



Confronting Today's Global Threats

SECURITY CHECK

UN/DPI PHOTOS

Security in America has taken on a whole new meaning since 9/11. Metal detectors aren't just for airports anymore; some of us pass through them these days just to get into the office.

***But are we any safer?
Is safety even attainable?***

We know that people, goods, and money move more freely around the world than ever before. But so do diseases, weapons, drugs, and other security threats. Look closely at any one of those threats and you start to see how they're connect-

ed to the others—diseases with poverty, poverty with terrorism, terrorism with organized crime, and distant wars with our own security here at home.

If the threats are all connected, which do we tackle first? If national borders can't contain them, whose job is it to take them on? And—call it self-ish or call it practical—but what does it all mean for us?

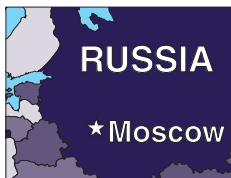
“Security Check: Confronting Today's Global Threats” answers these questions with expert insight and field reports illustrating some of the most dangerous threats facing the world today.

“Security Check: Confronting Today’s Global Threats” spans the globe to explore the threats we face and what can be done to fight them.



• **Civil Wars: How the World Suffers**

Producer and correspondent Kristin McHugh reports from northern Uganda on why the country's civil war is a threat to American national security, and what both the United Nations and the United States are doing to combat the poverty, war, and the terrorist cells that exist.



• **Loose Nukes: The Race to Secure Nuclear Material**

At the Kurchatov Institute in Moscow, Russia, officials admit their nuclear material could fall into the wrong hands. Producer and correspondent Simon Marks examines the danger of unsecured nuclear weapons and the threat such material could have if acquired by terrorists.



• **No Boundaries: Managing the HIV/AIDS Pandemic**

The US government has classified the global HIV/AIDS pandemic as a national security threat. Because of this, the United States is helping countries like Thailand combat the disease by sponsoring vaccine trials and education programs. Correspondent Roxana Saberi reports from Bangkok.



• **Blood, Drugs, and Guns: Arms Trafficking Fuels Chaos**

Nowhere is the threat posed by the illicit trade of small arms more clear than in Colombia. Correspondent Reese Erlich explores how these weapons not only threaten Colombia’s stability but that of nearby countries and the United States.



• **In Larger Freedom: Making the Case That the UN Still Matters**

In an exclusive interview, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan discusses his proposals for modernization of the global institution.



• **Borders Are Illusory: An Essay by David Brancaccio**

Host David Brancaccio explores the interconnected nature of the threats we face and explains why cooperation, not fear, is the best way to secure our future.

“Security Check: Confronting Today’s Global Threats” is a one-hour radio documentary originally released nationwide in May 2005. The program is a production of the Stanley Foundation in association with KQED Public Radio. “Security Check: Confronting Today’s Global Threats” is hosted by David Brancaccio, host and editor of the PBS weekly series *NOW*, and produced by Simon Marks, Kristin McHugh, and Keith Porter. Full audio of the documentary is available at: www.stanleyfoundation.org/securitycheckaudio.



Civil Wars

How the World Suffers

By Kristin McHugh

Winston Churchill once described Uganda as the “Pearl of Africa.” The luster still exists in parts of this east African state and the country’s economic success is hailed as a model for the whole continent.

But northern Uganda has been at war for decades and the country’s main rebel group, the Lord’s Resistance Army, is particularly vicious. Known as the LRA, the cult-like group wants to establish a government based on the Bible’s Ten Commandments. But the LRA is best known for the abduction of tens of thousands of children and bizarre practices of maiming their victims. What’s more, the country has been surrounded by neighboring conflicts in Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Rwanda for decades.

Bujagali Falls—not far from the source of the Nile River in south-eastern Uganda—is one of the country’s most stunning tourist attractions. It’s most attractive feature, a series of small crashing waterfalls, draws people to this location year-round.

The near-deafening, foam-capped waves from the falls are beautiful, but their violent movement is also a metaphor for Uganda’s recent political history.

The North-South Divide

“Uganda is sort of divided nicely in half,” said Stella Sabitti, executive director of the Center for Conflict Resolution, a Ugandan nongovernmental agency based in the country’s capital, Kampala. “The southern part is very well developed, economically and otherwise, whereas the north isn’t.

“We’ve lost, I think, a whole generation in the north,” she said, “because children have grown up in violence, seeing nothing but violence. They don’t know what peace means.”



An estimated 1.6 million people have been displaced in northern Uganda by the country’s 19-year war against the LRA.

One Camp Out of Hundreds

Bobi camp, located 16 miles south of the city of Gulu, is a squalid, congested camp of compact mud and thatch huts. It is home to more than 18,000 people and one of

hundreds of displacement camps in the eight conflict-affected districts of northern Uganda.

“In percentage terms, I would say just over 90 percent of [the] Gulu population is displaced,” said Andrew Timson, adding that it is a typical percentage for most of northern Uganda. Timson heads the UN’s Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs for northern Uganda’s Gulu district.

“I was speaking to a man here a few months ago who pointed his house out to me, which is all but 300 meters from this camp. He told me that he did not feel safe to stay there...and that gives you a sense of the fear that people still have about the LRA.”



Hundreds of displacement camps like Bobi are spread throughout northern Uganda, providing shelter and safety to thousands of displaced.



The river protects the Bobi camp residents from the dangers posed by the rebels.

Not Past the River

Near the perimeter of the Bobi camp is a shallow, muddy river. It is important to the camp's residents. It is where they get their water and wash their clothes, and where the children come to cool off, splash around, and have a good time. But the river is especially essential in the rainy season, providing not only drinking and washing water but also security. Just across the river is the bush where rebels hide. Residents of this camp refuse to go beyond the river for fear they will be captured or kidnapped by the LRA.

"You have to imagine a refugee camp," said Ken Davies, the United Nations' World Food Program director in Uganda. "And then try to make it ten times as bad. Keeping these people alive in the camps is the biggest activity. That said, we've also got 230,000 refugees from Sudan, Congo, and still some from Rwanda in Uganda.

"Where you have instability and you have poverty and you have pain, you have a fertile breeding ground for fundamentalists and radical ideologies," he said. "Remember that Osama Bin Laden was in Sudan before he went to Afghanistan. This whole terrorist thread affects the neighboring countries and it grows and it spreads."

Civil war in this part of Africa has indeed grown and spread, spilling across international borders along the way. The LRA, until recently, had a safe

haven in neighboring Sudan. From there, aid agencies say the army was able to abduct as many as 30,000 Ugandans, many of them children.

Fearing the Dark

Fifteen-year-old Akello is what humanitarian groups refer to as a "night commuter." Fear of abduction and LRA attacks drives Akello and thousands of other children to seek refuge each night in hospitals, schools, and other town centers throughout northern Uganda. Akello has been a night commuter for three years.

"I fear being abducted by the rebels," said Akello. "So they commanded that anyone, wherever they find anyone, they are going to kill."

On the night we spoke, she trekked nearly five miles from her home to join nearly 1000 others at a night commuter facility known as Noah's Ark, in the center of Gulu. Surrounded by a tall razor wire fence, the children sleep on concrete slabs under tattered blankets.

The children who sleep at Noah's Ark do so in order to escape the fate of one 13-year-old boy, whom I've agreed not to name in order to protect his identity.

Wearing a pale yellow T-shirt, he said he was kidnapped at age nine. "When I was abducted I was taken to an LRA camp near Gulu for one month before being taken to Sudan." He had escaped his captors just days prior to our conversation.

"I was taught how to assemble and dismantle a gun," he said. "I was responsible for one magazine of bullets." He recently escaped his captors and is now a resident at the Gulu Support the Children Organization (GUSCO).

Funded in part by the United States, GUSCO helps children transition back to a life free of the LRA. Residents receive free basic medical care and counseling. Classes include hygiene, life skills, and English.

Working for Peace

Grace Akello is the Minister of State for northern Uganda. Wearing small wire-rim glasses, tradi-

tional African dress and modern hiking boots, it is clear she is on a mission as she arrives with dozens of well-armed military escorts at a displacement camp called Olwal, 18 miles west of Gulu.

“I am here to talk to the people about peace and reconstruction, rehabilitation, which is my main mandate,” she adds.

Despite nearly 20 years of war and countless broken cease-fires, longtime observers of this conflict say Akello’s enthusiasm is well-founded. Last year’s peace agreement in southern Sudan raises the prospects for stability in northern Uganda as well.

In 2004, Uganda received well over \$200 million in US aid, making it one of the largest US aid recipients in all of Africa. While much of the money pays for humanitarian programs, a por-

tion of the American aid funds Uganda’s participation in the East African Counterterrorism Initiative. This program, announced by President Bush two years ago, encourages east African governments to work together to identify the movement of terrorists across borders.

“Insecurity and conflict on one side of an international border certainly breeds insecurity on the other side of the border and what you see in northern Uganda is a consequence,” said Ken Davies of the World Food Programme.

Even if a peace accord is finally reached in northern Uganda, Davies argues it will take global generosity, not just American aid, to bring a lasting peace to this troubled country.

“When you have development and you have peace and you have progress, people are content the way their lives are moving and they are not going to be prone to join fundamentalists and terrorist organizations,” he said.

The Security of Development

On the traffic-clogged streets of Kampala it is hard to imagine that less than 200 miles to the north, Uganda is a country at war. Paved roads, modern stores, and upscale homes are obvious signs of development and progress in the capital.

Stella Sabiiti believes finding ways to spread Kampala’s progress will ultimately benefit the children of northern Uganda, the region, and the world. The need to eliminate the civil war and poverty that afflicts the region is evident:

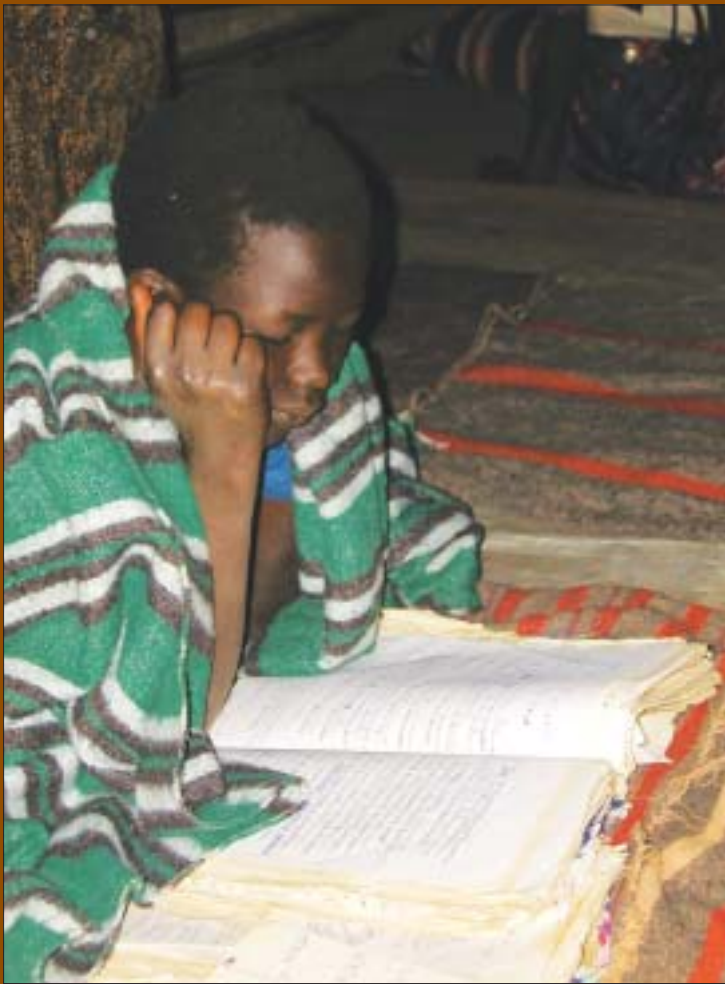
“We say this: every day someone doesn’t go to bed, you know, feeling very happy and comfortable, well fed, and is not worried, and then in the morning, he or she get up and goes to kill people. It just doesn’t happen like that. So, there is a reason why those acts take place.”

Conflict Leads to Poverty

So how does civil war in Uganda—or in any other faraway spot for that matter—connect with other global security challenges and our own safety here at home?



At Olwal, a displacement camp in Uganda, Grace Akello speaks to a crowd about peace, reconstruction, and rebuilding.



Fear of abductions and attacks by the Lord's Resistance Army drives thousands of children to seek refuge each night at hospitals, schools, and other town centers throughout northern Uganda. This orphan is spending the night at the Noah's Ark center in Gulu.

"There's a number of connections going in different directions," said Macartan Humphreys, a professor of political science at Columbia University. "There's a very obvious connection that when you have a conflict, it can be extremely damaging to the economy. So the conflict results in a large increase in poverty. And we see that all over the place."

He said the connections don't stop there. "What's more contested, but for which there's a lot of evidence recently, is that the poorer you are, the more likely you are to go into conflict. And the problem with that is that that can lead to a vicious circle. You get poorer, you get more conflict, you get poorer, you get more conflict."

Development Promotes Security

Poverty and lack of development seem to go hand in hand with civil war. And experts are just begin-

ning to understand how this connection works. Julia Taft, a former US Assistant Secretary of State, recently retired from the United Nations Development Programme.

"Development is the investment in helping communities have better health, improving school, improving democracy, and reducing corruption, and promoting good governance," she said. "If we don't do development, which is not all charity, it is also investment. If we don't do that, well then there is a prospect for political disaffection, but also transnational threats."

Ed Luck, a scholar and leading expert on the United Nations and international organizations, said America has a direct interest in promoting development and stability overseas.

"I think Americans have to care about development because we care about trade. And trade has to do with jobs here at home," he said. "Countries that are developing are markets, and they're very often markets for American products. And if they are stable, they may be helpful politically for us as well. If they're prospering, they're more likely to share the values that we have."

Beyond poverty and development, civil war is also connected to global security threats because it spreads. In Central America, the Balkans, East Asia, and across Africa we see examples of how neighbors get drawn in to domestic conflicts.

"In general, what you can see in this whole region is an interrelated set of conflicts," said Ciaran Donnelly, who heads the International Rescue Committee efforts in Uganda, "where we've a significant conflict ongoing in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo in which Uganda has played a large role historically. Although, officially, Ugandan troops have withdrawn from Congo at this point, you have the southern Sudan problem, which is very key to American foreign policy interests, and there's a lot of cross-border dimensions there."

A Threat to One, a Threat to All

So, civil war tends to spread, and it leaves a wake of poverty and despair. Without sounding too

egocentric, “US-centric” or any other centric, it is still fair to ask, how does this affect us here at home? Or, to be blunt, why should Americans care?

“Countries, particularly when they result in failed states, can serve as a breeding ground of some form for terrorism,” Professor Humphreys said. “Its uncontrolled areas in which flows of illicit funds are more easily achieved, and which people can train, and so on.”

“The Ugandans have been good partners in fighting terrorism.” Jimmy Kolker is the American ambassador to Uganda. He sees clearly how Uganda’s problems connect with the United States and rest of the world. “The Lord’s Resistance Army has killed more people than any other terrorist group active in the world today. More than Al Qaeda, Hamas, Hizballah.”

“If these countries implode,” said Gareth Evans, former foreign minister of Australia and member of a blue-ribbon panel which explored how to improve the global security framework, “if they become failed states, we’ve seen how they can harbor and nurture terrorists. We’ve seen how refugee outflows can become a burden on northern economies. Over and over again there are ways in which these issues do impact upon us. So, quite apart from charity, quite apart from our own decent humanitarian instincts, which can be mobilized as we’ve seen, it really is a matter of a much cruder and legitimate set of national interests than that.”

If civil war in Africa is truly a security threat to the whole world, US Ambassador Kolker said the nations of the world need to face that threat together.

“This is one where you need to think globally and act locally. I think all of us have learned from all sorts of experience that no one’s alone in this. There’s not a sense that, well, this is a problem only for Ugandans to worry about.”

Ciaran Donnelly agrees: “In Uganda, the regional dimension of the conflict and the importance of Uganda in the region pretty much precludes the possibility of unilateral action. And so the aspect

of collective responses to the international community’s responsibility has been very important.”

“This is not just a question of global solidarity.” Bob Orr, an American, is UN Assistant Secretary-General for Strategic Planning. “It’s a question of enlightened self-interest. Americans will benefit from all these activities—whether they’re development, whether they’re collective action in the peace-keeping and peace-building field—these are the ultimate guarantors of our own citizens’ security.

“For a country like the United States that has real, legitimate security concerns in the realm of terrorism, in the realm of organized crime and drugs, the realm of proliferation, of weapons of mass destruction, every single one of these threats has a base, both inside the United States and outside the United States. We are not an island. Our oceans do not protect as they once did.” ■

Loose Nukes

The Race to Secure Nuclear Material

By Simon Marks

At Washington's Dulles Airport, workers try hard to spot trouble among the airport's 2.5 million visitors and 5 million pieces of luggage that pass through each year.

Trouble can come in many forms, but what if one of these bags contained some highly enriched uranium or some of the other ingredients needed to make a small but potentially deadly nuclear device?

A catchy phrase for this scourge is "loose nukes"—radiological components that experts worry are rattling around the world ready to be sold by criminals to organized terror groups.

The threat of nuclear material on the loose is clear, but how to rein it in is clearly not.

Real Risk

Once called simply "Laboratory Number 2," the Kurchatov Institute in northwest Moscow was founded in 1943 to fulfill one simple goal: develop a Soviet nuclear bomb. It succeeded, and the institute—named after Igor Kurchatov, one of the architects of the Soviet Union's nuclear program—still holds these weapons today.

That worries Robert Berls, director of the Moscow office of the Nuclear Threat Initiative, a non-governmental organization jointly founded by businessman Ted Turner and veteran Democratic Party Senator Sam Nunn.

Berls says that even at Kurchatov, just miles from the Kremlin and the seat of Russian power, there is a real risk that nuclear and radiological materials could fall into the hands of terrorists.

"It's a relatively open facility, and a group of terrorists could, I think, easily break into that facility if they tried hard enough," Berls said. "And God forbid if they were ever to get to those research

reactors, what damage they could do and the horror that could be unleashed on Moscow."

Minds at Ease?

Visitors to the Kurchatov Institute are treated to a grand display of security. Special Forces drive around in a troop carrier that has been converted to monitor levels of radioactive contamination in the event of an incident. And a promotional video has been produced for visitors, designed above all to set minds at ease. It demonstrates, among other things, how the protection system can be activated if there is an emergency situation.

"Fortunately," says the woman in the video, "this is only a simulation of the danger. But we never know."

Some evidence suggests that terrorists have actually discussed the

possibility of launching an attack against the Kurchatov Institute, leaving many to consider the dangers of such an attack every day. After all, attacks have become all too common in Russia in past years.

Securing the Reactor

On October 26, 2002, Russian troops stormed the Dubrovka Theater in Moscow to end a siege that had begun three days earlier. Fighters from the breakaway Russian region of Chechnya took over the building and held 900 theatergoers and performers hostage for four days. In an effort to subdue the fighters and save the hostages, Russians forced pumped a still-unidentified narcotic gas into the theater—killing the Chechen hostage-takers, but also 129 of their captives.

While that very public military operation was under way at the theater, Russian officials were busy at the Kurchatov Institute, according to Pavel Felgenhauer, a leading Russian military analyst.



"A friend of mine, a person who I know rather well, he worked at Kurchatov," Felgenhauer said. "He was called in immediately to the facility as the tragedy in the theater was evolving to close down the biggest reactor."

The Russians, Felgenhauer said, received clear indications that the group that had taken over the theater had debated attacking the institute as well.

"So they acted immediately," he said. "They closed down that reactor, they removed a lot of radioactive material.... So when the Russian authorities see real dangers of nuclear facilities being captured several miles from the Kremlin, they act."

"They act because the threat is serious," he added with a laugh. "So they found the money and they found that capabilities to diminish the threat at last inside Moscow."

Sergei Lavrov, Russia's foreign minister and the country's former ambassador to the United Nations, confirms that security at the institute was indeed tightened as the Dubrovka Theater siege unfolded.

"Had we not been concerned at that time that terrorists might target the Kurchatov Institute, we would be irresponsible, right?"

"We have to think of these things," he said. "All of these sites are under extra-precautionary measures, under extra protection. For obvious reasons I cannot go into the details," he said.

Preparing for the Worst

A series of terrorist incidents, including the Beslan school siege in southern Russia last year, have underscored the possibility of an attack on Russian nuclear facilities. Russian authorities concluded that if fighters from Chechnya—or others pursuing a cause—were sufficiently desperate to lay siege to a school, they would probably also be willing to attack, raid, or besiege a nuclear site.

The outcome of the school siege was not reassuring. Russian troops stormed the building and at

least 340 people were killed in the shootout, 170 of them children.

Alexander Pikayev, of Moscow's Institute of World Economy, has written extensively on the problems of securing and safeguarding Russia's nuclear arsenal.

"I would say it's simply a matter of luck," he said. "Simply a matter of luck because, especially in 1990, the situation was so poor that one should be surprised that the worst-case scenario wasn't realized."

Since the fall of the USSR, western governments have worried about nuclear weapons kept in insecure conditions and guarded by unmotivated 17-year-old Russian conscripts. Pikayev smiled *wryly* when asked whether the image was accurate.

"Probably this image of a 17-year-old guard who neglects his duties is a little bit of [an] exaggeration," he said. "We may speak about 18-year-old people, because it's recruitment age in Russia."

What governments overseas are correct to be worried about, he says, is the disposition of Russia's nuclear stockpile. Not just the warheads themselves, but the fissile material from those that have already been dismantled, some of which he believes have fallen into the hands of terrorists and organized criminal gangs.



While Russian officials recognize that their nuclear material could become a target for terrorists, more could be done to secure the material to guard against an unfortunate event.

"There were cases that criminal gangs used radioactive materials for killing some businessmen," Pikayev said. "For instance, they implanted radioactive uranium into [the] armchair of one businessman. He died because of that, because of radiation."

Pikayev realizes the importance of securing all, not some, nuclear material.

"You cannot say, 'well, 50 percent is okay. The situation in 99 percent of facilities is okay.' Because even if there is a situation in one facility, which contains probably less than 1 percent of the dangerous nuclear materials, the amount of that nuclear material might be enough to make a bomb. So this is still dangerous."

The Nuclear US-Russian Relationship

Both the US and Russian governments have been only too happy to invite reporters to witness the dismantling of elements of the nuclear stockpiles. Missiles are broken apart, the fissile material is recovered, and their parts are melted down for scrap.

A US congressional initiative headed by Republican Senator Richard Lugar and his Democratic colleague, former Senator Sam Nunn, has played an important role in this process. In 2004 alone, the initiative succeeded in deactivating 312 Russian nuclear warheads. It sounds impressive. But, warned Felgenhauer, it can create a score of new problems to resolve.

"Decommissioning means that they're dismantled, but the material that they're composed of didn't disappear. That means it's stored somewhere," said Felgenhauer. "Most likely [it is] stored in less secure conditions than it was when it was a nuclear warhead. So dismantling nuclear weapons is good, but that means that the material is less secure as a result. It's not an easy situation, and it's made worse by a mutual lack of trust, by ambiguity over the direction in which US-Russian relations might develop."

The US-Russia relationship—already in trouble over President Vladimir Putin's rollback of democratic reform in his country—has not been particu-

larly fruitful when it comes to the issue of securing Russia's nuclear stockpile, though you wouldn't know that from the public pronouncements following February's summit between Presidents Putin and Bush.

"We produced a lot of positive results at this meeting," Bush said, speaking on February 24, after the summit. "We agreed to accelerate our work to protect nuclear weapons and material, both in our two nations and around the world. And I want to thank you for that. And I want to thank our defense ministers for working on the issue as well—Minister Ivanov is here; he and Secretary Rumsfeld have had a very constructive relationship."

The Diplomatic Debate

Despite this positive promotion, observers say the US-Russia relationship is rocky. Earlier this year, the Russian defense minister told an audience in New York that Western concerns about Russian nuclear materials falling into the hands of criminals were "pure fiction."

But CIA Director Porter Goss has testified before the US Congress that enough nuclear materials have already disappeared from Russian custody to build a nuclear bomb. And former US Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham's assessment is also starkly at odds with Russian claims.

"Russia must work harder to address vulnerabilities at their nuclear and radiological facilities," Abraham said at a Washington press conference.

"At a time when terrorists are known to be scouting under-secured locations worldwide...we're still working to gain access to some of the facilities in Russia that, in my judgment, need to be addressed sooner rather than later. It is imperative that the Russian Federation work together with us to quickly resolve outstanding questions about access to these sites so that we can get this job done to ensure that terrorists are cut off from these locations and materials."

With both sides refusing to show their most sensitive military sites, the debate has become the diplomatic equivalent of, "I'll show you mine, when you show me yours."



The Kurchatov Institute is just miles from the center of Moscow, and the possibility of another terrorist attack—like the one at the Dubrovka Theater—concerns both Russian officials and residents of Moscow.

“There is nothing in this world which could not be described as requiring more,” Lavrov said. “We have to perfect everything that we do. If we get facts that indicate we need to do more, we would certainly respond. When we are told that we have general concerns, so why don’t you take us here or there to see, well, on a reciprocal basis this is possible. And we managed to send our experts sometime ago to the states on the invitation to see a site, and eventually they didn’t get there. So if those concerns are substantiated, I assure you we would be the first one to wish to get these things right.”

A Return to Normal

The Dubrovka Theater complex, scene of the October 2002 siege, has now reopened. Dance classes are offered to young Muscovites—music now ringing through a place that would otherwise echo with the silence of death.

Dance teacher Marina Maratova says most families she encounters don’t spend their time worrying about the prospect of Russia’s enemies going nuclear.

“I am not afraid that terrorists will be able to take over nuclear sites,” she said. “Our interior forces are doing all they can to fight them. I don’t rule out the possibility that a terrorist attack could happen in Moscow. But it definitely won’t happen again here. Lightning doesn’t strike twice.”

But Robert Berls of the Nuclear Threat Initiative’s Moscow office argues there is no reason—or time—for complacency.

“The terrorists are not going to wait,” he said.

“The terrorists have been moving forward, and we know that there have been several attempts in recent times by terrorists to get nuclear materials. They need to appoint a senior government official that will be responsible for waging war against the possibility of nuclear terrorism. It must be a government priority, a very high government priority. It must also become a high priority for the other members of the G-8¹, as well as all the nuclear powers and other concerned countries. There’s a lot that can be done. It just requires the leadership to make it happen.”

Global leadership, Berl says, is the key to securing Moscow’s arsenal, and neutralizing the threat so-called “loose nukes” pose to the security of Russia and the wider world.

Principles Over Politics?

How, then, can global leadership be better harnessed to deal with the enormous threats posed by the spread of nuclear material and weapons?

“If it wasn’t for Pakistan, there wouldn’t be an Iranian nuclear program,” said Joseph Cirincione, director of Non-Proliferation at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington. “If it wasn’t for Pakistan, Libya would never have gotten centrifuges. If it wasn’t for Pakistan, it’s unlikely that North Korea would have gotten whatever centrifuge equipment they have.”

Cirincione argues that *principles* need to trump *politics* when governments make decisions. He faults the Bush White House for failing to hold Pakistan to account for the proliferation activities of A. Q. Khan. The architect of Pakistan’s nuclear program was also selling nuclear secrets all over the world.

“Clearly the administration decided that they needed Pakistan’s support in the hunt for Osama

¹The G8—a group of eight industrialized countries that meets each year to discuss major international economic and political issues—includes Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. www.cbc.ca/news/background/g8/

bin Laden more than they needed Pakistan's support in shutting down this proliferation network," he added. "I disagree with that policy choice, but they have chosen to accept, not just publicly, but privately, Pakistan's assurances that this network has been shut down. I think that's a naïve acceptance.

Organized Crime: The Enabler

Bob Orr, UN Assistant Secretary-General for Strategic Planning, says in addition to proliferators like A. Q. Khan, the world's governments must also be on guard against the growing tentacles of organized crime in this arena.

"Organized crime is one of the most efficient transmission mechanisms of threats around the world," he said. "Whether you're talking about the movement of arms, of fissile material for nuclear devices, of drugs, organized crime provides transmission mechanism[s] that gets goods—whether they be these dangerous materials or, in fact, people, trafficking in humans—from one point on the globe to the other without a whole lot of impediment.

"If we don't deal with this fundamental reality, and look at organized crime as an enabler for all of the things we're trying to stop, we won't get to the fundamentals."

Celina Realuyo, director of Counterterrorism Finance Programs at the US State Department, spends her time trying to deal with that fundamental reality. It is her job to track down and shut down the financial operations that can support this traffic.

"If you think about the proliferation of nuclear materials, what is the real motivation for those who are engaged in that line of business, if you want to call it that? It really has to do with the profits, as opposed to terrorists who are really motivated by ideology," she said.

"If you look at the nuclear proliferators, most of them are really motivated by profit. We take a look at money as the oxygen that actually promotes proliferation. It's another way to attack the

problem of proliferation. In terms of, it makes it much harder for them to move the money or they can't actually physically transfer the money, the actual transfer of the material will not take place."

The Global Response

Since the 9/11 attacks the US government, acting in concert with other countries, has frozen bank accounts, prosecuted rogue financial institutions, and made it harder for criminals to launder or park their money in offshore tax havens.

Realuyo argues that a coordinated global response is the key to success.

"It's actually superimportant, because if you think of the analogy of squeezing a balloon, if you squeeze it on one side the air will go to the other side," she said.

"Actually, all of the signatories to the UN are required to actually criminalize terrorist financing and terrorism as a result of the 9/11 attacks under UN Security Council Resolution 1373. This is something that, actually, the entire world community has recognized as a problem and, more important, there are actually measures being taken to address it."

Circinione of Carnegie Endowment says forcefully carrying out these measures is key to keeping nuclear capability out of the wrong hands.

"We know that some of these groups have tried to get highly enriched uranium," he said. "Osama bin Laden, according to the 9/11 report for example, spent one-and-a-half million dollars buying what he thought was highly enriched uranium. It turned out to be radioactive junk. But the problem is we know he wants it. They are trying to do this. Similarly, Aum Shinrikyo, the terrorist group in Japan that succeeded in dispersing sarin nerve gas in the Tokyo subway, was trying to buy uranium mines in Australia.

"We're in a race to secure this material before they can get their hands on it." ■

No Boundaries

Managing the HIV/AIDS Pandemic

By Roxana Saberi

The world is beginning to understand how disease connects with global security.

Epidemics can destabilize governments. A poor medical infrastructure can allow minor health issues to become major outbreaks. Preventable diseases thrive during war, and the immunizations and vaccines we all take for granted become low priorities for hungry families seeking basic shelter.

Meanwhile, every infectious disease in the world is just a plane ride away from our hometowns.

In Thailand there are efforts to slow the spread of one global security threat: AIDS.

With a bit of English and an array of short skirts, Pattaya's red-light district in Thailand attracts its share of native Thais and foreigners alike. Here, block after block, salesmen promise a variety of peepshows for the low, low price of 500 baht (roughly \$13).



This in-your-face sex industry is splashed across the beach resort town, around 90 miles southeast of Bangkok. Despite the very public image of the industry, sex workers here and across the country have been trying to repair their reputation as a one-stop-shop for AIDS.

Learning From the Past

In the late 1980s, Thailand emerged as one of the epicenters for the growing HIV/AIDS pandemic. But in recent years, the country has slowed the spread of the virus. From 1991 to 2003, Thailand's annual rate of new HIV infections dropped from its peak of 143,000 to around 19,000.

Patrick Brenny, the UNAIDS coordinator for Thailand, said the decline was largely due to increased use of condoms and reduced brothel visits. "The trend of the epidemic in Thailand,

again, that was ten years ago, there was a very successful response to the epidemic, there was a large level of political mobilization, there was effective prevention in terms of the use of condoms in brothels, the famous 100 percent condom program," Brenny said. "That was very successful because the epidemic was primarily concentrated in commercial sex workers and their clients."

The challenge now is to ensure that Thailand's past successes don't lead to complacency and inaction.

Thailand's Ministry of Public Health says it realizes the country can't afford to become complacent. It has helped put on programs like an AIDS awareness concert in Bangkok on Valentine's Day, for example, to make the health concern a public issue.

Ministry spokeswoman Nitaya Chanruang Mahabhol said her government is well aware that a health crisis in one country can be a threat to other countries as well. Infectious diseases do not respect international borders. Last year, she said, Thailand donated a million condoms to neighboring Burma.



With its array of short skirts, bars, and sex clubs, the red-light district in Pattaya attracts its share of Thais and foreigners.

“There’s no need to be in heaven while some of your neighbors are fighting like being in hell,” she said.

Fear of Resurgence

In his air-conditioned office off a busy street in Rayong, about an hour’s drive from Pattaya, Boripat Domnom looks the picture of health. But Boripat’s routine of downing four antiviral pills a day reveals the changing faces of Thailand’s AIDS victims.



AIDS victim Boripat Domnom uses his experience to educate his neighbors and community about the dangers of the disease.

“I learned that I was infected with HIV in 1993 after my wife delivered our second baby at a hospital,” Domnom said. “Later on, our baby died in only 3 months. I was wondering about this. Therefore I had a blood test. The result was HIV positive. At that time, I didn’t believe that I had been infected. I still continued my life as normal.”

Brenny suggests that Boripat’s story shows Thailand is still vulnerable to a resurgence of the epidemic—this time, spreading beyond sex workers and their clients.

“The difficulty with the epidemic now is that it’s matured into the population and so most of the people being infected today are housewives or partners of those who used to go to sex workers and are people who aren’t part of the general population, the youth for example,” Brenny explained.

US-Thai Cooperation

Evidence suggests there is reason to worry about a relapse in the spreading of the disease. The UN says the rate of HIV-infected drug users is rising and the use of condoms among youth, homosexuals, and sex workers has decreased.

National HIV infection rates across Asia are low compared to Africa. But because Asia is so populated, even low national HIV prevalence means large numbers of people living with the virus. If Thailand and its neighbors falter, the impact would be far-reaching—hitting areas as distant as the United States. It is a risk Washington does not want to take.

In Rayong and Chonburi, two provinces with some of the highest rates of HIV in Thailand, the US government is helping the Thai government conduct the largest trial of any AIDS vaccine in the world. The idea behind this program is to reinforce Thailand’s treatment and prevention programs with a potential miracle drug that could reduce the rate of new HIV infections.

In Search of the Miracle Drug

Thousands of 18- to 30-year-olds have volunteered to receive injections of a combination AIDS vaccine over three and a half years, a project called the “Prime-Boost HIV Vaccine Phase III Trial.”

Critics say the test is a waste of time and money because one of the two vaccines failed in previous human tests in the United States. But a sense of urgency is spurring on supporters of the project. Around 70 Thais are infected by the virus every day. Organizers say even a partially effective vaccine—reducing the average rate of HIV infection by half—would be a victory.

Project organizers like Dr. Supachai Rerks-Ngarm admit each drug by itself is not effective but may succeed in combination.

“So I don’t believe until we prove it, that it doesn’t work,” Dr. Rerks-Ngarm said. “This is the way of research. Research means finding new way of doing things.”

Dr. Supachai points out there are numerous strains of the HIV virus around the world. But he believes the combination vaccine, which does not include the live HIV virus, may produce new results in Thailand.

The vaccine project is just one of many ways the United States has been working with Thai authorities over the past 15 years, when the robust HIV epidemic first emerged here.

The Global Threat

The US government and the United Nations recognize HIV/AIDS as a global security threat, contributing to the conditions of failed states and civil war. In 2001, then Secretary of State Colin Powell told the UN that “no war on the face of the earth is more destructive than the AIDS pandemic.”

The CIA has warned that infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS put American tourists, workers, and soldiers abroad at risk. Responding to these warnings, President Bush launched an Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief in 2003 to increase spending on HIV/AIDS around the world.

Dr. Jordan Tappero, the director of the US Center for Disease Control in Thailand, said the United States realizes HIV in Thailand poses a real threat to Americans.

“There are other infections that pop up because of HIV infections, the most common example being

TB,” Dr. Tappero said. “I think if you asked yourself the question: if 50 percent of Americans were going to have a life-threatening illness over the next decade, would we consider that a catastrophe, a crisis? I don’t know anyone who would answer no to that at all.”

Education for Prevention

Many Thais are also taking the fight against AIDS into their own hands, trying to limit the spread of the virus to the general population.

At the all-boys’ Suan Kularb high school in Bangkok, Nakorn Santhiyothin is trying to teach her students that they are not immune from the virus. Her method isn’t based only on books or biology lessons, but on hands-on exercises. Today one student is holding a plastic model while another is struggling to wrap it with a condom.

For these boys, the giggles heard throughout the classroom don’t weaken the stark reality they’ve come to know too well.

“Previously,” said one student, “I thought it was not a related issue to teenagers. Currently, teenagers are more promiscuous. Some teenagers have got the virus as they do not prevent themselves at all. They don’t think that they are in danger. They don’t use condoms!”

The US-based Program for Appropriate Technology in Health, or PATH, helped develop the curriculum aimed at bringing health knowledge to students. The NGO wants to expand this lesson plan and extend it to schools across the country to teach students that abstinence is good. But if abstinence is not chosen, the organization says, students should at least know how to protect themselves.



Education programs are working to teach teens that they are not immune to AIDS. This vaccine recruitment poster asks young people to participate in a trial of HIV/AIDS treatments.



Educating youth about safer sex is one way of keeping the HIV/AIDS rate down.

But PATH is facing opposition from conservatives in government who point to the Bush administration's emphasis on abstinence and feel graphic lessons like these validate teen sex.

Hope Without Despair

At a Buddhist temple in Bangkok, Thais toss coins into a row of metal pots, wishing for happiness and health. Miles away, as Boripat Domnom carefully counts the pills of his antiviral cocktail, he says he wishes to replace despair with hope.

Boripat has opened his own nongovernmental organization—the Network of People Living With HIV/AIDS—where victims and others can learn about the virus. And he hopes countries, including the United States, will continue to support programs that make expensive AIDS drugs more affordable to the developing world.

He hopes, above all, that countries will be able to work together to prevent the rapid spread of AIDS—or as he puts it, to prevent the beauty of life from fading into a disaster for humanity.

Families Fragmented

Julia Taft ran the crisis prevention bureau at the United Nations Development Programme.

"I'm seeing some of the countries that are going to be virtually imploding—where, for instance, there's

rampant HIV/AIDS which is decimating the productive age groups of 18 to 40.

"These people are dying in dramatically high numbers," she said. "So the structure of government is being threatened because they don't have people who can actually do professional jobs. The families are being fragmented."

The scourge of infectious disease can have both very local and very far reaching implications.

"There's good globalization and there's bad globalization," said Jan Eliasson, the Swedish ambassador to the United States and president-elect of the UN General Assembly.

If you, for instance, have a disease—SARS in Asia—or if you can even imagine small pox breaking out, either independently or by terrorists, then you have a new disaster with enormous movement of people around the world. So with globalization, the fact that we are on one planet makes us truly interdependent. That means that a problem for one is a problem for all."

More Than a Local Problem

Johanna Mendelson-Forman, a senior program officer at the United Nations Foundation, said there is growing understanding of how infectious disease travels.

"Anyone who travels even between two continents, or anybody who crosses the border between Canada or Mexico, recognizes there has been an elevated interest in health and its relationship to preventing epidemics from spreading," Mendelson-Forman said. "Whether it's this Avian flu or whether it's SARS."

Because of this, infectious disease is beginning to be seen as something more than a local health care issue.

Bob Orr, the UN Assistant Secretary-General for Strategic Planning, recently helped draw up a list of recommendations for Kofi Annan that listed infectious disease as a very real global security threat.

“No country—whether it’s the United States, Europe, North Asia—is safe if the national health systems in Africa, in South Asia, and other regions of the world can’t cope with the infectious disease in those regions,” Orr said.

“In this regard, we were lucky, if you will, that SARS happened in Asia—that there were health systems with international assistance that could contain the SARS epidemic. If SARS were to emerge in Africa, for example, it would have been around the globe before anyone could have done anything about it. So threats that start in some regions emanate to others and, therefore, a threat to one is a threat to all.”

“Fantastically Complex”

“The fact is, none of us has been as sensitive to these fantastically complex interconnections as we need to be and as exist,” said Jeanne Kirkpatrick, US ambassador to the United Nations during the Reagan administration. “It’s something we all need to work on in my opinion.

“Collective action is very complex too. You know, it’s not just collective, it’s complicated. I think we need to face those interconnections and those problems in a lot of different ways.

Orr agrees. “Because these threats, by their very nature, do threaten us all, the idea that any single government or even any single small group of governments could address them is, on the face of it, false,” he said.

“Because our threats are now universal, our collective action needs to be universal. This is what’s new. It’s not just a small alliance of countries that can build a NATO to protect and enhance security. That mechanism is still useful and needed, but now the kinds of threats—the nonstate actors, the terrorism, HIV, AIDS—these kinds of threats are universal. You can’t use an alliance to stop that, unless it’s an alliance of every country in the world. That’s what’s new.” ■



This bustling weekend market in Bangkok is popular with both Thais and tourists. But not all transactions in Thailand are safe. The CIA has warned infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS put American tourists, workers, and soldiers at risk.

Blood, Drugs, and Guns

Arms Trafficking Fuels Chaos

By Reese Erlich

The day-to-day work of security officials at airports like Washington Dulles is filled with watching for contraband like drugs and weapons.

The trafficking of these and other items has an important connection to threats to global security. These weapons fuel conflict, and the profits fuel just about everything else.

The illicit trade of small arms has become a major global security threat. Nowhere is that more clear than in Colombia where criminal gangs, left-wing guerrillas, and right-wing paramilitaries smuggle tens of millions of dollars of dangerous weapons. These weapons not only threaten Colombia's stability but also that of nearby countries and the United States.

Easy Access

On their nightly patrol in Bogota, Sgt. Gabriel Ochoa and four other police officers focus on catching criminals carrying illegal small arms in the nation's capital city.

Legally, Ochoa said, only those who get permits from the Ministry of Defense are allowed to own handguns, shotguns, and rifles. But the reality is far different.

"Although we have strict gun control here in Colombia, people can easily get small arms on the black market," Ochoa said.

A revolver goes for about \$150 on the streets of Bogota. A 9-millimeter semiautomatic pistol can be bought for \$350.

A Nationwide Problem

The country is awash in small arms, and the results are evident in the halls of a Bogota hospital. One young man who did not want to provide his name said he was recently shot after some old enemies

showed up on his doorstep, brandishing pistols acquired on the black market.

"It was about 11:30 in the morning at my place. My friend opened the door and suddenly this guy took out a pistol and started to shoot," he said.

"The owner of the house tried to defend me. So the guy killed him. He shot me in the shoulder. The bullet went through my body and is still lodged in my hip."



It is not just select neighborhoods that are suffering from the scourge of illegal arms, he said. "The whole country is covered with arms. I've made the effort to get away from the world of guns, but it's a problem for the whole country."

Linking Weapons and Drugs

There are an estimated 3 million illegal small arms in this country of 43 million people. Most weapons are imported by drug cartels and political insurgents, and the guns are frequently traded for cocaine.

Colombia's Minister of Defense Jorge Uribe said this arms and cocaine racket is not only a problem for Colombia but also a security threat for Latin America and the United States.

Uribe's explanations are vivid. "You should be worried about that," he said. "Every time an American goes into that trip from sniffing drugs, they should think where is that coming from and how many lives have been lost in the process of bringing that pleasure. The color of cocaine is white, but it's really red because of the amount of blood."

In 2000 the United States initiated Plan Colombia, a program aimed at stopping cocaine trafficking and, in part, arms smuggling. So far the United States has paid \$3.5 billion for Plan Colombia, the

third-highest amount of foreign aid given to any country in the world.

Santa Fe de Ralito, a small village about 200 miles northwest of Bogotá, is the birthplace of the AUC, the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia.

The AUC is the umbrella group for Colombia's right-wing paramilitaries. They are the anticommunist organizations originally created by land owners and drug traffickers to combat a left-wing guerilla insurgency, which began 40 years ago and has plagued successive governments ever since. AUC soldiers in this compound openly carry assault rifles and side arms.

The paramilitaries are infamous arms smugglers. In a 2001 incident, according to a Colombian government indictment, the AUC brought in 3,000 AK-47s and 5 million rounds of ammunition aboard a ship supposedly carrying soccer balls.

A large amount of Colombia's small arms comes through Central America. Some are US-supplied weapons originally given to the contras in Nicaragua in the 1980s.

"At first we used our own arms to defend ourselves from the guerrillas," said Juian Bolivar, the chief negotiator for the AUC. "Later we got M60 machine guns and mortars. We got arms from Central America, from the arms the US sold to the contras, and from what the Soviet Union supplied to the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. Some of the Central American arms went through three wars before they got here."

Working With the Enemy

In late 2004 the AUC began talks with the government, and the AUC paramilitaries are now in the process of demobilizing and handing over their arms. All 15,000 to 20,000 paramilitaries are supposed to be disarmed by the end of 2005.

Despite this process of disarmament, Antonio Navarro, a leftist member of the Colombian Senate, says the AUC is keeping some of its arms in order to maintain control of drugs and gambling in some cities.



The United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia, or AUC, has been working with the government to hand over their arms as part of an ongoing peace process. There is some doubt, however, that agreements like this one will have an effect on the larger, more dangerous smuggling rings in and around Colombia.

"The majority of the paramilitaries have a mafia structure," Navarro said. "Their goal is not to give the arms back or to really stop fighting. The paramilitaries are actually drug dealers. So if they have these ways of exporting cocaine, they also have ways of importing illegal arms."

While the confiscated weapons are turned over to INDUMIL, the state-owned arms manufacturer, some charge that the confiscated weapons go back into circulation unnoticed.

"I'm afraid there's not enough control over those arms," said Alfredo Rangel, director of the Security and Democracy Foundation, a prestigious, centrist think tank.

Rangel also believes confiscated weapons make their way back into circulation. "They could end up on the black market and end up rearming the paramilitaries or the guerrillas."

Calls to the Ministry of Defense for comment were not returned.

While the government focuses on taking illegal arms out of circulation, the drug cartels continue to trade arms for cocaine—a growing problem for Caribbean countries and the United States.

Sandro Calvani, head of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime in Colombia, said the traffickers use transporters, or speed boats. "The

transporters do not come back empty,” he said. “They come back with arms. In particular the Dominican gangs do that, the Jamaicans the same—because there is a lot of demand for small arms in the Caribbean, in Jamaica, in the Dominican Republic.”

Finding the Source, Addressing the Threat

Back on the mean streets of Bogotá, the shooting victim from the hospital says doctors expect him to make a full recovery. Despite his condition, he is still looking toward the future. “I was planning to study to be an electrician,” he said. “At the moment I don’t know what is going to happen. I like that job a lot.”

Cases like these, in fact, are less common than they used to be. The government of President Alvaro Uribe has made serious attempts to reduce common crime and has made significant progress. From 2002 to 2005, murders went down 45 percent, according to official statistics.

Nevertheless, an estimated 400,000 illegal arms still enter the country every year. Because the arms trade is driven by large-scale criminal gangs and political violence instead of small-time crooks, experts say the small arms trade will continue as long as Colombia produces cocaine and political insurgency.

“The arms trafficking is well beyond government control because there are many international interests in that,” said General Manuel Bonett, former head of Colombia’s Armed Forces. “The problem in Colombia is the conflict. The only manner to control the trafficking of weapons is to reduce the conflict.”

Making the Connections

By Keith Porter

For Professor Macartan Humphreys, the connection between war and illegal trafficking is clear. “In the Colombia conflict, there are clearly those who are benefiting from the trade in the illicit drugs,” he said. “They cannot continue their trade if there’s a resolution of the conflict. So they need a conflict in order for that trade to persist.

“Whether you’re a terrorist or a drug runner or a person who is actually trafficking in humans, you actually use the same techniques—whether it’s trying to get false documents and passports or more importantly trying to figure out how to channel money.”

Celina Realuyo of the US State Department draws the final connection between war, trafficking, and global security. “Whether you’re a terrorist or a Columbian drug lord, who can provide you with these types of services? If you think about that, these are the ways that the terrorists are trying to come into the United States and how to actually fund their operations.”

Finding a Global Strategy

The State Department has recognized the only way to tackle the problem is through a global strategy.

“When we do a public designation of a group, let’s say the Taliban in Al Qaeda, you really want to be able to shut down all of their operations financially around the world,” said Realuyo.

Gareth Evans, former Australian foreign minister and president of International Crisis Group, agreed. “Because no state, however big or powerful, can do the job by itself,” Evans said.

“When you’re talking about terrorism, you have to have cooperation. When you’re talking about narcotics trafficking and when you’re talking about weapons of mass destruction, you’re talking about the need for states to have control systems all around the world because of the ease of transmission of this stuff.”

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan recently commissioned a report from a blue-ribbon panel to look carefully at global threats and how the world, including the United Nations, needs to deal with those threats.

Evans, who served on the panel, found plenty to criticize. “The United Nations is nothing very much more than a combination of the members that make it up,” he said. “It’s no good, those of us who like and clamor for multilateral system improvement to say that what we’ve got is the best of all possible worlds. It isn’t.” ■

In Larger Freedom

Making the Case That the UN Still Matters

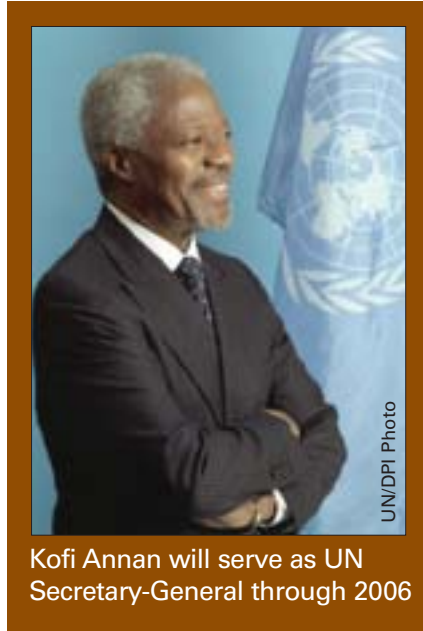
On March 30, 2005, Keith Porter, Stanley Foundation director of communications and outreach, and program officer Kristin McHugh interviewed United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan about his newly released report, "In Larger Freedom." The interview was conducted in the secretary-general's conference room at UN Headquarters in New York.

Keith Porter: My first question for you, this phrase *collective security*, we use that; I'm sure you hear that a lot. But for the average American I'm not sure that term means much. What does *collective security* mean to you?

Kofi Annan: I think the best way to explain it is how we—as an international community or countries working together—protect ourselves. Because today now more than ever, we are facing threats and dangers that cannot be handled alone by any one country. We need to work together to be able to deal with them. Several examples are issues of terrorism. Governments must to cooperate to ensure that they are denied the opportunities, to ensure that they are denied support...exploitation of the financial system, to ensure that they are not given refuge by anybody.

You have other examples. Recently the tsunami in Asia, it became very apparent that the governments in the region, if they had come together and established an early warning system as we have in the Pacific, it would have really helped everybody. Now they are coming together with UNESCO and the UN system, working with them to establish a tsunami system. Another issue is the area of environment, which if we do not cooperate, we are going to endanger the planet, not just for ourselves, but our children and their children. So we need to work together. And we have also been able to work together even in areas of military, use of force. The international community came together:

a good example, I think, is the first Gulf war. Everybody banded together and they said we cannot allow Saddam Hussein to just walk into Kuwait and wipe it off the face of the earth and we must go in and get him out. And we did.



Kofi Annan will serve as UN Secretary-General through 2006

Porter: Kristin and I were just in northern Uganda earlier this year and we went to see the civil war, went to visit the victims of this war, we wanted to explain to the people how this war affects the countries around it as well and how all of these are all interconnected. But when we come back, and we're sitting here in New York or our homes in Iowa, how do we explain to Americans why civil conflict in Africa should be a concern of theirs?

Annan: Now, I'm really happy that you went to northern Uganda, it's one of the forgotten crises. People are suffering, the war goes on, many people are killed or kidnapped, particularly children, but it's not on anybody's radar. We try with the UN armies—of the UN—to do a lot to help them....

But you are right, I often tell my African leaders, my African friends, that when a crisis begins in a country next to you, don't behave as if it's only that country's problem, because it will not stay in that country for long. It soon destabilizes the neighborhood, the neighboring countries, and causes problem[s] for the citizens of the countries concerned but also the neighboring countries.

And we've seen what happens when countries are allowed to fail. Failed states, if we abandon them and ignore them, can create problems for us. A good example was Afghanistan. Afghanistan was forgotten. Nobody paid attention or supported [it], and it became a haven for terrorists, who trained more terrorists and, of course, we all know what happened here in this country on

September 11. And these are the reasons we need to care about failed and failing states.

Porter: You mention civil conflict, failed states, terrorism. There is a connection between all of these things.

Annan: Absolutely. The report I've put before the member states makes it quite clear that there is a link between development and security. You cannot have development without security and you cannot have security without development, and all this should be embedded on the respect for human rights and the rule of law. So it all hangs together. And we all need to cooperate to make it happen.

Porter: The United Nations was created to safeguard the world, help the world come together to face those threats you've talking about. But we all know that there is a less than perfect track record and that the UN has been plagued by scandals, not just in the last year but over the course of its history. Is the UN still the best option for the world when it comes to tackling these problems?

Annan: I think the UN is an indispensable organization. We've done a lot for the peoples of the world. Like all organizations, institutions, governments, and corporations, we've had our problems. We've had our share of problems. But we've also had our share of successes. And let's not forget that over the past eight, nine years or so, UN has done lots of things from the Millennium Development Goals to the elections we've organized around the world, to our emphasis on human rights and democratization, helping governments to strengthen institutions. A whole range of things, but of course, those... that's not news. That's not news. But I think UN needs to adapt, it needs to improve. We need to strengthen our management, we need to be much more transparent, and we need to be able to restructure and adapt ourselves to face the challenges of today—and I think the proposals I have put before the members for reform will help us move forward in that direction.

Porter: What is your plan for getting past the events of the first part of this year, and how do

you restore confidence both in your leadership and in the institution?

Annan: I think we are moving ahead. That's one of the reasons why I set up a very strong and independent panel, committee, to investigate the accusations that have been leveled against us and to get to the bottom of this, and asking everyone in the organization to cooperate fully. And I, myself, have cooperated very fully with the Volker committee. And I was happy that on the main issue of insinuation that I may have interfered with the contracting process. There's not an iota of evidence that I did. And that, I think, is clear and important—that the world out there gets to know that. It did criticize me that we hadn't done enough, a deeper investigation into allegations against a company, but an investigation was done. But they felt a deeper one should have been conducted and I accept that, in hindsight.

But I think we are moving ahead. We're improving our management. We are taking steps to ensure that peacekeepers do not get involved with sexual exploitation. And we have taken very concrete steps to strengthen training of peacekeepers, to make sure the governments cooperate with us, to make sure the governments will allow us to set up a court martial—court martial some of these troops in the country where they are serving. As of today, we have no control over these troops. We borrow them from governments, and if there's wrong-doing, we repatriate them back home and the government concerned is suppose to discipline them. Some do, others don't. But if we can do it, in theater, and have a court martial by the army, I think it will help us a lot. And we've also dealt with some of the civilians who've been involved with this, and we are determined to do that.

Porter: In March, you released a report that called upon the nations of the world to take certain actions between now and the September summit. What do you want to happen in world capitals between now and the September 60th anniversary?

Annan: I would want them to take a very critical look at my report and discuss it among themselves—and in fact, that process has started



Secretary-General Kofi Annan visited tsunami-affected areas like Trincomalee, Sri Lanka, after the disaster. Annan spoke to displaced families at temporary housing facilities like the Alankerny Vinayar Vidyalayam School, shown here.

able to formulate a good strategy, and are ready to move ahead, we think they should be fast-tracked, and the donor governments should give them the assistance required to do it. They should improve the governance; they should strengthen their institutions and regulatory system. From the developed world, we would want to see increased development assistance. We would want to see successful negotiations of the Doha round that will help the trade of these countries. But as a first step, we are asking them to waive tariffs for all goods coming in from least developed countries into their markets, 'cause really these are small quantities, but it's very important for those countries. And, of course, there's also talk about looking for innova-

already here. And I'm also in touch with some of the leaders around the world, engaging them. And I've been attending summits. I was at the Arab summit last week to talk to them about reform. I've been to the African Union summit. I've been to the European Union summit to talk to them about the reform.

And there's some interesting things in that package. We talk about terrorism and how to deal with it and how to cooperate. There's very clear definition of terrorism that I've put forward. We are concerned about nuclear terrorism and we make proposals for containing that. We are strong on nonproliferation proposals. We also have the proposals that will strengthen the Human Rights Commission, and make it smaller and much more effective and be able to assist governments, but focus on the human rights rather than politicization that we see today. There's also a proposal to expand the Security Council from 15 members to 24, because the 15-member composition, quite frankly, reflects the geopolitical realities of 1945. We need to bring it in line with today's realities—make it more democratic and more representative, and I believe if we do that, it will gain in greater legitimacy.

I'm saying let's respect the Monterrey consensus and let's show some international solidarity here, because we are all in this together and I think the question you asked about the failed state is a case in point. Because it may be a failed state, thousands of miles away from where we are sitting; but left alone, if the terrorist get a hold of it and use it as a base, we are going to pay a price. So we have to help them develop; we have to strengthen their institutions and make sure that we're all moving on the right path.

On the issue of economic development, we encourage each country to come up with a poverty reduction strategy by 2006. And the countries that are

Porter: Is there anything specifically that you would like the United States to do between now and September?

Annan: I think the United States has a natural leadership in this organization. And their involvement and cooperation on the reform proposals is

extremely important. I have spoken to President Bush since my report came out and also Secretary of State Rice, and they have both indicated to me that they will support and work with me on that reform. Obviously, they don't accept everything in the report, but there are lots of good things in the report that we can all embrace. So I'm looking forward to working with them.

Porter: The high-level panel report said that the erosion of the nuclear nonproliferation process in the world was nearly irreversible or may be irreversible. What can we do to protect this?

Annan: I think we need strengthen the inspection regime. I hope the Additional Protocol would become general and everybody would adhere to it. I hope it would strengthen the NPT. We're going to do a nonproliferation treaty regime, which is going to be looked at. And also the countries that have not joined the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, should be encouraged to do it. But I also believe that the nuclear powers should take the lead by demonstrating new energy or seriousness about disarmament, to dissuade others, that it's no use going...it doesn't help you to go in this direction. What's the point of building up weapons, spending lots of money, if you're going to have to dismantle it?

Porter: I'm wondering about your personal motivation in this job. You know, it seems that every time something bad happens in the world that no one wants to deal with, they bring it to the United Nations. And it seems like everyday when you get out of bed, you must know that when you get to work, on your desk there will be a new problem that is awful and no one wants to deal with.... What motivates you to get out of bed every morning?

Annan: You're absolutely right that sometimes I go to bed wondering what I'm going to wake up to in the morning, and what we'll have to deal with. And invariably, there's always something that we need to deal with, something that affects the UN agenda when you wake up in the morning. And it's been a tremendous challenge for the past eight, nine years, and also we have lots of problems around the world. But each time I feel

that I'm able to make a little difference that affects an individual's life or improves the situation a little bit. And as someone who believes in the ideals of the United Nations, it keeps you going.

And I think you'll remember that when I took this job, one of my first reactions was that we should bring the UN closer to the people, work with the NGOs, the universities, the private sector. And some people ask me, 'Why is the SG opening up and going to the private sector?' and I said, look at the Charter. It starts with "We the peoples" and the peoples are out there. They are not in this building. So let's go there and work with them and try and make a difference in their lives. This is what we are here for. We need to put the human being at the center of everything that we do. So if I'm able to help one individual and I feel that what I have done has made life a little better for someone or improved it, it keeps me going. And I hope at the end of the day, they will say, "the UN has done something." ■

Borders Are Illusory

An Essay by David Brancaccio

A while back I was hanging out with some ranchers in a piece of the Mojave desert in Arizona. They were rough and ready, these ranchers, and the topic around the dinner table one night was security, of sorts.

These ranchers were worried about some survivalist-types they had run into up the road. The survivalists, they said, were dug in with enough camouflage gear, GPS direction finders, and freeze-dried beef stroganoff to secure themselves against who knows what for a long time.

The ranchers didn't like the looks of them. "You've got to worry about the *right* things," one of my rancher friends said. With that, he got up from the table to eliminate what turned out to be a big old snake that he heard rattling at the back door.

You do have to worry about the right things. The most pressing worries may be right underfoot, like the snake. But in this interconnected world, security threats to people in faraway places have a way of migrating.

We think of our country's borders as electric fences, surrounded by guard towers and moats. But in reality our borders are more illusory, rather like the parallel white lines ranchers sometimes paint across roads to keep the cattle from roaming too far. To a cow, the lines look like a grate into which they may slip and they avoid them. But more determined animals trudge right over these supposed barriers.

Like it or not, the list of threats we face read like the international arrivals board no one would want to see at an airport:

Now arriving gate 23D, AIDS or SARS from Asia.

Smuggled guns from Colombia at the B gate.

Violent insurgency in Uganda fostering terrorism not far behind.

Nuclear material inbound from Russia.



We do instinctively share some of the same security concerns as people in far-flung corners of the world. Polls taken last fall showed American voters making the connection between the terrible Chechen terrorist school takeover in southern Russia last summer and their choice for US president three months later.

Yet fear itself is not a policy to live by. What is more useful is understanding that when more people feel secure where they live, the world becomes safer for Ugandans, Colombians, Thais, and Russians, *and* Americans. ■

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Consistent with its vision of a secure peace with freedom and justice, the foundation encourages public understanding, constructive dialogue, and cooperative action on critical international issues. Its work recognizes the essential roles of both the policy community and the broader public in building sustainable peace.

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