

Fast Forward by Kofi Annan → **for the United Nations**

Human Security Becomes a Unifying Force

I want to speak about my vision of a safer world and a better United Nations.

The attacks of September 11 were a wake up call. We are living in a dangerous world. We face multiple threats that did not exist when the United Nations was founded. Threats at the hands of non-State actors. Threats that cross borders in an instant. These threats affect us all, and no State acting alone can fully meet them.

Yet in responding to these threats, we are deeply divided on what approach is best to take. And on what our most urgent priorities should be. That is why I have said that the international community stands at a fork in the road.

If States fight among themselves, and do not unite to fight the common enemies of humanity, they will be doing a great disservice to the peoples of the world.

The global threats of our age include terrorism, deadly weapons, genocide, infectious disease, poverty, environmental degradation and organized crime. They will not wait for States to sort out their differences.

That is why we must act now to strengthen our collective defences. We must unite to master today's threats, and not allow them to divide and master us. And I submit that the only universal instrument that can bring States together in such a global effort is the United Nations.

I am the first to acknowledge that the United Nations is not perfect. At times, it shows its age. But our world will not easily find a better instrument for forging a sustained, global response to today's threats. We must use it to unite around common priorities — and act on them. And we must agree on a plan to reform the United Nations — and get on with the job of implementing it.

This message lies at the heart of the recent report, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*. It is the work of the Panel of 16 men and women from around the world I appointed last year. The report contains a powerful vision of collective security. Whether the threat is terrorism or AIDS, a threat to one is a threat to all. Our defences are only as strong as their weakest link. We will be safest if we work together.

Tomorrow's United Nations would provide a more muscular framework to prevent a cascade of nuclear proliferation. We need tighter rules for inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The report puts forward a vision of a radically reformed United Nations. I share that vision. But what, exactly, would the United Nations of tomorrow look like?

Tomorrow's United Nations would unite States in preventing terrorism. The Security Council has already done a lot to curb the flow of arms, funds, and technology to terrorist cells. But we must go further.

The Panel has proposed a definition of terrorism. It makes clear that no cause whatsoever justifies the targeting of civilians and non-combatants. Member States should use

Global Security 101

UN Panel Proposes 101 Ways Forward

The UN High Level Panel on security has cited the IAEA as “an extraordinary bargain” for its work to prevent widespread proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Panel issued its report in late 2004 on security threats facing humanity, and how policies and institutions must change to beat them.

The report *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility* includes 101 recommendations on UN reform and for forging a global response to threats of terrorism, poverty, disease, weapons of mass destruction and civil violence. Its 16 authors comprise former Heads of State, foreign ministers, security, military, diplomatic and development officials.

The Panel singled out the IAEA’s mission. “As the institutional embodiment of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and of considerable long-term success in preventing widespread proliferation of nuclear weapons, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) — with its regular budget of less than \$275 million — stands out as an extraordinary bargain.”

Responding to the report, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan called for urgent action on its recommendations to strengthen the non-proliferation regime and ward off the possibility of a nuclear attack. Including:

- 1 That the Agency’s Board of Governors recognize the Additional Protocol as today’s standard for Agency safeguards;
- 2 To provide incentives for States to forego the development of uranium enrichment and reprocessing facilities; and
- 3 The negotiation of a verifiable fissile material cut-off treaty that ends production of highly enriched uranium.



As importantly, the Panel emphasized the human dimensions of security, and the need for greater effort for sustainable development.

In regard to climate change, it noted, “modern economies...should undertake a special effort to devise climate-friendly development strategies. Member States should place special attention on the development of low-carbon energy sources, including natural gas, renewable power and nuclear power...”

The Panel recognized that “nuclear energy, in the view of many, is an important source of power for civilian uses and may become even more crucial in the context of a worldwide effort to reduce dependency on fossil fuels and emissions of greenhouse gases.”

The recommendations will help set the agenda for a special UN summit scheduled for world leaders in September 2005.

Members of the panel were Chairman Anand Panyarachun, former Prime Minister of Thailand; Robert Badinter (France), Gro Harlem Brundtland (Norway), Mary Chinery-Hesse (Ghana), Gareth Evans (Australia), David Hannay (Britain), Enrique Iglesias (Uruguay), Amr Moussa (Egypt), Satish Nambiar (India), Sadako Ogata (Japan), Yevgeny M. Primakov (Russia), Qian Qichen (China), Nafis Sadiq (Pakistan), Salim Ahmed Salim (Tanzania), Brent Scowcroft (United States) and Joao Baena Soares (Brazil). Stanford University professor Stephen Stedman guided their research and compiled the report.

For more information about the report, visit the UN web pages at www.un.org/secureworld/

it to enact a full anti-terrorism convention. The United Nations must make clear that it has zero tolerance of terrorism — of any kind, for any reason. We must also take strong multilateral action to keep deadly weapons out of dangerous hands.

Tomorrow’s United Nations would provide a more muscular framework to prevent a cascade of nuclear proliferation. We need tighter rules for inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency. We need incentives for States to forego domestic uranium enrichment and reprocess-

ing facilities. And we need a verifiable fissile material cut-off treaty.

Tomorrow's United Nations would be an organisation through which all States get much more serious about promoting development.

All States must boost their support for achieving the UN Millennium Development Goals. This will save lives in poor countries. It will reduce violent conflict and the appeal of radicalism. It will help secure good governance and democracy. And it will help build capable States that can deal with threats in their own borders before they harm their own citizens and others.

Biological security also needs more attention. We must fight AIDS with far greater determination. We need a major initiative to build public health capacities in poor nations. And the Security Council and the World Health Organization should work more closely to prepare for any disease outbreaks, and improve our defences against bio-terrorism.

Tomorrow's United Nations would also provide a framework for the use of force in which all States should have confidence. Under Article 51 of the UN Charter, every State has the inherent right of self-defence. This includes the right to take pre-emptive action, if it faces an imminent threat. Beyond that, the report suggests a number of guidelines to make Security Council decisions on the use of force more consistent and more effective.

The Security Council must be proactive to prevent nightmare scenarios, such as a nuclear terrorist attack, from unfolding. The Council must stand ready to authorize the preventive use of force in appropriate circumstances.

The report also recognizes something I have long advocated: State sovereignty is not a license for mass murder. Governments must assume their responsibility to protect their citizens. Where they do not, the Security Council must assume its responsibility to protect. The Council may sometimes have to authorize the use of force to stop mass atrocities inside sovereign States. States must be prepared to back up the Council's decisions — not just with talk, but with troops.

Force should never be used lightly. It should always be a last resort. And if we act early, we are less likely to need it. Otherwise, we can find ourselves facing appalling situations.

We face such a situation today in Darfur. The international community must support the African Union's efforts to deploy troops and achieve a political solution. We must work to finalize the North-South negotiations. And we must build on that momentum, to secure peace throughout Sudan.

One of the most important contributions the United Nations makes to global security is its work in re-building war-torn countries. Our record in Namibia, Mozambique, Tajikistan, Cambodia, El Salvador, Guatemala, and East Timor speaks for itself. And our work continues today in Haiti, Kosovo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and elsewhere — including Afghanistan and Iraq.

The United Nations achieves important results in peace-building around the world. But our efforts must be more strategic and better resourced. Tomorrow's United Nations must have the capacity to move fast, and see every job through. I warmly welcome the Panel's call for a Peace-building Commission, supported by greater Secretariat capacity.

And I also firmly believe that tomorrow's United Nations must have reformed and revitalized institutions:

- ◆ A Security Council that reflects the 21st century world, not that of 1945.
- ◆ An overhauled Human Rights Commission and a strengthened High Commissioner for Human Rights.
- ◆ And a Secretariat that is more open, more accountable, and better able to recruit and promote the best people.

That is the vision of the United Nations that I believe in. That is the vision I am working to achieve.

Next September, world leaders come together in New York to review progress since the Millennium Declaration. When they do, they must reach consensus on basic principles and clear priorities. And they must take decisions to build tomorrow's United Nations.

I established the Panel to open some windows and let in fresh air and new ideas. The period ahead will determine whether the winds of change will blow through the corridors of the United Nations.

Many of the important recommendations are directed at Member States. They will have to decide.

But I have no doubt that the United Nations must change.

Kofi Annan is Secretary-General of the United Nations. His article is drawn from his address to the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C., 16 December 2004. Email: mediainfo@un.org