ANALYSIS OF UNITED NATIONS MILLENNIUM SUMMIT SPEECHES

Jerome C. Glenn, Elizabeth Florescu and Theodore J. Gordon
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This study compiles and analyzes the key points made by heads of State at the UN Millennium Summit, September 6-8, 2000. Resultant military-related themes are:
- A world polarized around relative wealth and poverty of nations and groups of nations
- Calls for Security Council expansion, democratic/transparent policy making and popular election of a "people's assembly"
- Increased need for peacekeeping that will require faster, better action in terms of: instability identification, intelligence, mobilization, effective management and a UN standing force; also stressed: financing options and increased civilian police roles
- Expansion of military support of humanitarian assistance: more "White Helmets"
- Redefinition of military roles in post-conflict rehabilitation
- Generalized calls for "solidarity"
- Fewer international wars for territorial reasons, shifting the style and politics of war
- Arms: Desire for expanded/more nuclear-free zones; restriction of small arms trade
- Human dignity gaining ascendancy over national sovereignty as a criterion for external intervention
- Global war on terrorism, organized crime and corruption; desire for a Comprehensive Convention Against Terrorism
- Global Warming causing necessity for evacuation of island nations
- Impacts of globalization on military matters

Speakers generally failed to identify future challenges or propose approaches leading to a social and physical world worth inhabiting.

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ABSTRACT

Jerome C. Glenn, Elizabeth Florescu and Theodore J. Gordon
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The largest gathering of world leaders in history assembled at the United Nations September 6–8, 2000 to assess the challenges of the twenty-first century. At this UN Millennium Summit there were 149 heads of State or Government, 5 Deputy Ministers, 21 other Ministers, 5 Vice Presidents, 2 Crown Princes, 8 chairpersons of delegations, 6 observers, and 2 from civil society (Conferences of Presiding Officers of the National Parliaments and the Millennium Forum). The world leaders met both in public to share their views and in private round tables to discuss a full range of issues face-to-face. Background reports for this historic event are available on the Internet at http://www.un.org/millennium/.

This study compiles and analyzes the key points of the presentations to: discern the dominant themes, capture particularly telling quotations and draw out implications for military planning in the next one to three decades. Resultant military-related themes are:

- A world polarized around relative wealth and poverty of nations and groups of nations
- Calls for Security Council expansion, more democratic and transparent policy making and popular election of a "people's assembly"
- Increased need for peacekeeping that will require faster, better response in terms of: instability identification, intelligence, ability to mobilize, effective management and a UN standing force
- Peacekeeping financing options
- Expansion of military support of humanitarian assistance: more "White Helmets"
- Increased civilian police roles in peacekeeping
- Redefinition of military roles in post-conflict rehabilitation
- Generalized calls for "solidarity"
- Fewer international wars for territorial reasons, shifting the style and politics of war
- Desire for expanded/more nuclear-free zones
- Restriction of small arms trade
- Desire for early completion of a Comprehensive Convention Against Terrorism, possibly resulting in changes to traditional military structures and subject matters
- Human dignity gaining ascendancy over national sovereignty as a criterion for external intervention
- Potential for a global war against terrorism, organized crime and corruption
- Global warming causing necessity for evacuation of island nations
- Impacts of globalization on military matters

The focus remained on the present, despite a clear invitation to identify future challenges and propose approaches leading to a social and physical world worth inhabiting.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The U.S. Army Environmental Policy Institute gratefully acknowledges the American Council for the United Nations University for successfully meeting a difficult challenge. This report is the distilled content and analysis of 188 speeches expressing the concerns and futures of as many national cultures, each with its own emphases and needs. The authors performed a demanding and valuable service in both extracting quotable remarks and minutely examining the speeches for key idea references in order to produce a statistical view of global emphases and needs. As if those challenges were not enough, they have gone a further step to provide insights on the implications of the 188 statements at the nexus of environmental and military planning. Their efforts have produced the only comprehensive review of the rich mine of thought offered by the heads of State at the change of millennia on the occasion of the UN Millennium Summit.

ABBREVIATIONS

AC/UNU	American Council for the United Nations University	IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome	ILO	International Labor Organization (of the UN)
ANC	African National Congress	IO	International Organizations
AOSIS	Alliance of Small Island States	IT	Information Technology
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations	LDC	Lesser Developed Countries
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child	Mercosur	Common Market formed by Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay
DOD	U.S. Department of Defense	NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
DOS	U.S. Department of State	NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa (of the UN)	NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council of the UN	NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
		OAU	Organization of African Unity
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States	ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
EFTA	European Free Trade Association	OECD	Organizations for Economic Cooperation and Development
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific	R-P	Rich-Poor
		SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
EU	European Union		
EVI	Environmental Vulnerability Index	SADAC	South African Development and Cooperation
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN	SD	Sustainable Development
G-7	Policy Consortium of the United States, Germany, Japan, France, United Kingdom, Italy, Canada	S&T	Science and Technology
		UN	United Nations
		UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
G-8	G-7 plus Russia		
G-77	Developing Countries Group	UNCED	UN Conference on Environment and Development
GA	General Assembly (of the UN)		
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade	UNECLAC	UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
GDP	Gross Domestic Product	UNECA	UN Economic Commission for Africa
GNP	Gross National Product	UNDP	United Nations Development Program
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries		
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus	UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency	UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
ICC	International Criminal Court	UNU	United Nations University
ICSU	International Council of Scientific Unions	USAID	United States Agency for International Development
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development	WHO	World Health Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund	WTO	World Trade Organization

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Executive Summary

The largest gathering of world leaders in history assembled at the United Nations September 6–8, 2000 to assess the challenges of the twenty-first century. At this UN Millennium Summit there were 149 heads of State or Government, 5 Deputy Ministers, 21 other Ministers, 5 Vice Presidents, 2 Crown Princes, 8 chairpersons of delegations, 6 observers, and 2 from civil society (Conferences of Presiding Officers of the National Parliaments and the Millennium Forum).[1] Background reports for this historic event are available on the Internet at http://www.un.org/millennium/.

The UN General Assembly Resolution 54/254 that authorized the Millennium Summit stated that it would "provide an opportunity to strengthen the role of the United Nations in meeting the challenges of the twenty-first century." The General Assembly asked the Secretary-General "to seek the views of Member States, members of the specialized agencies and observers and to propose, after a process of intergovernmental consultation, a number of forward-looking and widely relevant topics that could help focus the Millennium Summit within the context of an overall theme, for consideration by the Assembly at its resumed fifty-third session." The UN Secretary-General states the purpose of the Millennium Summit in the conclusion of his 10 May 1999 report, "The Millennium Assembly of the United Nations: Thematic Framework for the Millennium Summit":

> *…firstly, that the occasion of the third millennium presents a timely opportunity for the only global organization, in terms of its membership as much as of its areas of work, to identify the challenges that it will face in the future and to engage in an imaginative exercise to enhance and strengthen a unique institution; secondly, that the Millennium Summit will prove to be more than merely a celebratory event. It is essential that it should provide an opportunity for a moral recommitment to the purposes and principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and spur new political momentum for the international cooperation and solidarity that the peoples of the world increasingly demand.*

Although many challenges facing the world today were discussed, very little attention was given to the next hundred years.

This study provides a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the content of the speeches delivered at the UN Millennium Summit. Prior to the Summit, the UN Secretary-General circulated to all member countries a 57-page *Millennium Report* on the challenges of the twenty-first century and the United Nations. To some degree, the speeches can be thought of as responses to that report. For this study, sixty-three key concepts were identified, counted, and grouped into six themes by the Millennium Project staff and consultants. These themes are: globalization, peace and conflict, rich-poor gap, human rights, UN reform, and the environment.

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[1] As of the dates of the UN Millennium Summit, there were 189 UN Members.

Millennium Project staff and diplomatic consultants selected the quotations that appear in the report on the basis of their illustrative nature and/or the country's situational relevance.

The host country for the Millennium Summit set the tone for this historic event as a supreme paradox:

> *We meet at a remarkable moment—when more of the world's people enjoy prosperity, freedom, and democracy than ever before. We are unlocking the human genome, exploring new frontiers of science, drawing nearer together through the most extraordinary technology. Yet, the Secretary General, in his Millennium Report, reminds us that our greatest challenges are all unmet: to free humanity from poverty, disease, and war; to reverse environmental destruction; and to make this United Nations a more effective instrument in pursuing all these aims. (U.S.)*

In his opening address to the Millennium Summit, the UN Secretary-General stated the central ethical challenge of our time:

> *In an age when human beings have learnt the code of human life, and can transmit their knowledge in seconds from one continent to another, no mother in the world can understand why her child should be left to die of malnutrition or preventable disease.*

The small Eastern Caribbean island of St. Lucia echoed a similar sense of paradox:

> *We have a world of unlimited possibility, a world of technological wizardry…*[and] *a digital divide that more than ever extends the gap between the haves and the have-nots into those who know from those who don't.*

And the Maldives added that

> *…decolonisation is almost complete, Apartheid has been dismantled. Peace has paved the way for human progress. In many parts of the world, health status has improved. And so has education. The standard of living is rising. Human rights are more widely respected. Democracy has virtually replaced despotism. We would rejoice in these achievements, were it not for the horror of the failures. Remember the millions of children dying of hunger. Recall the killing fields of the Middle East, Asia and Africa.*

These paradoxes and the other great challenges we face at the millennium are transnational in nature and trans-institutional in solution. They cannot be addressed by any government or organization acting alone; they require collaborative action among governments, international organizations, corporations, universities, and other NGOs.

Finland added the key meta-challenge: *We know the facts. We know what we want. We know how to get it. All we need is the will to do it.*

Most of the UN Millennium Summit speeches spoke of a globalizing world where reducing conflict, poverty, environmental destruction, corruption, and crime, while increasing

development, democratization, and human welfare are possible if the right actions are taken. Although many negative futures were discussed, the speeches contained much optimism that solutions are possible.

In the meantime, we are faced with a world polarized in power and wealth, while seeking equity and new partnerships for development. Diplomatic veterans observed that there was increased interest in (a) coordinated strategies among the UN, World Bank, IMF, and WTO, (b) the UN's evolution from just reacting to problems to anticipating and preventing problems, and (c) democratizing the major multilateral institutions. Humanitarian intervention, while still high on the agenda, received less attention than last year.

Millennium Project diplomatic consultants also were surprised by the number of governments calling for changes in the Security Council. Since the number of UN member nations has nearly quadruped in the fifty-five years since World War II, many leaders spoke of expanding the Security Council. This is not a vote of confidence in the present operations of the Council. Developing nations called for open markets, debt reduction, increased financial aid, democratization of international institutions, and technology transfer to improve their prospects for development. Both rich and poor nations spoke of greater attention to conflict prevention, global gaps such as the digital divide, and the need for development, especially in Africa. The United Kingdom mentioned "Africa" twelve times in a two-page speech.

Few took this opportunity to discuss their visions of the twenty-first century; the emphasis was rather on correcting injustices and problems of the recent past. However, after the Summit, the leaders did meet in closed round-table discussions to explore the issues raised in these speeches in greater detail.

The following tables show the frequency with which the key concepts were mentioned in all the speeches as a whole and respectively by countries. These key words were selected as they seem to encompass the main ideas that emerged from the statements and therefore reflect the spirit of the Summit. The words were counted as per the frequency with which they were mentioned in the speeches and the number of countries that mentioned them. The counting was both objective and subjective. A word was counted when it was used to express an idea (and not when part of a general statement or enumeration); similarly, if a paragraph reflected a key concept but did not use the key word per se, there was a registration for the word. Additionally, judgments were made about the contexts of words. For example, social "environment" was not included with the use of the term "environment" referring to Nature.

Table 1: Alphabetical list of key concepts

Key Concept	Number of Countries	Freq. of Mention	Key Concept	Number of Countries	Freq. of Mention
Aid/Assistance for Dev.	44	58	Information Technology	51	83
Arms (small, traffic)	25	39	International Criminal Court	16	20
Brahimi Report	15	14	Justice	58	115
Cold War	23	31	Liberty	11	14
Conflict	107	253	Nuclear Issues	39	94
Cooperation	62	91	Peace	148	454
Corruption	13	27	Peacekeeping	56	94
Crises	21	27	Population	15	22
Culture/Values	47	95	Poverty/Third World	134	335
Debt Relief	61	119	Rich-poor Gap	66	101
Decision Making	38	48	Refugees	19	22
Democratization	82	142	Regional	51	110
Development	114	179	Resources	44	61
Disarmament	25	32	Rich/Developed Countries	51	72
Diseases	53	76	Sanctions	16	20
Education	48	68	Science and Technology	55	78
Elections	11	12	Security	102	191
Energy	11	14	Security Council	94	186
Environment	97	151	Small/Developing Countries	81	170
Ethics/Morals	40	63	Solidarity	48	66
Ethnic	20	29	Sovereignty	36	53
Future	54	78	Standard/Quality of Life	21	24
Global Long-term Perspective	5	5	Sustainable Development	36	46
Globalization	130	307	Taiwan	14	16
Global Warming	14	22	Terrorism	32	60
Governance	47	59	Transnational Crime	31	40
Health	40	47	Urban-Rural	2	12
HIV/AIDS	44	68	War	65	108
Human Rights	101	196	Water	15	20
Humanitarian	20	34	Weapons	36	62
Human Security	8	13	Women/Gender Equality	38	50
Independence	38	39			

Table 2: List of key concepts in descending order of overall frequency of mention

Key Concept	Number of Countries	Freq. of Mention	Key Concept	Number of Countries	Freq. of Mention
Peace	148	454	Governance	47	59
Poverty/Third world	134	335	Aid/Assistance for Dev.	44	58
Globalization	130	307	Sovereignty	36	53
Conflict	107	253	Women/Gender Equality	38	50
Human Rights	101	196	Decision Making	38	48
Security	102	191	Health	40	47
Security Council	94	186	Sustainable Development	36	46
Development	114	179	Transnational Crime	31	40
Small/Developing Countries	81	170	Arms (small, traffic)	25	39
Environment	97	151	Independence	38	39
Democratization	82	142	Humanitarian	20	34
Debt Relief	61	119	Disarmament	25	32
Justice	58	115	Cold War	23	31
Regional	51	110	Ethnic	20	29
War	65	108	Corruption	13	27
Rich-poor Gap	66	101	Crises	21	27
Culture/Values	47	95	Standard/Quality of Life	21	24
Nuclear Issues	39	94	Global Warming	14	22
Peacekeeping	56	94	Population	15	22
Cooperation	62	91	Refugees	19	22
Information Technology	51	83	International Criminal Court	16	20
Future	54	78	Sanctions	16	20
Science and Technology	55	78	Water	15	20
Diseases	53	76	Taiwan	14	16
Rich/Developed Countries	51	72	Brahimi Report	15	14
Education	48	68	Energy	11	14
HIV/AIDS	44	68	Liberty	11	14
Solidarity	48	66	Human Security	8	13
Ethics/Morals	40	63	Elections	11	12
Weapons	36	62	Urban-Rural	2	12
Resources	44	61	Global Long-term Perspective	5	5
Terrorism	32	60			

Frequency of key concepts and themes

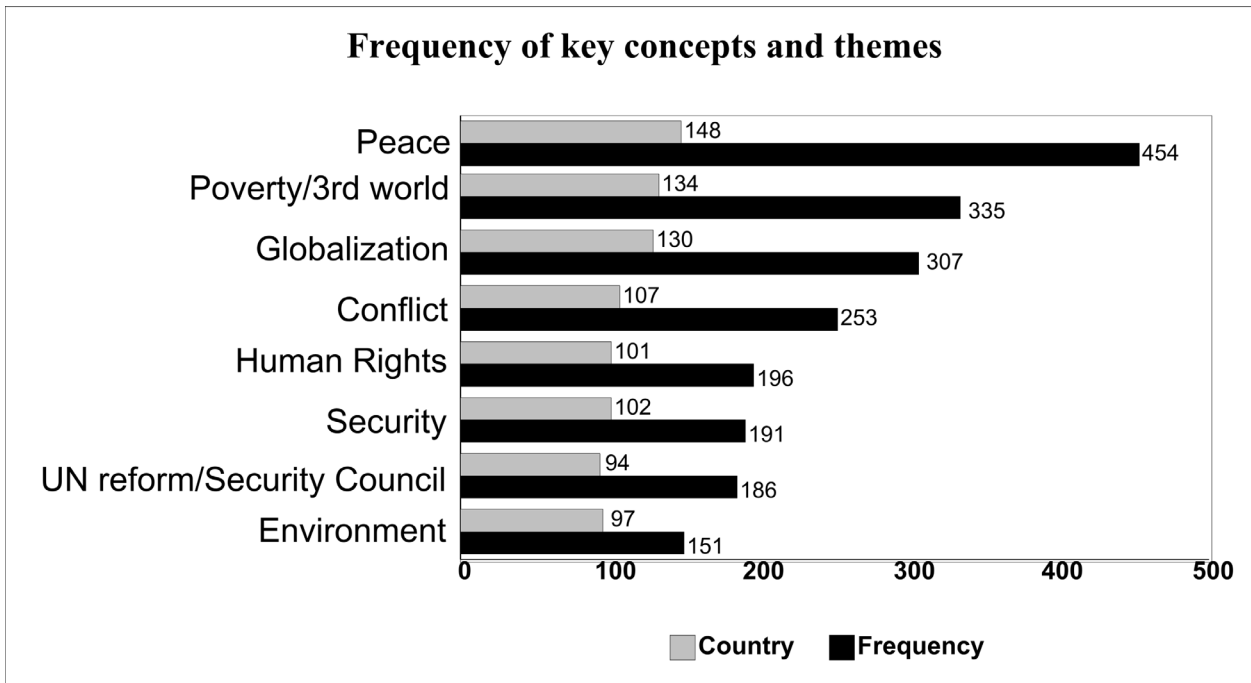| Theme	Country	Frequency
Peace	148	454
Poverty/3rd world	134	335
Globalization	130	307
Conflict	107	253
Human Rights	101	196
Security	102	191
UN reform/Security Council	94	186
Environment	97	151

Figure 1: Frequency of mention of themes

1. GLOBALIZATION

Globalization was the third most frequently used term, mentioned 307 times by 130 countries. Even though peace and poverty were mentioned more often, a reading of all the speeches leads to the sense that the dominant theme was globalization. *As the chair-person of this Summit I have noticed that everybody speaks about globalization* (Finland).

We embrace with enthusiasm and optimism the phenomenon of globalization that makes us all part of a shared time and space. We know that this is a revolution that impacts on the economy, technology, politics and culture and which affects the daily life of people everywhere on the planet. We in the south of the world are not afraid of this great transformation. Quite the contrary, we embrace it full of hope. (Chile)

And yet, the same President of Chile went on to say: *We have also seen how in the name of globalization local cultures and environments are being destroyed. Situations of violence, human rights abuses and war are also arising which the international community is powerless to prevent or resolve. And we note with dismay how the gap between the haves and the have-nots continues to grow to the point at which it has become the gravest threat to the new global society.*

These seemingly contradictory views may both speak the truth, just as it is also true that industrialization brought both positive and negative features to the human condition.

Since, as France put it, *a new world has emerged in the space of a single generation…in which borders are slowly disappearing, a world steeped in the new global culture of communications technologies*, there is a need for *common rules, principles and ambitions*. Georgia added that, in any case, globalization is a necessity *if we want to address successfully the complex challenges of the present and future.*

1.1 Solidarity

Solidarity was mentioned 66 times by 48 countries, mostly in connection with globalization, as an impetus necessary for peace and development. Poland defined solidarity as shared responsibility: *It is sensitivity to the needs and anxieties of the weaker. It is willingness to cooperate and to offer support. It is the priority of concerted efforts over unilateral action. It is respect for diversity and dialogue. But, above all, I perceive solidarity as the freedom, dignity and welfare of the individual which are brought into the focus of attention of all political action and global campaigns.*

Belize said that globalization would bring *prosperity, security and human well being…only if it becomes a globalization of solidarity.* Cameroon warned the Millennium Summit that, *if globalization is not accompanied by a new moral order, if it doesn't include solidarity between nations and the people, it risks putting in danger the peace that is so valuable to our time.* Brazil

added that *globalization should be a means for creating a world of greater solidarity and, therefore, with less asymmetry*. The Netherlands also made the same connection: *Globalization should go hand in hand with solidarity and security for all.* Afghanistan and Brazil said that making this connection real today means opening markets, granting debt relief, and providing development assistance.

1.2 Economic Issues

Globalization has increased international business to the point that *the financial industry holds more assets than the central banks of the world combined. The value of our national currencies is determined every day by the market rather than by our central banks* (Singapore).

The increasingly intense competition accompanying globalization exposes the lack of productivity and marketing infrastructure in the poorer regions. Since competitive pressures reduce profit margins, those with global presence have the advantage. Many leaders stated that the present free-market approach to development is unsustainable because it reduces everything to a "bottom-line-accounting," leaving the environment and many of the world's poorest citizens at a growing disadvantage.

Globalization is a revolution that is all embracing and irreversible. We in Bhutan accept it as a natural outcome of the continuing evolution of human society, accelerated by the miracles of technology. While we welcome the opportunities it offers for socio-economic progress, the fear that it threatens to marginalize further the developing countries is not ill founded. The appeal against consigning globalization entirely to market forces controlled by multinationals for profit alone is growing louder. (Bhutan)

Nearly a quarter of the people this Assembly represents have neither prospered nor gained from these developments. Often, they find themselves further marginalized and more vulnerable as development economics gives way to unbridled market economics and social objectives are erased by profit motive (India). *...It is a world based on unfair and inflexible rules of the market economy* (Algeria).

Developing countries often discover that when they produce cheaper agricultural or basic industrial commodities, such as steel, trade barriers hinder access of their products to developed countries' markets.

The tendency of some to rely on non-tariff barriers to preserve markets and perpetuate the current balance of trade should be resisted by all. This can be best guaranteed by ensuring, especially for developing countries, free access to markets and services through more transparent and predictable standards and requirements. (India)

The global financial architecture *has encouraged an unregulated and volatile capital mobility across national boundaries and currency zones. This has exposed many developing countries to tremendous risks. There is a need to increase the share of developing countries in decision-making in international forums dealing with the international financial system* (India).

In the 21st century, the United Nations' role is crucial as the conscience of the world to balance the interests of the successful and the less successful nations in the New Economies of globalization. It is a conscience that needs to moderate the results of the winner-takes-all paradigm of free-market competition (Brunei Darussalam). Guyana noted that, even if countries try to implement sound internal policies, external factors can prevent progress and …*the success of the model should not be measured by standard economic indicators but by its ability to reduce poverty and empower people.*

Denmark suggested that *we need to create a human framework for the international market economy—as has been done in national economies. We need to put people before money and the market.* Iran made a similar point: *Globalization should not be utilized to open greater markets for a few or to assimilate national cultures into a uniform global one. Instead, what is required is the collective articulation of common interests, norms and laws towards ensuring equitable access to advancement at the global level.*

Singapore suggested that the United Nations lead an effort to create a coordinated strategy to build a capacity for globalization and the knowledge revolution with the IMF, the World Bank, and related international organizations.

1.3 Cultural Issues

Most of the 47 countries that mentioned cultural issues and values (95 times) feared that, as Bulgaria stated: *Globalization has a tendency to go beyond the economic and technical domain and spill over into the sensitive areas of culture, national traditions and customs.* Egypt went on to say that *the progress of intellect, expansion of the available information base and opening up of free communicative channels do not and should not mean the spreading of a culture that challenges or wrestles other civilizations.*

Some speeches like that given by Belarus correlated globalization with the Westernization of culture: …*we are facing more frequent attempts in international relations of the bigger powers to treat all alike and reject any national and regional specifics which do not fall into the customary framework of the "Western way of life."* Some leaders seemed to worry that Western cultural values were seducing the young through global media and advertising.

Speakers called for an explicit respect for national cultures as a foundation for meaning and identity. Just as each member of a family has a different personality, so too the nations of the world have their own uniqueness. There should be no suggestion that what's right or true or meaningful in one country is necessarily the same for all.

Yet, as Poland stated: *Owing to the progress of technology, mankind has been equipped with new medicines, new sources of energy, new means of communication. International co-operation has flourished. The world has learnt to appreciate both its own multi-dimensional character and multiplicity of cultures. Freedom, democracy, rule of law, tolerance, as never before in history, have built a common house for millions of people. The term "globalization" has been coined for our new interdependence. I represent a country which has opened itself to the world, emerging*

as an even more active participant in trade, scientific and technological exchanges. We, of Poland, feel at ease in a world of cultural interactions and lively contacts between people.

Georgia added that *adopting a shared basis of values ought not to be regarded as "Westernization." As most recent history has demonstrated, this set of values is imperative to sustainable development, as, for example, is electricity. I sincerely doubt that while using electricity today, anyone really considers whence it came—East or West.*

The UN was specifically called on as the instrument in monitoring globalization for the well-being of all nations and respect for cultural diversity by leaders from Comores, Estonia, Finland, India, Iran, Italy, Kazakhstan, Mauritius, Monaco, Mongolia, Myanmar, and Qatar.

1.4 Technological Issues

Since scientific and technological advances accelerate the rate of additional innovations, less advanced regions fear being left even further behind in the future. The small eastern Caribbean country Commonwealth of Dominica put it clearly: *It is very obvious that we cannot afford to let the revolution in information technology pass us by. This would not only result in the marginalization of countries like my own, but would put into question the viability and stability of the countries themselves.*

The increasing demand for a highly educated work force leaves many developing countries at a seemingly insurmountable disadvantage. There is also the risk that the competitive advantage of a low-cost labor force will be removed as the need for unskilled workers declines. Some worried that the opportunity that new technology offers developing countries to leapfrog earlier stages of development will be lost unless dramatic plans are implemented. *The need for intellectual capacity to harness the opportunities of the information age is a key prerequisite for closing the digital divide* (Solomon Islands).

Most developing country leaders called for advances in education, including that of women, and technology transfer. The creation of a development fund to finance this received special mention in several speeches.

1.5 Political Issues

Singapore stressed that the nation state is being redefined. *The power within states is flowing downwards and being localized in provinces and cities. At the same time, state sovereignty is being circumscribed by regional and multilateral organizations. Furthermore, new actors, for example, global corporations, some of which have larger outputs than the GDPs of some member states, and NGOs, some of which have more international clout than some governments, are now a prominent and integral part of international life. How do we engage these new power players in a constructive way in the United Nations? What balance can we find between the national role of sovereign states and the international mandate of multilateral organizations?* Globalization seems to imply global decision-making. As France put it: *Globalization marks a*

new stage in humankind's adventure. It challenges us to reinvent political action on a worldwide scale, political action guided by our intelligence, our courage and our hearts.

Yet this grand vision makes some fear they will be further marginalized in terms of political power: *Political globalization cannot come into being at the cost of small countries* (Andorra), and we must *reestablish political ethics over interests* (Portugal). *Yet, despite its tremendous potential and promise to provide prosperity for all, globalization is at present largely characterized by uncertainties and risks* (Indonesia). Singapore warned that the world is becoming dangerously divided between those who *are able to take advantage of globalization and others which cannot* due to educational differences and degree of Internet savvy.

Several leaders specifically warned that globalization is accelerating organized crime and terrorism: *With increased movement across borders, transnational crime and terrorism have become serious problems* (Brunei Darussalam). *The opportunities offered by globalization and increased interdependence are greatly overshadowed by the reduced ability of states to control the serious threats caused by the spread of crossborder crimes, narcotics trafficking, terrorism, diseases and the proliferation of weapons* (Mozambique).

Burkina Faso and Burundi said that the key that unlocks the door to successful globalization is democratization of international relations. One of the positive aspects of globalization is to *make ideas and information more accessible to the entire world. Thus collective awareness of the fundamental rights of democracy and the rule of law are spreading among people in different places as never before* (Iceland).

The ever-increasing economic success of the developed countries (which globalization has facilitated) has left many in the developing countries with the opinion that they are viewed as second-class citizens, or as pupils in the classroom of the developed countries. The unstated assumption is that, since economic success is all that matters, those who wish to achieve it should learn from those who have achieved it. In addition, many speakers from the developing countries felt that the large multinational corporations represent a political power over which they have no control. The vulnerability of these countries' economies to large movements of capital or to low commodity prices undermines their sense of being the political power within their borders. As St. Lucia observed: *Today, the combined wealth of the three richest people in the world is greater than the combined Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the forty-eight poorest countries in the world. Of the one hundred largest economies in the world, fifty-one are corporations, not countries.*

Recognizing that drugs, terrorism, pollution and disease cross borders, most leaders are comfortable with the idea that regional and global institutions are the appropriate forums for addressing many of the world's problems.

Kazakhstan suggested that the UN should *develop a model of globalization that would integrate, to the fullest degree, the interests of all, so to speak, marginalized countries.*

2. PEACE and CONFLICT

It is only through dialogue that differences can be resolved peacefully (Indonesia). Peace was mentioned more than any other term: 454 times, by 148 countries. Conflict was mentioned 253 times by 107 countries.

2.1 Changing Nature of Conflict

There was an overwhelming recognition that the major security threats of the twenty-first century will be global in scale. These threats include terrorism, religious and political extremism, environmental damage and climate change, transnational crime, the arms trade, diseases such as HIV/AIDS, and refugees.

The United Nations should be empowered to deal effectively with the changing nature of conflict, stated Norway, adding that the UN should *detect the seeds of conflict at an early stage, to manage conflict where it cannot be prevented, to mandate and equip UN peace operations that can deal with the complex nature of modern conflict.* Norway went on to say that the UN should also be empowered to provide post-conflict rehabilitation.

The United States and other leaders pointed out that *there are few wars between nations, but more wars within nations,* which the UN was not designed to address. Five million people have been killed during such internal wars over the past ten years. *The main threat that weighs today on peace and security is not anymore the outside aggression of States against other States, but the interior violence perpetrated against communities and individuals* (Djibouti). Several speakers referred to internal conflicts in their countries. Vowing to protect his country's integrity against the Muslim separatist movement on the island of Mindanao, the Philippine president warned that *without peace, there can be no development*. Sri Lanka also drew attention to its struggle with internal conflict and appealed for world support in its efforts.

Many sources of conflict were listed, ranging from selfish interests (India cited lust for territory and hegemony) to poverty and artificial borders in Africa (stressed by Kenya). Peace and human security were emphasized as the foundation of sustainable development …*there is no peace without sustainable development and no development without lasting peace. They go hand in hand in all parts of the world* (Finland).

Mozambique stressed that peace and conflict are interdependent with many new forces today: *By liberalizing trade and finance, the globalization process has exposed poor countries to powerful external forces and has driven them to marginalization and exclusion. This results in serious economic asymmetries, leading to a widening gap between the rich North and the poor South, not only in economic terms, but also in terms of technology and knowledge, a trend leading to greater inequalities. With these increasing inequalities, social injustice and poverty continue to grow in poor countries. This in turn constitutes a source of frustration and conflicts that poses serious threats to international security and stability, democracy and peace.*

Some added that foreign influence can also be a factor in conflict: *Without settlement of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan and other conflicts, without removal of factors of external pressure including the foreign military presence, it is impossible to achieve peace and security in the region* (Azerbaijan). *The Islamic State of Afghanistan wishes to emphasize that, in most conflict termed "internal," external politico-economic and strategic interests and interventions play a primordial role in sustaining that conflict* (Afghanistan).

Although the threat of strategic nuclear war between superpowers has been reduced, nuclear proliferation and the number of countries with the knowledge to produce chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction has increased.

Russia drew attention to the proposed missile defense system in earth orbit: *Particularly alarming are the plans for militarization of outer space. In spring of 2001 we shall celebrate the 40th anniversary of the first flight of man to outer space. That man was our compatriot, and we suggest organizing on that date, under the umbrella of the UN, an international conference on prevention of outer space militarization* (Russian Federation). Vietnam suggested that the missile defense initiatives of the U.S. are simply part of a continuing arms race.

New strategies for peace and human security are necessary. Japan offered to establish an international committee on human security. It has contributed US$80 million and intends to contribute an additional US$100 million to the UN "Human Security Fund" established in March 1999. Canada and private foundations are establishing an independent "International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty."

2.2 Nuclear Disarmament

All 94 mentions of nuclear issues made by 39 speakers referred to the necessity of nuclear disarmament. The Prime Minister of Japan reminded the world leaders at the Millennium Summit that there had been unanimous agreement among participating States at the 2000 Non-Proliferation Treaty Conference on *practical steps toward nuclear disarmament, including "an unequivocal undertaking by nuclear-weapon States to accomplish total elimination" of their nuclear arsenals.*

However, nuclear proliferation could well continue until more effective means for security and disarmament are established. The Prime Minister of India stated that India *was forced to acquire these weapons in 1998 because the principal nuclear weapon states refused to accept the almost universal demand for nuclear disarmament. Moreover, the spread of nuclear weapons in our neighborhood made us especially vulnerable. Nevertheless, our policy is based on responsibility and restraint and we continue to press for universal, verifiable nuclear disarmament with undiminished commitment....In the interregnum, India continues with its voluntary moratorium on further underground nuclear test explosions.*

India and others expressed support of the Secretary-General's proposal for an international conference to address nuclear dangers and the ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Colombia was pleased to note that Latin America was the first major region to be nuclear-free. Qatar appealed to make the Middle East also a nuclear-free zone and called on

Israel to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Laos and the other ASEAN countries have agreed to make Southeast Asia a zone free of nuclear weapons and are in the final stages of ratifying the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Years of working with others for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty paid off. Now our goal, working with our partners in the New Agenda grouping, is nothing less than the total elimination of nuclear weapons. (New Zealand)

2.3 Small Arms and Light Weapons

The small arms trade was mentioned 39 times by 25 countries, especially by African speakers discussing the *strengthening of efforts to eradicate the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, which is the main source of violence and economic and social instability. In this context, there is strong support for the 2001 International Conference on Illicit Trade of Small and Light Weapons* (Mozambique).

We also urge the international community to act collectively against the indiscriminate proliferation of, and illegal trafficking in, small arms and light weapons. Countries should cooperate and work closely to prevent, combat and eradicate the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons by adopting an International Programme of Action of Agreed Measures. (India)

Many leaders felt that the elimination of the traffic in small arms would have a dramatic effect on local conflicts. Since such weapons are not typically produced in the developing countries where they are used, a ban on their international sale would have a beneficial effect. *Twenty-one of the 44 countries in sub-Saharan Africa are affected by conflict which undermines efforts at development* (United Kingdom).

Tanzania wanted closer UN collaboration with regional organizations to counter illicit traffic and proliferation of small arms. Mali noted regional initiatives by the Community of the West African Countries who adopted a memorandum banning the import, export, and production of light weapons.

2.4 Terrorism

The Prime Minister of India warned: *Of the many other threats to peace, democracy and development, none has become as dangerous as international terrorism, with its links to religious extremism, drug trafficking and the commerce in illicit arms. India calls for united global action against these dangers. We urge the international community to quickly adopt and implement the Comprehensive Convention Against Terrorism that will be negotiated at the UN General Assembly session that follows this Summit.*

Russia cautioned that terrorism *is unscrupulous as to the means and is rather skillful in changing its masks. But it survives only when it has a chance to undermine the stability of a state, to sow*

seeds of mutual suspicion and animosity. Our common task is to raise an efficient barrier against this evil.

Saudi Arabia called on all nations not to harbor *terrorist elements and groups, and to prevent their ability to exploit the territories and laws of the states in which they reside and make use of* [these states] *as a springboard for their destructive activities, irrespective of the pretext or justification.*

All five Central Asian countries—Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan—spoke of their alarm at the instability and violence that plague the region. In particular, Afghanistan was identified as *a breeding ground for extremism and international terrorism, spreading not only in Central Asia but throughout the world* (Kazakhstan). All pointed out the link between the drug trade and terrorist activities in Afghanistan, and asked the world community for assistance in combating terrorism and helping normalize the situation. Kazakhstan called for a special meeting of the Security Council to develop a practical plan. Uzbekistan advocated establishing an International Counter-Terrorism Center within the UN system. While blaming foreign conspiracy and interference for turning Afghanistan into a "terrorist training camp," the Afghan president expressed his wish to see *the creation of a broad-based government in* [the country] *under the auspices of the United Nations, so that* [Afghanistan] *can start the task of reconstruction and development*.

Ukraine added cyber-terrorism to the list: *Completely sharing the views expressed by the previous speakers regarding the threat of international terrorism, I would like to draw particular attention to one of its specific manifestations—international computer terrorism. Unfortunately, criminals and malefactors have increasingly profited from the advantages of the information revolution. Such a masterpiece of human creation as the computer is taking on the role of a weapon capable of striking mercilessly at the security and well-being of nations and countries. I would like to invite* [Member States] *to consider the appropriateness of working out an international instrument to combat computer terrorism.*

3.   RICH-POOR GAP

Poverty remains the single greatest challenge facing mankind (Jamaica). *…The gap between the haves and the have-nots continues to grow to the point at which it has become the gravest threat to the new global society* (Chile). *…Poverty and marginalization act against the principles of common ethics, they obstruct the possibilities of democratization and they become an impediment that sterilizes the will and the progressive and enterprising spirit of our society* (Paraguay).

Poverty was mentioned by 134 speakers 335 times, making it a leading issue among political leaders of the world. It was given even greater attention by sub-Sahara African and Latin American leaders, even though 900 million of the 1.2 billion of the world's population which survive on less than $1 a day live in Asia. This is a "dangerous divide." According to Prime Minister Vajpayee of India, the persistence of international inequality *threatens peace among nations*. Both advanced and developing countries called for a global focus that one day would solve poverty. Central Africa and India looked to the May 2001 Conference on the Less Developed Countries in Brussels with hope.

Poverty was also the dominant theme of the speeches at the Millennium Session of the UN Security Council. It was discussed in the context of creating the conditions for conflict, and hence, if the twenty-first century is to be more peaceful than the twentieth, far more attention has to be given to the eradication of poverty.

Addresses to the Millennium Summit by Italy, Lesotho, the Seychelles, Sierra Leone, and Tunisia called for a new partnership for development between the rich and the poor. *We need a new compact between the affluent world and the world of the poorer, and to agree on a common strategy* (Italy). The Seychelles hoped that the *UN International Conference on Financing and Development would result in a global partnership for development*. Sierra Leone supported the UN Secretary-General's call for a partnership with corporations and NGOs to help *legitimate non-state transactions*.

We also need to actively consider a fresh global initiative to fight poverty. In a globalized economy, poverty eradication cannot be treated as the exclusive responsibility of individual nations. Therefore, a new global strategy against poverty is called for (India). Gambia suggested that *super welfare or super humanity* should replace *super profit making*.

It is distressing to see the number of human beings, almost everywhere on the planet and especially in Africa, for whom poverty constitutes the main obstacle to a minimum of dignity in their life and to the realization of their most elementary rights. It is urgent to put a term to this dramatic reality that engages our common responsibility. (Cape-Verde)

One diplomatic commentator noted that, with the exception of Bangladesh, there was a striking absence of comments about the linkage between poverty and population growth. There may be a new ambivalence on population policy, since the world is aging. The UN projects that by the

year 2050 there will be more older people than children. Although populations are aging faster in the developed than the developing word, they are nevertheless still aging in the poorer regions. This will increase financial burdens among the developing countries, since there will be fewer working people to support the elderly. The industrial world grew rich before it grew old, but the developing world could grow old before it grows rich.

3.1 Technology Access

Science and technology were mentioned together by 55 countries 78 times. Most of the 51 countries that mentioned information and communication technology referred to it as one of the main tools to bridge the gap between rich and poor, and highlighted that the information technology gap might have very serious consequences; hence, efforts should be dramatically increased. *We have to act swiftly to prevent a widening of a digital divide between the globalized few and the marginalized many. Failing to do so would ensure the further exacerbation of the scourge of poverty that often, indeed too often, is the root cause of most conflicts* (Malta).

The Secretary-General's panel on Information and Communication Technology called for all of the world's population to have access to the Internet by the end of 2004. Sierra Leone endorsed the UN Secretary-General's Volunteer Corps for Information Technology for Development, but worried about adequate power supplies to run the new systems. The Solomon Islands also stressed that the benefits of information technology depend on the delivery of electricity, which remains a distant possibility for rural communities.

The necessity of equal access to technology, and especially communications technology, as a condition for economic development was mentioned by most of the developing countries. Some, as Benin, highlighted the necessity *to act quickly to correct the negative impacts* [of globalization] *and to fill the big and unjust gap that develops between those who have access to the potential that technological progress puts at our disposition and those who are deprived or excluded from it.*

Sudan acknowledged the need for protecting intellectual property in science and technology, but asked that special consideration be given to problems of production, health, education, and the environment.

Angola also stressed the digital divide: *Over the last few years, economic, scientific and technological advances have been made with no parallel in the history of mankind. But they have only benefited a fifth of the world's population. This small percentage controls 86% of the world's production, 82% of the export markets, 68% of direct foreign investments and 74% of all telephone lines on the planet.* The appropriate response, according to Albania, *is not to impede the digitalization of the world, but to bridge the digital divide.*

Oman called on international and regional organizations to help developing countries in their effort to bridge the digital gap. Finland added that these organizations should make partnerships with the private sector to bridge the digital divide. The same day that the Holy See issued a warning on the digital divide in mid-2000, Costa Rica launched the "Communications without Frontiers" program and *became the first nation to provide free electronic mail to all its*

population. Canada endorsed the creation of a UN Information Technology Service to help close the gap.

3.2 Financial Assistance

Aid or assistance for development was mentioned 58 times by 44 countries. Several developing countries emphasized the need for developed nations to move toward the UN target for Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) of 0.7 percent of GNP. The U.S. ODA is currently 0.1 percent, whereas the EU/Japan average is 0.315 percent.

Donor countries that meet or exceed the target of 0.7 percent of their GDP for their contribution to development assistance are seen as being responsible global citizens. For developing countries, this financial assistance has been the major factor in poverty eradication. African countries said that only a significant increase in development assistance will make a difference. Some pointed out that laudable goals of the past are rarely translated into action and wondered openly whether this time anything will be different.

Burkina Faso noted that it is worth asking whether rich countries, which have capital and technology, have *the degree of engagement, availability and political will* needed to undertake concrete actions in order to ensure *that globalization doesn't constitute another opportunity to marginalize countries in development.*

Colombia called for a *new architecture for the international financial system which will help to secure stability and provide assistance and support for countries that are undergoing a process of adjustment*.

Because many leaders of the poorest countries believe that only a substantial increase in development assistance will help to close the rich-poor gap, suggestions included a development fund financed by cuts in military spending, a polluter's tax and even a tax on speculative capital. Oman suggested that the *economically developed countries should take daring and drastic decisions to achieve greater growth and a more stable and just world economy.*

St. Kitts and Nevis wanted the UN to be a *genuine partner of small-island developing states* and to use a *vulnerability index* in assessing the needs and development strategies of small island states.

Vietnam and Thailand advocated a regional approach to economic cooperation, such as developing *interstate economic development corridors, triangles and quadrangles with a view to maximizing the local advantage*. Vietnam put forth the case for expansion of the three party (2+1) cooperation mechanism, in which two developing countries and a third party, such as a donor country or NGO, work together in different fields.

Thailand supported a *High-level International Intergovernmental Event on Financing for Development at the highest level possible next year* [2001], *with the belief that such a conference would help address the national, international and systemic issues relating to financing for development in a holistic manner.*

The fact that the lives of billions of people have improved over the last century was rarely noted. Croatia, however reminded the delegates: *Let us espouse the positive achievements and promises of globalization, and attenuate its negative implications. We can achieve that by favoring economic relations which will provide for the gradual emergence of poor countries from their predicament. Let us reform the international financial institutions, but let us not, in that process, neglect or unilaterally avoid the discipline and commitments imposed by global interdependence.*

3.3 Trade, Market Access, and Foreign Direct Investment

It is not enough to teach a man to fish; he must also be able to sell his fish. Many developing countries said that their long-term economic development was dependent on improved market access. The Seychelles noted that any partnership for development between the rich and poor should include *gaining greater market access and better prices for our exports.* India asked that such market access include *more transparent and predictable standards and requirements.*

Colombia stressed that protectionism in the richer world must end in order to increase the flow of international trade. Vietnam called for new trading and financial relationships that are *fair, transparent, and non-discriminatory.* It believes that developed countries should assist developing nations in their quest for *international economic integration and their entry into the WTO.* Furthermore, developed countries should refrain from *imposing unreasonable conditions that restrict and eliminate the economic competitiveness of developing countries.*

Some richer countries voiced agreement. For example, Denmark said that *developing countries should enjoy the advantages of international trade. Substantially improved market access for their products—in my view, all their products—should be at the center of an upcoming WTO Round. And everybody should honor the demands and requirements of the ILO concerning labor rights.*

Mozambique stated: *Social and economic development of the developing countries in a favorable international environment is the only solution for the eradication of poverty and this includes the increase of ODA and foreign direct investment, external debt relief and free access by developing countries to developed countries' markets….At the same time, developing countries have obligations in the creation of an enabling social, economic and political environment to attract foreign investment and for the development of economic activity, including the promotion of the private sector.*

3.4 Self-Help

Blaming developed countries is not a solution in fighting poverty. Although it was not a popular theme, some developing countries acknowledged that self-help is important in defeating poverty. Congo-Brazzaville and El Salvador said developing countries should not be passive witnesses to history but assume a responsibility to fight poverty. Or, as China put it, *developing countries must enhance their capacity to develop their economy, science and technology. After all, their development will depend on continuously strengthening their capacity for self-development.*

Sweden put it bluntly: *Take a look around: Nations that put the tools of development in the hands of all people are making more lasting progress.*

The implementation of the Barbados Program of Action was mentioned by several countries. As Samoa said, it is *critical for long-term sustainability that there be enhanced capacity for national self-assurance and economic self-sufficiency. This is an underlying premise of the Barbados Program of Action. We believe it has an important and enduring message for other developing countries.*

3.5 Debt Relief

Debt relief was mentioned 119 times by 61 countries, of which 32 were sub-Saharan and Latin American. Albania stated flatly that the industrialized world could make an *immense impact by supporting relief from international debt of poor countries.* The fundamental argument was that, since the needs are so great, debt relief is a means of providing development assistance without expending additional funds.

Georgia said that *there can be no "new financial architecture" unless debts are written off.* Tunisia proposed *a partnership and development contract between developing and developed countries, and the recycling of debts for investment in developmental and environmental projects.*

External debt has emerged as the greatest obstacle to progress in developing countries. Indeed, we note with appreciation that a number of initiatives have been put in place. The reality, however, is that these measures are inadequate. The G-77 strongly urge creditor nations to seize this historic moment to unshackle the economies of developing countries by canceling all their external debts. This is the only way these countries can be given the chance to effectively plan for the improvement of living standards for their peoples. (Nigeria)

External debt is a major obstacle to economic growth and sustainable development of developing countries. While we welcome the HIPC (Highly Indebted Poor Countries) and the Cologne Initiatives as well as other mechanisms for debt relief, we believe that unconditional debt cancellation could enable us to redirect resources to poverty eradication, including the improvement of social sectors and rehabilitation of basic infrastructures. (Mozambique)

Some of the more developed countries agreed. For example, the United States added that *too many countries are crippled by debt, so we must further our efforts with the G-7 and other creditors to reduce the debts of developing countries that invest the savings in basic needs.* Finland added that *there is no magic formula for development. New and old remedies must complement each other. Increased assistance must focus on individuals and their needs. We must forgive the debts of the poorest countries and remove obstacles from their trade.*

Debt cancellation is important, indispensable even, but not enough. We need a new compact between the affluent world and the world of the poorer, and to agree on a common strategy. The less advanced countries can and should envisage political and economic reforms; the more advanced, a better mix of policies, blending measures directed at debt reduction (providing

faster and timely relief, and addressing the problems of middle-income nations), together with open markets and fresh investment in key sectors, beginning with education and health. (Italy)

Debt relief has the potential to make substantial resources available for investment in poverty reduction, education, and health. Both bilateral and multilateral creditors should cover their share of the cost.…But debt, aid, or trade, are not separate issues. Improving one and cutting back on another is meaningless. We can make development sustainable only if we take a coherent approach. (Denmark)

Germany mentioned that the *Koln Debt Relief Initiative launched by the German Government last year* [1999], *which the G-8 continued at its summit in Okinawa, created the prerequisites for combining debt relief with a strategy to combat poverty. Germany will forgive the entire bilateral debts of the most heavily indebted poor countries. However, such initiatives can have their full effect only with the support of the international community and, above all, the United Nations.*

The Prime Minister of Antigua and Barbuda reminded the Millennium Summit that *although 25 countries were identified by the IMF and World Bank to benefit by the end of the year 2000 under the much vaunted Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative, not one* [of these countries] *has yet received an actual cash draw down.*

The UN Secretary-General suggested that debt relief should be given only to those countries with a strategic plan in place to reduce poverty.

4.   HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights was mentioned 196 times by 101 countries. Human rights as a criterion for both domestic and foreign policy has grown dramatically in importance over the past twenty-five years. Iceland reminded the leaders that *opinion surveys about worldwide attitudes towards the United Nations showed human rights, as the Secretary-General points out in his Millennium Report, to be a central issue in people's expectations towards the United Nations. If anything, such expectations may be expected to grow stronger, and the United Nations needs to respond to them.* Many issues are now included under the human rights theme.

Russia stated that it was the UN *where the international regime of human rights—the most important characteristic of the modern world—was born. This universal instrument proved to be not vulnerable to ideological speculations, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has never been only a declaration. Up to this day it definitely affects our lives.*

However, Saudi Arabia questioned the management of progress on human rights, saying: *Such human rights exist in the roots of every human civilization, and are not a monopoly of one culture. It is absurd to impose on an individual or a society rights that are alien to its beliefs or principles.*

4.1 Sovereignty

Thirty-six countries mentioned sovereignty 53 times. Some, like Spain, argued that sovereignty has been used to shield some governments' abuse of citizens' human rights from foreign intervention: *The principle of state sovereignty is the mainstay of the international community and no one intends to question this fact. By the same token, that very principle may not be used as a shield behind which those encouraging and abetting massive atrocities find cover.*

We must respect sovereignty and territorial integrity. But whether through diplomacy, sanctions, or collective force, we must find ways to protect people as well as borders. (U.S.)

Speaking out against ethnic genocide, Slovenia said that the UN should have the right to intervene. *Regional security and global peace are becoming increasingly dependent on the UN's capacity to efficiently intervene when States are perpetrating violence against their own citizens.*

Dialogue and cooperation in the field of human rights must be conducted on the basis of respect for state sovereignty. This is the fundamental and most effective way to protect and promote human rights. So long as there are boundaries between States, and people live in their respective countries, to maintain national independence and safeguard sovereignty will be the supreme interests of each government and people. Without sovereignty, there will be no human rights to speak of. (China)

Albania expressed a different view: *I believe that, instead of the old concept of classic independence, we must apply a new concept of interdependence. I think this is the path in Europe and the Balkans, to make compatible the principle of self-determination with the principle of interdependence within the United States of Europe. Such a path does not mean the dissolution of national sovereignty, but rather the sovereign choices nation states are making to devolve more power to local and regional authorities or to pool their sovereignty within supranational authorities.*

Spain believes that humanity has finally come to accept that *human dignity is deemed more valuable than the sanctity of the state.*

4.2 Democratization

Eighty-two countries mentioned democratization 142 times. *We need to eliminate official corruption, foster a culture of accountability, and cultivate the values and institutions for enduring democracy and constitutionality* (Eritrea).

Essentially all leaders spoke of democracy as the central norm of governance for the twenty-first century, but not all have a common vision of its political evolution. Democratic evolution has to take into consideration how different cultures consider the special status of elders and gender responsibilities. Social stability has to be considered during the process of democratization. Electoral processes and the creation of opposition parties cannot simply be superimposed on vastly different social conditions. Yet these conditions may not change without commitments to human rights and economic development.

Latin America and the Caribbean have a decisive commitment to democracy and respect for human rights as the guiding principles of the new international order....This is what we, the Presidents of the Group of Rio, asserted in Cartagena when we signed a Commitment to Democracy, and all the Presidents of South America ratified it less than a week ago in Brasilia (Colombia). Poland expressed pride in initiating the democratization process in Central and Eastern Europe, a process that *emerged as a factor of stability, security, development and progress* in the region.

Poverty itself was stressed as an obstacle to democracy. *How can one speak about Human Rights without the right to development? What is democracy and what does good governance mean without the management of common goods?* (Cameroon)

Yet Chad's Prime Minister mentioned that democracy does not necessarily require wealth, giving as an example his own country: *It is admitted unanimously that democracy and poverty don't often exist in the same household. The Republic of Chad, a State classified among poorest of the planet,* has for a decade courageously worn the mantle of democracy.

Some leaders of developing countries wanted the West to remember not only how far developing countries have come, but that each country must be able to work out its own democratic evolution, at its own time and pace, and with respect for its own special needs. As with the free market, Westerners are admonished that there isn't just one right way and each country should be

allowed the freedom and respect to find its own way. One must have respect for the principle of self-determination.

Haiti suggested a flaw in current processes of democratization by noting that political power was moving toward international financiers who are not elected.

Although there is no universal definition or strategy for democracy, the term is universally endorsed as a goal for humanity.

4.3 Refugees

Countries that have received many refugees are overwhelmed and have asked for international help, yet Andorra and Canada welcomed the influx as an opportunity for cultural diversity.

Andorra has a lot to say about questions of diversity and tolerance. We have lived through the wars of our neighbors and of Europe: refugees always found help and peace with us. In the second half of the twentieth century Andorra was host to immigration which multiplied its population by more than eight times. And all of us who live there try to make tolerance and respect for diversity more than just a word. (Andorra)

At the other extreme, Palestinian refugee problems are still unresolved 52 years after the UN first tried to make peaceful arrangements. Over many decades UNHCR has assisted millions of refugees around the world. Congo-Brazzaville, one of the countries needing help today, is about to experience *a big humanitarian disaster with the influx on its territory, in the region of the Likouala, of 70 to 100 thousand refugees escaping fights that rage in the north of the Democratic Republic of Congo. These refugees are abandoned without aid, left to themselves in the total indifference of the international community* (Congo-Brazzaville).

4.4 Women's and Children's Rights

Leaders from 38 countries stressed the human rights of women and children: *We need to introduce and develop, if necessary through short-term affirmative action, meaningful measures to empower women in order to ensure their all-round participation at all levels of our national development* (Eritrea).

Further efforts should be initiated in the areas of gender equality and children's rights, particularly of those children who so often pay a disproportionately high price in areas of armed conflict. We should institute effective policies in the pursuit of youth employment, as well as policies for disabled people, who constitute one-sixth of our planet's citizenry and who should have the opportunity to become fully engaged in and contribute to the development of our societies. (Cyprus)

Several countries welcomed the Convention on the Rights of the Child, but Kiribati expressed some reservations: *In 1995 my Government acceded to the Convention on the Rights of the Child*

with some reservations. The underlying reason for these reservations was that whilst we had no problem with the main thrust of the Convention, my Government feared that it focused entirely on the obligations of parents to their children without due concern for the protection of parents from their children. In my culture, as in many others, children are taught from an early age to respect their parents and to care for them also in their old age. In some cases, the CRC advocates the rights of children to the point where it can be seen as encouraging them to lose their respect for their parents. This is a cause of great concern to many parents who believe that the CRC provision is detrimental to the natural order embodied in the family hierarchy. There was great opposition to our reservations from certain countries which did not have a proper understanding of the cultural values vital for the harmonious existence of our people.

Another emerging concern was the increasing number of AIDS orphans who, growing up without love and guidance, could feed a new wave of crime, disease, and poverty.

4.5 The International Criminal Court

Most of the 16 countries that mentioned the International Criminal Court (ICC) considered the creation of the permanent court a necessity in ensuring universal human rights: *The international community has achieved, before the conclusion of the millennium, the creation of…an institution that will strengthen the founded international system in the law and the full validity of human rights* (Argentina).

Germany *strongly advocates the early entry into force of the Statute of the International Criminal Court which is to try cases involving the most serious international crimes, such as genocide.*

One of the vehicles that can help us best in arranging this world is certainly international law, and in this regard the role of the UN and of the Secretary General as the depository of more than 500 treaties is of irreplaceable and invaluable significance. In endeavoring to safeguard and reinforce the elementary norms of international humanitarian law, the Security Council has also established ad hoc criminal tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. However, genuine progress towards universal protection will be achieved through the International Criminal Court (Croatia). However, Libya doubted the fairness of the ICC and said that, as now designed, *it will try only the weak.*

4.6 Transnational Crime and Corruption

Increasing corruption and organized crime are direct threats to human rights. Italy listed fighting organized crime among its top four priorities. *We must mobilize the international community against international organized crime, which is nowadays almost a parallel world, outside every rule, subject only to violence and brutality. The UN can provide a decisive contribution; Italy intends to promote a collective effort in this direction, with the Conference that we are convening in Palermo on this very subject before the end of this year.*

Peru suggested that a mechanism within the banking system could capture illegal money and then give that money to poorer regions of the world. Money laundering traps could be a source of funds to help the poor countries, Peru argued, because they have suffered the most from such crime syndicates: *Money and confiscated goods of narco-traffic should be used for development.*

Sierra Leone has decided to establish a *hybrid court that combines municipal and international law to end impunity. The Organization* [UN] *has to muster the courage to be more creative, to be more innovative, to pursue new initiatives, new strategies, and, in the words of the Secretary-General, "to explore viable new approaches" to the hard-core problems of our time.*

Ghana stated: *Corruption is a global phenomenon. However, Africa in particular has suffered especially severe damage, materially, morally and, seemingly, as the only or the most corrupt continent in the world.*

4.7 Global Ethics

Whenever I encounter any problem of today's civilization, inevitably, I always arrive at one principal theme: the theme of human responsibility. This does not mean merely the responsibility of a human being towards his or her own life or survival; towards his or her family; towards his or her company or any other community. It also means responsibility before the infinite and before eternity; in a word, responsibility for the world. Indeed, it seems to me that the most important thing that we should seek to advance in the era of globalization is a sense of global responsibility. (Czech Republic)

Iran underscored the need for a global ethics realized in the system of governance: *The world community ultimately requires the emergence of a responsive moral society, precluding resort to force and coercion both in national and international disputes. Values and norms without codification into law, and laws without enforcement mechanisms will fail to have tangible impact. The process of globalization is thus intertwined with articulation of new collective rights and ethics, and the ensuing impact on national and international norms and institutions.*

Cameroon called for the creation of an International Committee (or Observer) of International Ethics that would oversee respect of basic universal human values. Iran proposed to designate the year 2001 as the United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilizations. Other countries welcomed this idea and Lithuania will host the International Conference on the Dialogue among Civilizations in April 2001.

Slovenia suggested that humanitarian intervention demands *a new chapter in international law which would be adapted to contemporary understanding of international morality. International humanitarian law is an impressive idea and a requirement of our time. For the time being, its norms are vague, often unknown and frequently deliberately violated. For this reason it is imperative to elaborate a doctrine for humanitarian intervention which will be based on a modern interpretation of the UN Charter and in line with new international relations and norms, which in certain conditions give priority to the protection of human rights.*

5.   UN REFORM

While acknowledging the value of the UN, world leaders suggested reforms for the Security Council, General Assembly, ECOSOC, peacekeeping, and improved collaboration with other institutions. The United Nations is *the only institution that represents the collective conscience of humanity…our only hope for a more compassionate world* (Seychelles).

Reform is imperative for an organization that was fashioned more than half a century ago in the prevailing circumstances of the 1940's. Its future viability and relevance to the contemporary world will depend on how successfully it modernizes itself (Malaysia). Russia warned that *no reforms should make* [the UN] *lose its fundamental principles.*

It would be unfair to blame the UN for having failed our expectations. The fact remains that only if we, the leaders of the world, are ready—individually and collectively—to take action, only if we give the United Nations the necessary authority and adequate resources—only then can we move forward towards a better world for all. (Denmark)

The UN Charter envisaged a balance between the three major inter-governmental organs of the United Nations—the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. Over the years, this balance has tilted rather heavily towards the Security Council. It is important that the central role of the General Assembly be respected; the Economic and Social Council has again become active in the promotion of development; we trust that the momentum will be maintained. (India)

Some developing countries stressed that the UN system tends to be controlled by the powerful States and should become more democratic (Afghanistan, Burkina Faso, Chile, Guatemala, Estonia, India, Iran, Iraq, Kiribati, Liberia, Malaysia, Maldives, Marshall Islands, Mauritius, Myanmar, Nauru, Nicaragua, Oman, Palau, Panama, and Poland).

Two leaders summed up the general perception of UN at the Millennium:

What seemed unattainable half a century ago, today has become the norm of international relations. Respect for each other and the UN instruments helped the countries and peoples to learn the art of dialogue and look for common decisions. (Russia)

We may be frustrated some times by the way the UN works, but at least for all its imperfections, it is a force for good and our desire is that it does more not less. If it did not exist, we would need to invent it. (United Kingdom)

5.1 Security Council Issues

The most frequently discussed issue for UN reform was the Security Council. It was mentioned 186 times by 94 countries. It was the second most frequently mentioned topic (after peace) by

the Middle Eastern countries. Most of these countries suggested that reform should concern both the composition and the methods of work in decision-making, transparency, and accent on preventive action.

5.1.1 Composition of the Security Council Many world leaders believe the UN Security Council should reflect the world today, rather than at the end of World War II. Speakers from both developing and developed countries argued for the addition of more permanent as well as non-permanent members. *The Security Council should represent the general interests of the international community and not* [act] *in function of exclusive military or political strategic interests* (Panama).

While the membership of the UN has increased from 51 at inception to 189 today, the membership of the Security Council has grown by only ten members, none of whom are permanent. The number and, more importantly, the identity of the permanent members have remained unchanged. As a result, the vast majority of all members are denied genuine participation in what is arguably the most important organ of the UN body. (Palau)

I am convinced that a large majority of member States already support the expansion of the permanent and non-permanent membership of the Council, as well as the inclusion of both developing and developed countries in the expanded permanent membership. Let us confirm this as a starting point, and accumulate agreements, one by one, on those issues of Security Council reform on which we can agree. (Japan)

As member States will recall, India has let it be known for some years that we believe ourselves qualified by objective criteria for responsibilities of permanent membership. Indeed, as the world's largest democracy with enormous potential, a rapidly growing economic power and a major contributor to peace-keeping operations, India has a natural claim to a permanent seat in the Security Council. (India)

In addition to suggestions for specific countries such as Japan, Germany, and India being added as permanent representatives, the countries listed below suggested fair geographic or structural representation on the Security Council: Afghanistan, Albania, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bhutan, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Chad, China, Congo-Brazzaville, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Czech Republic, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kiribati, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Mali, Mauritius, Mongolia, Mozambique, Namibia, the Netherlands, New Guinea, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Palau, Panama, Papua, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Singapore, Spain, Slovakia, Sudan, Sweden, Suriname, Thailand, Tonga, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Ukraine, Tanzania, Holy See, Venezuela, and Zambia.

The creation of regional groupings and inclusion of at least one representative from each group in the membership of the Security Council was advocated by several countries. African countries requested two permanent and two nonpermanent seats for Africa. The Pacific Regional Group and the Arab World asked for one permanent seat.

5.1.2 Structure of the Security Council The President of the Czech Republic proposed a reformed Security Council, which *would serve as an executive organ handling, on a continuous basis, some of the crucial problems of the world. The composition of this organ would, of course, have to be different from that of the present Security Council. The qualifications and the personalities of the individual members should probably carry more weight than the circumstances of the countries they represent. The future United Nations should have its own permanent military and police force. This superior executive organ should monitor the observance of laws or decisions of the Organization, and seek their enforcement in the areas of security, human rights, environment, alimentation* [nutritional supply], *economic competition, health, finance, local development, etc.*

5.1.3 Peacekeeping Operations Peacekeeping was mentioned 94 times by 56 countries. There was greater interest from the countries that have sent forces than those who have received them.

Malawi stressed the need for a *mechanism by which it* [the UN] *can take quick decisions on the deployment of peace-keeping missions during emergencies*. Iceland also referred to the need for rapid response, but stressed the use of civilians such as police, lawyers, and others to help create a lasting reconciliation as part of the peacekeeping process. The United States agreed: *We need better machinery to ensure UN peacekeepers can be rapidly deployed, with the right training and equipment, the ability to project credible force, and missions well-defined by a well functioning headquarters. To meet this challenge, we must also more effectively deploy civilian police to UN missions.*

The United Kingdom stressed that a new compact and procedures would be necessary to achieve this. We need *UN forces composed of units appropriate for more robust peacekeeping that can be inserted quickly, rather than whatever the Secretary-General's staff has been able to gather from reluctant member states. This means a new contract between the UN and its members. We must be prepared to commit our forces to UN operations. The UN must alter radically its planning, intelligence and analysis, and develop a far more substantial professional military staff. When the moment comes, a field headquarters must be ready to move, with an operational communications system up and running immediately rather than weeks into the deployment.*

In addition to military threats, the UN should also fight: *terrorism, drug trafficking, mistreatment of human beings and of the weakest and children, as well as misdemeanors generated by funds of criminal origins* (Monaco).

Rwanda added that post-conflict assistance is also necessary. *International agencies seem more effective in reacting to humanitarian crises, but are wholly inadequate in assisting affected countries in the aftermath of conflicts. Yet, equally difficult challenges lie in the post-crisis phases, particularly in terms of economic and social reconstruction processes to permit sustainable development, thus preventing further cycles of violence.*

The **Brahimi report** is a comprehensive assessment of UN peacekeeping operations by the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations. The panel made recommendations that were singled out for praise by Belgium, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Italy, Jordan, Latvia,

Luxembourg, Portugal, Sweden, Thailand, Tonga, and the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom called for implementation of the report's recommendations within twelve months.

The UN needs a sizeable and robust capacity for peace operations. The UN must be able to respond quickly and with credible force. The report from Ambassador Brahimi's panel provides both a strong case and frank recommendations for putting things right. (Denmark)

However, Belgium cautioned that *even the full implementation of the Brahimi report will not be enough to prevent tragedies such as those experienced in Rwanda, Srebrenica or Somalia. We will still be confronted with the difficulty of recruiting troops and with a late deployment on the ground. We must go further in our thinking.*

Several speakers stressed the need for a clear mandate, realistic goals and a credible force if UN peacekeeping efforts are to be successful. These leaders agreed that peacekeeping cannot succeed unless the parties involved have demonstrated a willingness to work together to find consensus solutions. When one party to a peace agreement is clearly violating the terms of that agreement, UN forces cannot be compelled to give equal treatment to both parties. Some questioned how a UN peacekeeping force can be a "neutral body" and exercise credible force while distinguishing victim from aggressor. Using force only in self-defense and trying to be impartial has sometimes created a climate of ineffectiveness; impartiality must mean that if one side violates the principles of the UN Charter, peacekeeping forces should be allowed to distinguish between victim and aggressor. Although many speakers agreed that peacekeeping forces should deploy only to post-conflict situations, there are increasing calls for the use of UN force for both conflict resolution and conflict prevention.

Many lesser-populated countries, such as Australia, Fiji, and Nepal, were proud of the role their militaries have played in peacekeeping operations.

5.1.4 Role in Conflict Prevention Nineteen leaders stressed that the Security Council should increase its focus on prevention of conflict:

The United Nations should be empowered to deal effectively with the changing nature of conflict, to detect the seeds of conflict at an early stage, to manage conflict where it cannot be prevented, to mandate and equip UN peace operations that can deal with the complex nature of modern conflict. (Norway)

It is essential to emphasize prevention, and this is the lesson we derive both from ten years of Balkan wars and from the devastating consequences of conflicts still raging on the African Continent. Dealing with crises after they explode into the open bears costs, in terms of human suffering, that are simply unacceptable. (Italy)

Civilian crisis management should be developed and strengthened. A competent judiciary, a well functioning educational system and effective local administration are everyday examples. Using the same elements, post-conflict peace-building consolidates a nation's foundation and prevents renewal of conflicts. (Finland)

Mozambique spoke about the role of the UN in prevention and added that greater attention should be given to the management of human suffering in natural disasters. Saudi Arabia wanted the UN to be a peace maker as well as a peace preserver, noting that it is less costly to prevent conflict than to restore peace, and lamented that *many of the conflicts now raging could have been avoided or mitigated had we exerted greater effort to prevent the escalation of the crises that preceded them.*

Argentina, Iceland, and Italy proposed "White Helmets" as civilian operations for offering humanitarian assistance in emergency situations. Argentina and Italy are developing a satellite early warning system to support such preventive actions.

Grenada expressed the support of its government *for the proposal by the Commission on Global Governance that a standing UN Volunteer Force be established.* At the initiative of the Central African Countries, Gabon will be hosting the headquarters of the "rapid warning system" as a mechanism of preventive action in the sub-region.

Japan and Mongolia said the UN should play a more human-centered role giving more emphasis to "human security." In addition to its contribution to the "Human Security Fund," Japan announced its intention to establish an international committee on human security.

The Prime Minister of Denmark was *pleased to announce a Danish contribution of one million dollars to the Trust Fund for Preventive Action.*

Post-conflict action is also important. *The United Nations should be empowered to provide post-conflict rehabilitation, to alleviate the suffering and protect the rights of innocent civilians, of innocent women and children, to punish genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity* (Norway).

Iraq and Laos cautioned that *humanitarian intervention* shouldn't be used to interfere in internal affairs of other States.

5.1.5 Regional Peacekeeping Belgium, Brazil, Ghana, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Mozambique, and Tanzania spoke in favor of creating regional peacekeeping capabilities for rapid deployment and some stressed the need for a chain of command from the regional efforts to the UN Secretariat. *Active involvement of regional security systems in the processes of maintaining stability and security could also help take the edge off the problem of humanitarian intervention. With the assistance of these security systems and the support of the Security Council, many conflicts can be resolved without gross interference into the internal affairs of sovereign states* (Kazakhstan).

As a leading contributor to UN and regional peacekeeping initiatives, Ghana believes that regional or sub-regional efforts to contain conflict can only augment the UN's efforts to maintain international peace and security.

5.1.6 Sanctions The use of sanctions was questioned by some: *Sanctions have had varied successes in maintaining or restoring international peace and security. Their appropriateness should be thoroughly reviewed for each situation. Sanctions regimes should not be open ended. However, they remain a valuable tool to use in various situations where wars and rebel atrocities are fueled by illegal trade in diamonds and other natural resources. The situations in Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone are cases in point. Sanctions can be used in the same way to curb the illicit arms flow to and in Africa, which endangers lives and threatens peace and security as well as seriously hampering development on the continent* (Namibia).

5.1.7 Veto Powers Although most speakers did not specifically ask to eliminate the veto, many would like to see its use modified. Others argued that the veto is an archaic and heavy-handed way for a few countries to circumvent the will of the majority. *The right of veto should probably not be exercisable by any single member* (Czech Republic).

Saudi Arabia suggested limiting the veto's usage rather than eliminating it: *Reconsidering* [a change in] *the right of veto that is available to the permanent members, while acknowledging that it may be impossible to achieve, will not benefit us as much as striving to limit its use against previous resolutions adopted by the Assembly and with the approval of the permanent member states themselves.*

5.2 The General Assembly

Afghanistan, Bahrain, Angola, Egypt, Republic of Moldova, and India suggested increasing the role of the General Assembly in peace, security and justice. There were several suggestions for an additional section of the General Assembly that would be popularly elected. A reformed UN *would probably have to rest on two pillars: one constituted by an assembly of equal executive representatives of individual countries, resembling the present plenary, and the other consisting of a group elected directly by the globe's population in which the number of delegates representing individual nations would, thus, roughly correspond to the size of the nations. These two bodies would create and guarantee global legislation* (Czech Republic).

Germany suggested that *the work of the United Nations on a few areas should lead the General Assembly to reduce its annual agenda to the actual key issues of our age*.

5.3 Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

Many speakers called for strengthening the role of ECOSOC. Although the UN was founded "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and peacekeeping operations of the Security Council have received much attention, the challenges of poverty and development require increased attention. Leaders spoke about the interdependence of peace and progress in social and economic development, thereby making the focus areas of ECOSOC equally important with the traditional focus of the Security Council.

The defining question of the 21st century will be how to close the present gap in development between the developed and the developing countries. The role of ECOSOC in translating our aspirations into reality should be further strengthened. It will be necessary, therefore, in the 21st century to rethink the powers of ECOSOC so that it is put on a footing commensurate with its importance. (Lesotho)

Up to this point I venture to say that in its work the United Nations has placed issues of military security at the top of its priorities. But, the world is still dangerously unsettled today, and the UN's efforts at peacemaking and peacekeeping have had mixed success at best. The time has come to recognize that other components of the United Nations agenda—sustainable economic development and poverty eradication, social development, good governance and human rights— are as central to the achievement of long term security as controlling military aggression when it arises. (Micronesia)

Several countries said that the UN, IMF, World Bank and other international development organizations need to be brought up to date and work as a team. According to Singapore, *they should then put in place coordinated programs to build capacity for globalization and the knowledge revolution. I call upon the Secretary General to institute regular dialogues among the multilateral organizations to bring about such coordination.*

Italy suggested establishing a coordinated strategy among ECOSOC, Bretton Woods Institutions, and regional organizations to focus on responsibilities and priorities. Suriname added that this collaboration with ECOSOC for global economic governance should also include the Security Council and the WTO.

Afghanistan proposed to divide ECOSOC in two separate organizations: *The Social Council would be in charge of all social issues, including social development, humanitarian issues and human rights. All international institutions, offices and programs could be integrated and supervised by this Council. Likewise, the Economic Council would be assigned to coordinate trade and financial policies at the world level. All institutions dealing with economic policies should be integrated and supervised by this newly established Council* (Afghanistan).

5.4 Financial Security

Bhutan, Canada, Denmark, Estonia, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, Laos, Nepal, the Netherlands, Panama, Portugal, Sweden, and Tanzania stressed that all countries should pay their UN dues. The financial security of the UN is vital for the organization to fulfill its many mandates.

5.5 Increased Roles for Non-Governmental Organizations and Civil Society

There was widespread recognition that national governments and international organizations cannot handle all of the world's problems. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have played a substantial part in advocacy, conflict prevention, and the many roles of development.

During and after conflicts, NGOs have been critical to the restoration of institutions necessary for social well-being. They have helped rebuild medical, legal, judicial, educational, economic, and administrative institutions.

Several speakers noted that the UN needs to reach out to the institutions of civil society, bringing together international institutions, private sector organizations, and national governments to accomplish common goals.

Germany stressed that *if we are to foster economic and social progress worldwide, it is essential that civil society and, in particular, the business community, play a greater role in the United Nations' work. Secretary-General Annan, for example, provided important impetus for this with his "Global Compact" project. Should we not enhance and consider additional forms and areas of such cooperation? I would propose that the Secretary-General convene as quickly as possible a working group of business leaders from around the world to develop concrete ideas on this.*

Civil society will demand an increasingly important role in the globalized world and that is why in Chile we consulted with civil society as we prepared for this Millennium Summit. (Chile)

Non-governmental organizations have played a crucial role in setting the global agenda. This participation must be extended to civil society as a whole, including parliaments, the private sector and the business community. Their representatives could be included in official UN delegations, which is what Finland does. (Finland)

Italy called for creating *new forms of partnership between the UN, civil society, and the corporate world. I believe that we can harness the implications of globalization, extending benefits and reducing risks, only if we generate interaction with civil society, and only by extending the principle of responsibility to the private sector.*

It has become evident that the contributions of civil society in these realms enable it to become an active partner of the United Nations in the implementation of its policies and the achievement of its goals. (Egypt)

Indonesia reinforced the idea that sustainable development needs inter-institutional collaboration: *In this era of interdependence and integration of countries, markets, ideas and society, there is a need to forge viable partnerships between governments, civil society, international organizations and the private sector, including multinational corporations.*

5.6 UN Collaboration with Other International Organizations

Several countries supported the role of regional and sub-regional organizations in development, peace and security. Leaders stressed that the UN should intensify its collaboration with these organizations.

If we are to build a world order that meets the needs of our times, we must strengthen and improve the co-existence of great institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO and, first of all, the UN. (France)

African countries mentioned the Organization of African Unity and its role in African development and conflict resolution. For example, Namibia cited *recent events that have demonstrated the invaluable role that regional and sub-regional organizations such as the OAU, SADC and ECOWAS can play in maintaining or restoring international peace and security. The efforts of these organizations should be supported on the basis of ensuring regular consultations and cooperation.*

Latin American countries mentioned the Group of Rio and the Declaration of Cartagena. The WTO, World Bank, and IMF were cited for their assistance in economic development. Portugal recommended that social and environmental issues be taken up by the WTO. Italy mentioned the increasing strategic importance of relations with the European Union and the G-8. Malaysia called for the *formation of the G-20 of developed, developing, and emerging economies on global financial and monetary matters.* The Marshall Islands cited the increasing importance of the Alliance of Small Island States.

5.7 Additional Agenda Items for the UN

Numerous suggestions have been listed in previous sections. The following were not listed elsewhere in this report.

5.7.1 Health Systems, HIV and AIDS HIV/AIDS was mentioned 68 times by 44 countries, more often than health, which was mentioned 47 times by 40 countries. Swaziland said that a quarter of its population will not survive the next ten years and that AIDS is a greater threat to global stability than were World Wars I and II. The United Kingdom pointed out that last year more people died in Africa as a result of AIDS than as a result of war and internal conflicts.

The correlation between HIV/AIDS and poverty and security was emphasized by Botswana, India, Malawi, and Mozambique. *It should be the concern of all humanity to generate the resources for concerted awareness campaigns for HIV prevention; for making preventive, palliative and curative drugs affordable; and for the scientific quest for definitive prophylaxis and cure for the various strains of the dreaded virus* (India).

India, Chad, Malawi, and Mozambique said these costs should not be added to the financial burdens of the poorer countries. Chad claimed that *if only a quarter of the funds dedicated to arming were oriented toward the struggle against HIV/AIDS, particularly for care and research, the pandemic could have been stopped already.*

Indonesia highlighted its support for several of the UN Secretary-General's proposals: *I would like to compliment the Secretary-General for his initiatives outlined in the Millennium Report including a Health InterNetwork, a United Nations Information Technology Service (UNITeS), a disaster response initiative, "First on the Ground," and a global policy network on youth employment.*

5.7.2 Natural Disaster Response System Mozambique suggested natural disaster early warning and response systems: *There is a need to increase assistance for international co-operation for the prevention and management of* [of the effects of] *natural disasters, as well as the need to set up disaster prevention and management mechanisms, including early warning systems, taking into account the work accomplished in the UN International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction.*

Grenada advocated the establishment of a *Disaster Relief Fund to facilitate quick responses for victims of hurricanes, earthquakes, volcanoes and other natural disasters that strike us with such frequency and ferocity.*

Nicaragua takes pride in being the *third* [country] *in Latin America to have an integrated disaster prevention and mitigation system.*

5.7.3 Other Suggestions for International Management

Australia suggested a reform of the UN treaty committee system. Mongolia has circulated a document on how to enhance the UN role in security interests of small States. Palau said UN standards for membership should be revised and made more inclusive. In this context, Fourteen countries mentioned Taiwan's acceptance as a Member State of the UN.

Among the regional concerns that members believe should be monitored by the UN, Turkmenistan called for the establishment of a new legal status for the Caspian Sea because the present difficulties there have the potential to create regional instability. Turkmenistan also called for an international convention on the guarantees for the functioning of interstate pipelines.

Libya and Latvia called for better oversight of UN programs. *In order to enable the organization to follow up the plans and programs that it establishes, we propose the establishment of an international committee answerable to the United Nations with sub-committees that cover most parts of the world, empowered with the necessary authorities and resources, to undertake the tasks of inspection and implementation of United Nations programs* (Libya). Latvia wanted *stricter accountability and tighter follow-up requirements, thus ensuring that any aid received is well and truly spent on the purposes for which it was intended.*

Tunisia proposed a *world fund for solidarity and poverty eradication*. Denmark supported the recent landmark decision to establish a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues.

6.   ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

6.1 Sustainable Development

Originally, the concept of "sustainable development" was intended to improve the dialogue between those who believed that increased economic development should be the primary goal of civilization and those who believed that continued industrial growth would destroy our natural life support systems. Denmark said that we have gone beyond that dichotomy: *Following the Rio Summit 1992 it is evident that sustainable development is the sum of many parts, including social, economic, and environmental aspects.*

It was somewhat surprising to UN Secretariat analysts that sustainable development was not mentioned more often. Previous global assessments of issues and norms by the Millennium Project rated sustainable development as having the highest priority as did a series of Project interviews with policy makers. However, only 36 Millennium Summit speakers referred to it a total of 46 times. India proposed a UN conference on sustainable development.

The environmental threats faced by the international community as clearly indicated in the Global Environment Outlook 2000 of UNEP concludes that special attention should be paid to the unsustainable patterns of production and consumption within the richer segments of all countries (Gambia). Although many leaders spoke about the necessity of a healthy environment for sustainable development, there were few who stressed the need for new environmental initiatives.

6.2 Management of Environmental Issues

One example concerns the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. As the Secretary-General points out in his Millennium Report, there is an obvious need to increase the use of renewable energy resources in order to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. It follows that the potential for using renewable energy resources for power-intensive industries must not be restricted, even if this leads to an increase in greenhouse gas emissions in the countries where such energy resources are available. Such emissions will obviously be made wherever power-intensive industries operate. Implementation of the Kyoto Protocol should therefore be arranged so as to encourage the location of those industries as far as possible in places where clean, renewable energy resources are found, so that total emissions can be kept to a minimum. This would represent a global benefit for the environment. (Iceland)

Hungary said this was one of the major concerns of the international community, noting that the principle of "polluter pays" *should find its proper place in all relevant international documents.* Iceland said that the environment was moving increasingly into the spotlight and that these issues are *often global in character and need to be solved accordingly. To achieve this as successfully as possible, we must consider not only how to share out fairly among different nations the cost*

that these solutions involve, but also how to produce the maximum benefit for the global community as a whole.

Georgia stated that *global environmental security should be the direct responsibility of the UN and its Security Council*. Belarus also drew attention to the problem of *environmental security and the responsibility of large and small nations for the protection of the environment*.

Environment degradation and irrational exploitation of natural resources is of increasing concern. New Zealand mentioned the Convention to Combat Desertification, Uzbekistan proposed a Council on the Problems of the Aral Sea and its Basin under the auspices of the UNEP, Tajikistan spoke at length about *unifying international efforts to prevent further deterioration of the environment and to preserve natural resources for future generations,* stressing the deteriorating global water situation, and Niger cited its national plan for natural resources management and fighting environmental degradation. Norway stressed that poverty reduction is an essential step in preventing environmental degradation.

Many, like Dominica, referred to the environment as something that had to be attended to or else there would be grave consequences, yet made no specific suggestions: *The indiscriminate destruction of our forests, rampant over-fishing of our oceans, and the pollution of the air and soil take less time to occur than it will take to repair the damage. Without sound environmental stewardship we will leave behind a barren world for the common man of future centuries to inherit.*

Saudi Arabia called on all States to adhere to *Agenda 21* and for the industrial States to help transfer environmental technology to the developing world. Croatia said all nations should *fight for the preservation of our rivers, mountains, seas and oceans, our common heritage on this planet* because it is the basis of their own existence.

Although we in the small states are making great efforts to respect nature to the maximum, we shall always feel that the big states have to do the real work. And the fact is that they are not doing it. Quite the opposite, they are refusing to sign protocols and to limit the unsustainable growth which characterizes them. In this way they are changing the climate of the whole world. And it is obvious that we are all to blame in some measure when we follow blindly along the road of industrial consumption. (Andorra)

6.3 Global Warming and Small Island Countries

Many of the small island countries and those with low altitude coastal planes like Bangladesh ask why some countries' industrial pollution is allowed to raise sea levels that can eliminate others' lands. The Maldives wondered if they and other low-lying island nations would even exist one hundred years from now. *I don't wish to be cynical, but, are we to believe that the world really cares? Are we to believe that all humanity is one? Inaction speaks louder than words*.

Kiribati, a small island State made up of narrow strips of coral atolls rising no more than two meters above sea level, stated that *global warming, climate change and rising sea levels*

seriously threaten the basis of our existence and we sometimes feel that our days are numbered. I join other small island states in pleading for the cause of the endangered peoples and in urging all concerned to save this planet from any further damage harmful to life to ensure our future generations continue to enjoy the resources and beauties of this planet.

Samoa clearly expressed its concern: *For Samoa and other small island States, no other phenomenon is more threatening in its consequences and risks than climate change.* Tuvalu warned: *Already some of our valuable lands have totally disappeared, washed away by high seas, and even as this historic Summit progresses, our people face the real threat of being inundated by sea water. In accordance with the spirit of the Kyoto Protocol therefore, Tuvalu urges Member States and the international community to seriously take heed of the pleas of small island States on climate change, and combat this threat more aggressively before it is too late. To this very end, we also fully support the need to further promote frameworks such as the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) as a means to promote and further ensure the security and survival of our people.*

Concerns about the effects of global warming were expressed by a number of small island nations:

The Republic of Palau, in recent years, has witnessed a devastating portent of this global phenomenon. Rising sea level has invaded our taro patches, subsequently destroying some of our prime sources of daily nourishment. Some of our neighboring Pacific countries have had a more disastrous experience with rising sea levels. Many people have been displaced from their homes as their sea level rises. Many of them have statistically become part of the estimated 25 million "environmental refugees" forced from their homes. The Republic of Palau, currently in possession of the chairmanship of the 16 island member-state South Pacific Forum, is gravely concerned about the devastating impacts sustained by some of these island-nations as a result of climate change. As the inhabitants of a fragile ecosystem, we appeal to the rest of the international community to face up to this inescapable reality more aggressively. Climate change is a global problem that can be restrained from its further devastating impacts only if all countries willingly contribute on the basis of common but differentiated responsibilities. A particular sense of urgency in our differentiated responsibilities lies with the implementation of the 1997 Kyoto Protocol. (Palau)

In my small-island nation, for example, we grow increasingly alarmed over the glacial progress of the world community toward taking even minimal first steps to confront the indisputable threats posed by human-induced global warming and its consequent sea-level rise. (Micronesia)

The people of Nauru are threatened with genocide through global warming and the rise in sea-level. Nauru joins all responsible nations of the world to urge especially those countries responsible for present levels of pollution for the swift and early implementation of the intentions enshrined in the Kyoto Protocol. (Nauru)

Tuvalu therefore strongly supports the development in full and adoption of the environmental vulnerability index (EVI) that can better reflect the extreme capacity limitation and vulnerability of small island developing states. (Tuvalu)

Vanuatu called for *an immediate ratification by the industrialized countries of international treaties on the protection and sustainable management of our natural environment and resources which are so vital to the very survival of millions of citizens of small island states*.

6.4 Nuclear Issues

Approximately 450 nuclear power plants will have to be decommissioned around the world over the next twenty-five years, yet there are no acceptable ways to handle nuclear waste. New sources of energy need to be found *…excluding usage of enriched uranium and pure plutonium in the world atomic energy production. This is technically quite possible to implement*, noted Russia, adding that the more important issue has to do with incineration of plutonium and other radioactive wastes. The need to find a solution to the problem of radioactive residues *opens fundamentally new horizons for secure life on the planet. In this connection Russia proposes to work out and put into practice a relevant mechanism with the participation of the IAEA.*

6.5 A Parting Thought

Belarus said that if environmental problems are not taken more seriously, *then all discussions of a fair distribution of the benefits and the disadvantages of globalization will remain just shallow talk.*

7. Military Implications of the UN Millennium Summit Speeches

This report analyzes statements by heads of State and Governments, but is too limited to serve as a basis for strong recommendations. However, the material does suggest a number of observations and questions for policymaking considerations. They appear in the following sub-sections.

7.1 The dominant worldview or post-Cold War paradigm at the UN Millennium Summit was a world of the rich, powerful, and educated versus a world of the poor, powerless, and ignorant. This perception of a polarized world is likely to grow because of several factors.

The rich-poor gap still shows signs of widening. Water tables in all continents are falling. The wealthy will be able to respond better than the poor, making migrations more likely. Water conditions in China will get worse in the next ten years, even under the "best case" scenario (China scenarios were prepared for the Second World Water Conference at the Hague in 2000). Population is growing fastest where people can least afford the necessities of life. The world's population is expected to grow by three billion over the next fifty years. Nearly all of this growth will be in the developing world, leaving the populations of Europe and North America as a very small percentage of humanity.

This polarized condition can be made worse by public postures which stress that the U.S. is the only remaining superpower. The more the U.S. says it's the greatest power on earth, the greater the number of people who will want to counter that power. Several leaders called for a new "partnership" between rich and poor. Others called for pooling sovereignty within supra-national organizations such as ECOWAS and the EU as well as other arrangements. Will the U.S. be willing to join in such partnerships if it perceives a compromise to its sovereignty?

7.2 Many speeches called for expanding the UN Security Council, more democratic and transparent international policy making, and direct global elections for a proposed people's assembly. This implies more engagement with the rest of the world, greater international sensitivity, and fewer unilateral actions. Austria, among others, noted the trend toward democratization of global affairs. This could imply a permanent commitment and a section of the military force being allocated to international needs.

7.3 UN peacekeeping and peacemaking show no signs of slowing down; hence, it is likely that there will be an increase in requirements for internal training to work on UN assignments as well as joint training with other countries for rapid deployment. There were calls for more rapid response; this implies changes in collaboration, mobility, intelligence, alliance-building, and decision-making.

7.4 The Brahimi report on UN Peacekeeping should be widely studied for DOD implications. This report was broadly accepted and Tony Blair of the United Kingdom thought it should be implemented in twelve months.

7.5 Rapid response by UN forces on stand-by was a significant topic. To have rapid response, *as the UK has said, the UN must alter radically its planning, intelligence and analysis, and develop a far more substantial professional military staff. When the moment comes, a field headquarters must be ready to move, with an operational communications system up and running immediately rather than weeks into the deployment.* This would require highly mobile equipment, joint training, common equipment, and intelligence collaboration. The UN has deputized military forces before, but has been reluctant to do this with intelligence systems. The UN did use U.S. U-2 flights to gather intelligence prior to the Gulf War, but has not created a formal UN intelligence capacity. If this evolves, how should military intelligence be involved? Norway's suggestion that *the United Nations should be empowered to deal effectively with the changing nature of conflict, to detect the seeds of conflict at an early stage, to manage conflict where it cannot be prevented, to mandate and equip UN peace operations that can deal with the complex nature of modern conflict*, implies that a UN intelligence capacity needs to be developed.

7.6 The speeches also touched on financial implications of peacekeeping. Since there were calls for new strategies for peace and human security, there may be new calls for financial changes as well. Japan offered to establish an international committee on human security and has contributed US$80 million to the UN "Human Security Fund" established in March 1999 and intends to contribute an additional US$100 million. Canada and private foundations are establishing an independent "International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty." In terms of the U.S., some speculate that budgets for peacekeeping should be transferred to DOD rather than DOS, since these operations will increasingly become part of U.S. defense planning.

7.7 The "White Helmets" proposal of Argentina and others should be assessed. DOD has previously entered crisis situations to help provide humanitarian assistance. This capacity might be increased and offered for collaboration should the White Helmets proposal gain international support. If the Argentine and Italian collaborations with the satellite early warning system expand and, eventually, are folded into a UN-INTELSAT arrangement, how should DOD's early warning systems connect for administrative assistance in early warning and during emergencies?

7.8 Several leaders spoke about the increasing need to include civilian police in peacekeeping operations. Hence, an expanded training requirement for military collaboration with civilian police operations seems imperative.

7.9 Post-conflict rehabilitation was also discussed. The original mission of the World Bank (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) was post-conflict (World War II) rehabilitation. Civilian policing in post-conflict situations has also increased. Will the military be

called on to coordinate with both financial development and civilian policing personnel in post-conflict situations?

7.10 There were many calls for international solidarity. This topic is related to that in 7.1 above. If solidarity spreads as a policy criterion, to what degree will it be the determinant of military actions? One is reminded of President George Bush and the solidarity he obtained before the Gulf War.

7.11 The decreasing frequency of national wars raises some interesting questions for the military. One consultant to this study speculated that if territorial wars are diminishing or are about to end (a goal sought by the UN and world leaders), then what new roles could emerge for the military? Will military forces be eliminated (as was done by Costa Rica) or will they change from their present form and evolve into international police, fire fighters, rescue teams, coast guard, emergency road builders, and evacuation specialists? If so, should the U.S. lead? Some countries (perhaps Canada and Sweden) are already close to this but need to civilianize. They would then be models for other nations to follow.

7.12 Nuclear-Free Zones were discussed in several talks. India and others expressed support of the Secretary-General's proposal for an international conference to address nuclear dangers and the ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Colombia was pleased to note that Latin America was the first major region to be nuclear-free. Qatar appealed to make the Middle East also a nuclear-free zone and called on Israel to accede to the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Laos and the other ASEAN countries have agreed to make Southeast Asia a zone free of nuclear weapons and are in the final stages of the ratification process of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. New Zealand's goal is *the total elimination of nuclear weapons.* If global solidarity, nuclear-free zones, non-proliferation, and test bans become more important and enforceable, then new concepts of deterrence will be necessary.

7.13 Small arms trade was on the agenda. Restricting the small arms trade was mentioned 39 times by 25 countries. Will the military be called upon perform a police role in international small arms interdiction?

7.14 New anti-terrorist agreements were mentioned by several countries. Diplomatic efforts are under way to adopt quickly and implement the Comprehensive Convention Against Terrorism. Should the military prepare to have anti-terrorist forces under UN direction or in multilateral operations capable of addressing a range of issues from cyber-terrorism to biological terrorism?

7.15 Domestic interventions were mentioned by Spain and others expressing the increasingly prevalent belief that *human dignity is deemed more valuable than the sanctity of the State*. If so,

then there will be an increase in the number of interventions by outside countries or forces into previously domestic affairs and conflicts. Force structure and training will have to adapt.

7.16 Albania has suggested a global war against terrorism, organized crime, and corruption. Is this triangle a new post-Cold War enemy? Transparency International estimates that global crime grosses $1 trillion a year and nets $500 billion. New targets could be election software manipulation, skimming of the $2 trillion per day that goes over the Internet, and new forms of crime, corruption, and blackmail. What should defense roles be in countering and deterring this triangle, vis-à-vis police and diplomatic functions? Or, in a broader sense, is there an emerging police role for the military?

7.17 Global warming may require evacuation and resettlement plans for island countries. In their speeches, small island countries indicated an awareness that they may have to evacuate eventually and that their countries could disappear. The International Panel on Climate has increased its estimates for global warming and sea level rises. Will military logistic support be required for international evacuation and resettlement efforts?

7.18 Many speakers talked about the connection of poverty to conflict as if this were a proven causal relationship. The assumption went unchallenged. Those who want something they have not been able to achieve have used the issues of poverty, starvation, and ethnic and religious diversity to rally people to fight. Should not the benefit of DOD research on the causes of conflict be made more accessible? Is new research necessary? Or, if war is really caused by poverty, what role should the military have in poverty reduction?

7.19 Costa Rica's comment about elimination of its military fifty years ago leading to the best Latin American health system might encourage other developing nations to follow this example. If they were to do so, then there could be an increasing need for pooling sovereignty within supra-national security organizations as noted above.

7.20 On-going assessments of military priorities should include studies about how increasing globalization could affect military matters.

7.21 During future major UN conferences, DOD might consider having parallel or sub-sessions on security implications. For example, the Rio + 5 conference could have a session on environmental security. AEPI might explore DOD's interests in working with DOS on taking some leadership in the area of environmental security at the conference.

Appendices

Appendix A: United Nations Millennium Declaration
Appendix B: General Assembly Follow-up to the Outcome of the Millennium Summit
Appendix C: List of Highly Indebted Poor Countries, Least Developed Countries and Sub-Saharan African Countries
Appendix D: List of UN Member States and Representatives Who Spoke at the UN Millennium Summit

Appendix A: United Nations Millennium Declaration

Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly
8th plenary meeting
8 September 2000

Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly
[without reference to a Main Committee (A/55/L.2)]
55/2. United Nations Millennium Declaration

The General Assembly
Adopts the following Declaration:

United Nations Millennium Declaration

I. Values and principles

1. We, heads of State and Government, have gathered at United Nations Headquarters in New York from 6 to 8 September 2000, at the dawn of a new millennium, to reaffirm our faith in the Organization and its Charter as indispensable foundations of a more peaceful, prosperous and just world.

2. We recognize that, in addition to our separate responsibilities to our individual societies, we have a collective responsibility to uphold the principles of human dignity, equality and equity at the global level. As leaders we have a duty therefore to all the world's people, especially the most vulnerable and, in particular, the children of the world, to whom the future belongs.

3. We reaffirm our commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which have proved timeless and universal. Indeed, their relevance and capacity to inspire have increased, as nations and peoples have become increasingly interconnected and interdependent.

4. We are determined to establish a just and lasting peace all over the world in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. We rededicate ourselves to support all efforts to uphold the sovereign equality of all States, respect for their territorial integrity and political independence, resolution of disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, the right to self-determination of peoples which remain under colonial domination and foreign occupation, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the equal rights of all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion and international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

5. We believe that the central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world's people. For while globalization offers great opportunities, at present its benefits are very unevenly shared, while its costs are unevenly distributed. We recognize that developing countries and countries with economies in transition face special difficulties in responding to this central challenge. Thus, only through broad and sustained efforts to create a shared future, based upon our common humanity in all its diversity, can globalization be made fully inclusive and equitable. These efforts must include policies and measures, at the global level, which correspond to the needs of developing countries and economies in transition and are formulated and implemented with their effective participation.

6. We consider certain fundamental values to be essential to international relations in the twenty-first century. These include:

- Freedom. Men and women have the right to live their lives and raise their children in dignity, free from hunger and from the fear of violence, oppression or injustice. Democratic and participatory governance based on the will of the people best assures these rights.

- Equality. No individual and no nation must be denied the opportunity to benefit from development. The equal rights and opportunities of women and men must be assured.

- Solidarity. Global challenges must be managed in a way that distributes the costs and burdens fairly in accordance with basic principles of equity and social justice. Those who suffer or who benefit least deserve help from those who benefit most.

- Tolerance. Human beings must respect one other, in all their diversity of belief, culture and language. Differences within and between societies should be neither feared nor repressed, but cherished as a precious asset of humanity. A culture of peace and dialogue among all civilizations should be actively promoted.

- Respect for nature. Prudence must be shown in the management of all living species and natural resources, in accordance with the precepts of sustainable development. Only in this way can the immeasurable riches provided to us by nature be preserved and passed on to our descendants. The current unsustainable patterns of production and consumption must be changed in the interest of our future welfare and that of our descendants.

- Shared responsibility. Responsibility for managing worldwide economic and social development, as well as threats to international peace and security, must be shared among the nations of the world and should be exercised multilaterally. As the most universal and most representative organization in the world, the United Nations must play the central role.

7. In order to translate these shared values into actions, we have identified key objectives to which we assign special significance.

II. Peace, security and disarmament

8. We will spare no effort to free our peoples from the scourge of war, whether within or between States, which has claimed more than 5 million lives in the past decade. We will also seek to eliminate the dangers posed by weapons of mass destruction.

9. We resolve therefore:

- To strengthen respect for the rule of law in international as in national affairs and, in particular, to ensure compliance by Member States with the decisions of the International Court of Justice, in compliance with the Charter of the United Nations, in cases to which they are parties.

- To make the United Nations more effective in maintaining peace and security by giving it the resources and tools it needs for conflict prevention, peaceful resolution of disputes, peacekeeping, post-conflict peace-building and reconstruction. In this context, we take note of the report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations and request the General Assembly to consider its recommendations expeditiously.

- To strengthen cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter.

- To ensure the implementation, by States Parties, of treaties in areas such as arms control and disarmament and of international humanitarian law and human rights law, and call upon all States to consider signing and ratifying the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

- To take concerted action against international terrorism, and to accede as soon as possible to all the relevant international conventions.

- To redouble our efforts to implement our commitment to counter the world drug problem.

- To intensify our efforts to fight transnational crime in all its dimensions, including trafficking as well as smuggling in human beings and money laundering.

- To minimize the adverse effects of United Nations economic sanctions on innocent populations, to subject such sanctions regimes to regular reviews and to eliminate the adverse effects of sanctions on third parties.

- To strive for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, and to keep all options open for achieving this aim, including the possibility of convening an international conference to identify ways of eliminating nuclear dangers.

- To take concerted action to end illicit traffic in small arms and light weapons, especially by making arms transfers more transparent and supporting regional disarmament measures, taking account of all the recommendations of the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons.

- To call on all States to consider acceding to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-personnel Mines and on Their Destruction, as well as the amended mines protocol to the Convention on conventional weapons.

10. We urge Member States to observe the Olympic Truce, individually and collectively, now and in the future, and to support the International Olympic Committee in its efforts to promote peace and human understanding through sport and the Olympic Ideal.

III. Development and poverty eradication

11. We will spare no effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty, to which more than a billion of them are currently subjected. We are committed to making the right to development a reality for everyone and to freeing the entire human race from want.

12. We resolve therefore to create an environment – at the national and global levels alike – which is conducive to development and to the elimination of poverty.

13. Success in meeting these objectives depends, inter alia, on good governance within each country. It also depends on good governance at the international level and on transparency in the financial, monetary and trading systems. We are committed to an open, equitable, rule-based, predictable and non-discriminatory multilateral trading and financial system.

14. We are concerned about the obstacles developing countries face in mobilizing the resources needed to finance their sustained development. We will therefore make every effort to ensure the success of the High-level International and Intergovernmental Event on Financing for Development, to be held in 2001.

15. We also undertake to address the special needs of the least developed countries. In this context, we welcome the Third United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries to be held in May 2001 and will endeavor to ensure its success. We call on the industrialized countries:

- To adopt, preferably by the time of that Conference, a policy of duty- and quota-free access for essentially all exports from the least developed countries;

- To implement the enhanced programme of debt relief for the heavily indebted poor countries without further delay and to agree to cancel all official bilateral debts of those countries in return for their making demonstrable commitments to poverty reduction; and

- To grant more generous development assistance, especially to countries that are genuinely making an effort to apply their resources to poverty reduction.

16. We are also determined to deal comprehensively and effectively with the debt problems of low- and middle-income developing countries, through various national and international measures designed to make their debt sustainable in the long term.

17. We also resolve to address the special needs of small island developing States, by implementing the Barbados Programme of Action and the outcome of the twenty-second special session of the General Assembly rapidly and in full. We urge the international community to ensure that, in the development of a vulnerability index, the special needs of small island developing States are taken into account.

18. We recognize the special needs and problems of the landlocked developing countries, and urge both bilateral and multilateral donors to increase financial and technical assistance to this group of countries to meet their special development needs and to help them overcome the impediments of geography by improving their transit transport systems.

19. We resolve further:

- To halve, by the year 2015, the proportion of the world's people whose income is less than one dollar a day and the proportion of people who suffer from hunger and, by the same date, to halve the proportion of people who are unable to reach or to afford safe drinking water.

- To ensure that, by the same date, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling and that girls and boys will have equal access to all levels of education.

- By the same date, to have reduced maternal mortality by three quarters, and under-five child mortality by two thirds, of their current rates.

- To have, by then, halted, and begun to reverse, the spread of HIV/AIDS, the scourge of malaria and other major diseases that afflict humanity.

- To provide special assistance to children orphaned by HIV/AIDS.

- By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers as proposed in the "Cities Without Slums" initiative.

20. We also resolve:

- To promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable.

- To develop and implement strategies that give young people everywhere a real chance to find decent and productive work.

- To encourage the pharmaceutical industry to make essential drugs more widely available and affordable by all who need them in developing countries.

- To develop strong partnerships with the private sector and with civil society organizations in pursuit of development and poverty eradication.

- To ensure that the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communication technologies, in conformity with recommendations contained in the ECOSOC 2000 Ministerial Declaration, are available to all.

IV. Protecting our common environment

21. We must spare no effort to free all of humanity, and above all our children and grandchildren, from the threat of living on a planet irredeemably spoilt by human activities, and whose resources would no longer be sufficient for their needs.

22. We reaffirm our support for the principles of sustainable development, including those set out in Agenda 21, agreed upon at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

23. We resolve therefore to adopt in all our environmental actions a new ethic of conservation and stewardship and, as first steps, we resolve:

- To make every effort to ensure the entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol, preferably by the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 2002, and to embark on the required reduction in emissions of greenhouse gases.

- To intensify our collective efforts for the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests.

- To press for the full implementation of the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Convention to Combat Desertification in those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification, particularly in Africa.

- To stop the unsustainable exploitation of water resources by developing water management strategies at the regional, national and local levels, which promote both equitable access and adequate supplies.

- To intensify cooperation to reduce the number and effects of natural and man-made disasters.

- To ensure free access to information on the human genome sequence.

V. Human rights, democracy and good governance

24. We will 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, including the right to development.

25. We resolve therefore:

- To respect fully and uphold the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

- To strive for the full protection and promotion in all our countries of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights for all.

- To strengthen the capacity of all our countries to implement the principles and practices of democracy and respect for human rights, including minority rights.

- To combat all forms of violence against women and to implement the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

- To take measures to ensure respect for and protection of the human rights of migrants, migrant workers and their families, to eliminate the increasing acts of racism and xenophobia in many societies and to promote greater harmony and tolerance in all societies.

- To work collectively for more inclusive political processes, allowing genuine participation by all citizens in all our countries.

- To ensure the freedom of the media to perform their essential role and the right of the public to have access to information.

VI. Protecting the vulnerable

26. We will spare no effort to ensure that children and all civilian populations that suffer disproportionately the consequences of natural disasters, genocide, armed conflicts and other humanitarian emergencies are given every assistance and protection so that they can resume normal life as soon as possible.

We resolve therefore:

- To expand and strengthen the protection of civilians in complex emergencies, in conformity with international humanitarian law.

- To strengthen international cooperation, including burden sharing in, and the coordination of humanitarian assistance to, countries hosting refugees and to help all refugees and displaced persons to return voluntarily to their homes, in safety and dignity and to be smoothly reintegrated into their societies.

- To encourage the ratification and full implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and its optional protocols on the involvement of children in armed conflict and on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography.

VII. Meeting the special needs of Africa

27. We will support the consolidation of democracy in Africa and assist Africans in their struggle for lasting peace, poverty eradication and sustainable development, thereby bringing Africa into the mainstream of the world economy.

28. We resolve therefore:

- To give full support to the political and institutional structures of emerging democracies in Africa.

- To encourage and sustain regional and subregional mechanisms for preventing conflict and promoting political stability, and to ensure a reliable flow of resources for peacekeeping operations on the continent.

- To take special measures to address the challenges of poverty eradication and sustainable development in Africa, including debt cancellation, improved market access, enhanced

Official Development Assistance and increased flows of Foreign Direct Investment, as well as transfers of technology.

- To help Africa build up its capacity to tackle the spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and other infectious diseases.

VIII. Strengthening the United Nations

29. We will spare no effort to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for pursuing all of these priorities: the fight for development for all the peoples of the world, the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease; the fight against injustice; the fight against violence, terror and crime; and the fight against the degradation and destruction of our common home.

30. We resolve therefore:

- To reaffirm the central position of the General Assembly as the chief deliberative, policy-making and representative organ of the United Nations, and to enable it to play that role effectively.

- To intensify our efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects.

- To strengthen further the Economic and Social Council, building on its recent achievements, to help it fulfil the role ascribed to it in the Charter.

- To strengthen the International Court of Justice, in order to ensure justice and the rule of law in international affairs.

- To encourage regular consultations and coordination among the principal organs of the United Nations in pursuit of their functions.

- To ensure that the Organization is provided on a timely and predictable basis with the resources it needs to carry out its mandates.

- To urge the Secretariat to make the best use of those resources, in accordance with clear rules and procedures agreed by the General Assembly, in the interests of all Member States, by adopting the best management practices and technologies available and by concentrating on those tasks that reflect the agreed priorities of Member States.

- To promote adherence to the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel.

- To ensure greater policy coherence and better cooperation between the United Nations, its agencies, the Bretton Woods Institutions and the World Trade Organization, as well as other multilateral bodies, with a view to achieving a fully coordinated approach to the problems of peace and development.

- To strengthen further cooperation between the United Nations and national parliaments through their world organization, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, in various fields, including

peace and security, economic and social development, international law and human rights and democracy and gender issues.

- To give greater opportunities to the private sector, non-governmental organizations and civil society, in general, to contribute to the realization of the Organization's goals and programmes.

31. We request the General Assembly to review on a regular basis the progress made in implementing the provisions of this Declaration, and ask the Secretary-General to issue periodic reports for consideration by the General Assembly and as a basis for further action.

32. We solemnly reaffirm, on this historic occasion, that the United Nations is the indispensable common house of the entire human family, through which we will seek to realize our universal aspirations for peace, cooperation and development. We therefore pledge our unstinting support for these common objectives and our determination to achieve them.

8th plenary meeting
8 September 2000

Appendix B: General Assembly Follow-up to the Outcome of the Millennium Summit

Resolution adopted by the General Assembly
[*without reference to a Main Committee (A/55/L.56/Rev.1)*]

A/RES/55/162
Distr.: General
18 December 2000
Fifty-fifth session
Agenda item 182

55/162 Follow-up to the Outcome of the Millennium Summit

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 55/2 of 8 September 2000,

Having considered the United Nations Millennium Declaration,

Expressing satisfaction that, for the first time in history, so many heads of State and Government gathered at a summit in New York, which reached a successful conclusion with the adoption of the Millennium Declaration,

Stressing the need for maintaining the political will and momentum of the Millennium Summit at the national, regional and international levels in order to translate commitments into concrete action,

Recognizing the necessity for creating a framework for the implementation of the Millennium Declaration,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Stressing the importance of a comprehensive and balanced approach in implementation and follow-up,

1. *Calls* for an integrated, coordinated, comprehensive and balanced approach in the implementation of the United Nations Millennium Declaration at the national, regional and international levels;

2. *Recognizes* that Governments bear the main responsibility, individually and collectively, for action and implementation of the Millennium Declaration;

3. *Calls upon* the entire United Nations system to assist Member States in every way possible in the implementation of the Millennium Declaration;

4. *Decides* to use existing structures and mechanisms and upcoming events and special sessions of the General Assembly, as well as related conferences and events, to the maximum extent possible in the

implementation of the Millennium Declaration, and requests the President of the General Assembly to follow up these processes;

5.   *Requests* the Main Committees of the General Assembly to ensure that the outcome of the Millennium Summit is taken into account in their work;

6.   *Calls upon* all relevant organs, organizations and bodies of the United Nations system to become involved in the follow-up to the Summit, and invites specialized agencies and related organizations of the United Nations system to strengthen and adjust their activities, programmes and medium-term strategies, as appropriate, to take into account the follow-up to the Summit;

7.   *Invites* the regional commissions, in cooperation with regional intergovernmental organizations and regional development banks, to review progress made towards implementing the Millennium Declaration;

8.   *Requests* the United Nations system to take action to meet the special needs of Africa and to strengthen the broad range of its engagement in Africa, with a view to intensifying support for poverty eradication and sustainable development, for combating diseases and pandemics and for the process of conflict prevention and the consolidation of democracy;

9.   *Recognizes* that the implementation of the Millennium Declaration will require resources and adequate financing at the national, regional and international levels and that additional financial resources are needed, in particular in Africa and the least developed countries, landlocked developing countries and small island developing States;

10.   *Requests* the appropriate bodies to consider urgently how the implementation of the Millennium Declaration should relate to the biennial budget process and the medium-term plan;

11.   *Requests* the Secretary-General to ensure system-wide coordination to assist with the implementation of the Millennium Declaration, and invites him to identify, within the framework of the Administrative Committee on Coordination, innovative ways of enhancing cooperation and coherence throughout the United Nations system;

12.   *Invites* the Bretton Woods institutions to become involved actively in the implementation of and follow-up to the Summit and to enhance their cooperation with other parts of the United Nations system for coherent implementation of the Millennium Declaration;

13.   *Invites* the World Trade Organization to contribute to the implementation of the Millennium Declaration;

14.   *Calls* for enhanced partnership and cooperation with national parliaments as well as civil society, including non-governmental organizations and the private sector, as set out in the Millennium Declaration, to ensure their contribution to the implementation of the Declaration;

15. *Requests* the specialized agencies, the Bretton Woods institutions and the World Trade Organization to keep the General Assembly informed about how they contribute to the implementation of the Millennium Declaration;

16. *Requests* that the events and conferences referred to in paragraph 4 above keep the General Assembly informed about how they contribute to the implementation of the Millennium Declaration;

17. *Reiterates* the call to assess, on a regular basis, progress towards implementing the Millennium Declaration;

18. *Requests* the Secretary-General urgently to prepare a long-term "road map" towards the implementation of the Millennium Declaration within the United Nations system and to submit it to the General Assembly at its fifty-sixth session;

19. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to prepare a comprehensive report every five years, supplemented by an annual report on progress achieved towards implementing the Millennium Declaration, taking into account the following:

(*a*) The annual reports should reflect the broad array of specific goals and commitments enunciated in the Millennium Declaration, though each could explore in greater depth one or two areas covered in the Declaration;

(*b*) All reports should focus, in this respect, on the results and benchmarks achieved, identify gaps in implementation and strategies for reducing them, and highlight in particular cross-sectoral issues and cross-cutting themes on development and peace and security;

(*c*) Reports should draw on the work of the entire United Nations system, including the Bretton Woods institutions and the World Trade Organization;

(*d*) The reporting system should be appraised with a view to strengthening its coherence and integration;

20. *Decides* to include in the provisional agenda of its fifty-sixth session the item entitled "Follow-up to the outcome of the Millennium Summit".

85th plenary meeting
14 December 2000

Appendix C: List of Highly Indebted Poor Countries,
Least Developed Countries and Sub-Saharan African Countries

Some speeches referred to Highly Indebted Poor Countries, Least Developed Countries and/or Sub-Saharan African Countries. The following list is based on the classification made by the World Bank.[1]

Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC)

Angola
Burundi
Benin
Burkina Faso
Bolivia
Central Africa
Chad
Côte d'Ivoire
Cameroon
Congo
Ethiopia
Ghana
Guinea Bissau
Guyana
Honduras
Kenya
Lao P.D. Republic
Liberia
Madagascar
Mali
Myanmar
Mozambique
Mauritania
Malawi
Niger
Nicaragua
Rwanda
Sudan
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Somalia
Sao Tome and Principe
Togo
Tanzania
Uganda
Vietnam
Yemen
Zaire
Zambia

Least Developed Countries (LDC)

Afghanistan
Angola
Benin
Burundi
Burkina Faso
Bangladesh
Bhutan
Central Africa
Chad
Congo
Comoros
Cape Verde
Djibouti
Eritrea
Ethiopia
Guinea
Gambia
Guinea Bissau
Equatorial Guinea
Haiti
Cambodia
Kiribati
Lao People's
 Democratic Republic
Liberia
Madagascar
Maldives
Mali
Myanmar
Mozambique
Malawi
Niger
Népal
Rwanda
Sudan
Solomon Islands
Sierra Leone
Somalia
Sao Tome and Principe
Togo
Tuvalu
Tanzania100

Uganda
Vanuatu
Yémen
Zaire
Zambia

Sub-Saharan African Countries (SSA)

Benin
Burundi
Burkina Faso
Central Africa
Côte d'Ivoire
Cameroon
Chad
Congo
Comoros
Cape Verde
Djibouti
Eritrea
Ethiopia
Gabon
Ghana
Guinea
Gambia
Guinea Bissau
Equatorial Guinea
Kenya
Liberia
Madagascar
Mali
Mauritania
Niger
Nigeria
Rwanda
Sudan
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Somalia
Sao Tome and Principe
Seychelles
Togo
Uganda
Zaire

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[1] World Bank web site <http://www.worldbank.org>

Appendix D: List of UN Member States and Representatives Who Spoke at the UN Millennium Summit

September 6–8, 2000, New York, UN Headquarters [1]

	Country	Representative
1	Afghanistan	H.E. Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani, President of the Islamic State of Afghanistan
2	Albania	H.E. Rexhep Meidani, President of the Republic of Albania
3	Algeria	H.E. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, President of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria
4	Andorra	H.E. Marc Forné Molné, Head of Government of Andorra
5	Angola	H.E. Dr. Joao Bernardo De Miranda, Minister for External Relations of the Republic of Angola
6	Antigua and Barbuda	H.E. Hon. Lester B. Bird, MP Prime Minister of Antigua and Barbuda
7	Argentina	H.E. Dr. Fernando de la Rúa, President of the Republic of Argentina
8	Armenia	H.E. Robert Kocharian, President of the Republic of Armenia
9	Australia	H.E. Hon. John Howard MP, Prime Minister of Australia
10	Austria	H.E. Dr. Thomas Klestil, Federal President of the Republic of Austria
11	Azerbaijan	H.E. Heydar Aliyev, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan
12	Bahamas	H.E. Sir Orville Turnquest, Governor General of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas
13	Bahrain	H.H. Shaikh Ha.Nmad Bin Essaal Kfalifa, Amir of the State of Bahrain
14	Bangladesh	Her.E. Sheikh Hasina, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangladesh
15	Barbados	H.E. Hon. Billie Miller, M.P., Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade
16	Belarus	H.E. Aleksandr Lukashenko, President of the Republic of Belarus
17	Belgium	H.E. Guy Verhofstadt, Prime Minister of Belgium
18	Belize	H.E. Hon. Said W. Musa, Prime Minister, Minister of Finance and Foreign Affairs of Belize
19	Benin	H.E. Kolawole A. Idji, Minister of the Foreign Business and the Cooperation, Chief of the Delegation of Benin

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[1] The Millennium Summit statements are available on the UN web site at: <http://www.un.org/millennium

	Country	Representative
20	Bhutan	H.E. Lyonpo Yeshey Zimba, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Head of the Government of the Kingdom of Bhutan
21	Bolivia	H.E. Hugo Banzer Suárez, President of the Republic of Bolivia
22	Bosnia and Herzegovina	H.E. Alija Izetbegovic, Chair of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina
23	Botswana	H.E. Festus G. Mogae, President of the Republic of Botswana
24	Brazil	H.E. Marco Maciel, Vice President of the Federative Republic of Brazil
25	Brunei Darussalam	H.M. Paduka Seri Baginda, Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah, Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah Ibni Al-Marhum, Sultan Haji Omar'ali, Saifuddien Sa'adul Khairi, Waddien, Sultan And Yang, Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam
26	Bulgaria	H.E. Petar Stoyanov, President of the Republic of Bulgaria
27	Burkina Faso	H.E. Michel Kafando, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Burkina Faso to the UN
28	Burundi	H.E. Severin Ntahomukiye, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Republic of Burundi
29	Cambodia	H.E. Samdech Hun Sen, Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia
30	Cameroon	H.E. Paul Biya, President of the Republic of Cameroon
31	Canada	H.E. Hon. Jean Chretien, Prime Minister of Canada
32	Cape Verde	H. E. Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro, President of the Republic of Cape-Verde
33	Central African Republic	H.E. Marcel Metefara, Minister of Foreign Affairs and of the francophone
34	Chad	H.E. Nagoum Yamassoum, Prime Minister, Chief of Government of the Republic of Chad
35	Chile	H.E. Ricardo Lagos, President of the Republic of Chile
36	China	H.E. Jiang Zemin, President of the People's Republic of China
37	Colombia	H.E. Andrés Pastrana, President of the Republic of Colombia and Pro Tempore Secretary of the Group of Rio
38	Comoros	H.E. Colonel Azali Assoumani, President of the Federal Islamic Republic of Comoros
39	Congo Brazzaville	H.E. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President of the Republic of Congo Brazzaville

	Country	Representative
40	Costa Rica	H.E. Miguel Angel Rodriguez E., President of the Republic of Costa Rica
41	Côte d'Ivoire	H.E. Charles Gomis, Minister of External Relations of Côte d'Ivoire
42	Croatia	H.E. Stipe Mesic, President of the Republic of Croatia
43	Cuba	H.E. Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz, President of the Republic of Cuba
44	Cyprus	H.E. Glafcos Clerides, President of the Republic of Cyprus
45	Czech Republic	H.E. Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech Republic
46	Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Not represented at the Summit
47	Democratic Republic of the Congo	H.E. Yeroida Abdoulaye Ndombasi, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Democratic Republic of the Congo (did not deliver speech)
48	Denmark	H.E. Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, Prime Minister of Denmark
49	Djibouti	H.E. Ismael Omar Guelleh, President of the Republic of Djibouti
50	Dominica	H.E. Hon. Oosevelt Douglas, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Commonwealth of Dominica
51	Dominican Republic	H.E. Mr. Hipolito Mejia Dominguez, President of the Dominican Republic
52	Ecuador	H.E. Dr. Gustavo Noboa Bejarano, President of the Republic of Ecuador
53	Egypt	H.E. Amre Moussa, Minister for Foreign Affairs on behalf of H.E. Mr. Mohammed Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt
54	El Salvador	H.E. Licenciado Francisco G. Flores, President of the Republic of El Salvador
55	Equatorial Guinea	H.E. Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea
56	Eritrea	H.E. Isaias Afwerki, President of the State of Eritrea
57	Estonia	H.E. Mart Laar, Prime Minister of the Republic of Estonia
58	Ethiopia	H.E. Meles Zenawi, Prime Minister of Ethiopia (did not deliver speech)
59	Fiji	H.E. Mr. Amraiya Naidu, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Fiji to the United Nations
60	Finland	H.E. Ms. Tarja Halonen, President of the Republic of Finland
61	France	H.E. Jacques Chirac, President of the French Republic

	Country	Representative
62	Gabon	H.E. El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Republic of Gabon
63	Gambia	H.E. Alhaji Dr. Yahya a. J. J. Jammeh, President of the Republic of Gambia
64	Georgia	H.E. Eduard Shevardnadze, President of Georgia
65	Germany	H.E. Gerhard Schroder, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany
66	Ghana	H.E. Flt-Lt. J. J. Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana
67	Greece	H.E. Costas Simitis, Prime Minister of the Hellenic Republic at the Millennium Summit
68	Grenada	H.E. Hon. Keith C. Mitchell, Prime Minister of Grenada
69	Guatemala	H.E. Alfonso Portillo Cabrera, President of the Republic of Guatemala
70	Guinea	H.E. Lamine Sidime, Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea
71	Guinea-Bissau	H.E. Iaia Djalo, Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Communities of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau
72	Guyana	H.E. Bharrat Jagdeo, President of the Republic of Guyana
73	Haiti	H.E. Rene Preval, President of the Republic of Haiti
74	Honduras	H.E. Carlos Roberto Flores, President of the Republic of Honduras
75	Hungary	H.E. Dr. Ferenc Mádl, President of the Republic of Hungary
76	Iceland	H.E. David Oddsson, Prime Minister of Iceland
77	India	H.E. Shri Atal Bihar Vajpayee, Prime Minister of India
78	Indonesia	H.E. Abdurrahman Wahid, President of the Republic of Indonesia
79	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	H.E. Seyyed Mohammad Khatami, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran
80	Iraq	H.E. Tariq Aziz Deputy, Prime Minister, Head of Iraq
81	Ireland	H.E. Taoiseach, Mr. Bertie Ahern, T.Q.
82	Israel	H.E. Ehud Barak, Prime Minister of Israel
83	Italy	H.E. Prof. Giuliano Amato, Prime Minister of Italy
84	Jamaica	RT. Hon. P. J. Patterson, Prime Minister of Jamaica
85	Japan	H.E. Yoshiro Mori, Prime Minister of Japan
86	Jordan	His Majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan
87	Kazakhstan	H.E. Nursultan A. Nazarbaev, President of the Republic of Kazakhstan

	Country	Representative
88	Kenya	H.E. Hon. Daniel T. Arap Moi, C.G.H., M.P., President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kenya
89	Kiribati	H.E. Teburoro Tito, President of Kiribati
90	Kuwait	His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al Ahmad Al Jaber Al Sabah, Amir of the State of Kuwait
91	Kyrgyzstan	H.E. Muratbek Imanaliev, Minister of Foreign Affairs
92	Lao People's Democratic Republic	H.E. Somsavat Lengsavad, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Head of Delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic at the Plenary Session of the Millennium Summit
93	Latvia	H.E. Dr. Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of the Republic of Latvia
94	Lebanon	H.E. Selim Ta Dmoury, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations, Head of the Delegation
95	Lesotho	H.E. The Right Honorable Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho
96	Liberia	H.E. Monier Captan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Liberia
97	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	H.E. Abdurrahman M. Shalghem, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation
98	Liechtenstein	H.E. Mario Frick, Prime Minister of the Principality of Liechtenstein
99	Lithuania	H.E. Valdas Adamkus, President of the Republic of Lithuania
100	Luxembourg	H.E. Mme Lydie Polfer, Vice-Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affaires and Foreign Trade of the Grand-Duché of Luxembourg
101	Madagascar	H.E. Didier Ratsiraka, President of Madagascar (did not deliver speech)
102	Malawi	H.E. Dr. Bakili Muluzi, President of the Republic of Malawi
103	Malaysia	H.E. Dato' Seri Syed Hamid Albar, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malaysia, Head of the Malaysian Delegation
104	Maldives	H.E. Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, President of the Republic of Maldives
105	Mali	H.E. Alpha Ournar Fonare, President of the Republic of Mali
106	Malta	H.E. Hon. Edward Fenech-Adami, Prime Minister of Malta
107	Marshall Islands	H.E. Kessai H. Note, President of the Republic of the Marshall Islands

	Country	Representative
108	Mauritania	H.E. Cheikh El Avia Ould Mohamed Khouna, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania
109	Mauritius	H.E. Anund Priyay Neewoor, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Mauritius
110	Mexico	H.E. Dr. Ernesto Zedillo, President of Mexico
111	Micronesia (Federated States of)	H.E. Leo A. Falcam, President of the Federated States of Micronesia
112	Monaco	His Royal Highness The Prince Sovereign of Monaco delivered by His Royal Highness The Hereditary Prince Albert de Monaco
113	Mongolia	H.E. Natsagiin Bagabandi, President of Mongolia
114	Morocco	H.R.H., Prince Moulay Rachid of Morocco
115	Mozambique	H.E. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the Republic of Mozambique
116	Myanmar	H.E. U Win Aung, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Delegation of the Union of Myanmar
117	Namibia	H.E. Dr. Sam Nujoma, President of the Republic of Namibia
118	Nauru	H.E. Bernard Dowiyogo M.P, President of the Republic of Nauru
119	Nepal	H.E. The Right Honorable Girija Prasad Koirala, Prime Minister of Nepal
120	Netherlands	H.E. Wim Kok, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of the Netherlands
121	New Zealand	H.E. The Right Honorable Helen Clark, Prime Minister of New Zealand
122	Nicaragua	H.E. Dr. Arnoldo Alema'n Lacayo, President of the Republic of Nicaragua
123	Niger	H.E. Mamadou Tandja, President of the Republic of Niger
124	Nigeria	H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
125	Norway	H.M. King Harald V of Norway
126	Oman	His Highness Faisal Bin Ali Bin Faisal Al-Said, Minister of National Heritage and Culture, Representative of His Majesty Sultan Qaboos Bin Said, Sultan of Oman
127	Pakistan	H.E. General Pervez Musharraf, Chief Executive of Pakistan
128	Palau	H.E. Hersey Kyota, Republic of Palau, Ambassador to the United States of America, Chairman of Palau Delegation

	Country	Representative
129	Panama	H.E. Dr. Arturo U. Vallarino, Vice President of the Republic of Panama
130	Papua New Guinea	H.E. Hon. Sir Mekere Morauta, KT., MP, Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea
131	Paraguay	H.E. Dr. Julio César Franco, Vice-President of the Republic of Paraguay
132	Peru	H.E. Ing. Alberto Fujimori, President of the Republic of Peru
133	Philippines	H.E. Joseph Ejercito Estrada, President of the Philippines
134	Poland	H.E. Aleksander Kwasniewski, President of the Republic of Poland
135	Portugal	H.E. Antonio Guterres, Prime Minister of Portugal
136	Qatar	His Highness Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al Thani, Emir of the State of Qatar
137	Republic of Korea	H.E. Kim Dae-Jung, President of the Republic of Korea
138	Republic of Moldova	H.E. Petru Lucinschi, President of the Republic of Moldova
139	Romania	H.E. Emil Constantinescu, President of Romania
140	Russian Federation	H.E. Vladimir V. Putin, President of the Russian Federation
141	Rwanda	H.E. Paul Ka Game, President of the Republic of Rwanda
142	Saint Kitts and Nevis	H.E. Hon. Dr. Denzil L. Douglas, Prime Minister of the Federation of Saint Kitts and Nevis
143	Saint Lucia	H.E. Hon. Dr. Kenny D. Anthony, Prime Minister, Minister for Finance, Economic Affairs and Information of Saint Lucia
144	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	H.E. The Right Hon. Sir James F. Mitchell, KCMG, Prime Minister of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
145	Samoa	H.E. Tuiloma Neroni Slade, Permanent Representative of Samoa to the United Nations, Head of Delegation at the Millennium Summit of the United Nations
146	San Marino	Her Excellency Maria Domenica Michelotti, His Excellency Gian Marco Marcucci, The Most Excellent Captains Regent of the Republic of San Marino
147	Sao Tome and Principe	H.E. Miguel Dos Anjos Da Cunha Lisboa Trovoa-Da, President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe
148	Saudi Arabia	His Royal Highness Prince Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud, Crown Prince, Deputy Prime Minister and Commander of the National Guard

	Country	**Representative**
149	Senegal	H.E. Dr. Abdoulaye Wade, President of the Republic of Senegal
150	Seychelles	H.E. Ambassador Claude Morel, Permanent Representative to the United Nations
151	Sierra Leone	H.E. Alhaii Dr. Ahmad Teian Kabbah, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone
152	Singapore	H.E. Goh Chok Tong, Prime Minister of Singapore
153	Slovakia	H.E. Mikulas Dzurinda, Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic
154	Slovenia	H.E. Milan Kucan, President of the Republic of Slovenia
155	Solomon Islands	H.E. Jeremiah Manele, Charge D'affaires Ad Interim and Chairman of the Solomon Islands Delegation
156	Somalia	H.E. Dr. Abdikassim Salad Hassan, President of the Somali Republic
157	South Africa	H.E. Thabo Mbeki, President of South Africa
158	Spain	H.E. Jose Maria Aznar, President of the Government of Spain
159	Sri Lanka	H.E. Hon. Lakshman Kadirgamar, Minister of Foreign Affaires and Special Envoy of the President of Sri Lanka, Her Excellency Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga
160	Sudan	H.E. Omer Hassan Ahmed Albashir, President of the Republic of the Sudan
161	Suriname	H.E. Jules P. Ajodhia, Vice-President of the Republic of Suriname
162	Swaziland	His Majesty King Mswati III, Head of State of the Kingdom of Swaziland
163	Sweden	H.E. Goran Persson, Prime Minister of Sweden
164	Syrian Arab Republic	H.E. Farouk AI-Shara, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic, in the name of Bashar Al-Assad, President of the Syrian Arab Republic
165	Tajikistan	H.E. Emomali Rakhmonov, President of the Republic of Tajikistan
166	Thailand	H.E. Surin Pitsuwan, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, Head of Delegation
167	Macedonia	H.E. Boris Trajkovski, President of the Republic of Macedonia
168	Togo	H.E. Gnassingbe Eyadema, President of the Republic of Togo
169	Tonga	His Royal Highness Prince Ulukalala-Lavaka-Ata, Honourable Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Tonga
170	Trinidad and Tobago	H.E. Hon. Basdeo Panday, Prime Minister of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago

	Country	Representative
171	Tunisia	H.E. Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, President of the Republic of Tunisia
172	Turkey	H.E. Ahmet Necdet Sezer, President of the Republic of Turkey
173	Turkmenistan	H.E. Batyr Berdyev, Head of Delegation, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkmenistan
174	Tuvalu	H.E. Panapasi Nelesone, Chairman of the Delegation of Tuvalu
175	Uganda	H.E. Hon. Eriya Kategaya, First Deputy Prime Minster of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uganda
176	Ukraine	H.E. Leonid Kuchma, President of Ukraine
177	United Arab Emirates	His Highness Sheikh Hamad Bin Mohammad Al-Sharqi Member of the U.A.E. Supreme Council, Ruler of the Emirate of Al-Fujairah, and Chairman of the United Arab Emirates Delegation
178	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	H.E. Tony Blair MP, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
179	United Republic of Tanzania	H.E. Hon. Jakaya m. Kikwete, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the United Republic of Tanzania
180	United States of America	H.E. William J. Clinton, President of the U.S.A.
181	Uruguay	H.E. Dr. Jorge Batlle, President of Uruguay
182	Uzbekistan	H.E. Islam Karimov, President of the Republic of Uzbekistan
183	Vanuatu	H.E. Hon. Maautamate B. Sope, MP., Prime Minister of the Republic of Vanuatu
184	Venezuela	H.E. Hugo Chavez Frias, President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela
185	Viet Nam	H.E. Tran Duc Luong, President of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam
186	Yemen	H.E. All Abdullah Saleh, President of the Republic of Yemen
187	Yugoslavia	Not represented at the Summit
188	Zambia	H.E. Dr. Frederick J. T. Chiluba, President of the Republic of Zambia
189	Zimbabwe	H.E. Robert G. Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe
	Other speeches included in preparing the analysis for this report	
	Holy See	His Eminence Cardinal Angelo Sodano, Secretary of State of His Holiness

	Country	Representative
	Palestine	H.E. President Yasser Arafat, President of the State of Palestine, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, President of the Palestinian National Authority
	European Union	H.E. Romano Prodi, President of the European Commission
	UN Secretary General	H.E. Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the UN