not been able to act to pass sanctions because three of the members, two of whom are permanent members, are reluctant.”

Opposing Voices

He Hongze, Chinese commentator

“The internal affairs of one country can be solved only by the people of that country. The efforts of the international community can only be helpful or supplementary.”

Robert Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe

“Any attempt to refashion an exclusively political mandate for the United Nations will marginalize its role in development.”

Richard K. Betts, Professor of Political Science and Director of the Security Program at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs.

“Physicians have a motto that peace-makers would do well to adopt: ‘First, do no harm.’ Neither the United States nor the United Nations have quite grasped this. Since the end of the Cold War unleashed them to intervene in civil conflicts around the world, they have done reasonably well in some cases, but in others they have unwittingly prolonged suffering where they meant to relieve it.”

Francesco Paolo Fulci, Ambassador of Italy to the UN

“I think there is no possibility whatsoever, as things currently stand, for new permanent members in the Security Council. Do you ever imagine for a moment that Pakistan or Indonesia would accept India as a permanent member? Or Argentina or Mexico accepting Brazil as a permanent member?”

John Bolton, U.S. Ambassador to the UN

“Diplomacy is not an end in itself if it does not advance U.S. interests.”

Option 3: Scale Back the UN

The challenges facing the world in the twenty-first century cannot all be solved by a central, global organization. Developing strategic alliances can be important in some issues of our security, like world wars, terrorism, and weapons proliferation. Remaining challenges, such as education, hunger and health care, are not the responsibility of the international community but of state governments. The United Nations was designed to deal with cross-border conflicts. Since its founding, however, the organization has increased its scope to the point where many see its authority as outranking that of state governments. We must reduce the size and power of the UN and return primary authority to state governments.

The United States needs to strike a new balance between international and domestic issues—a balance that addresses the real security concerns of Americans. We must recognize that the peace and stability of the world is best served by respecting the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity. Our first loyalty is to the U.S. Constitution and to U.S. citizens. We must think of the safety and well-being of Americans at home. Crime, poverty, and a poor education system should be our focus. If we over-commit ourselves abroad, we ignore the needs of American citizens. We also risk creating more resentment abroad or sacrificing our economic interests by sticking America’s nose into problems around the world. Let us recall that our country’s founders sought to make the United States a model for the world, not its police officer.

Option 3 is based on the following beliefs

- The U.S. Constitution is the highest law of the United States.
- The United States can only rely on itself to guarantee its security.
- Meddling in the affairs of other countries stirs anti-U.S. resentment among the international community.
- The UN by nature is inefficient, corrupt and poorly managed.
- America’s notions of democracy and human rights count for little in most of the world.
- Attempts to solve other peoples’ problems are a waste of money and human resources.
- By continually aiding the poor, the UN only makes poor countries reliant on outside aid.

What policies should the United States pursue?

- **Security Council:** We should retain our veto power on the Security Council, but back away from our active role in initiating intervention.
- **Peacekeeping:** We should not commit troops to peacekeeping missions unless American lives are in danger.
- **International Courts and Treaties:** We should avoid entangling ourselves in unnecessary international treaties and keep our distance from international courts.
- **Commission on Human Rights:** We should oppose the creation of a Human Rights Council that would recommend troops for humanitarian interventions.
- **Aid and Development:** We should reduce spending on foreign aid and pour our tax dollars into programs that benefit U.S. citizens.

From the Record

Supporting Voices

Kim R. Holmes, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of International Organization Affairs

“The UN would do best to focus on what it does best, and not pretend to represent some nascent [emerging] global government.”

John Bolton, U.S. Ambassador to the UN

“The rest of the world should have realistic expectations that the United Nations has a limited role to play in international affairs for the foreseeable future.”

Jesse Helms, former U.S. Senator (R-NC), Chairman of Foreign Relations Committee, address to UN Security Council

“The American people do not want the UN to become an ‘entangling alliance.’ Americans look with alarm at UN claims to a monopoly on international moral legitimacy. They see this as a threat to the God-given freedoms of the American people, a claim of political authority over Americans without their consent.”

Bob Dole, former U.S. Senator (R-KA)

“American policies will be determined by us, not by the United Nations.”

Mitch McConnell, U.S. Senator (R-KY)

“No, we don’t turn our security and safety over to the UN. Occasionally working through the UN is useful. It gives us an opportunity to talk to other countries while they’re represented in New York. But the UN is in many ways a pretty big mess.”

Dana Rohrabacher, U.S. Congressman (R-CA)

“I don’t think U.N. bureaucrats should take it for granted that their headquarters will forever be in New York.... Maybe they should move to a place where they can feel philosophically comfortable, like a third-world dictatorship.”

Opposing Voices

Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General, “In Larger Freedom”

“[The UN’s] purpose was not to usurp the role of sovereign states but to enable states to serve their peoples better by working together.”

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Former UN Secretary General

“The centuries-old doctrine of absolute and exclusive sovereignty no longer stands, and was in fact never so absolute as it was conceived to be in theory. A major intellectual requirement of our time is to rethink the question of sovereignty.”

John Ruggie, UN official

“We all live on a small planet together. We have got to make this work together. This may be our last chance to put in place a comprehensive set of measures that provide for adequate collective responses to the challenges that we all face and that we can’t run away from because at the end of the day there’s no place else to go.”

Chuck Hagel, U.S. Senator (R-NE)

“The United Nations has a critical role to play in promoting stability, security, democracy, human rights, and economic development. The UN is as relevant today as at any time in its history, but it needs reform.”

Tarja Kaarina Halonen, President of Finland

“Where else but at the United Nations can we deal with the truly global issues such as the new security threats of...environmental degradation, violations of human rights and poverty? Given the nature of these issues, unilateral, bilateral or even regional efforts are of course good, but not enough. Not even the most prosperous and powerful nations on earth can successfully solve them alone. Only the United Nations has a global mandate and global legitimacy.”

Supplementary Documents

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948

On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the full text of which appears in the following pages. Following this historic act the Assembly called upon all Member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and “to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories.”

PREAMBLE

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have deter-

mined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1.

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2.

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3.

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and

security of person.

Article 4.

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5.

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6.

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7.

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8.

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10.

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11.

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier

penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13.

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14.

(1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15.

(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16.

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17.

(1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18.

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19.

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20.

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21.

(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22.

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free de-

velopment of his personality.

Article 23.

(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24.

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25.

(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26.

(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights

and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27.

(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28.

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29.

(1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30.

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

UN Millennium Development Goals

By 2015, all 191 Members of the United Nations have pledged to:

1) Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

- Reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day
- Reduce by half the proportion of people who suffer from hunger

2) Achieve universal primary education

- Ensure that all boys and girls complete a full course of primary school

3) Promote gender equality and empower women

- Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and at all levels by 2015

4) Reduce child mortality

- Reduce by two thirds the mortality rate among children under five

5) Improve maternal health

- Reduce by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio

6) Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases,

- Halt and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS
- Halt and begin to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases

7) Ensure environmental sustainability

- Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes; reverse loss of environmental resources
- Reduce by half the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water

- Achieve significant improvement in lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020

8) Develop a global partnership for development

- Develop further an open trading and financial system that is rule-based, predictable and non-discriminatory. Includes a commit-

ment to good governance, development and poverty reduction—nationally and internationally.

- Address the least developed countries' special needs. This includes tariff and quota-free access for their exports; enhanced debt relief for heavily indebted poor countries; cancellation of official bilateral debt; and more generous official development assistance for countries committed to poverty reduction
- Address the special needs of landlocked and small island developing States
- Deal comprehensively with developing countries' debt problems through national and international measures to make debt sustainable in the long term
- In cooperation with the developing countries, develop decent and productive work for youth
- In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable essential drugs in developing countries
- In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies—especially information and communications technologies.

Executive Summary to the Report of the Secretary General's High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change, December 2004

In his address to the General Assembly in September 2003, United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan warned Member States that the United Nations had reached a fork in the road. It could rise to the challenge of meeting new threats or it could risk erosion in the face of mounting discord between States and unilateral action by them. He created the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change to generate new ideas about the kinds of policies and institutions required for the UN to be effective in the 21st century.

In its report, the High-level Panel sets out a bold, new vision of collective security for the

21st century. We live in a world of new and evolving threats, threats that could not have been anticipated when the UN was founded in 1945—threats like nuclear terrorism, and State collapse from the witch's brew of poverty, disease and civil war.

In today's world, a threat to one is a threat to all. Globalization means that a major terrorist attack anywhere in the industrial world would have devastating consequences for the well-being of millions in the developing world. Any one of 700 million international airline passengers every year can be an unwitting carrier of a deadly infectious disease. And the erosion of State capacity anywhere in the world weakens the protection of every State against transnational threats such as terrorism and organized crime. Every State requires international cooperation to make it secure.

There are six clusters of threats with which the world must be concerned now and in the decades ahead:

- war between States;
- violence within States, including civil wars, large-scale human rights abuses and genocide;
- poverty, infectious disease and environmental degradation;
- nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological weapons;
- terrorism; and
- transnational organized crime.

The good news is that the United Nations and our collective security institutions have shown that they can work. More civil wars ended through negotiation in the past 15 years than the previous 200. In the 1960s, many believed that by now 15-25 States would possess nuclear weapons; the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty has helped prevent this. The World Health Organization helped to stop the spread of SARS before it killed tens of thousands, perhaps more.

But these accomplishments can be reversed. There is a real danger that they will be, unless we act soon to strengthen the United

Nations, so that in future it responds effectively to the full range of threats that confront us.

POLICIES FOR PREVENTION

Meeting the challenge of today's threats means getting serious about prevention; the consequences of allowing latent threats to become manifest, or of allowing existing threats to spread, are simply too severe.

Development has to be the first line of defence for a collective security system that takes prevention seriously. Combating poverty will not only save millions of lives but also strengthen States' capacity to combat terrorism, organized crime and proliferation. Development makes everyone more secure. There is an agreed international framework for how to achieve these goals, set out in the Millennium Declaration and the Monterrey Consensus, but implementation lags.

Biological security must be at the forefront of prevention. International response to HIV/AIDS was shockingly late and shamefully ill-resourced. It is urgent that we halt and roll back this pandemic. But we will have to do more. Our global public health system has deteriorated and is ill-equipped to protect us against existing and emerging deadly infectious diseases. The report recommends a major initiative to build public health capacity throughout the developing world, at both local and national levels. This will not only yield direct benefits by preventing and treating disease in the developing world itself, but will also provide the basis for an effective global defence against bioterrorism and overwhelming natural outbreaks of infectious disease.

Preventing wars within States and between them is also in the collective interest of all. If we are to do better in the future, the UN will need real improvements to its capacity for preventive diplomacy and mediation. We will have to build on the successes of regional organizations in developing strong norms to protect Governments from unconstitutional overthrow, and to protect minority rights. And we will have to work collectively to find new ways of regulating the management of natural

resources, competition for which often fuels conflict.

Preventing the spread and use of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons is essential if we are to have a more secure world. This means doing better at reducing demand for these weapons, and curbing the supply of weapons materials. It means living up to existing treaty commitments, including for negotiations towards disarmament. And it means enforcing international agreements. The report puts forward specific recommendations for the creation of incentives for States to forego the development of domestic uranium enrichment and reprocessing capacity. It urges negotiations for a new arrangement which would enable the International Atomic Energy Agency to act as a guarantor for the supply of fissile material to civilian nuclear users at market rates, and it calls on Governments to establish a voluntary time-limited moratorium on the construction of new facilities for uranium enrichment and reprocessing, matched by a guarantee of the supply of fissile materials by present suppliers.

Terrorism is a threat to all States, and to the UN as a whole. New aspects of the threat—including the rise of a global terrorist network, and the potential for terrorist use of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons—require new responses. The UN has not done all that it can. The report urges the United Nations to forge a strategy of counterterrorism that is respectful of human rights and the rule of law. Such a strategy must encompass coercive measures when necessary, and create new tools to help States combat the threat domestically. The report provides a clear definition of terrorism, arguing that it can never be justified, and calls on the General Assembly of the UN to overcome its divisions and finally conclude a comprehensive convention on terrorism.

The spread of transnational organized crime increases the risk of all the other threats. Terrorists use organized criminal groups to move money, men and materials around the globe. Governments and rebels sell natural resources through criminal groups to finance wars. States' capacity to establish the rule of

law is weakened by corruption. Combating organized crime is essential for helping States build the capacity to exercise their sovereign responsibilities—and in combating the hideous traffic in human beings.

RESPONSE TO THREATS

Of course, prevention sometimes fails. At times, threats will have to be met by military means.

The UN Charter provides a clear framework for the use of force. States have an inherent right to self-defence, enshrined in Article 51. Long-established customary international law makes it clear that States can take military action as long as the threatened attack is imminent, no other means would deflect it, and the action is proportionate. The Security Council has the authority to act preventively, but has rarely done so. The Security Council may well need to be prepared to be more proactive in the future, taking decisive action earlier. States that fear the emergence of distant threats have an obligation to bring these concerns to the Security Council.

The report endorses the emerging norm of a responsibility to protect civilians from large-scale violence—a responsibility that is held, first and foremost, by national authorities. When a State fails to protect its civilians, the international community then has a further responsibility to act, through humanitarian operations, monitoring missions and diplomatic pressure—and with force if necessary, though only as a last resort. And in the case of conflict or the use of force, this also implies a clear international commitment to rebuilding shattered societies.

Deploying military capacities—for peacekeeping as well as peace enforcement—has proved to be a valuable tool in ending wars and helping to secure States in their aftermath. But the total global supply of available peacekeepers is running dangerously low. Just to do an adequate job of keeping the peace in existing conflicts would require almost doubling the number of peacekeepers around the world. The developed States have particular respon-

sibilities to do more to transform their armies into units suitable for deployment to peace operations. And if we are to meet the challenges ahead, more States will have to place contingents on stand-by for UN purposes, and keep air transport and other strategic lift capacities available to assist peace operations.

When wars have ended, post-conflict peacebuilding is vital. The UN has often devoted too little attention and too few resources to this critical challenge. Successful peacebuilding requires the deployment of peacekeepers with the right mandates and sufficient capacity to deter would-be spoilers; funds for demobilization and disarmament, built into peacekeeping budgets; a new trust fund to fill critical gaps in rehabilitation and reintegration of combatants, as well as other early reconstruction tasks; and a focus on building State institutions and capacity, especially in the rule of law sector. Doing this job successfully should be a core function of the United Nations.

A UN FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

To meet these challenges, the UN needs its existing institutions to work better. This means revitalizing the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, to make sure they play the role intended for them, and restoring credibility to the Commission on Human Rights.

It also means increasing the credibility and effectiveness of the Security Council by making its composition better reflect today's realities. The report provides principles for reform, and two models for how to achieve them—one involving new permanent members with no veto, the other involving new four-year, renewable seats. It argues that any reforms must be reviewed in 2020.

We also need new institutions to meet evolving challenges. The report recommends the creation of a Peacebuilding Commission—a new mechanism within the UN, drawing on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, donors, and national authorities. Working closely with regional

organizations and the international financial institutions, such a commission could fill a crucial gap by giving the necessary attention to countries emerging from conflict. Outside the UN, a forum bringing together the heads of the 20 largest economies, developed and developing, would help the coherent management of international monetary, financial, trade and development policy.

Better collaboration with regional organizations is also crucial, and the report sets out a series of principles that govern a more structured partnership between them and the UN.

The report recommends strengthening the Secretary-General's critical role in peace and security. To be more effective, the Secretary-General should be given substantially more latitude to manage the Secretariat, and be held accountable. He also needs better support for his mediation role, and new capacities to develop effective peacebuilding strategy. He currently has one Deputy Secretary-General; with a second, responsible for peace and security, he would have the capacity to ensure oversight of both the social, economic and development functions of the UN, and its many peace and security functions.

THE WAY FORWARD

The report is the start, not the end, of a process. The year 2005 will be a crucial opportunity for Member States to discuss and build on the recommendations in the report, some of which will be considered by a summit of heads of State. But building a more secure world takes much more than a report or a summit. It will take resources commensurate with the scale of the challenges ahead; commitments that are long-term and sustained; and, most of all, it will take leadership—from within States, and between them.

IN LARGER FREEDOM: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All Kofi Annan, March 2005

INTRODUCTION: A HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY IN 2005

In September 2005, world leaders will come together at a summit in New York to review progress since the Millennium Declaration, adopted by all Member States in 2000. The Secretary-General's report proposes an agenda to be taken up, and acted upon, at the summit. These are policy decisions and reforms that are actionable if the necessary political will can be garnered.

Events since the Millennium Declaration demand that consensus be revitalized on key challenges and priorities and converted into collective action. The guiding light in doing so must be the needs and hopes of people everywhere. The world must advance the causes of security, development and human rights together, otherwise none will succeed. Humanity will not enjoy security without development, it will not enjoy development without security, and it will not enjoy either without respect for human rights.

In a world of inter-connected threats and opportunities, it is in each country's self-interest that all of these challenges are addressed effectively. Hence, the cause of larger freedom can only be advanced by broad, deep and sustained global cooperation among States. The world needs strong and capable States, effective partnerships with civil society and the private sector, and agile and effective regional and global intergovernmental institutions to mobilize and coordinate collective action. The United Nations must be reshaped in ways not previously imagined, and with a boldness and speed not previously shown.

I. FREEDOM FROM WANT

The last 25 years have seen the most dramatic reduction in extreme poverty the world has ever experienced. Yet dozens of countries

have become poorer. More than a billion people still live on less than a dollar a day. Each year, 3 million people die from HIV/AIDS and 11 million children die before reaching their fifth birthday.

Today's is the first generation with the resources and technology to make the right to development a reality for everyone and to free the entire human race from want. There is a shared vision of development. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which range from halving extreme poverty to putting all children into primary school and stemming the spread of infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS, all by 2015, have become globally accepted benchmarks of broader progress, embraced by donors, developing countries, civil society and major development institutions alike.

The MDGs can be met by 2015—but only if all involved break with business as usual and dramatically accelerate and scale up action now.

In 2005, a “global partnership for development”—one of the MDGs reaffirmed in 2002 at the International Conference on Financing for Development at Monterrey, Mexico and the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, South Africa—needs to be fully implemented. That partnership is grounded in mutual responsibility and accountability—developing countries must strengthen governance, combat corruption, promote private sector-led growth and maximize domestic resources to fund national development strategies, while developed countries must support these efforts through increased development assistance, a new development-oriented trade round and wider and deeper debt relief.

The following are priority areas for action in 2005:

National strategies: Each developing country with extreme poverty should by 2006 adopt and begin to implement a national development strategy bold enough to meet the MDG targets for 2015. Each strategy needs to take into account seven broad “clusters” of public investments and policies: gender equal-

ity, the environment, rural development, urban development, health systems, education, and science, technology and innovation.

Financing for development: Global development assistance must be more than doubled over the next few years. This does not require new pledges from donor countries, but meeting pledges already made. Each developed country that has not already done so should establish a timetable to achieve the 0.7% target of gross national income for official development assistance no later than 2015, starting with significant increases no later than 2006, and reaching 0.5% by 2009. The increase should be front-loaded through an International Finance Facility, and other innovative sources of financing should be considered for the longer term. The Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria must be fully funded and the resources provided for an expanded comprehensive strategy of prevention and treatment to fight HIV/AIDS. These steps should be supplemented by immediate action to support a series of “Quick Wins”—relatively inexpensive, high-impact initiatives with the potential to generate major short-term gains and save millions of lives, such as free distribution of anti-malarial bednets.

Trade: The Doha round of trade negotiations should fulfill its development promise and be completed no later than 2006. As a first step, Member States should provide duty-free and quota-free market access for all exports from the Least Developed Countries.

Debt relief: Debt sustainability should be redefined as the level of debt that allows a country to achieve the MDGs and to reach 2015 without an increase in debt ratios.

New action is also needed to ensure environmental sustainability. Scientific advances and technological innovation must be mobilized now to develop tools for mitigating climate change, and a more inclusive international framework must be developed for stabilizing greenhouse gas emissions beyond the expiry of the Kyoto Protocol in 2012, with broader participation by all major emitters and both developed and developing countries.

Concrete steps are also required on desertification and biodiversity.

Other priorities for global action include stronger mechanisms for infectious disease surveillance and monitoring, a world-wide early warning system on natural disasters, support for science and technology for development, support for regional infrastructure and institutions, reform of international financial institutions, and more effective cooperation to manage migration for the benefit of all.

II. FREEDOM FROM FEAR

While progress on development is hampered by weak implementation, on the security side, despite a heightened sense of threat among many, the world lacks even a basic consensus—and implementation, where it occurs, is all too often contested.

The Secretary-General fully embraces a broad vision of collective security. The threats to peace and security in the 21st century include not just international war and conflict, but terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, organized crime and civil violence. They also include poverty, deadly infectious disease and environmental degradation, since these can have equally catastrophic consequences. All of these threats can cause death or lessen life chances on a large scale. All of them can undermine States as the basic unit of the international system.

Collective security today depends on accepting that the threats each region of the world perceives as most urgent are in fact equally so for all. These are not theoretical issues, but ones of deadly urgency.

The United Nations must be transformed into the effective instrument for preventing conflict that it was always meant to be, by acting on several key policy and institutional priorities:

Preventing catastrophic terrorism: States should commit to a comprehensive anti-terrorism strategy based on five pillars: dissuading people from resorting to terrorism or support-

ing it; denying terrorists access to funds and materials; deterring States from sponsoring terrorism; developing State capacity to defeat terrorism; and defending human rights. They should conclude a comprehensive convention on terrorism, based on a clear and agreed definition. They should also complete, without delay, the convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism.

Nuclear, chemical and biological weapons: Progress on both disarmament and non-proliferation are essential. On disarmament, nuclear-weapon States should further reduce their arsenals of non-strategic nuclear weapons and pursue arms control agreements that entail not just dismantlement but irreversibility, reaffirm their commitment to negative security assurances, and uphold the moratorium on nuclear test explosions. On non-proliferation, the International Atomic Energy Agency's verification authority must be strengthened through universal adoption of the Model Additional Protocol, and States should commit themselves to complete, sign and implement a fissile material cut-off treaty.

Reducing the prevalence and risk of war: Currently, half the countries emerging from violent conflict revert to conflict within five years. Member States should create an inter-governmental Peacebuilding Commission, as well as a Peacebuilding Support Office within the UN Secretariat, so that the UN system can better meet the challenge of helping countries successfully complete the transition from war to peace. They should also take steps to strengthen collective capacity to employ the tools of mediation, sanctions and peacekeeping (including a "zero tolerance" policy on sexual exploitation of minors and other vulnerable people by members of peacekeeping contingents, to match the policy enacted by the Secretary-General).

Use of force: The Security Council should adopt a resolution setting out the principles to be applied in decisions relating to the use of force and express its intention to be guided by them when deciding whether to authorize or mandate the use of force.

Other priorities for global action include more effective cooperation to combat organized crime, to prevent illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, and to remove the scourge of landmines which still kill and maim innocent people and hold back development in nearly half the world's countries.

III. FREEDOM TO LIVE IN DIGNITY

In the Millennium Declaration, Member States said they would spare no effort to promote democracy and strengthen the rule of law, as well as respect for all internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms. And over the last six decades, an impressive treaty-based normative framework has been advanced.

But without implementation, these declarations ring hollow. Without action, promises are meaningless. People who face war crimes find no solace in the unimplemented words of the Geneva Conventions. Treaties prohibiting torture are cold comfort to prisoners abused by their captors, particularly if the international human rights machinery enables those responsible to hide behind friends in high places. War-weary populations despair when, even though a peace agreement has been signed, there is little progress towards government under the rule of law. Solemn commitments to strengthen democracy remain empty words to those who have never voted for their rulers, and who see no sign that things are changing.

Therefore, the normative framework that has been so impressively advanced over the last six decades must be strengthened. Even more important, concrete steps are required to reduce selective application, arbitrary enforcement and breach without consequence. The world must move from an era of legislation to implementation.

Action is called for in the following priority areas:

Rule of law: The international community should embrace the “responsibility to protect,” as a basis for collective action against genocide, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. All treaties relating to the

protection of civilians should be ratified and implemented. Steps should be taken to strengthen cooperation with the International Criminal Court and other international or mixed war crimes tribunals, and to strengthen the International Court of Justice. The Secretary-General also intends to strengthen the Secretariat's capacity to assist national efforts to re-establish the rule of law in conflict and post-conflict societies.

Human rights: The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights should be strengthened with more resources and staff, and should play a more active role in the deliberations of the Security Council and of the proposed Peacebuilding Commission. The human rights treaty bodies of the UN system should also be rendered more effective and responsive.

Democracy: A Democracy Fund should be created at the UN to provide assistance to countries seeking to establish or strengthen their democracy.

IV. STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS

While purposes should be firm and constant, practice and organization need to move with the times. If the UN is to be a useful instrument for its Member States, and for the world's peoples, in responding to the challenges laid out in the previous three parts, it must be fully adapted to the needs and circumstances of the 21st century.

A great deal has been achieved since 1997 in reforming the internal structures and culture of the United Nations. But many more changes are needed, both in the executive branch—the Secretariat and the wider UN system—and in the UN's intergovernmental organs:

General Assembly: The General Assembly should take bold measures to streamline its agenda and speed up the deliberative process. It should concentrate on the major substantive issues of the day, and establish mechanisms to engage fully and systematically with civil society.

Security Council: The Security Council should be broadly representative of the realities of power in today's world. The Secretary-General supports the principles for reform set out in the report of the High-level Panel, and urges Member States to consider the two options, Models A and B, presented in that report, or any other viable proposals in terms of size and balance that have emerged on the basis of either Model. Member States should agree to take a decision on this important issue before the Summit in September 2005.

Economic and Social Council: The Economic and Social Council should be reformed so that it can effectively assess progress in the UN's development agenda, serve as a high-level development cooperation forum, and provide direction for the efforts of the various intergovernmental bodies in the economic and social area throughout the UN system.

Proposed Human Rights Council: The Commission on Human Rights suffers from declining credibility and professionalism, and is in need of major reform. It should be replaced by a smaller standing Human Rights Council, as a principal organ of the United Nations or subsidiary of the General Assembly, whose members would be elected directly by the General Assembly, by a two-thirds majority of members present and voting.

The Secretariat: The Secretary-General will take steps to re-align the Secretariat's structure to match the priorities outlined in the report, and will create a cabinet-style decision-making mechanism. He requests Member

States to give him the authority and resources to pursue a one-time staff buy-out to refresh and re-align staff to meet current needs, to cooperate in a comprehensive review of budget and human resources rules, and to commission a comprehensive review of the Office of Internal Oversight Services to strengthen its independence and authority.

Other priorities include creating better system coherence by strengthening the role of Resident Coordinators, giving the humanitarian response system more effective stand-by arrangements, and ensuring better protection of internally displaced people. Regional organizations, particularly the African Union, should be given greater support. The Charter itself should also be updated to abolish the "enemy clauses," the Trusteeship Council and the Military Staff Committee, all of which are outdated.

CONCLUSION: OPPORTUNITY AND CHALLENGE

It is for the world community to decide whether this moment of uncertainty presages wider conflict, deepening inequality and the erosion of the rule of law, or is used to renew institutions for peace, prosperity and human rights. Now is the time to act. The annex to the report lists specific items for consideration by Heads of State and Government. Action on them is possible. It is within reach. From pragmatic beginnings could emerge a visionary change of direction for the world.

Supplementary Resources

Books

Emmerij, Louis, Richard Jolly, and Thomas G. Weiss. *Ahead of the Curve?: UN Ideas and Global Change*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001). 280 pages.

Luck, Edward C. *Mixed Messages: American Politics and International Organization, 1919-1999*. (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1999). 374 pages.

Moore, Jonathan. *Hard Choices: Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention*. (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999). 336 pages.

Power, Samantha. *"A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide*. (New York: Basic Books, 2002). 610 pages.

Weiss, Thomas G., David P. Forsythe, and Roger A. Coate. *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001). 334 pages.

World Wide Web

Council on Foreign Relations <<http://www.cfr.org/issue/>>

Information from the Council on Foreign Relations on a wide range of international topics.

The United Nations <www.un.org>

Official web site of the United Nations. Links to UN resolutions, reports, flow charts and Member State homepages.

U.S. Department of State <<http://www.state.gov/p/io/>> and <<http://www.un.int/usa/>>
Information on U.S. government policies at the UN.

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The United Nations: Challenges and Change

The United Nations: Challenges and Change provides an overview of the history of the UN, focuses on the organization's role in the world, and explores the ongoing debate about its role in U.S. foreign policy as well as how the UN might evolve.

The United Nations: Challenges and Change is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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The United Nations: Challenges and Change



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The United Nations: Challenges and Change is part of a continuing series on international public policy issues. New units are published each academic year and all units are updated regularly.

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THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROGRAM is a program of the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University. CHOICES was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgement on policy issues.



The Watson Institute for International Studies was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners who are committed to analyzing contemporary global problems and developing initiatives to address them.

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The Choices Approach to Current Issues

Choices curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using a student-centered approach, Choices units develop critical thinking and an understanding of the significance of history in our lives today—essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Teachers say the collaboration and interaction in Choices units are highly motivating for students. Studies consistently demonstrate that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material. Cooperative learning invites students to take pride in their own contributions and in the group product, enhancing students' confidence as learners. Research demonstrates that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than those using a lecture-discussion format. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Choices units on current issues include student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- engage in informed discussion
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, deliberative discourse, persuasive writing, and informed civic participation. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies.

The Organization of a Choices Unit

Introducing the Background: Each Choices curriculum resource provides historical background and student-centered lesson plans that explore critical issues. This historical foundation prepares students to analyze a range of perspectives and then to deliberate about possible approaches to contentious policy issues.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: Each Choices unit has a framework of three or four divergent policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives. Students understand and analyze the options through a role play and the dialogue that follows.

• **Role Play:** The setting of the role play varies, and may be a Congressional hearing, a meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. Each group, in turn, is challenged with questions from classmates.

• **Deliberation:** After the options have been presented and students clearly understand the differences among them, students enter into deliberative dialogue in which they analyze together the merits and trade-offs of the alternatives presented; explore shared concerns as well as conflicting values, interests, and priorities; and begin to articulate their own views.

For further information see <www.choices.edu/deliberation.cfm>.

Exercising Citizenship: Armed with fresh insights from the role play and the deliberation, students articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values and goals. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Note To Teachers

At the turn of the twenty-first century, the United Nations lay at the center of world affairs. With 191 Member States and a vast network of global agencies, the UN undertakes work ranging from environmental regulation to refugee resettlement. Since Franklin Roosevelt steered the UN's formation, the United States has provided leadership and wielded unmatched influence within the United Nations. Today, as the international community debates changes to the UN, the United States must consider the role it will play within the organization. Behind this question is the more fundamental question of how the UN should fit into future international affairs.

The United Nations: Challenges and Change introduces students to the idea of “collective security,” tracing the emergence of the League of Nations to the formation of the United Nations. This historical background prepares students to consider the record of the United Nations since it came into being. Students will examine the UN's role in the world through an evaluation of three areas of UN work—the Security Council, peacekeeping, and the Commission on Human Rights. Each of these sections draws on case studies to foster thoughtful consideration of the UN's achievements and shortcomings.

•**Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan:** The Teacher Resource Book accompanying *The United Nations: Challenges and Change* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The lesson plan opens with an activity asking students to compare the League of Nations and the United Nations, paying special attention to the values underlying each organization. An alternative Day One lesson provides students with an opportunity to write a charter in the image of the UN Charter. On

Day Two students assume the role of a UN Member State in the General Assembly and debate the passage of a resolution proposing to intervene in a fictional South American conflict. Days Three and Four are dedicated to a new and culminating role-play, which takes place on the floor of the U.S. Senate. On Day Five, students work in small groups to deliberate and refine individual proposals for UN reform.

•**Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of background reading is accompanied by two study guides. The standard study guide helps students harvest the information from the background readings in preparation for analysis and synthesis in class. The advanced study guide requires the student to tackle analysis and synthesis prior to class activities.

•**Vocabulary and Concepts:** The background reading addresses subjects that are complex and challenging. To help your students get the most out of the text, you may want to review with them “Key Terms” found in the Teacher Resource Book (TRB) on page TRB-36 before they begin their assignment. An “Issues Toolbox” is also included on page TRB 37-38. This provides additional information on key concepts.

•**Primary Source Documents:** Materials are included in the student text (pages 30-41) that can be used to supplement lessons.

•**Additional Online Resources:** More resources are available on the web at <www.choices.edu/un.cfm>.

The lesson plans offered here are provided as a guide. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you tailor the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating this Unit into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program are designed to be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about where *The United Nations: Challenges and Change* might fit into your curriculum.

U.S. History/Government: The founding of the United Nations at the end of World War II marked a new stage in American history and U.S. foreign policy. U.S. leadership has played a defining role in the UN since its 1945 beginning. From President Roosevelt’s authorship of the organization’s founding documents, through the tense years of the Cold War, to the controversial peacekeeping missions and Security Council decisions of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, the UN has been shaped by the attitudes and policies of the United States. Through an examination of the history of the UN as an organization, and a close look at some of the UN’s recent successes and failures, students can understand the integral role the United States has played in the UN. They will enter the current debates around the UN aware of the potential for U.S. influence in the process and conscious of how UN reforms will affect the United States.

World History: The death and catastrophes of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century—AIDS, genocides, civil conflict, terrorism, and starvation—beg questions about the history of how today’s world came into being. *The United Nations: Challenges and Change* focuses on the development of a system of international cooperation, analyzing how the current situations in countries around the world have been shaped by this organization of states. In tracing the evolution of the

UN, students will follow shifts in the balance of world power. The current discussion over possible reforms to the United Nations marks an important moment in world history. States are demanding that the UN reflect the views of more countries. Students will enter into this debate and begin to think about how different U.S. foreign policy decisions have and will continue to affect the course of world history.

Global Studies/Current Issues: The transnational security threats of terrorism, infectious disease, nuclear proliferation, environmental degradation, and poverty occupy leading spots in the news today. *The United Nations: Challenges and Change* helps students to understand how the UN is uniquely situated to address such problems. It also introduces them to the challenges faced by the organization as it enters the twenty-first century. Students will have the chance, through readings, case studies, and two role-plays, to view the current controversy about the role of the UN from a variety of perspectives before defining their own views.

International Relations: In *The United Nations: Challenges and Change* students learn about the making and breaking of treaties, the legitimization of war, the tensions involved in upholding international standards, and the challenge of mobilizing political will. Students examine how and why the UN came to be, and begin to understand how the organization functions. The unit illustrates the implications of organizing an international system of sovereign states. A series of contemporary case studies allows students to see international relations at work.

Comparing the League and the UN

Objectives:

Students will: Draw historical comparisons between the League of Nations and the UN.

Assess the priorities on which the League of Nations and the UN were founded and consider their own priorities regarding international relations.

Define key terms.

Handouts:

Comparing the League and the UN (TRB-7)

Required Reading:

Before beginning the lesson, Students should have read the Introduction and Part I in the student text (pages 1-7) and completed Study Guide—Part I (TRB 4-5) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part I” (TRB-6).

In the Classroom:

1. Group Work: Divide students into small groups. Ask each student to fill out questions 1-2 of the handout with help from the group.

2. Establishing Priorities: Instruct students

to complete question 3 individually once they have completed the preceding questions.

3. Tallying Responses: Read the list of “priorities” terms to the class, asking students to raise their hands for the values they listed first. For each term, ask those students whose hands are raised to explain their reasoning for prioritizing it first.

4. Comparing Responses: Allow students to ask questions of one another. Encourage students to ask questions seeking elaboration rather than placing judgement. For example, a good question might be:

When, if ever, should the international community overstep a state’s sovereignty and intervene in its domestic affairs?

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the background reading in the student text (pages 8-22) and complete “Study Guide—Part II (TRB 13-14), or “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-15)

Study Guide—Part I

1. Some Americans question whether the _____ helps or _____ U.S. foreign policy.

Internationally, much discussion about the UN's future involves the question of U.S.

_____ with the organization.

2. A _____ is a group of people who are united by a common _____, _____,

_____, or _____. A _____ is a system of _____

that presides over a defined _____.

3. To what organization does the term “conscience of the world” refer? Who introduced this term?

4. List three leading reasons why the League of Nations failed.

a.

b.

c.

5. Which U.S. president led the international community in organizing the United Nations?

6. When and where was the UN Charter signed?

When:

Where:

7. The first underlying principle of the United Nations Charter is the _____ of all Member

States. Governments support the UN on the condition that their _____ to _____

___ themselves will be respected.

Name: _____

8. Fill in the following chart:

UN Organ	What it does

9. Which five states hold permanent seats on the Security Council?

10. What is needed for a resolution to be passed on the Security Council?

11. By 1990, how had the UN changed since it was founded?

Comparing the League and the UN

Instructions: Working in groups, complete questions 1 and 2. Working independently, complete question 3. When you are finished with question 3, compare your responses to those of others in your group.

1. Fill in the table below, referring to the background reading as needed.

	League of Nations	United Nations
What was the historical context for the organization's beginning?		
How did the organization propose to achieve international peace?		
Which countries were leading players in the writing of the founding document?		
Identify two leading criticisms of each organization.	a. b.	a. b.

2. Define in one sentence each of the following terms and indicate whether the term is identified with the League of Nations, the United Nations, both, or neither:

a. territorial integrity:

b. state sovereignty:

c. isolationism:

d. self-determination:

e. human rights:

f. collective security:

3. You are among a small group of individuals forging a new international organization. Your organization's objective, like that of the United Nations and the League of Nations before it, is to achieve international peace. What ideas will you prioritize in the founding of your organization? List three terms from terms in question 2, in order of priority. In one sentence explain why you prioritized each as you have.

a.

b.

c.

Writing a Charter

Objectives:

Students will: Work cooperatively to write a charter.

Reflect on the process of charter-writing with respect to the founding of the United Nations.

Handouts:

“Writing a Charter” (TRB-10)

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part I in the student text (pages 1-7) and completed Study Guide—Part I (TRB 4-5) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part I” (TRB-6).

In the Classroom:

1. Getting started: Read through the instructions as a class and assign students to groups of four.

2. Group work: Explain to students that each group will write a charter for a high school sports conference. Instruct students to brainstorm and write as a group. Encourage

students to participate actively and listen carefully.

3. Comparing charters: Ask the presenter of each group to read the group’s charter to the class. After all groups have presented, make a chart on the board in which students can identify the similarities and differences among the charters. Encourage students to ask questions for clarification or elaboration of other groups.

4. Making connections: Ask students to reflect on the charter writing process. What was most difficult? Were there differences of opinion that could not be resolved? Were all members pleased with the end product? Ask students to consider the context of the drafting of the UN Charter. What similar challenges might the drafters have faced? What further challenges did the drafters face? How might these challenges and differences of opinion have affected the language used in the charter?

Suggestions:

You may also choose to read through the instructions and assign groups on the previous day to allow more time for the activity.

Writing a Charter

Instructions: Your small group is a committee of high school administrators representing a conference of schools in the city of Watsonville. The conference consists of five high schools. All the schools are known for their outstanding athletics. In recent years, however, the sports conference has faced growing concerns about poor sportsmanship among athletes and fans. Sporting events across the board have become aggressive on the field and overly rowdy in the stands. Two schools, in fact, refuse to shake hands after sporting events. Your committee has been appointed to create a conference sportsmanship organization to address this troubling situation before it worsens. The organization will create and enforce a code of sportsmanship for the conference. All students, parents, coaches, and other community members are welcome to take part in the organization. The organization's codes for sporting events will be binding for all athletes and spectators in the district.

Your job is to write the first chapter of the organization's founding document. Your charter should be approximately one page in length. It should outline the purpose of the organization, how it will achieve its aims, and the rules it will enforce. You may want to refer to Chapter 1, "Purposes and Principles," of the Charter of the United Nations in the Supplementary Documents for ideas about how to state your principles. Your charter should not be simply a list of rules. Think also about how these codes of conduct will be enforced. By whom and with what consequences? Additionally, think about activities and programs that you may implement to improve sportsmanship, for example starting a conference sportsmanship award at each sporting event.

Getting started: Your group should work collaboratively. Begin by brainstorming the goals of your organization. Then do the same thing for ideas about how the organization should work. Do the same to gather ideas for specific rules, and how they will be enforced. Your group should contain a leader, a brainstormer, a scribe, and a presenter. The **leader** is responsible for getting the group started and keeping it on task. The **brainstormer** is responsible for making sure everyone's voice is heard and for writing down the ideas. The **scribe** is responsible for transcribing the charter to paper. You will write as a group. Finally, the **presenter** will present your charter to the rest of the class.

Questions to address:

1. What are the purposes and principles of your organization?
2. What are the rules?
3. What will be the consequences for players or crowd members who break these rules?
4. Who will have the authority to enforce the consequences? Individual schools? School district officials?
5. What types of programs will you institute to encourage good sportsmanship? Who will oversee such programs?

Role-Playing a UN Decision

Objectives:

Students will: Examine a hypothetical crisis from the perspective of another country.

Interpret the implications of a hypothetical UN resolution on the international community.

Explore and deliberate the possible responses to a hypothetical crisis.

Evaluate the UN decision-making system from a variety of perspectives.

Handouts:

“Coping with Crisis” (TRB-16)

“Security Council Resolution #9737” (TRB 17-18)

“UN Member State Profiles” (TRB 19-24)

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II of the student text (pages 8-22) and completed the “Study Guide—Part II (TRB 13-14). or “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-15).

In the Classroom:

1. Briefing the Students—Distribute the country profiles, “Security Council Resolution #9737”) and “Coping with Crisis” to students. Assign each student the role of a UN Member State described in the profiles.

2. Reading the Resolution—After students have read “Coping with Crisis,” read “Security Council Resolution #9737” as a class or in small groups. Much of the class period will be spent reading, comprehending, and discussing the resolution as a group. Inform students that the resolution is written in the language of real Security Council resolutions and may be challenging. Direct students to Articles #4 and #5 for the crux of the resolution. This, like most resolutions, is more declarative than procedural. The thrust of the resolution as outlined in Article #5 simply calls on countries to impose economic sanctions.

3. Taking a position—Have students read their assigned country profiles. Ask students to jot down their ideas about whether or not their countries would support the resolution. Remind students that while there is no right answer, they should base their comments on the background provided in the country profiles. Divide students into groups according to the regional blocs. In those groups, each student should present his or her country’s reaction to the crisis and position regarding the resolution. Taking into consideration that only one country from each regional bloc will have a vote on the Security Council, students should use the remaining time to advocate for their interests, lobbying with other members of the regional bloc for a vote. (Students do not yet know which country in their regional bloc will have a vote on the Security Council.)

4. Preparing for the vote—After you have reconvened as a class, take a vote of all students on the passage of the resolution. This represents a General Assembly vote. Next, the students representing the five permanent members of the Security Council should be asked to move to the front of the classroom. Choose the non-permanent members by selecting one country from each regional area (Asia, Africa, Latin America, Western Europe, and Eastern Europe). For example, you may ask the students representing Indonesia, Tanzania, Brazil, Norway, and Romania.

5. The Security Council vote—Remind students that the make-up of the Security Council in this role-play is not accurate—the actual council has fifteen rather than ten members and some regions send more than one non-permanent member to the council. Also, remind each permanent member of their right to veto, but also of the fact that states rarely do so. Conduct the voting. Altogether the two rounds of voting should last only a few minutes.

6. Debriefing—Reflect with students on the UN voting process. Note whether the Security Council’s decision was different or the same as the General Assembly’s vote. Ask students

to identify the countries whose votes had the most influence. Which had the least? Ask students whose assigned countries did not have a vote on the Security Council whether or not the final decision reflected the concerns they had voiced. Finally, ask students to express their opinions about the UN voting process and identify ways in which the process might be improved.

Suggestions:

In smaller classes, you may need to cut a few of the countries. Make sure not to eliminate any of the permanent members of the Security Council, and make sure to keep at least one country from each of the UN regional

groupings (Asia, Africa, Latin America, Western Europe and Eastern Europe). If you have large classes, you may assign two students to one country profile.

Time permitting, you may adapt the lesson to take place over two days. On Day One students read the resolution, and come to a position as the country they have been asked to represent. Day Two is used for students to lobby, negotiate, and converse amongst themselves before the votes are taken.

Homework:

Students should read “Options in Brief” in the Student Text (page-23).

Name: _____

Study Guide—Part II

1. Identify the key question corresponding to each of these issues surrounding UN reform.

a. Representation:

b. Mandate:

c. Effectiveness:

2. In 1991, the _____ imposed economic _____ against Iraq and later authorized the use of _____ to drive the Iraqi army out of _____.

3. One of the four _____ of the UN is to strengthen international order through greater respect for _____ and other _____.

4. In 2003, the five _____ of the Security Council were torn on whether to continue the _____ or take military action against _____ regime.

5. What are two of the Millennium Development Goals?

a.

b.

6. What was the aim of the UN peacekeeping mission in Bosnia?

7. What happened at Srebrenica?

Name: _____

8. What did the UN peacekeeping mission in East Timor do that no UN mission had ever attempted to do before?

9. What has been the greatest achievement of the UN Commission on Human Rights?

10. List five of the major elements of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.

11. The UN declared the situation in Darfur, Sudan a _____ but not a _____.

12. Why has Secretary General Kofi Annan suggested replacing the Commission for Human Rights? With what would it be replaced?

Name: _____

Advanced Study Guide—Part II

1. Why is the United States central to the debates about the future of the United Nations?
2. Why did the lead-up to the 2003 Iraq war raise questions about the UN Security Council?
3. How does peacekeeping differ from “peace enforcement”?
4. Why is the membership of the UN Commission on Human Rights highly controversial?

Coping with Crisis

The recent kidnapping of Avaroanian Vice President Mitu has focused the international community's attention on Avaroa, a small, oil-producing South American country. Blamed on guerilla forces, the kidnapping is just one in a series of attacks against the Avaroan government. Leadership of the state has changed hands six times in the last decade, and the newly elected government has a shaky hold on Avaroa, especially in its rural areas. An emerging democracy, the government still employs political violence and intimidation as tools for maintaining control. The current president is a former general whose association with a militia group that kills unarmed civilians is thought to have been a coercive factor in his election.

In an attempt to solidify its power, the government has created laws prohibiting freedom of expression, coming down particularly hard on anyone who speaks out against the government. This denial of freedom of expression, coupled with the country's lack of stable infrastructure and public transportation, cripples communication between Avaroan citizens who wish to organize against the government. News about the state's rampant human rights abuses travels slowly; average citizens are either unaware of the atrocities being committed outside their communities, or they are scared into silence. Those who work to ensure basic human rights are seen as anti-government and become the targets of harassment and sometimes violence. Reported human rights abuses include kidnapping of journalists, prohibitions on labor organizations, state control over the courts, abuse of prisoners, state control over the media, and widespread use of child soldiers.

A petroleum-rich nation, Avaroa's economy is at the mercy of constantly fluctuating oil prices. Because the government controls the oil industry, guerillas engage in drug-trafficking to finance their operations. A number of Latin American economies benefit from the chaos of this unstable state because it creates informal markets through which they can easily move and obtain drugs.

Leading up to the vice-president's kidnapping, guerilla forces had claimed a number of villages in the country. Possibly due to the general public's fear of speaking out against the state, the guerillas do not have the popular support needed to overthrow the government. Instead they employ terrorist tactics to scare the Avaroa government.

Loosely organized armies of militant civilians are growing in number and strength. These militia forces are not officially government-sponsored, yet they enjoy close ties to the military and it is clear that the government has turned a blind eye to their criminal actions. The government's informal backing of such groups accounts for the violent enforcement of laws prohibiting freedom of expression.

Violence in the rural areas of Avaroa is widespread and deadly. Hundreds of civilians have been massacred in attacks by the paramilitary groups and by the guerillas. Terror has forced a number of civilians to flee across the borders, taking refuge in neighboring countries. A few such countries have sought UN aid to support them in caring for the influx of refugees in the past two years.

Security Council Draft Resolution #9737

Note to students: This resolution is written in the style and language of actual UN Security Council resolutions. You may find the language challenging. As you read, keep in mind that much of the text in this resolution is unnecessary to understanding the thrust of the resolution. Ask yourself, what specific actions does the resolution call on member states to take? What is the core message?

United States of America, United Kingdom: draft resolution

The Security Council,

Deeply troubled by recent developments in Avaroa, particularly the kidnapping of Vice President Mitu by rebel groups and by the fact that violent militia groups have claimed connections to the Government of Avaroa, expresses its intention to consider appropriate measures that might be taken against those individuals who threaten peace and the democratic process in Avaroa;

Condemning all violence, as well as violations of human rights, particularly against the civilian population;

Affirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Avaroa and its neighboring States;

Noting, with concern, that repeated acts of instability and unrest threaten efforts towards sustainable social and economic development;

Underlining that the Government of Avaroa and national authorities must remain committed to the promotion of the rule of law and human rights,

Noting that obstacles remain to Avaroa stability, and determining that the situation in this country constitutes a threat to international peace and security in the region;

Reaffirming its full commitment to ensuring peace and stability in Avaroa;

1. *Urges* the Government of Avaroa and all

parties concerned in the region to denounce the use of and incitement to violence, to condemn unequivocally violations of human rights and of international humanitarian law

2. *Demands* that the Government of Avaroa end the climate of impunity in Avaroa by identifying and bringing to justice all those responsible for the widespread human rights abuses and violations of international humanitarian law and insists that the Government of Avaroa take all appropriate steps to stop all violence and atrocities, and further requests the Secretary General to report in 30 days, and monthly thereafter, to the Council on the progress or lack thereof by the Government of Avaroa on this matter and expresses its intention to consider further actions on the Government of Avaroa, in the event of non-compliance;

3. *Affirms* that internally displaced persons, refugees and other vulnerable peoples should be allowed to return to their homes voluntarily, in safety and with dignity, and only when adequate assistance and security are in place;

4. *Calls* upon all states to take urgent, effective measures to terminate all collaboration with the abusive government of Avaroa in the political, economic, trade, military and nuclear fields and to refrain from entering into other relations with that government in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

5. *Requests* all States, pending the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Avaroa, to take legislative, administrative and other measures, individually or collectively, as appropriate, to isolate Avaroa politically, economically, militarily and culturally, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

6. *Encourages* all Avaroa parties to engage in dialogue in a spirit of compromise with a view to a lasting political solution;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep it informed on a regular basis of develop-

ments in the situation of Avaroa, the progress of a peace agreement, the action taken by the Avaroan authorities following the Council's recommendations in the fight against impunity and the return of displaced persons to their homes, and to submit a report on these developments every three months;

Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

UN Member State Profiles

United States: The United States is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and a prominent voice in the United Nations. As the world's only superpower and one of the richest nations in the world, the United States wields a great deal of economic, political, and military power globally. The U.S. military is the world's largest and its economy dominates world markets. The United States' power has given it a leadership role in the world that some contest or resent. Within the United Nations, recent events such as the war in Iraq have brought distance between the United States and its historical allies.

Relationship to Avaroa: Avaroa relies heavily on the United States as a trading partner. The United States has an interest in economic and political stability in Avaroa. Sanctions would strain U.S. oil imports. The United States has stated that strengthening democracy in Avaroa is a leading foreign policy concern, and has voiced commitment to working with the current government. Human rights groups are actively pressuring the U.S. government to take a stronger stance against the Avaroa government.

Russia: Russia, formerly part of the Soviet Union, is a permanent member of the UN Security Council. During the Cold War, antagonism deadlocked the Security Council. The now democratic Russia faces ongoing economic, political, and security concerns. In recent years, the central government of Russia has curbed the authority of provincial governments, which for many calls to mind its recent history of totalitarianism. Others argue that this is a necessary measure to fight terrorism. After the fall of communism and the breakup of the Soviet Union, U.S.-Russia relations have become more amiable and Russia has shown relatively less interest in foreign affairs.

Relationship to Avaroa: Russia has little economic interest in Avaroa. Having been widely identified as a state with a poor human rights record, Russia is unlikely to initiate

intervention in Avaroa that may take the government to task on this issue. Russia is sympathetic to the Avaroa challenge of stemming the tide of terrorism.

United Kingdom: A permanent member of the UN Security Council and a founding member of NATO, the U.K. plays a prominent role in the international community. Now a member of the European Union, Britain holds strong ties to European countries but upholds a longstanding and close alliance with the United States. The U.K. was a leader in the 2003 coalition to oust Iraq's Saddam Hussein and has taken the lead in many international efforts of the UN and NATO. Britain, once the greatest imperial power in the world, maintains some economic and political ties to its former colonies.

Relationship to Avaroa: The British government has repeatedly spoken out against the violence in Avaroa. The government has suggested that regime change may be the only way to peace between the government and the rebels.

France: A leading European power and a permanent member on the UN Security Council, France is a powerful voice in the international community. France, a member of the European Union, contributes significantly to the European and world economies. Recent events such as the war in Iraq have pitted France against other permanent member states on the Security Council. French leaders did not support the war in Iraq and, on principle, oppose intervention or sanctions in countries without evidence of significant threat to the international community. France has a history of democratic socialist government, but in recent years the country appears to be moving in the direction of more conservative politics.

Relationship to Avaroa: The French government recently suggested that while the situation in Avaroa was deplorable, it did not warrant military intervention. France has

stated that it opposes comprehensive sanctions but that it would not veto a resolution suggesting sanctions.

China: China is the most populous country in the world and the only non-democratic permanent member of the UN Security Council. For over a half-century China has been governed by a communist government that kept China politically, culturally, and economically closed to the world. In recent years, however, China has made strides towards opening its economy and society. Today, its economy is among the largest in the world. China's communist government has been the source of international concern and scrutiny. Many see its liberalizing economy as a positive step toward democracy. However, many remain concerned about possible political repression and China's history of human rights abuses. After a history of severed relations, most countries have recently taken a soft-line in dealing with China for fear of losing a key trading partner or distancing China further from the international community.

Relationship to Avaroa: China is the leading known seller of arms to the guerrillas. China has not taken an official position on possible UN intervention, but it is widely assumed that it would resist the imposition of economic sanctions.

Brazil: Brazil is the largest and most populous country in South America and the world's fifth largest in the world in square miles. Its economy is among the world's largest and key to both regional and world markets, while the country is considered part of the "developing world." Brazil is one of the most economically unequal countries in the world, with a small wealthy class controlling most of the country's wealth while much of the rest of the population lives in poverty. Having emerged from dictatorship in the mid-1980s, Brazil's democracy is relatively young but robust. In recent years, Brazil has been known for its progressive politics. Brazilian leaders have led the world in efforts for social justice. Many of these efforts focus on challenging U.S.

dominance around the world and giving the developing world a greater voice in the international community. To that end, many have lobbied for Brazil to take a permanent seat on the UN Security Council to represent the developing world.

Relationship to Avaroa: Brazil is very concerned about regional stability and is interested in seeing Avaroa's government survive the crisis. The Brazilian government is skeptical of economic sanctions, expressing concern that sanctions would only increase illegal sales of drugs and arms in black markets in South America, destabilizing the region.

India: The largest democracy in the world, India is also one of the world's poorest countries. Its economy is large and rapidly growing, but the majority of its population continues to live in poverty. India is among a handful of states around the world that possesses nuclear weapons. Tensions run high between India and its neighbor to the north, Pakistan. Today the leaders of both states speak for peace, but terrorism and violence continues. A UN peacekeeping mission, established in 1949, remains in a bordering region between the states. India is a top contributor of troops to other UN peacekeeping missions around the world. As a growing economic power and the world's largest democracy, many contend that India deserves a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.

Relationship to Avaroa: India has offered peacekeeping troops to a prospective mission. Avaroa is a rising market for many Indian goods, but otherwise India has little foreign policy interests in the country.

South Africa: One of the founding members of the UN Charter, the UN denied South Africa voting rights between 1970 and 1994 because of its policies of racial segregation, or apartheid. Since South Africa became a democracy in 1994, it has played an active role in UN work. Today, it is one of the top contributors of troops to UN peacekeeping missions. South Africa is a regional economic power, but

unemployment and poverty remain grave concerns. In addition, South Africa's crime and HIV-infection rates are among the highest in the world. The white South Africans (a European-descendant population) control most of the wealth in the country, but black Africans hold control of the South African government.

Relationship to Avaroa: South Africa sells tanks and aircraft to the Avaroa government. South Africa has not taken a position on the conflict on record, but it is unlikely it would oppose a resolution drafted by other prominent states.

Egypt: The most populous country in the Arab world, Egypt is a key leader in the Middle East. As one of the oldest and most stable states in the region, Egypt has been an important ally in the Middle East peace process between Palestinians and Israelis, its neighbors to the north. Egypt is non-democratic and the same regime has been in power there since 1981. The state is almost entirely Muslim. By and large, Egypt has seen less domestic turmoil than either its neighbors to the east in the Middle East or to the south in Sudan. Egypt is highly indebted and receives a great deal of foreign aid, particularly from the United States.

Relationship to Avaroa: Egypt is largely impartial to the conflict but other states are placing a great deal of pressure on Egypt to support action in Avaroa.

Nigeria: Nigeria, a large West African country, recently became a democracy after years of military rule. Nigeria is an extremely oil-rich country. Despite the country's mineral wealth, much of the country lives in poverty. Nigeria is Africa's most populous country and contains one of the largest Muslim populations of any country in the world. Only half of the country is Muslim, however, and more than 40 percent practice Christianity. With more than 250 ethnic groups, Nigeria is tremendously culturally diverse. Religious and ethnic tensions run high in many parts of the country. It is a major contributor of personnel to UN

peacekeeping missions and also takes a leading role in Africa's regional organization, the African Union (AU). For its size and regional importance, some nominate Nigeria as a deserving candidate of a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.

Relationship to Avaroa: Nigeria would welcome the additional oil sales that economic sanctions against Avaroa would bring, but has voiced neither support nor opposition to intervention.

Liberia: The West African country of Liberia has been ravaged by civil war for much of its recent history. In 2003, the United Nations brokered a ceasefire between warring parties which led to the resignation of the country's president. With a sizable peacekeeping mission of more than sixteen thousand uniformed personnel, the United Nations maintained a strong presence in the country in 2005. The Liberian economy and population have suffered tremendously from the ongoing civil war. The reconstruction of the country hinges on foreign aid, a great deal of which comes from the United States.

Relationship to Avaroa: Liberia has larger concerns about its relations with the powerful states on the Security Council than with Avaroa and is likely to vote with the majority.

Tanzania: Tanzania is among the poorest countries in the world. More than 80 percent of the population relies on agriculture for its livelihood but less than 5 percent of the country's land is arable. The recipient of large amounts of international aid, much of it in the form of loans, Tanzania is one of the most indebted countries in the world. In addition to poverty and international debt, basic health care and HIV/AIDS, which afflicts more than a tenth of the population, are grave concerns.

Relationship to Avaroa: Tanzania has offered exile to the leaders of the Avaroa government, but otherwise has made little comment on the turmoil in South America.

Japan: As the third largest economy in the world, Japan is an economic powerhouse regionally and a leader of the global economy. Japan is the second-most technologically advanced country worldwide and a leader in the fields of electronics. The island nation is also a significant player in regional politics. During World War II, Japan was an enemy of the UN's founding states, and it was not considered for permanent membership on the Security Council. As a current global power, many see Japan as an appropriate candidate for permanent membership. Today, Japan is a prominent voice in the UN and a leading contributor of troops and resources to UN peacekeeping missions. It is also a top donor of international aid to poor countries.

Relationship to Avaroa: Japan sells arms to the Avaroa government and has committed itself to help the government win peace and democracy in the country. Japan provides a great deal of aid to the country and has argued that economic sanctions would only hurt the Avaroa people.

Australia: For its size Australia is quite scarcely populated, with most people living in a few metropolitan areas. The country's interior is mostly arid "bush" not suitable for agriculture and undesirable for settlement. Australia remains a member of the British Commonwealth, recognizing the British monarch while holding an independent government. Australia has one of the most advanced economies in the world. In recent years, Australia has developed extensive trade ties with China and other countries of Asia and the South Pacific. Australia upholds close relations with the U.K. and the other countries of the British Commonwealth, as well as the countries of the European Union.

Relationship to Avaroa: Publicly dismayed by the violence in Avaroa, Australia has taken an outspoken position against engaging either the rebels or the repressive Avaroa government.

Pakistan: The predominantly Muslim

state of Pakistan was formed when it separated from India in 1947. Pakistan is among a handful of states around the world that possesses nuclear weapons. Since the end of British rule in India, tensions between Pakistan and India have run high. Today the leaders of both states speak for peace, but terrorism and violence continues. A UN peacekeeping mission, established in 1949, remains in a borderland region of northern India today. Pakistan does not think the Security Council should have any permanent members.

Relationship to Avaroa: Pakistan is suspected of selling arms to the guerillas, but the country has not publicly admitted to this. It is unlikely to go against the international community in a decision on Avaroa.

Indonesia: Indonesia, which consists of nearly fourteen thousand islands, has suffered many years of economic mismanagement and military rule. The country's population is overwhelmingly Muslim and considered religiously moderate. It spans three thousand miles across the Pacific Ocean and is home to the largest Muslim population in the world. Following the attacks of 9/11, the Indonesian government supported all UN resolutions against terrorism. Still, the people of Indonesia had mixed opinions about the UN mission in Afghanistan and many participated in anti-U.S. protests. In 2004, Indonesia was devastated by the Southeast Asian tsunami. The UN is coordinating relief and reconstruction efforts there.

Relationship to Avaroa: Members of the Security Council are pressuring Indonesia to vote against the resolution, but its president has expressed personal concern about the situation in Avaroa.

Iran: Since Iran's Islamic Revolution in the 1970s, the country has become progressively more distant from the international community. Formerly known as Persia, this region has long been an economic and cultural hub in the Middle East. Much of the country's population is Persian by descent rather than Arab, as

are most populations of neighboring countries to the west. However, multiple ethnic groups compose the Iranian population. Today, Iran remains highly autocratic, but in recent years leaders in government have made strides towards reform. The international community fears that Iran has been developing a nuclear weapons program. Some have deemed the Iranian government a sponsor of terrorism.

Relationship to Avaroa: Suspicious of the involvement of the West in Avaroa, a prominent Iranian recently stated his belief that the United States is behind many of the human rights abuses of the Avaroa state.

Argentina: Rich in resources, Argentina is beginning to export enough to recover from the inflation and unemployment that plagued the country in the beginning of the millennium. Though it was hesitant to join the U.S.-led coalition in Iraq in 2003, Argentina was the only Latin American country to participate in the first Gulf War and in the 1994 UN operation in Haiti. Argentina's ties to the United States are close. It has worked to restore relations with Brazil. Argentina hosted the 1998 UN climate change conference and has been a leading advocate for non-proliferation.

Relationship to Avaroa: Argentina is concerned by the large number of Avaroans flooding into Argentina as the crisis escalates. Argentina has offered to hold peace talks in Buenos Aires.

Dominican Republic: In addition to being a longtime member of the UN, the Dominican Republic is a member of the Organization of American States (OAS). The Dominican Republic shares the Caribbean island of Hispaniola with the state of Haiti, and relations between the two countries are tense. Migrant workers and refugees from Haiti account for a significant minority of the population in the Dominican Republic, and the country has regularly sought international help for the people of Haiti. Politically and economically, the Dominican Republic is dependent on the United States, its most important trading part-

ner. It has also developed trade relationships and some loyalties to Western Europe, Japan, China and Israel.

Relationship to Avaroa: Historically, the Dominican Republic has been a close ally of Avaroa government. Many of the guerillas wanted by the Avaroa government are believed to be living in the Dominican Republic.

Mexico: Mexico's position as the southern neighbor of the United States has made it a key trading partner with the U.S. and a central player on the world economy. For over a decade, Mexico, the United States, and Canada have participated in a regional trading system called the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA). NAFTA has had mixed effects in Mexico, promoting the growth of some industries and stifling the growth of others. Mexico is considered a middle-income country; however, poverty is pervasive among the population. Like many Latin American countries, inequality in wealth is stark between the rich and the poor. A key international dispute revolves around Mexican immigration into the United States. Another concerns the trafficking of drugs over Mexico's borders.

Relationship to Avaroa: Much of Avaroa's international drug sales are believed to go through Mexico, including many sales to the United States. Mexico has identified severing illegal Avaroa trade ties as a critical part of its efforts to fight drug trafficking.

Romania: A revolution in December 1989 marked the beginning of Romania's slow transition from the communist bloc to a democratic state that is now making strides towards integrating itself into western Europe. Romania joined NATO in 2004 and hopes to join the EU in 2007. To this end, the state is working to stamp out corruption in its government. Among the Eastern European Member States, Romania is the fifth largest contributor to the UN. The country has been an important partner in reconstruction of Iraq. Romania supports broadening the Security Council.

Relationship to Avaroa: Little concern

to Romania, the question of Avaroa is more important for Romania's relations to the rest of Europe. It is being pressured by Germany and the U.K. to support the resolution.

Ukraine: Though Ukraine achieved independence in 1991 with the dissolution of the USSR, it did not become democratic until the end of 2004. The outcome of the first democratic elections, however, were contested. In early 2005, Ukrainians staged a peaceful protest, known as the "orange revolution." They demanded a recount on the election that most deemed fraudulent. A longtime member of the UN, the Ukrainian government has expressed support for the expansion of Security Council membership.

Relationship to Avaroa: The president of Ukraine recently called for the return of freedom and justice to Avaroa and has urged the international community to take a more proactive stance to end the violence.

Germany: Germany is the region's most populous nation and lays claim to Europe's largest economy. In fact, Germany is the fifth largest economy in world. The country is, however, still paying for the reconstruction of former-communist East Germany. As an Axis power during World War II, Germany was not included in the formation of the United Nations. The state was admitted as a full UN Member in 1973, and has since played an active role in UN work. Germany is considered a UN host country because it houses a number

of UN bodies' headquarters. After the United States and Japan, Germany is the third largest contributor to the UN. Germany supports comprehensive UN reforms, and in particular wants to enlarge the Security Council.

Relationship to Avaroa: With a significant German population in Avaroa and a recent abduction of a German journalist, Germany was among the first to press for intervening in the Avaroa crisis. Recently, Germany has expressed concern that the conflict may not be solved until a new government is installed.

Norway: The Scandinavian nation of Norway is rich in resources, particularly oil, and enjoys the highest standard of living in the world. The country distinguishes itself by the extensive services it provides for its citizens, including health care and welfare. Norway is a leader in the European Union and makes significant contributions to its budget. The country is governed by a monarchy and parliament. It has a capitalist economy and its greatest export is oil. In fact, Norway exports more oil than any country in the world, besides Saudi Arabia and Russia.

Relationship to Avaroa: Norway has offered equipment and resources for a potential peacekeeping mission in Avaroa, but is wary of the UN becoming embroiled in a protracted conflict. In support of a peacekeeping intervention, Norway is worried about some other states' talk of regime change.

Role-Playing the Three Options: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze the issues and debate on U.S. policy towards the UN.

Identify the core underlying values of the options.

Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the options and the background reading into a persuasive, coherent presentation.

Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II of the background reading in the student text (pages 8-22) and completed the “Study Guide—Part II (TRB 13-14) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-15).

Handouts:

“Presenting Your Option” (TRB-26) for option groups

“Expressing Key Values” (TRB-27) for option groups

“Undecided Senators: Hearing on the UN” (TRB-28) for subcommittee members

In the Classroom:

1. Planning for Group Work—In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. During the class period of Day Three, students will be preparing for the Day Four simulation. Remind them to incorporate the background reading into the development of their presentations and questions.

2. Introducing the Role-Play—Tell students that recent debates on the UN’s role in U.S. foreign policy have led the Senate to convene a special hearing. Within the Senate, opinions on the UN are divided among three

distinct policy options. A number of the senators are undecided and will look to the option groups for compelling arguments.

2a. Option Groups—Form three groups of four students. Assign an option to each group. Distribute “Presenting Your Option” and “Expressing Key Values” to the three option groups. Inform students that each option group will be called upon on Day Four to present the case for its assigned option to undecided senators. Explain that option groups should follow the instructions in “Presenting Your Option.” Note that the option groups should begin by assigning each member a role.

2b. Undecided senators—The remainder of the class will serve as undecided members of the Senate. Distribute “Undecided Senators.” While the option groups are preparing their presentations, undecided senators should develop clarifying questions for Day Four. (See “Undecided Senators.”) Remind undecided members that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation.

Suggestions:

In smaller classes, other teachers or administrators may be invited to serve as additional undecided members of the Senate. In larger classes, additional roles—such as those of newspaper reporter or lobbyist—may be assigned to students.

Extra Challenge:

Ask the option groups to design a poster or a political cartoon illustrating the best case for their options.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Presenting Your Option

Preparing Your Presentation

Your Assignment: Recent debates about the UN have led the senate to convene a special hearing on the U.S. relationship with the UN as well as UN reform. Your groups consist of like-minded senators. Your assignment is to persuade undecided senators that your option should be the basis for U.S. policy. You will be judged on how well you present your option.

The hearings will culminate in the writing of a report to be presented to the UN General Assembly. The United States is the most influential member of the United Nations and its proposals hold a great deal of weight within the world body.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role.

1. Spokesperson: Your job is to organize your group's presentation on the floor of the Senate in a three-to-five minute presentation. You will receive help from the other members of your group. Keep in mind, though, that you are expected to take the lead in organizing your group. Read your option and review the background reading to build a strong case for your option. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

2. Policy Analyst: Your job is to explain how your option would improve the lives of Americans here at home and serve U.S. interests around the world. Carefully read your option, and then review Part II of the

background reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

3. Historian: Your job is to show how the lessons of history support your option. Carefully read your option, and then review Part I of the background reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

4. UN expert: Your job is to show how the case studies of the UN described in the background reading support your option. Carefully read your option, and then review the case studies in Part II of the background reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

Making Your Case

After your preparations are completed, your group will deliver a three-to-five minute presentation to the U.S. Senate. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and other notes may be used, but remember to speak clearly and convincingly. During the other presentations, identify one aspect of each option that you find appealing. After all of the groups have presented their options, undecided senators will ask you clarifying questions. Any member of your group may respond during the question period.

Expressing Key Values

The notion of values lies at the core of this unit. Each of the three options in this unit revolves around a distinct set of values. The opening two paragraphs of your option are devoted to making a convincing case for the values that are represented. The term “values,” however, is not easy to define. Most often, we think of values in connection with our personal lives. Our attitudes toward our families, friends, and communities are a reflection of our personal values.

Values play a critical role in our civic life as well. In the United States, a wide range of values have shaped the country’s political system and foreign policy. The high value many Americans place on freedom, democracy, and individual liberty rings loudly throughout U.S. history. For most of our country’s existence, the impulse to spread American values beyond

our borders was outweighed by the desire to remain independent of foreign entanglements. Since World War II, however, the United States has played a larger role in world affairs than any other nation. At times, American leaders have emphasized the values of human rights and cooperation. On other occasions, they have stressed the values of stability and security. Many of these values have entered into the debate on immigration reform.

Some values fit together well. Others are in conflict. Americans are constantly being forced to choose among competing values in our ongoing discussion of public policy. Your job is to identify and explain the most important values underlying your option. These values should be clearly expressed by every member of your group. This worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

1. What are the two most important values underlying your option?
 - a.
 - b.

2. According to the values of your option, what image should the United States project to the world?

3. Why should the values of your option serve as the basis for our country’s policy on UN reform?

Undecided Senators: Hearing on the UN

Your Role

As an undecided member of the U.S. Senate, you are considering issues relating to our country's relationship with the UN. Recent debates on UN reform have led the Senate to convene a special hearing on proposals regarding the U.S. relationship to the UN. Within the Senate, opinions on the UN are divided among three distinct policy options. The hearing will introduce you to three distinct proposals.

Your Assignment

While the three Option groups are organizing their presentations, you should prepare two questions regarding each of the Options. Your teacher will collect these questions at the end of Day Four.

Your questions should be challenging and

designed to clarify the differences among the options. For example, a good question for Option 3 might be:

How would your proposal for UN reform affect U.S.-China relations?

On Day Four, the three Option groups will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and your fellow undecided senators to ask questions. The "Evaluation Form" you will receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the Option groups. Complete Part I in class after the Option groups make their presentations. Complete Part II as homework. After the hearings conclude, you may be called upon to explain your evaluation of the Option groups.

Role-Playing the Three Options: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will: Articulate the leading values that frame the debate on U.S. policy on UN reform.

Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives on U.S. policy on UN reform.

Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.

Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

“Evaluation Form” (TRB-30) for the undecided senators

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage—Organize the room so that the three option groups face a row of desks reserved for the undecided members of Senate. Distribute “Evaluation Form” to these senators. Instruct the undecided senators to fill out the first part of their “Evaluation Form” during the course of the period. The second

part of the worksheet should be completed as homework.

2. Managing the Simulation—Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations by the option groups. Encourage students to speak clearly and convincingly.

3. Guiding Discussion—Following the presentations, invite undecided senators to ask clarifying questions. Make sure that each senator has an opportunity to ask at least one question. The questions should be evenly distributed among all three option groups. During clarifying questions, allow any option group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit clarifying questions after the presentation of each option.)

Homework:

Students should read the options (pages 24-29 in the student text) and complete “Focusing Your Thoughts” (TRB-32) in preparation for Day Five’s deliberation.

Evaluation Form: Undecided Senators

Part I

What was the most persuasive argument presented in favor of this option?

What was the most persuasive argument presented against this option?

Option 1:

Option 1:

Option 2:

Option 2:

Option 3:

Option 3:

Part II

Which group presented its option most effectively? Explain your answer.

Deliberating UN Reforms

Objectives:

Students will: Weigh the long-term consequences of individual proposed reforms.

Compare underlying values and assumptions about the significance of the UN with classmates.

Identify tradeoffs implied by policy reforms.

Practice deliberative skills in small groups and learn from the input of classmates.

Articulate coherent recommendations for U.S. policy on UN reform based on personally held values and historical understanding.

Required Reading:

Students should have read each of the three options in the student text (pages 24-29) and completed “Focusing Your Thoughts” (TRB-32).

Handouts:

“Guidelines for Deliberation” (TRB-33)

“Deliberating UN Reforms” (TRB 34-35)

In the Classroom:

1. Laying the groundwork—Distribute “Guidelines for Deliberation” and “Deliberating UN Reforms.” Read “Guidelines for Deliberation” as a class. Ask students how conversation of this nature will differ from the role-play of the day before.

Note: This lesson is designed to familiarize students with the process of deliberation. Students will use the deliberative process as a tool to help them define their own opinions about UN reform. See Guidelines for Deliberation <www.choices.edu/deliberation.cfm> for additional suggestions on deliberation.

2. Organizing the class—Divide your class into new groups of four or five students. Write three guiding questions on the board: “What are the long term consequences of each proposed reform?”, “What values are prioritized by each suggested reform?”, and “What are the tradeoffs of each proposal?” Inform students that these themes and the specific questions on “Deliberating UN Reform” will be the subject of a written assignment.

3. Deliberating UN reform—Instruct students in each group to share their lists of proposed reforms written the night before (“Focusing Your Thoughts”). Have them deliberate the implications of each proposed reform using the questions you have written on the board as a guide for conversation. Encourage students to keep track of the conversation so that they will be able to address the points on “Deliberating UN Reforms.”

4. Reflecting on the conversation—Have students work alone for the last ten minutes of class and jot down notes or ideas addressing the questions on “Deliberating UN Reforms.”

Homework:

Instruct students to write a one-page essay addressing their small group deliberation process and the ways in which their classmates influenced their proposed UN reforms. Students’ essays should respond to each of the questions posed in “Small Group Deliberations.”

Extra Challenges:

Encourage students to write their essays in the form of letters suggesting UN reforms to a member of Congress, the president, or the editor of a local newspaper.

Focusing Your Thoughts

Instructions

You have had an opportunity to consider three options on U.S. policy on UN Reform. Now it is your turn to look at each of the options from your own perspective. Try each one on for size. Think about how the options address your concerns and hopes. You will find that each has its own risks and trade-offs, advantages and disadvantages. After you complete this worksheet, you will be asked to develop your own option on this issue.

Ranking the Options

Which of the options below do you prefer? Rank the options, with “1” being the best option for the United States to follow.

___ Option 1: Utilize the UN to Protect U.S. Interests

___ Option 2: Hold the UN to its Founding Principles

___ Option 3: Scale Back the UN

Beliefs

Consider the statements below. Rate each of the statements below according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support; 2 = Support; 3 = Oppose; 4 = Strongly Oppose; 5 = Undecided

___ International organizations should not put limits on self-defense.

___ The UN is capable of and responsible for alleviating poverty worldwide.

___ A world grounded in strong democratic principals will make us more secure.

___ The U.S. is the most powerful country in the world; this should be reflected in the structure of the UN.

___ Cooperating with other countries strengthens U.S. security.

___ The UN does not fairly represent poor and non-Western countries of the world.

___ The United States should not be expected to ask permission of the United Nations.

___ Maintaining global security is the best way to ensure national security.

___ The United States cannot solve the world’s problems through the UN or otherwise; we should worry about problems at home.

Prioritizing Reforms

Your next assignment is to propose three reforms that you believe would most improve the United Nations. Consider the beliefs you have identified in this worksheet. Be sure also to consider the reform issues of UN mandate, representation, and effectiveness. Be as specific as possible. A good example of a proposal would be: *The UN Security Council should be expanded, but no new permanent members should be added.*

Guidelines for Deliberation

- Speak your mind freely, but don't monopolize conversation.

- Listen carefully to others. Try to really understand what they're saying and respond to it, especially when their ideas are different from your own.

- Avoid building your own argument in your head while others are talking. If you are afraid you will forget a point, write it down.

- Try to put yourself in someone else's shoes. See if you can make a strong case for an argument with which you disagree. This level of understanding will make you a much better advocate for whatever position you come to.

- Help to develop one another's ideas. Listen carefully and ask clarifying questions. For example, "Can you explain further what you meant by..."

- Paraphrase each other to confirm under-

standing of others' points. For example you may say, "So are you saying...?"

- Build off of each other. Refer specifically to other deliberators and their ideas. For example you might start your comment by saying, "As _____ said, I think we need to look at the issue of..."

- Be open to changing your mind. This will help you really listen to others' views.

- When disagreement occurs, don't personalize it. Keep talking and explore the disagreement. Look for the common concerns beneath the surface.

- Be careful not to discredit another person's point of view. For example you may raise a new concern by asking, "I see your point, but have you considered..."

- Do not be afraid to say you don't know or to say you've changed your opinion.

Deliberating UN Reforms

Guiding Questions

What are the long term consequences of each proposed reform?

What values are prioritized by each proposed reform?

What are the tradeoffs of each proposed reform?

Name: _____

Deliberating UN Reforms

Reflecting on Deliberation

Use the following questions to describe your group's deliberative process and revise your suggested reforms from "Focusing Your Thoughts."

1. List at least one new and compelling idea raised by another member of your small group. How will you reflect the idea in your revised proposed reforms?
2. Describe at least one position taken by a member of your small group that differs from your own. What priorities and values underlie this position? What priorities and values do you share? Why is there a difference of opinion?
3. Identify at least one new issue, concern or question raised in deliberation that you have not fully resolved in revising your proposed reforms.
4. How have your proposed reforms evolved? How has today's discussion helped to build upon the proposed reforms you made in "Focusing Your Thoughts"?
5. After you have considered many points of view, offer a final list of proposals for UN reform.

Key Terms

Part I

international community
state sovereignty
collective security
nation
state
isolationism
territorial integrity
self-determination
human rights

sanction
veto
diplomacy
treaty
disarmament
resolution
intervene
charter

Part II

mandate
representation
effectiveness
development
civil conflict
ceasefire
peacekeeping
peace enforcement
colonialism

humanitarian aid
regional organizations
nuclear proliferation
democracy
NGO
ethnic cleansing
impunity

Issues Toolbox

Globalization:

Globalization is an umbrella term that refers to the economic, political, cultural, and social transformations occurring throughout the world. The term reflects the increased interdependence of various countries and people today. Many periods in history have seen globalization of varying forms. However, globalization today distinguishes itself by its speed and magnitude. Though the seeds of transformations were sown long before, the end of World War II marked the beginning of a new global era. The wave of globalization since 1945 has fundamentally changed the face of the international system and has dramatically altered the lives of people around the world.

Genocide:

In its strict legal definition, genocide refers to widespread murder with the intent to destroy—in whole or in part—a national, racial, religious or ethnic group. Scholars calculate that there were more than forty million victims of genocide in the twentieth century. Most genocides have been perpetrated by governments against their citizens. Following the Holocaust, the United Nations drafted the Genocide Convention making genocide a crime and obligating signers of the convention to prevent, suppress and punish genocide.

Developing World:

The developing world refers to all poor and middle income countries, based on the average income per person. The developed world refers to rich countries, including the United States and most European countries. Most countries in Africa, Latin America, and Asia are considered a part of the developing world and most of the world's population live in these countries (over five of the 6.25 billion people). The majority of those living in the developing world live in poverty, with nearly three billion making less than \$2 a day. The United Nations Millennium Development

Goals aim to improve conditions in the developing world and include a goal of eradicating world poverty by 2025.

Nationalism:

Nationalism is a term to describe a people's strong sense of nationhood or loyalty to their nation. Particularly among nations that do not govern their own states, people are bound together by a sense of nationalism. Nationalism fuels debates about nations' rights to self-determination and the right to govern their own affairs. Throughout history nationalism has frequently been expressed as a belief in the superiority of one's own nation over all others. Extreme nationalism has been the source of numerous international conflicts and played a significant role in both the First and Second World Wars. Nationalism is a relatively new phenomenon, which some date back to the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century.

Somalia Syndrome:

America's reluctance to get involved in certain conflicts abroad, often those involving ethnic strife, is commonly referred to as the Somalia Syndrome. The term refers to an incident in 1993 when U.S. troops stationed in Somalia on a UN humanitarian mission were involved in a clash with Somali militia. The firefight that ensued was the bloodiest firefight involving U.S. troops since Vietnam. The conflict resulted in eighteen dead American soldiers and nearly one thousand dead Somalis. Footage of U.S. troops being dragged through the streets aired in America. The sight of American soldiers dying in a foreign conflict outraged the American public. All U.S. troops were removed. The battle has made the United States far more cautious in responding to world humanitarian crisis, especially in Africa.

Cold War:

The Cold War was the dominant foreign policy problem for the United States and Russia between the late 1940s and the late 1980s. Following the defeat of Hitler in 1945, Soviet-U.S. relations began to deteriorate. The United States adopted a policy of containing the spread of Soviet communism around the world, which led to, among other things, U.S. involvement in Vietnam. During this period both Russia and the United States devoted vast resources to their militaries, but never engaged in direct military action against each other. Because both the Soviet Union and the United States had nuclear weapons and were in competition around the world, nearly every foreign policy decision was intricately examined for

its potential impact on U.S.-Soviet relations. The end of the Cold War forced policymakers to struggle to define a new guiding purpose for their foreign policy.

Diplomatic Relations:

A formal arrangement between states by which they develop and maintain the terms of their relationship. This often includes establishing treaties regarding trade and investment, the treatment of each other's citizens, and the nature of their security relationship. It also includes the establishment of an embassy and consuls in each other's countries to facilitate representation on issues of concern for each nation.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

This section of the Teacher Resource Book offers suggestions for teachers as they adapt Choices curricula on current issues to their classrooms. They are drawn from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms and from educational research on student-centered instruction.

Managing the Choices Simulation

A central activity of every Choices unit is the role play simulation in which students advocate different options and question each other. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts momentum. The best strategy for managing the role play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Fostering Group Deliberation

The consideration of alternative views is not finished when the options role play is over. The options presented are framed in stark terms in order to clarify differences. In the end, students should be expected to articulate their own views on the issue. These views will be more sophisticated and nuanced if students have had an opportunity to challenge one another to think more critically about the merits and trade-offs of alternative views. See Guidelines for Deliberation <www.choices.edu/deliberation.cfm> for suggestions on deliberation.

Adjusting for Students of Differing Abilities

Teachers of students at all levels—from middle school to AP—have used Choices materials successfully. Many teachers make adjustments to the materials for their students. Here are some suggestions:

- Go over vocabulary and concepts with visual tools such as concept maps and word pictures.
- Require students to answer guiding questions in text as checks for understanding.
- Shorten reading assignments; cut and paste sections.
- Combine reading with political cartoon analysis, map analysis, or movie-watching.
- Read some sections of the readings out loud.
- Ask students to create graphic organizers for sections of the reading, or fill in ones you have partially completed.
- Supplement with different types of readings, such as from literature or text books.
- Ask student groups to create a bumper sticker, PowerPoint presentation, or collage representing their option.
- Do only some activities and readings from the unit rather than all of them.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another option is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Students and teachers both know that group grades can be motivating for students, while at the same time they can create controversy. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It is also important to give individual grades for groupwork assignments in order to recognize an individual's contribution to the group. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an effective way to encourage them to think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Students' Original Options: One important outcome of a Choices current

issues unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student after the role play. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints.

The students' options should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: Research demonstrates that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than from lecture-discussion format. Students using Choices curricula demonstrate a greater ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. A variety of types of testing questions and assessment devices can require students to demonstrate critical thinking and historical understanding.

For Further Reading

Daniels, Harvey, and Marilyn Bizar. *Teaching the Best Practice Way: Methods That Matter, K-12*. Portland, Maine: Stenhouse Publishers, 2005.

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: _____

Group members: _____

Group Assessment	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Needs Improvement</i>	<i>Unsatisfactory</i>
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the background reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

Alternative Three Day Lesson Plan

Day 1:

See Day One of suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

Homework (before the lesson): Students should have read the Introduction and Part I of the background reading and completed “Study Guide—Part I” or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part I.”

Homework: Students should read Part II of the background reading and complete “Study Guide—Part II” or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part II.”

Day 2:

Assign each student one of the three options, and allow students a few minutes to familiarize themselves with the mindsets to the options. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned options. How do the options differ in their assumptions about UN reform? What are the implications of each option’s suggested reforms?

Homework: Students should complete “Focusing Your Thoughts”

Day 3:

See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

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U.S. Constitutional Convention ■ New England Slavery
War of 1812 ■ Spanish American War ■ Hiroshima
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The United Nations: Challenges and Change

The United Nations: Challenges and Change provides an overview of the history of the UN, focuses on the organization's role in the world, and explores the ongoing debate about its role in U.S. foreign policy as well as how the UN might evolve.

The United Nations: Challenges and Change is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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