Monument 2A Extensions

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***Resolved: That the United Nations should be significantly reformed or abolished.***

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OPENERS

Winston Churchill Quotes -

“However beautiful the strategy, you should occasionally look at the results.”- Winston Churchill (*Source: BrainyQuote: “Winston Churchill Quotes”:* [*http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/w/winston\_churchill\_2.html*](http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/w/winston_churchill_2.html) *(JE))*

“I never worry about action, but only inaction.” – Winston Churchill (*Source: BrainyQuote: “Winston Churchill Quotes”:* [*http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/w/winston\_churchill\_3.html*](http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/w/winston_churchill_3.html) *(JE))*

UN is in no state to solve world problems

Mark Malloch Brown 2008 (previously served as deputy secretary-general, chef de cabinet to the secretary-general, and for six years administrator of the UN Development Programme) United Nations reform and the Council of Europe member states September 2009 <http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/WorkingDocs/Doc09/EDOC12018.htm>

Lord Malloch Brown concluded his John W. Holmes Lecture under the title “Can the UN be reformed?” (published in *Global Governance*, New York No. 14 (2008) with the thesis and the question: The world has never in human history been more integrated but less governed. Problems from terrorism to climate change, crime, poverty, migration, public health, security, and trade have escaped national control, and the UN is in no state to catch them. How long can we allow such global dysfunction to endure?

INHERENCY

Dysfunctional System – The U.N. has no clear direction or guidance

Brett Schaefer 2007. (Fellow in International Regulatory Affairs at Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom with expertise in the United Nations; Master’s degree in international development, American University; Bachelor's degree in anthropology, Florida State University) “Who Leads the United Nations?” Published by the Heritage Foundation in October 2007 <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2007/12/who-leads-the-united-nations> (JE)

“Based on my observations, the U.N. has 192 leaders--the member states--which means that it has no leader. Any organization of 192 generals and no privates is going to experience gridlock, but the U.N. exacerbates the problem by ignoring differences among nations. This is most clearly illustrated by the fact that each member state has one vote in the General Assembly, despite vast differences in military power, population, geographical size, economic strength, and financial contributions to the organization. Under the parameters established by its charter, U.N. member states are granted equal standing and privileges in the organization regardless of these real world disparities. The U.N. operates under the theory that each member state abides by the founding principles of the organization and shares an equal desire to confront and overcome problems facing the world. This theory is evidently false. The organization includes many members who do not respect the fundamental rights of their people. Disparate levels of development, geographic size, location, power, and other characteristics ensure that members will disagree about the priority and urgency of various issues. On matters that it cares about, each member state seeks to "lead" the U.N. to adopt its position. On matters of substance, some member states inevitably oppose this effort. The chaos of conflicting priorities and demands in the U.N. does not, in contrast to markets, transform into a spontaneous order leading to "a more efficient allocation of societal resources than any design could achieve," to borrow a phrase from Friedrich von Hayek. The result is often sly maneuvering and low-level conflict that undermines bold initiatives, increases inefficiency, blocks change, and virtually assures a lowest-common-denominator outcome.”

The UN has become inept because of special interest based policy

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“The UN’s inept handling of the Israel, Rwanda, and Congo issues reveals a deeper problem in the UN: the UN has become a transparently politicized body. Rather than carefully analyzing what was actually happening in any of these crises, the UN was letting special interests dictated policy. Arab states could mobilize automatic anti-Israeli majorities on virtually any issue and were ready to press this advantage at every opportunity. In Africa, conflicting interests arrested decisive intervention. Some African states, for instance, sought to exploit the Congo’s diamonds, gold, and other precious metals, while Western powers were reluctant to get involved in another peacekeeping operation. The UN was dysfunctional.”

“JUST REFORM INSTEAD” - Responses

The UN is too far gone for any reform to fix it

Prof. Mark Mazower 2009. ( Professor of History and World Order Studies at Columbia University) “No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations“ <http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/i8974.pdf>

Some want it to be streamlined to allow fast military action against rogue states and other international outlaws: maybe the Security Council can be enlarged, the veto power of the permanent members weakened, the idea of a UN military staff resurrected. Others feel it should move more toughly against human rights offenders among its own members and do more to stamp certain values—freedom, for instance, and democracy — on the world before it is too late (and, though the fear is rarely voiced, before the Chinese take over). There is the call for it to promote something called “human security”—a blend of development goals and rights—and to claim the right to intervene in defense of the world’s citizens when their own governments maltreat them. Yet the suspicion that it is basically too far gone for any reform to restore it to a central role in international affairs is pervasive.

Already tried and failed: The UN has tried many times to reform, but in vain, and reform fatigue sets in

Mark Malloch Brown 2008 (previously served as deputy secretary-general, chef de cabinet to the secretary-general, and for six years administrator of the UN Development Programme) The John W. Holmes lecture: can the UN be reformed? GLOBAL GOVERNANCE, Jan-Mar 2008 <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0CEUQFjAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.kentlaw.edu%2Ffaculty%2Fbbrown%2Fclasses%2FIntlOrgSp09%2FUNReformCritiquesI.doc&ei=FtkJUMTkBNH-qAHAqIjLCg&usg=AFQjCNHIR0-SfvDJzmtInyBRqVqc23B5yg&sig2=qlt-TYOlYGmnGlQRLUH5DA>

UN secretaries-general are infamous for their reform initiatives. Each new secretary-general has paraded plans to change the organization, and follow-on initiatives have continuously cascaded down from his thirty-eighth-floor office, so that by the end of a term it seems a secretary-general must be reforming his own reforms. Kofi Annan was no exception. As a career UN manager, he profoundly believed in the need for reform. He introduced three major waves of measures: at the beginning of his term; when he was reelected for a second term; and then again in his last two years. I was particularly involved in that last round. In between, there was a steady trickle of lesser proposals. Across the road in the UN funds and programs, such as the UN Development Programme (UNDP) (where I was administrator for six years), or at the agencies in Geneva, Rome, and elsewhere, we, the different chiefs, also had reform-prolix. We were all at it. Probably, the UN is the rare organization where the internal talk seemed to be more about reform than sex. And staff and delegates were largely fed up with it (reform, that is). Each new initiative led to greater levels of cynicism and reform fatigue. It was often dismissed as being about politics, not real change. The critics were half-right. UN reform is about politics in the sense that it is a response to the frustration of governments and the UN's other stakeholders with the organization's capacity to get results. People wanted more from the UN. Unable to deliver, the managers kept on trying to fix the machine.

Potential for internal change is limited. We must not empower the UN any further

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“The United States understood the importance of laying out clear principles of behavior—even if nonbinding—when it concluded the Helsinki Final Act with the Soviet Union in the 1970s. The Helsinki Final Act was just a declaration, not a binding treaty. But it became the rallying cry for millions behind the Iron Curtain seeking the protection of their basic human rights. It also set standards for the Soviet international behavior: If Moscow wanted to benefit from East-West trade, it would have to bring its behavior in line with Helsinki. If the UN is to have any relevance in the future, it must become a global Helsinki. But as important as this transformation may be, realistically it will take many years to complete it. That is why effecting change within the UN can only do so much, and why going outside the UN is crucial. And until the UN is transformed, it must not be empowered.”

A wish to make the UN work cannot substitute for working policies

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“The United Nations was founded on the bedrock of a great ideal: that the nations of the world could draw together and defend certain fundamental principles that were common to all of mankind, and in so doing, deter the outbreak of aggression as well as protect international peace. This was the essence of “collective security” as President Woodrow Wilson had first envisioned it for the League of Nations and as President Franklin Roosevelt adapted it at the end of the Second World War for the UN. It would be an alternative to raw power politics and spheres of influence. But after more than fifty years, it has become clear that this noble vision just doesn’t work. The British historian E. H. Carr noted that Wilson was once asked what if the League of Nations failed, to which he replied, “If it won’t work, it must be made to work.” UN advocates similarly invoked, in the last decade, their aspirations for an effective United Nations without critically looking at how it has actually performed. In both cases, a wish cannot be a substitute for the adoption of policies that work.”

HISTORICALLY UNITED

The original members shared common values in fighting the Axis powers

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“All the original UN members in 1945 shared one characteristic that might have offset the Lippmann critique: in order to be invited to the UN’s founding conference in San Francisco, a state had to have declared war on at least one of the Axis powers and to have adhered to the “Declaration by United Nations” that was originally announced in January 1942. The UN’s founding members, in other words, had to make choices and take a stand. The UN might have been a universal organization, but at the time of its creation it was also a military alliance, united by a common strategic purpose and by declared commitment to certain common values.”

The Universal Declaration shows the political agreement of early UN members

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“The Universal Declaration of Human Rights offers a striking example of the overwhelming political agreement among the early UN member states. Some critics have condemned the UN in this era for its clarity of purpose, arguing that the original UN reflected only Western standards and was not a truly universal organization. Yet among the original UN members were states such as Egypt, Turkey, Ethiopia, and India—Muslims, Christians, and Hindus. Besides Eleanor Roosevelt, the authors of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights included Rene Cassin, a French Jew with Orthodox Jewish training; Charles Malik, a Lebanese Christian; and P. C. Chang, a Chinese intellectual who had lectured on Confucianism and Islam. Islamic scholars had also been consulted. With the exception of Saudi Arabia, which abstained, all UN member states with large Muslim populations voted for the Universal Declaration, including Egypt, Pakistan, and Turkey. The Saudis’ chief concern was that the declaration allowed for a Muslim to change his religion. By 1994, Hassan al-turabi’s militant Islamist regime would argue that the UN Human Rights Commission had no standing to criticize Sudan’s rights to enact punishments like amputation, crucifixion, stoning, or flogging.”

MORAL CLARITY LOST

The UN had standards at birth, but members have eroded those standards

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“Those who argue that the UN member states ultimately make the decisions are right, to a point. The UN is not a legal body operating according to some objective legal criteria; it is a political body that reflects the sum total of the moral values of its member states. But the UN stood for certain standards at its birth, and over time it has allowed members to erode those original standards. The UN Secretariat has not stood up to establish clear standards for the international community. As result, it is virtually impossible for the UN to fulfill its most important purpose – to prevent war.”

The Achilles heel of the UN from the beginning was that a world society can share no common values

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“Like Roosevelt, the American commentator Walter Lippmann recognized that the United States could not rely on a broad global organization to establish peace. Near the end of World War II he had warned that the victorious powers must not delegate the responsibility for world order “to a world society which does not yet exist or has just barely been organized.” He had made an important point. The problem with a world society “which does not yet exist or has just barely been organized” is that it can share no common values. What joint interests would bring the diverse countries of the new UN together? What common principles would bond the UN together as its membership expanded? What would be their agenda for a better world? Walter Lippmann had identified what would become the Achilles’ heel of the United Nations and why it was bound to fail despite the high ideals of its architects.”

The old standards and ideals of the UN founders ignored

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“Rather than draw the new UN member states to accept the ideals that its founders had advocated, the United States and its allies for the most part let the states of the Nonaligned Movement set the agenda and political program that the UN would adopt. The old UN was born in the shadow of the Holocaust; the new UN did nothing in the 1970s and 1980s as mass murder was conducted in Cambodia, Burundi, Uganda, and Syria, and finally when Iraq attacked the Kurds with chemical weapons.”

Historical Unity and Clarity. The UN was created in a time of moral clarity, so all the countries spoke a similar “political language”

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this historical context. The UN was created in a moment of extraordinary moral clarity, in which its founding members could distinguish between the aggression of the Axis powers and their own role as liberators—indeed between evil and good. After all, the Nazis, against whom they had fought, had committed acts of mass murder unprecedented in recorded history. As the UN held its first meetings in 1946, the Nuremberg trials against Nazi war criminals were well under way. The Second World War cast a long shadow over the UN and its first covenants. Consider, for example, the UN Charter, which begins by making reference “to the need to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war” and reaffirms “fundamental human rights, something the Covenant of the League of Nations had made no reference to. Moreover, in December 1946 the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution condemning genocide and tasked a UN committee to draft a genocide convention.”

UN lost its clear moral distinctions because of membership changes

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“The UN of the 1990s lost its ability to make clear moral distinctions because its membership had changed radically over the years. Most of the UN’s original members had been inspired by the democratic leadership of Roosevelt and Churchill against the Axis powers. Yet by 1993, only a minority of the UN member states, a mere 75 out of 184, were free democracies, according to the nonprofit pro-democracy organization Freedom House. At the UN’s disastrous Durban Conference Against Racism in 2001, the longest ovations went to Robert Mugabe and Fidel Castro.”

The UN became a different organization because its membership increased, clashing with former ideologies

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“What was the difference between the UN of 1948, in which Saudi Arabia merely abstained from voting for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the UN of 1994, in which Sudan thundered about the right to behead prisoners? The fact is that the UN had become a totally different organization by the 1990s. From the original 51 member states, its membership jumped to 83 in 1959, up to 132 states in 1972, with the dissolution of European colonial empires, and to 184 by 1993. The addition of the new states posed a problem not because of race, religion, or nationality. Nor were the new Third World members added from the 1970s through the 1990s a problem because of their cultural background. Rather, the trouble related to their political systems. They were for the most part completely new states that had emerged after some struggle with former imperial powers. Many were the authoritarian offspring of the Soviet Union or the Communist Chinese. They were joined by totalitarian Islamist regimes such as the Islamic Republic of Iran or Sudan. What was emerging was a clash of ideologies, not a clash of civilizations. Many of these new states wanted international rules that would suit the needs of dictatorships rather than democracies. Even after the breakup of the Soviet bloc, only a minority of the UN member states—75 out of 184—were free democracies, according to Freedom House.”

Lofty Goals Missed. Prof. Mark Mazower in 2009 explains how UN officials themselves describe the UN’s performance compared to their understanding of its lofty goals. To fully disclose Mazower’s view, he himself doesn’t agree that the goals were all that lofty, though he shares the view that the UN is slipping into irrelevance.

Prof. Mark Mazower 2009. ( Professor of History and World Order Studies at Columbia University) “No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations“ (ellipses in original) <http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/i8974.pdf>

This is a discussion about the UN’s future place in the international system. But inevitably it rests on an understanding of its past. Indeed, the intensity of present disillusionment is closely linked to a sense of despair at how far it has fallen short of the standard supposedly set by its founders. Secretary General Boutros Ghali justified his expansive 1992 vision of what the UN should do as a way of belatedly realizing “the lofty goals . . . originally envisaged by the charter.” Critics agreed. The UN’s rules had long been in abeyance; said one commentator, defending U.S. policy in the spring of 2003, “There had been no progress for years.” The international system, he went on, had simply developed in a way that condemned the UN to fade into irrelevance, or at best, “to limp along.”

UN has changed from moral clarity to moral relativism

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (brackets added) (JE)

“The United Nations of today is not the United Nations of the past,” [PLO Chairman Yassar Arafat] he said. “Today’s United Nations represents 138 nations, a number that more clearly reflects the will of the international community.” And the new United nations, he argued, was “more capable of implementing the principles embodied in its Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.” Arafat was co-opting these fundamental UN documents to justify his movement’s continuing reliance on violence as a political instrument to advance its cause. Arafat universalized his message, allying himself with peoples of the world still gripped by armed struggles provoked by imperialism and racial discrimination.” These struggles, he said, were legitimate and just,” and he declared it “imperative” that the international community should support these peoples in their struggles.” Over the years the PLO has developed intimate ties with Cuba, North Vietnam, East Germany, revolutionary African groups, and the Sandinistas of Nicaragua; these are the sorts of “legitimate and just” struggles Arafat and the PLO align themselves with. When Arafat finished his speech, the majority of the UN delegates gave him enthusiastic applause, and many rose to their feet to cheer him. The UN’s original clear concept of human rights and noble postwar efforts to protect the freedom of individuals had now been changed. The new concept was of collective national rights protected by self-appointed militant groups, who were fully prepared to trample on individuals’ human rights. Any moral restraints on terrorism that might have existed in the world community were now stripped away. Arafat was right: The UN had changed. Moral clarity had given way to moral relativism.”

The UN is a democracy of tyrants

Daniel Greenfield 2010. (journalist; Shillman Journalism Fellow at the Freedom Center; Columnist at FrontPage) “10 Reasons to Abolish the UN” Published by the David Horowitz Freedom Center in 2010: <http://frontpagemag.com/upload/pamphlets/UN.pdf> (JE)

“The United States and the United Nations are both democracies. While the United States of America is a republic of free citizens, the United Nations is a democracy of tyrants. Every tyranny is equally represented at the UN. Every king, dictator, sheikh, colonel, prince, beloved leader, and president-for-life has a seat at the table. And since there are twice as many tyrannical states as there are full democracies, simple majority rule always favors tyranny.”

Tyrannies out number democracies at the UN

Daniel Greenfield 2010. (journalist; Shillman Journalism Fellow at the Freedom Center; Columnist at FrontPage) “10 Reasons to Abolish the UN” Published by the David Horowitz Freedom Center in 2010: <http://frontpagemag.com/upload/pamphlets/UN.pdf> (JE)

“The 51 founding members of the UN were roughly balanced between democracies and dictatorships. As the United Nations membership expanded, the ratio of tyrannies to democracies increased. According to the Economist’s Democracy Index, there are 26 full democracies and 55 authoritarian regimes with the latter outnumbering the former in population 3 to 1. The average UN representative is statistically less likely to be speaking for a democratically elected government and far more likely to be there as the personal representative of a tyrant or an oligarchy.”

“Responsibility to Protect (R2P) Solves”: R2P is not a realistic or substantial step forward

Eve Massingham 2009. (an International Humanitarian Law Officer with the Australian Red Cross; completed studies in law, international law and international development) “Military intervention for humanitarian purposes: does the Responsibility to Protect doctrine advance the legality of the use of force for humanitarian ends?”  International Review of the Red Cross, Dec 2009 [http://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/other/irrc-876-massingham.pdf](http://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/other/irrc-876-massingham.pdf" \t "_blank) (JE)

“However, the optimists, who view the R2P as a realistic and substantial step forward, are deceiving themselves. The R2P claims to novelty are exaggerated. It does not provide a real reassessment of humanitarian intervention such as to change the prospects of the world’s most vulnerable. The R2P does not overcome the issue of a deadlocked Security Council and a lack of political will to actually protect vulnerable populations. The R2P’s assertion that the world is moving towards a new regime in international law, whereby the authority of the United Nations Security Council is not always required for intervention in cases of ‘serious and irreparable harm occurring to human beings’, 166 is too far in the camp of the optimists and not grounded in political reality.”

ANTI-SEMITISM

The UN is the largest global promoter of hatred against Jews

Anne Bayefsky 2008. (B.A., M.A. and LL.B. from the University of Toronto and an M.Litt. from Oxford Univ.; served as the director of York's Centre for Refugee Studies, project director for the university's Human Rights Treaty Study; served as a member of Canadian delegations to the UN Human Rights Commission, the UN General Assembly, and the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights) 24 Sept 2008 “Again” NATIONAL REVIEW <http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/225771/again/anne-bayefsky>

Tuesday, September 23, 2008 will go down in history as the day the United Nations General Assembly provided a platform for a head of state to spew unadulterated, vile antisemitism — and the assembled nations of the world clapped. The United Nations has become the largest global purveyor of antisemitism in the world today. In the full knowledge that the president of Iran denies the Holocaust and advocates the destruction of the U.N. member state of Israel, the U.N. invited him to mount the dais and gave him a megaphone. Dictators have pontificated at the General Assembly before. Terrorists like Yasser Arafat have come and gone. But in the halls of an organization founded on the ashes of the victims of the Holocaust, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad’s effort to promote another Holocaust from center stage stands alone.

SIGNIFICANCE

The UN is unsuited to preserve global order and has a record of shocking failure

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“The truth was that the UN was singularly unsuited to preserving global order. The UN had—and has—crippling flaws. The 1990s brought these flaws into sharper focus, but in fact they were there almost from the beginning. Indeed, the UN’s record reflects one shocking failure after another, even in the organization’s earliest days. The UN’s founders created a world body based on a noble ideal: standing up to aggression, preserving international peace, and defending human rights and other fundamental principles. But it is now clear that the UN simply doesn’t work.”

Failure is a recurring theme in UN history

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“Of course, the UN’s failure to deal with pressing conflicts was nothing new. Indeed, almost immediately after the organization’s founding, it failed to resolve the most pressing conflicts that emerged: the first Arab-Israel conflict in 1947-48 and the first war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir in 1948. Failure has been a recurring theme in the UN’s history.”

UN excessive bureaucracy is legendary

Dr. Nile Gardiner and Baker Spring 2003. (Gardiner - Ph.D. in history from Yale University; Director of the Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom; served as an expert on the 2005 Gingrich-Mitchell Congressional Task Force on the United Nations. Spring - Research Fellow in National Security Policy Douglas and Sarah Allison Center for Foreign Policy Studies; master’s degree in national security studies from Georgetown University) “Reform the United Nations” Published by The Heritage Foundation in October 2003: <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2003/10/reform-the-united-nations> (JE)

“The reputation of the United Nations for tolerating excessive bureaucracy is legendary. The U.N. currently employs over 56,000 staff.11 The vast majority of its bureaucrats are housed in the Secretariat, the U.N.'s specialized agencies, and its committees. For years, those advocating reform at the United Nations to reduce the bureaucracy have pinned their hopes on finding a strong Secretary General to lead the reform effort. This approach has not worked. The temptation is to blame individual Secretaries General, and in some cases, the blame is richly deserved. In reality, however, the very structure of the Secretariat is at the heart of the problem. Secretaries General enhance their power by building the bureaucracy as a means to counter the authority of member states in managing United Nations programs and operations. The member states need to exercise their rightful authority in managing these programs and operations and not allow the continuation of a bureaucratic structure under the Office of the Secretary General that seeks to undermine that authority.”

TERRORISM IMPACT

Must preserve moral clarity to fight terror, but UN distorts morality. Annan refused to condemn terrorists acts instead of confronting them

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“For counterterrorism to succeed globally, moral clarity must be preserved. But the UN specializes in moral obfuscation. Thus Kofi Annan refused to condemn a Palestinian suicide bombing in the heart of Jerusalem on January 29, 2004, that killed eleven Israelis and wounded close to fifty. Instead he directed his press statement to both sides: “Once against I appeal, to Israelis and Palestinians alike, to rise above feelings of anger and vengeance, however natural, and to devote all their energies to negotiating a true and lasting peace.” Compare that “impartial” statement to the unequivocal response to the attacks from the U.S. secretary of state, Colin Powell: “Once again, terrorists have killed innocent people.” The U.S. government understood what the UN did not: that the only way to deal with the worst threats to international security is to confront them directly.”

Example: UN undermined combating terrorism by electing a known terrorism sponsor to sit on the Security Council

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“Of course, the UN had a long list of earlier failures as well. The Iraq situation exposed how the UN could undercut its own authority by adopting resolutions that seemed to sand firmly for the protection of global security but then refusing to implement them. Another example of this came just after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1073 as an unambiguous denunciation of international terrorism, as it expressly forbade states to harbor international terrorist organizations. Yet not much more than a week later, the UN General Assembly overwhelmingly elected Syria to sit on the UN Security Council, the very body responsible for implementing the antiterrorism resolution, despite the fact that Syria was a know sponsor of terrorism. (The U.S. State Department, as noted, had identified Syria as a state sponsor of terrorism every year for more than twenty years.) The UN thus completely undermined its claim to be a serious force in combating the greatest threat to the world in the twenty-first century.”

Due to UN shortcomings, states are choosing national sovereignty over collective security in response to terrorism

Fitzalan Crowe Gorman 2009. (Masters in Political Science from Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State Univ; graduate of Radford Univ; Former Research Assistant at the Institute of Advanced Learning & Research)“Non-State Actors, Terrorism and the United Nations: A Critical Analysis through three Case Studies Examining the United Nations’ Effectiveness in Addressing the Threat Imposed by Violent Non-State Actors” Published by Virginia Tech Data and Library Archives 2009 <http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/theses/available/etd-04202009-185313/unrestricted/Fitzalan_Gorman_Thesis.pdf> (JE)

“As this chapter has shown, the UN has expanded upon the documents to address the behaviors of terrorist. Despite any legal changes that the UN has undertaken, violent NSAs have continued to carry out attacks. While sanctions have experienced some successes, the following chapter will show instances where the UN has failed to reduce terrorist behaviors within a state. Due to these shortcomings of the UN, member states are searching for means outside of the organization to ensure their own safety. The overwhelming security threat that is imposed by potential terrorist attacks leads states to act preemptively and violating Article 39, believing this behavior will prevent injury and death to their citizens. The UN Charter fails to establish a method for states to protect themselves against violence that originates from a non-state source. Therefore member states are choosing national sovereignty and national security over collective security. This is the same pattern that led to the demise of the Concert and the LoN. The following chapter will examine situations where member states have chosen national sovereignty to address non-state security threats instead of respecting their commitment to the Charter of the UN. Through these examinations, hopefully a method will be seen on how the UN can alter its structure to better handle these situations and protect the principle of collective security.”

TRAGEDY IGNORED

Failure to intervene in Rwanda shows an ethic of indifference toward genocide

Michael Barnett 2000. (worker at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations from 1993-94, covered Rwanda for much of the genocide) “Bureaucratizing the Duty to Aid: The United Nations and Rwandan Genocide” (Ethical disclosure about the date: the article is undated but contains references to material from 2000, so it was published no earlier than that year) <http://www.newschool.edu/uploadedFiles/TCDS/Democracy_and_Diversity_Institutes/Barnett_Bureaucratizing%20the%20Duty%20to%20Aid.pdf> (JE)

“This contractual discourse was intertwined with rules of peacekeeping that arranged UN obligations in such a manner that the United Nations was elevated over Rwanda. All were aware of the thousands dead and the thousands more at risk. But as long as the dead were associated with a civil war, UN duties remained limited to trying to find a cease-fire. More caustically, as long as the number of dead was kept below a certain threshold (e.g., 100,000) and was not convincingly connected to a premeditated campaign of extermination, then many in New York could conclude that UN duties should remain limited. This conclusion was not precedent setting but consistent with recent practices and as designed by the rules. The rules of peacekeeping functioned as intended, limiting the conditions for a duty to aid and creating an ethic of indifference.”

Tragedies matched by silence by the UN and international community

Kelly Dawn Askin 2006. (Senior Legal Officer of International Justice at the Open Society Justice Initiative; Fellow, Yale Law School and 2004-05 Fulbright New Century Scholar on the Global Empowerment of Women)““NEVER AGAIN” PROMISE BROKEN AGAIN. AGAIN. AND AGAIN.” Published by the Cardozo Law Review in 2006: <http://www.cardozolawreview.com/content/27-4/ASKIN.WEBSITE.pdf> (JE)

“In countries throughout the world—from Guatemala to Somalia, Bangladesh to Iraq, Argentina to Haiti—ruthless dictators and internal armed conflicts inflicted murder, mass rapes, sexual slavery, torture, forced disappearances, forced displacement, slave labor, and numerous other abuses on millions upon millions of innocent men, women, and children. With very few exceptions, these crimes were matched by resounding silence or an ineffective and inadequate response from the UN and the international community. The crimes were committed with impunity, as world leaders refused to intervene to prevent, halt, or punish the crimes, many of which were committed with the complicity or acquiescence of other countries, including their allies.”

PERVERSE NEUTRALITY

UN (embodied by Annan) is value-neutral and does not identify aggressors

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (brackets added) (JE)

“UN officials have often blamed these disasters on the inflexible mandate the UN security Council gave peacekeeping forces, or on inadequate budgetary resources for peacekeeping. But a deeper flaw was revealed, one that also influenced the Iraq debate. Both the Rwanda and Bosnia massacres occurred on the watch of Kofi Annan, who at the time was UN undersecretary-general for peacekeeping operations. But the Ghanaian bureaucrat was not held accountable for his office’s failure to prevent those tragedies; in fact, he was elevated to the post of secretary-general in 1997. A few years later he was even awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, despite his involvement in the UN’s policy of reflexive neutrality on most global disputes that had only escalated conflicts. In a devastating critique, David Rieff, who has reported on the international response to humanitarian emergencies in Bosnia and around the world, attacked Annan for his “refusal to regard the evil in the world realistically.” In Iraq, Bosnia, and Rwanda, Rieff concluded in 1998, “moral judgments are not part of what he sees as his role.” In Annan’s “sanitized, value-neutral” diplomatic parlance, [David Rieff] he wrote, there are no aggressors or victims of aggression, only “warring parties. This is an indictment of the entire UN, not just of Kofi Annan.”

Successes of impartiality come in instances where it is needed least

Prof. Richard K. Bettis 1994. (Professor of Political Science and Director of the Security Policy Program at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs) “The Delusion of Impartial Intervention” FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Vol. 73, No. 6, pp. 20-33) December 1994: <http://people.reed.edu/~ahm/Courses/Reed-POL-240-2012-S1_IP/Syllabus/EReadings/14.2/14.2.Betts1994The-Delusion.pdf> (JE)

“Impartiality nonetheless remains a norm in many other cases. It has worked in cases that lie beyond traditional peacekeeping, such as the cease-fire mediation between Iran and Iraq, or the political receivership of the U.N. Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). When looking at the reasons for their success, however, it becomes apparent that impartiality works best where intervention is needed least: where wars have played themselves out and the fighting factions need only the good offices of mediators to lay down their arms. Impartiality is likely to work against peace in the more challenging cases—where intervention must make the peace, rather than just preside over it—because it reflects deeper confusion over what war is about.”

Neutrality in the face of genocide is immoral – this is the UN’s Achilles heel

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“Diplomatic neutralism in the face of genocidal murderers is not amoral; it is immoral. Not intervening against those slaughtering thousands of innocents amounts to taking the murders’ side. An organization that has been dedicated to appearing “impartial” at almost any cost has far too often come down on the side of evil. Robert Kaplan accurately wrote in *The Coming Anarchy* that the UN bureaucracy worships consensus, “but consensus can be the handmaiden of evil, since the ability to confront evil means the willingness to act boldly and ruthlessly and without consensus. That inability, or refusal, to recognize and boldly confront evil is the UN’s salient flaw, its Achilles’ heel.”

FALSE HOPE - PEOPLE DIE WAITING FOR THE UN

Bosnia: 7.5K massacred in a UN safe haven while peacekeepers did nothing.

Kelly Dawn Askin 2006. (Senior Legal Officer of International Justice at the Open Society Justice Initiative; Fellow, Yale Law School and 2004-05 Fulbright New Century Scholar on the Global Empowerment of Women)““NEVER AGAIN” PROMISE BROKEN AGAIN. AGAIN. AND AGAIN.” Published by the Cardozo Law Review in 2006: <http://www.cardozolawreview.com/content/27-4/ASKIN.WEBSITE.pdf> (JE)

“So by the end of 1994, we had two ad hoc international war crimes tribunals established by the UN. A signal that the world would no longer tolerate impunity for atrocities was sent. Nonetheless, shortly thereafter, in July 1995—a year after the Rwandan genocide, two years after the UN established the Yugoslav Tribunal, and some two and a half months after the first defendant arrived in the Yugoslav Tribunal’s detention center in The Hague—the single greatest massacre in Europe since World War II occurred in the so-called UN safe haven of Srebrenica. Over the course of three days, some 23,000 Bosnian Muslim women and children were forcibly deported and at least 7500 Muslim men and boys between the ages of 12-77 were lined up and summarily executed by Serb forces. Despite being a UN-created safe haven, peacekeepers closed their eyes and never fired a single shot as the Bosnian Muslim males were forcibly separated from the females and led away by Serbs to certain death. Months later, the Yugoslav Tribunal would indict Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic, among many others, for genocide and extermination as a crime against humanity for this event. Karadzic and Mladic are also charged with crimes far broader than the Srebrenica massacre, but they remain at large today, ten years later.”

Syria represents a colossal failure of the UN to protect civilians

The Telegraph 2012. (British newspaper) “Syria: US accuses UN of 'colossal failure'” June 2012 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/9355752/Syria-US-accuses-UN-of-colossal-failure.html> (JE)

“The council, which is divided on how to end the conflict, "continues to stand by, rather than to stand up," Susan Rice, US envoy to the United Nations, told the 15-nation body. The Security Council is to get an update on the UN Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS) on Tuesday from Nasser al-Kudwa, deputy to UN-Arab League envoy Kofi Annan. "The situation in Syria represents a colossal failure by the Security Council to protect civilians," Ms [Susan] Rice [, US envoy to the United Nations,] told a council debate on civilians in conflict. "For over a year, this council has not been willing to protect the Syrian people from the brutal actions of their government," she added, saying the Assad government's crackdown "has grown ever more reprehensible and ever more dangerous to international peace and security." "It is a shame that this Council continues to stand by rather than to stand up," Ms Rice said.”

Bosnia in the ‘90s: 8,000 people killed in the UN “safe zone”

Anita Guarino 2011. (J.D. Candidate, Deakin Univ) “Inadequate Response: The United Nations and Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, War Crimes, and Crimes Against Humanity since the 1948 Genocide Convention” Australian Policy & History, Oct 2011 <https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:5QvFudRJyLsJ:www.aph.org.au/files/aih399/pdfs/inadequateResponse.pdf+&hl=en&gl=us&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEESiHNvPFKL8CctuzVY53AvKrvHbTPowLozzLKPonAJh969JRH1_PMcp_D0RsUrhL7aut2Tap-JFwcTgHaqzj11NHcMhMuEezW49i8FE78Y3NVIgdeAruR3ZypF7DmNR6XHciDdKN&sig=AHIEtbQdB1-JM8nkBhiGEm2pnHf8DktZ8g> (JE)

“In April 1991, the government of the former Yugoslavia began to break up as Slovenia and Croatia declared independence. In response, Serbia set out to create a ‘Greater Serbia’ and, in May 1992, Bosnian-Serb forces attacked Sarajevo and launched offensives against Bosniak-dominated towns, forcibly expelling Bosniak (Bosnian Muslims) civilians from the region. Serbia targeted Bosniak and Croatian civilians in an episode of ‘ethnic cleansing’ that resulted in the deaths of approximately 100,000 people, of whom some 80 percent were Bosniaks. UN engagement Despite the Genocide Convention the UN proved slow to intervene, and once it finally did the response was inadequate. The UN’s initial response was to offer humanitarian aid to the displaced and injured victims, and in 1993 it set up ‘safe zones’ in Sarajevo, Gorazde, and Srebrenica. Bosnian-Serbian forces, however, overcame the peace-keeping force and invaded Srebrenica on 11 July 11 1993. Women were forced onto buses and transported to Serbian-controlled territory. Many were raped and sexually assaulted. The men and boys were either killed immediately or forced onto buses to be taken to mass killing sites. Overall, some 8000 Bosniaks were slaughtered in the space of two days as a result of the Serbian invasion of the UN-declared ‘safe zone’. This UN failure to defend ‘safe havens’, according to Matthew Krain, left a large group of targets unprotected, exposed, and centrally located, which actually facilitated quicker extermination. The international community responded more forcefully after Bosnian-Serbian forces captured another safe zone that same month and detonated a bomb in a Sarajevo market place. NATO launched an offensive forcing the Serbians to partake in peace talks and the UN Security Council created the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, charging more than 160 individuals of crimes. This response highlights the shortcomings of the UN in acting as a responsive force, rather than a preventative one. The UN was involved in the prosecution of heinous crimes after they were committed, yet could do very little until it was too late to prevent the ethnic cleansing and systematic atrocities in the former Yugoslavia.”

Cambodia: UN was paralyzed as 1.7 million were killed

Anita Guarino 2011. (J.D. Candidate, Deakin University) “Inadequate Response: The United Nations and Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, War Crimes, and Crimes Against Humanity since the 1948 Genocide Convention” Australian Policy & History, Oct 2011 <https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:5QvFudRJyLsJ:www.aph.org.au/files/aih399/pdfs/inadequateResponse.pdf+&hl=en&gl=us&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEESiHNvPFKL8CctuzVY53AvKrvHbTPowLozzLKPonAJh969JRH1_PMcp_D0RsUrhL7aut2Tap-JFwcTgHaqzj11NHcMhMuEezW49i8FE78Y3NVIgdeAruR3ZypF7DmNR6XHciDdKN&sig=AHIEtbQdB1-JM8nkBhiGEm2pnHf8DktZ8g> (JE)

“Approximately 1.7 million people (or 21 percent of the country’s population) people lost their lives at the hands of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge in the Cambodian genocide spanning 1975-1979, making it one of the worst human tragedies of the last century. When Pol Pot gained power in 1975, he set out to take the country back to an agricultural Middle Ages society through emptying the cities and abolishing money, private property and religion. Pol Pot set up rural collectives to bring Cambodia — renamed Democratic Kampuchea — back to ‘Year Zero’. Anyone thought to be an intellectual or professional, as well as people who were sympathetic or had ties with the former government, were summarily executed. The Khmer Rouge also executed ethnic and religious minorities and implemented a reign of torture in prisons across the country and mass executions and grave sites. Often people were condemned for wearing glasses or even knowing a foreign language. UN engagement Despite the extensive crimes against humanity perpetrated under the reign of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge, the UN effectively watched on from the sidelines. Even though reports detailing the massacres emerged from Cambodia, nothing was done. In 1978-79, investigations conducted by the UN concluded that there was growing evidence genocide had occurred, but the atrocities were allowed to continue until Vietnamese forces invaded Cambodia in January 1979 to overthrow the Pol Pot government and impose a new order. When the Vietnamese reached Phnom Penh they discovered essentially no prisoners as thousands of people had been systematically tortured and killed. Gregory H. Stanton, president of Genocide Watch, asserts that the UN did not intervene in Cambodia as it was paralysed by the likelihood of Security Council vetoes by the Soviet Union and China. Furthermore, the US and other Western Powers were paralysed to act by defeat in Vietnam, and could not risk involvement in another ground war in South East Asia. Disturbingly, the Western Powers actually condemned the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in UN resolutions and placed embargoes on it. In fact, the West continued to vote to seat the Khmer Rouge in the Cambodian seat at the UN for years after they were out of power! An examination of the Cambodian genocide shows a fundamental flaw with the UN. Due to the competing vested interests each country may have in a conflict it can be difficult to compel action. Stagnation often surrounds the bureaucratic procedural elements of the UN, which prevents it from intervening in urgent issues that warrant immediate action.”

Darfur: UN waited for African Union to act, while 300,000 were killed

Anita Guarino 2011. (J.D. Candidate, Deakin University) “Inadequate Response: The United Nations and Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, War Crimes, and Crimes Against Humanity since the 1948 Genocide Convention” Australian Policy & History, Oct 2011 <https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:5QvFudRJyLsJ:www.aph.org.au/files/aih399/pdfs/inadequateResponse.pdf+&hl=en&gl=us&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEESiHNvPFKL8CctuzVY53AvKrvHbTPowLozzLKPonAJh969JRH1_PMcp_D0RsUrhL7aut2Tap-JFwcTgHaqzj11NHcMhMuEezW49i8FE78Y3NVIgdeAruR3ZypF7DmNR6XHciDdKN&sig=AHIEtbQdB1-JM8nkBhiGEm2pnHf8DktZ8g> (JE)

“In 2003, fighting between the Sudanese government and rebel forces began in a struggle for land and power in Darfur amid claims the government were neglecting the country’s Africans in favour of Arabs. Government troops joined forces with an Arab militia group the ‘Janjaweed’ (‘devil on horseback’) and launched systematic attacks on civilians including murder, torture and rape. Tens of thousands died and thousands more fled to Chad due to the ‘scorched earth’ tactics employed in the conflict, involving the bombing of hospitals, clinics, schools and other civilian sites and also the obstruction of humanitarian aid. Refugee camps on the Chad-Sudan border also came under attack from the militia. Reflections by Sudanese children who witnessed the conflict reveal the extent of the atrocities. Al-Rahman, aged 13, states that the Janjaweed ‘…chased after children. Some of us were taken. Some we didn’t see again’. Salah, also aged 13, adds that ‘…the women were screaming. They seized them, they took them by force. The pretty ones were taken away. Girls were taken, small girls too, I think five and seven and fourteen’. UN engagement Neither a ceasefire declared in 2004 nor the arrival of African Union troops was unable to deter the violence in Darfur. In 2007, the UN and the African Union joined forces to form a peace keeping mission (although troop deployment did not begin until 2008). By 2009, approximately 300,000 people had been killed and a further 2.7 million displaced. In September 2004, Washington classified the ongoing atrocities in Darfur as genocide. Once again, the UN appears to have done ‘too little, too late’, only joining forces with the African Union four years after the conflict began. Kevin Rudd, then Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, stated that the situation could be compared to the Rwandan genocide and that ‘…all those people depend on the UN just to keep them alive’. This highlights the importance of the work of the UN and the desirability for it to become a proactive force and avoid unnecessary delays when administering aid or intervention.”

Rwanda: UN waited until the genocide was over to intervene

Anita Guarino 2011. (J.D. Candidate, Deakin University) “Inadequate Response: The United Nations and Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, War Crimes, and Crimes Against Humanity since the 1948 Genocide Convention” Australian Policy & History, Oct 2011 (brackets added) <https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:5QvFudRJyLsJ:www.aph.org.au/files/aih399/pdfs/inadequateResponse.pdf+&hl=en&gl=us&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEESiHNvPFKL8CctuzVY53AvKrvHbTPowLozzLKPonAJh969JRH1_PMcp_D0RsUrhL7aut2Tap-JFwcTgHaqzj11NHcMhMuEezW49i8FE78Y3NVIgdeAruR3ZypF7DmNR6XHciDdKN&sig=AHIEtbQdB1-JM8nkBhiGEm2pnHf8DktZ8g> (JE)

“The UN also failed to stop genocide from occurring in Rwanda in 1994. The genocide was a result of a civil war that erupted in Rwanda between the Hutu ethnic majority and the Tutsi minority following the assassination of the president, Major General Juvenal Habyarimana. Within an hour of the assassination, the Hutus established roadblocks and barricades and began killing Tutsis and even moderate Hutus. The violence created a political vacuum, which saw an interim government of extremist Hutu leaders gain power on 9 April 1994. The extreme government incited ordinary citizens to engage in brutality, with local radio stations controlled by the government encouraging people to murder their neighbours. Approximately 800,000 people (or around 11 percent of the population) were killed within 3 months. Cambridge historian David Reynolds provides an insight into the disturbing atrocities committed in Rwanda: The killing became anarchic…villagers seized the chance to pillage and to settle old scores. Neither hospital nor church provided any sanctuary against the marauders and their machetes. In Kigali, when a few thousand Tutsis sought refuge in the sports stadium, the Rwandan army lobbed in artillery shells. Women were raped before being murdered, babies smashed against rocks and thrown into latrines. The Tutsi-led Rwandese Patriotic Front eventually regained control in July 1994, and established a coalition government. Their victory created 2 million Hutu refugees exacerbating the humanitarian crisis. UN engagement Similarly to Yugoslavia, the UN response to the Rwandan genocide was inadequate. Rather than providing assistance, the UN Security Council actually voted in April 1994 to withdraw the majority of their peace keeping force (UNAMIR) that had been stationed there since the previous year to aid a transitional government. All governments and official bodies continued to recognise the government in Rwanda and did not call for it to stop the genocide. Only as reports of the genocide spread did the Security Council vote in mid-May to supply more than 5,000 troops to appease the situation in Rwanda. By the time all the troops had arrived, however, the genocide had been over for months. Former UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated: [“]The failure of Rwanda is 10 times greater than the failure of Yugoslavia. Because in Yugoslavia the international community was interested, was involved. In Rwanda nobody was interested.[”] After the RPF victory, the UNAMIR operation was reinstated in one of the largest humanitarian relief efforts in history in an attempt to rectify the UN’s earlier failure to act. In October 1994, the Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda was established and began trials for high-ranking people involved in the genocide, which was difficult as the location of many of the perpetrators was unknown. Once again, then, UN involvement can be viewed as responsive rather than preventative, further highlighting the need to reassess its policies if it is to deter violent conflict in the twenty-first century.”

ADVOCACY

Because the UN has lost moral clarity, the U.S. and allies must take the lead

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (brackets added) (JE)

“[British Prime Minister Tony] Blair was absolutely right when he called out to Americans, “Don’t ever apologize for your values.” Those values were precisely what the UN was supposed to defend. Because the UN has lost the moral clarity of its founders, the United States and its allies must take the lead. The world will follow in time. If more than one hundred nations wanted to join the Community of Democracies, the democratic ideal must be powerful.”

Until the UN is transformed, it must not be empowered

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“The United States understood the importance of laying out clear principles of behavior—even if nonbinding—when it concluded the Helsinki Final Act with the Soviet Union in the 1970s. The Helsinki Final Act was just a declaration, not a binding treaty. But it became the rallying cry for millions behind the Iron Curtain seeking the protection of their basic human rights. It also set standards for the Soviet international behavior: If Moscow wanted to benefit from East-West trade, it would have to bring its behavior in line with Helsinki. If the UN is to have any relevance in the future, it must become a global Helsinki. But as important as this transformation may be, realistically it will take many years to complete it. That is why effecting change within the UN can only do so much, and why going outside the UN is crucial. And until the UN is transformed, it must not be empowered.”

NGOs do a better job than the UN

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2011. (Professor of Law, Cornell University Law School, and Director, Cornell University’s Institute for African Development) “UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND SECURITY AND RECONSTRUCTION” Cornell Law Faculty Publications. Paper 188. <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1187&context=facpub>

It is clear that early warning systems are not working as effectively as they should; otherwise, such tragic situations as Darfur could have been foreseen (and prevented). Rather, it seems that civil society (nongovernmental organizations and the media) often do a better job than the UN system. Indeed, it was the NGO Human Rights Watch that first warned the world about Darfur.

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

“International Legitimacy” - Response: The collective will of authoritarian regimes is not more legitimate than the decision of a democracy

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (brackets in original) (JE)

“Despite this ugly reality, many in the West, including the United States, continued to view the UN as indispensable for guaranteeing international peace and security. When the United States confronted Saddam Hussein in 2003, many still argued that U.S. military action in Iraq was illegitimate without a UN mandate. The UN secretary-general himself, Kofi Annan, berated President Bush: “Until now it has been understood that when states go beyond [self-defense] and decide to use force to deal with broader threats to international peace and security, they need the unique legitimacy provided by the United Nations [emphasis added]. But who exactly was conferring this “unique legitimacy”? Annan was essentially saying that the collective will of a group of authoritarian regimes was more legitimate than the decision of the American republic to defend itself. According to UN standards, then, a consensus of dictatorships was superior to the decision of a democracy. This reflected the fundamental problem of the UN’s skewed moral judgment. If this logic was accepted, it would mean that the president of the United States and the U.S. Senate were not the final arbiters of when America needed to adopt a military option; instead the UN Security Council would have that authority over U.S. foreign policy, or the policy of any other threatened state.”

“UN promotes democracy and freedom” Response: Very poor vehicle for doing so

Prof. Mark Mazower 2009. ( Professor of History and World Order Studies at Columbia University) “No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations“ (ellipses in original) <http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/i8974.pdf>

Thus, although multilateralism and democratic cohesion are internationalist ideas that have gained currency across the partisan divide in U.S. politics, far from reconciling Americans to the UN, they have raised further doubts about its value precisely because it is now so far removed from any model of what an alliance of rights promoting democracies should look like. We may argue over whether the desire to make the world “safe for democracy”—once famously articulated by President Woodrow Wilson—was realized in Bush’s unilateralism, or repudiated by it. But even those who think the latter, and still believe in the value of international institutions, regard the UN as a pretty poor vehicle for the projection of freedom.

“ Peacekeeping Operations Compromised” - Response: The only useful part of UN peacekeeping is from U.S. and NATO

Daniel Greenfield 2010. (journalist; Shillman Journalism Fellow at the Freedom Center; Columnist at FrontPage) “10 Reasons to Abolish the UN” Published by the David Horowitz Freedom Center in 2010: <http://frontpagemag.com/upload/pamphlets/UN.pdf> (JE)

“In 2010, United Nations peacekeeping operations were budgeted at 7.83 billion. Over half of the funds for those operations came from NATO members. A quarter of was contributed by the United States. Essentially the only useful part of the UN’s peacekeeping program is NATO—an admission that the United States and its allies remain the only force capable of stopping major armed aggression.”

“ Peacekeeping Operations Compromised” - Turn: “blue-helmeted” peacekeepers made shady deals, spread AIDS, and were involved in prostitution

Ambassador Dore Gold, 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 Inc.: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YcpwYH2LZNUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Tower+of+Babble:+How+the+United+Nations+Has+Fueled+Global+Chaos++By+Dore+Gold&source=bl&ots=hvBZXeBtl3&sig=MFZGC_EplfxU_TniGODJscGhaM0&hl=en&src=bmrr&sa=X&ei=O8FDUO63I5KY9QSe3IAo&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed via Google Books) (JE)

“The more one probes the UN’s performance, the more difficult it is to see the organization as a force for greater order, stability, or global justice. Other scandals have undercut the UN’s claims for any kind of moral authority. The UN’s blue-helmeted peacekeepers may have received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1998, but in the 1990s, in order to protect their own personal security, the peacekeepers or their commanders in New York often made deals under the table with states massacring their citizens or with terrorist groups whose goal was the same. Moreover, by 2000, it was clear that UN peacekeepers were spreading AIDS in Cambodia and East Timor. A year later Italian prosecutors were investigating charges that UN troops from Denmark and Slovakia, monitoring the Ethiopian and Eritrean frontier, were involved in a child prostitution racket. The same charges had been leveled at UN peacekeepers in Mozambique in 1996 and in Bosnia in 2002.”

“Iran Gets the Bomb” - Response: Nuclear Iran won’t change much – an upside will be increased stability

Dr. Kyle Beardsley 2012. (Ph.D., University of California; Assistant Professor of Political Science at Emory College of Arts and Sciences; specialist in international relations, conflict and peace processes, and empirical methodology) “Ask the Experts: What Would Iran Do With a Bomb?” Interview published by the Council on Foreign Relations 21 Feb 2012 <http://blogs.cfr.org/zenko/2012/02/21/ask-the-experts-what-would-iran-do-with-a-bomb/> (JE)

“A nuclear-armed Iran is not likely to act much differently. Most importantly, Iran will have no incentive to use its nuclear weapons in aggression; doing so against Israeli or American targets would gain Iran little and cost it much. On a more practical level, an Iranian bomb also will not substantially change the general strategic dynamics. In a series of articles, Victor Asal and I have shown that states with nuclear weapons tend to face less hostility from opponents, be in shorter crises, and prevail more often in their crises against non-nuclear states. The logic is that nuclear weapons are an effective deterrent that temper aggression. According to this logic, the main benefit to Iran of acquiring nuclear weapons is to deter military threats by its primary adversaries, Israel and the United States. Given that Iran already has a strong deterrent—via its importance to hydrocarbon supplies, robust conventional forces, ability to disrupt fragile situations in Lebanon and Iraq, and Western war weariness—it is doubtful that Iran will notice much immediate advantage from obtaining nuclear weapons. Its main incentive for proliferating apparently is to lock in the regime’s security in the long run. Victor Asal and I also find that proliferators are sources of instability prior to attaining weapons, so a modest upside to successful proliferation would be movement away from the current alarming exchanges.”

“Need UN sanctions on Iran” - Response: Iran sanctions aren’t effective, in fact they could backfire

Matthew Sugrue 2010. (M.A. in History, with a focus on the Indian Subcontinent and the Middle East, from Dalhousie University) Do Sanctions Work? Iran, Proliferation and U.S. Policy HUFFINGTON POST 7 Jan 2010 <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/matthew-sugrue/do-sanctions-work-iran-pr_b_415397.html>

According to a recent poll conducted by World Public Opinion, fifty-six percent of Iranians would oppose stopping enrichment in return for the removal of sanctions (World Public Opinion, 2009). The numbers reported by the poll indicate that further economic sanctions against Iran have a good chance of bolstering support for the current government, and not, as they are hoped, causing a split between the Iranian people and the Iranian government. Sanctions, especially if they are unilaterally imposed by the United States, would most likely fan the flames of nationalism within Iran. As Richard Haass has pointed out, "sanctions that harm the population at large can bring about undesired effects, such as strengthening the regime, triggering large-scale emigration, and retarding the emergence of a middle class and civil society" (Haass, 1998, p. 202). This could lead to an increase in support for the government above the current level of fifty-six percent. The result would be the failure to prevent the potential for nuclear proliferation in Iran, which would be the goal of new sanctions.

“Need UN for Iran nuclear non-proliferation” - Response: Iran isn’t cooperating with inspections

Note: IAEA=International Atomic Energy Agency, an agency of the UN that conducts nuclear inspections

International Atomic Energy Agency 2012. “IAEA Expert Team Returns from Iran” 22 Feb 2012 <http://www.iaea.org/newscenter/pressreleases/2012/prn201205.html>

A senior IAEA expert team is returning from Iran after two days of discussions with Iranian officials held on 20 and 21 February 2012. The meeting followed previous discussions held on 29 to 31 January 2012.

During both the first and second round of discussions, the Agency team requested access to the military site at Parchin. Iran did not grant permission for this visit to take place. Intensive efforts were made to reach agreement on a document facilitating the clarification of unresolved issues in connection with Iran's nuclear programme, particularly those relating to possible military dimensions. Unfortunately, agreement was not reached on this document. "It is disappointing that Iran did not accept our request to visit Parchin during the first or second meetings," IAEA Director General Yukiya Amano said. "We engaged in a constructive spirit, but no agreement was reached."

“Poor countries need aid” - Response: Foreign aid recipients lose the ability to develop on their own

Dr Mammo Muchie 2008. (professor at the Research Centre on Development and International Relations at Aalborg University in Denmark) 17 April 2008, "From the Edge to Over the Edge: The root cause of the food crises is the endemic governance crises in Ethiopia!” <http://abbaymedia.com/News/?p=987>

To give may be easier, but to receive is harder. There is so much one loses when one is a recipient of foreign aid. The latter is often doled out in ways that make it recurrent and essential very often to the detriment of the recipient. It is not always the case that foreign aid solves such critical problems such as feeding ones nation. Feeding a nation must be the responsibility of the Government and citizens of a country. It cannot be contracted out to outsiders to help feed a nation. One off help may be necessary and unavoidable when vulnerabilities strike and foreign aid may be useful sometimes depending on how it is given. But if the help continues year in and year out, it comes at the expense of a nation’s necessary confidence to take its own development chances by itself. It can cripple a country’s agency. Loss of confidence that is often purchased by being aid addicted invariably undermines the national will and effort to build capacities, capabilities and innovative competence to deal with ones own problems by using ones own ingenuities, resources, imagination and the mobilisation of talent, tolerance, technology, knowledge, human and institutional efforts.

2. 2A EVIDENCE: FAMILY PLANNING / UNFPA

BACKGROUND / DEFINITIONS

UNFPA structure

UNFPA official web site last updated November 2008. “FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS” UNFPA is entirely supported by voluntary contributions of donor governments, intergovernmental organizations, private sector groups and foundations and individuals, not by the UN regular budget. In 2005, most UN Member States – some 172 countries – contributed to UNFPA.

The Fund is a subsidiary organ of the UN General Assembly. It reports to the UNDP/UNFPA Executive Board of 36 UN Member States on administrative, financial and programme matters and receives overall policy guidance from the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

WHO - The World Health Organization - part of the UN

World Health Organization official website copyright 2012. “About WHO” <http://www.who.int/about/en/>

WHO is the directing and coordinating authority for health within the United Nations system. It is responsible for providing leadership on global health matters, shaping the health research agenda, setting norms and standards, articulating evidence-based policy options, providing technical support to countries and monitoring and assessing health trends.

INHERENCY

UNFPA is committed to reducing population growth

Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt 2009. (PhD in political economy & government, Harvard Univ. holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute; has consulted for governmental and international organizations, the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. State Department, USAID, and World Bank, and has testified before Congress) “Curb the Population Myth” 1 Aug 2009 <http://www.policynetwork.net/environment/media/curb-population-myth>

The UNFPA talks of 'women's empowerment and gender equality' and 'universal access to reproductive health' but, despite this politically-correct discourse, it remains committed to its original purpose of reducing population growth: reproductive healthcare is 'the most practicable option for slowing population growth,' it says, equating this with poverty, food insecurity and environmental degradation.

UNFPA funds and supports China’s population control program

Dr. Brian Clowes 2011. (graduate of West Point, a former A-Team leader for the Army Special Forces; PhD in Civil Engineering and Systems Science; Human Life International's Director of Research and Training worldwide; author of nine books, over 90 scholarly and popular articles; authored the report which helped sway legislators in the 2001 defunding of the UNFPA by the Bush administration) Exposing the Global Population Control Agenda, Fall 2011 <http://www.lifeissues.net/writers/clo/clo_12nssm-200.html>

According to its own documents, the UNFPA has donated more than $100 million to China's population control program; has bought and custom-designed a $12 million IBM computer complex specifically to monitor the population program; provided the technical expertise and personnel that trained thousands of Chinese population control officials; and presented China with a United Nations award for the "most outstanding population control program."

JUSTIFICATION 1 - USELESS

Even poor people in Third World countries know how to reduce family size, and the best predictor of family size is how many children women want to have

Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt 2007. (PhD in political economy & government, Harvard Univ. holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute; has consulted for governmental and international organizations, the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. State Department, USAID, and World Bank, and has testified before Congress) “Too Many People?” July 2007 <http://www.aei.org/files/2007/07/11/20070712_Too_Many_People.pdf>

In the final analysis, the single best international predictor of fertility levels turns out to be desired fertility levels: the number of children that women say they would like to have. Perhaps this should not be surprising: parents tend to have strong opinions about important matters pertaining to their family; parents tend to act on the basis of those opinions; and even in the Third World, parents do not believe that babies are found under cabbages. The primacy of desired fertility explains why birth rates can be higher in regions where contraceptive utilisation rates are also higher: for it is parents, not pills, that make the final choice about family size.

Government family planning programs don’t determine birth rates: Mexico / Brazil example shows similar declines in both countries, where Mexico had a program and Brazil didn’t

Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt 2007. (PhD in political economy & government, Harvard Univ. holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute; has consulted for governmental and international organizations, the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. State Department, USAID, and World Bank, and has testified before Congress) “Too Many People?” July 2007 <http://www.aei.org/files/2007/07/11/20070712_Too_Many_People.pdf>

For another thing, the independent influence of national population programs on national birth rates appears to be very much more limited than enthusiasts are willing to recognise. A comparison of Mexico and Brazil, Latin America’s two most populous countries, illustrates the point. Since 1974, the Mexican government has sponsored a national family planning program expressly committed to reducing the country’s rate of population growth. Brazil, by contrast, has never implemented a national family planning program. In the quarter century after the introduction of Mexico’s national population program, Mexican fertility levels fell by an estimated 56 per cent. In Brazil, during the same period, fertility is estimated to have declined by 54 per cent – an almost identical proportion. And despite the absence of a national family planning program, Brazil’s fertility levels today remain lower than Mexico’s.

Failing in India: Government family planning programs were not successful at providing choices to women. Dr. K.S. Laya at the University of Kerala, India in 2012 supports government family planning efforts, but she nevertheless admits:

Dr. K.S. Laya 2012. (Faculty member in the Department of Demography, University of Kerala, India) Research and Social practices in Social Sciences Vol. 7, No. 2, Feb 2012 Prevalence and Determinants of Unmet Need for Family Planning among Women in India <http://www.researchandpractice.com/articles/7-2/4.pdf>

India has the distinction of being the first country in the world to start an official family planning programme. Despite the well established family planning programme, a significant proportion of currently married women in India is still having unmet need for both spacing and limiting births. There are several obstacles which come across contraceptive choice by women. According to the NFHS-3 reports, 4.1 percent of the currently married women in India reported fear of side effects and health concerns as the reason for not using contraceptive methods and 1.7 percent are not using any contraceptives because of their husband’s opposition. Eliminating such misconceptions need imparting proper family planning education to both husband and wife by conducting awareness programmes at the community level. Available evidences show that the public sector programmes have not been successful in providing contraceptive choice in India.

Even the poor and illiterate can plan their own family size: Low income and lack of education are no barrier

Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt 2007. (PhD in political economy & government, Harvard Univ. holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute; has consulted for governmental and international organizations, the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. State Department, USAID, and World Bank, and has testified before Congress) “Too Many People?” July 2007 http://www.aei.org/files/2007/07/11/20070712\_Too\_Many\_People.pdf

Few people would choose to be poor or illiterate. Yet poor and illiterate people have demonstrated, over the past generation and a half, that they too can make family planning choices – and they have increasingly chosen post-traditional fertility regimens. Quite clearly, neither low income levels nor the lack of education among young women constitute the sort of “structural” barrier against fertility decline that many population activists have heretofore supposed.

Availability of birth control methods does not determine fertility rates

Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt 2007. (PhD in political economy & government, Harvard Univ. holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute; has consulted for governmental and international organizations, the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. State Department, USAID, and World Bank, and has testified before Congress) “Too Many People?” July 2007 http://www.aei.org/files/2007/07/11/20070712\_Too\_Many\_People.pdf

As for the relationship between fertility and the availability of modern contraceptives (or national programs to subsidise or encourage their use), inconvenient facts must once again be faced. To start with, the utilisation rates for modern contraceptive methods are not an especially reliable indicator of a society’s fertility level. According to World Bank figures, among married women aged 15–49, the rate of modern contraceptive utilisation was higher in the West Bank and Gaza in 2004 than in Bulgaria in 1998 (51 per cent vs. 42 per cent) – yet the total fertility rate was over four times higher in the former than the latter. In the first years of the new century, contraceptive prevalence rates were all but identical in Japan and Jordan (70 per cent) – but Jordan’s fertility level was said to be two and a half times higher than Japan’s (3.5 births vs. 1.4 births). Contraceptive prevalence in Bangladesh in 2004 was reportedly higher than in Austria in 1996 (58 per cent vs. 51 per cent) – and fertility levels were also well over twice as high. There are many more such examples.

World population growth is caused by longer lifespans and better health, not higher birth rates

Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt 2007. (PhD in political economy & government, Harvard Univ. holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute; has consulted for governmental and international organizations, the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. State Department, USAID, and World Bank, and has testified before Congress) “Too Many People?” July 2007 <http://www.aei.org/files/2007/07/11/20070712_Too_Many_People.pdf>

We can begin by recalling the reason for the 20th century’s “population explosion”. Between 1900 and 2000, human numbers almost quadrupled, leaping from around 1.6 billion to over 6 billion; in pace and magnitude, nothing like that surge had ever previously taken place. But why exactly did we experience a world population explosion in the 20th century? It was not because people suddenly started breeding like rabbits – rather, it was because they finally stopped dying like flies. Between 1900 and the end of the 20th century, the human life span likely doubled: from a planetary life expectancy at birth of perhaps thirty years to one of well over sixty years. By this measure, the overwhelming preponderance of the health progress in all of human history took place during the past hundred years.

Literacy and empowerment of women are not related to fertility

Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt 2007. (PhD in political economy & government, Harvard Univ. holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute; has consulted for governmental and international organizations, the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. State Department, USAID, and World Bank, and has testified before Congress) “Too Many People?” July 2007 (brackets added) <http://www.aei.org/files/2007/07/11/20070712_Too_Many_People.pdf>

Kenya and Iran were said to have almost identical rates of adult literacy in 2006 (70 per cent), yet Iran’s 2005 fertility level is put at just over replacement (2.1) while Kenya’s is almost two and a half times higher (5.0). Iran’s total fertility rate, incidentally, is said to have plummeted by nearly 70 per cent – from 6.7 to 2.1 – between 1980 and 2006. But presumably the Iranian revolution was not quite what [former Vice-President Al] Gore had in mind in arguing that intellectual and social empowerment of women would lead to smaller families.

JUSTIFICATION 2 - HARMFUL

Population decline, which is already predicted by some UN estimates, will lead to big and bad economic impacts

Steven W. Mosher 2011. (completed all the requirements for his doctorate in Cultural Anthropology from Stanford University, which was denied him after the Chinese government complained about his research and publications. He holds two Masters Degrees from Stanford Univ in Cultural Anthropology and East Asian Studies, and Bachelors and Masters degrees in Biological Oceanography from the Univ of Washington) “Lies, Damned Lies, Statistics … and Population Graphs” Population Research Institute, <http://www.pop.org/content/lies-damned-lies-statistics-and-population-graphs>

UN Population Division Low Variant Projection - This shows population peaking around 2040 at 8 and a half billion or so, and then beginning to decline. It assumes that birthrates, which have been steadily falling for a century now, will continue to fall. What could be more reasonable? The UNFPA can draw all the scary graphs it wants, but our long-term problem is not going to be too many people, it is going to be *too few people*: Too few people to start businesses and families, too few people to drive the economy forward, too few people to provide for the future. Our current economic chill is just the beginning of a long demographic winter that will soon have much of the world in its deadly grip.

Population decline = economic stagnation

Dr. W. Bradford Wilcox & Prof. Carlos Cavallé 2011. (Wilcox - PhD; associate professor of sociology at the University of Virginia, director of the National Marriage Project at the Univ of Virginia. Cavallé - dean emeritus of the IESE Business School in Barcelona, Spain and president of the Social Trends Institute in New York and Barcelona, “The Sustainable Demographic Dividend”) <http://sustaindemographicdividend.org/articles/the-sustainable-demographic>

As Phillip Longman and his colleagues point out in The Empty Cradle, on current course, countries like China and Japan are poised to see their workforces shrink by more than 20 percent between now and 2050 because of persistently low fertility, even as their elderly populations surge. The economic stagnation Japan is now experiencing, rooted in part in below replacement fertility that started in the 1970s, should be a warning sign to China, which saw its fertility fall below replacement in the 1990s. China’s sky-high growth rates are likely to come down to earth in the next few decades as its workforce shrinks (see above). The lesson here is that nations wishing to enjoy robust economic growth and viable welfare states over the long-term must maintain fertility rates high enough to avoid shrinking workforces and rapidly aging populations. A recent Rand report noted, for instance, that “India will have more favorable demographics than China” in the long-term, insofar as its workforce is predicted to grow, not shrink, over the next few decades (see below).

Decline in birth rate at first helps the economy, but then long-term it causes problems

Analysis: The problem is that ultimately there are lots of elderly retired people depending on very few young workers to support them. That means pensions for the elderly aren’t funded and governments run out of money (=“struggling with the fiscal situation”)

Phillip Longman 2011. (senior research fellow at the New America Foundation) 3 Oct 2011 “How Declining Birth Rates Hurt Global Economies” National Public Radio, transcript of interview with journalist Lynn Neary <http://www.npr.org/2011/10/03/141000410/how-declining-birth-rates-hurt-global-economies>

The first order effect of a decline in the birthrate tends to be positive for the economy. A society finds it has fewer children to raise and educate. That tends to free up a lot of female labor to join the formal economy. But with the next turn of the screw, things change. As fertility rates remain below replacement levels, you still have fewer children but now your workforce is beginning to decline and you've got more and more seniors as a percentage of your population. And so around the world today we see many countries struggling with their fiscal situation largely because of the exploding cost of pensions and the relatively slow growth of their labor forces.

JUSTIFICATION 3 - ABUSIVE

Since parents, not programs, decide birth rates, governments must resort to coercion to force parents to comply

Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt 2007. (PhD in political economy & government, Harvard Univ. holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute; has consulted for governmental and international organizations, the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. State Department, USAID, and World Bank, and has testified before Congress) “Too Many People?” July 2007 <http://www.aei.org/files/2007/07/11/20070712_Too_Many_People.pdf>

For advocates of “stabilising world population”, the predominance of parental preferences in the determination of national and international birth rates poses an awkward dilemma. If parental preferences really rule, and a government sets official population targets for a truly voluntary family planning program, those targets are not likely to be achieved. Indeed: if parents are genuinely permitted to pursue the family size they personally desire, national population programs can only meet pre-established official demographic targets by complete and utter chance. On the other hand, if a government sets population targets and wishes to stand a reasonable chance of achieving them, the mischievous independence of parental preferences means that wholly voluntary population programs cannot be relied upon. If states, rather than the parents, are to determine a society’s preferred childbearing patterns, governments must be able to force parents to adhere to the officially approved parameters.

The only proven way to reduce population growth is to use coercion

Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt 2009. (PhD in political economy & government, Harvard Univ. holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute; has consulted for governmental and international organizations, the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. State Department, USAID, and World Bank, and has testified before Congress) “Curb the Population Myth” 1 Aug 2009 <http://www.policynetwork.net/environment/media/curb-population-myth>

The only proven way of curbing population growth is coercion, as in India briefly in the 1970s and in UNFPA-client China today. There is no other assured way of accomplishing immediate and dramatic birth reductions through population policy - period.

China’s coercive one-child policy is a massive violation of human rights and justifies cancelling the UNFPA

Steven W. Mosher 2012. (completed all the requirements for his doctorate in Cultural Anthropology from Stanford University, which was denied him after the Chinese government complained about his research and publications. He holds two Masters Degrees from Stanford Univ in Cultural Anthropology and East Asian Studies, and Bachelors and Masters degrees in Biological Oceanography from the Univ of Washington) “China’s One-Child Policy and UNFPA: A Silent But Deadly Partnership” 10 July 2012 LIFE NEWS <http://www.lifenews.com/2012/07/10/chinas-one-child-policy-and-unfpa-a-silent-but-deadly-partnership/>

First, China’s one-child policy constitutes the longest-running and most far-reaching violation of human rights the world has ever seen. Four hundred million Chinese children are missing because of this policy. Second, the one-child policy is coercive not by accident, but by design. The abuses that we have talked about today are not occasional missteps by overzealous officials–as they are sometimes characterized by Chinese officials–but are the very lifeblood of the program. The one-child policy, like all political campaigns of the Chinese Communist party, is coercive by virtue of its fines, its targets, its quotas, and by the extraordinary pressure that the highest levels of the Chinese government put on lower-level officials. Third, the U.N. Population Fund has been complicit in China’s one-child policy from the first, not merely turning a blind eye to abuses, but facilitating them in various ways. This is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the U.N. Population Fund’s “model county program,” where UNFPA trained officials oversee the enforcement of the one-child policy, and where abuses are rampant. The U.N. Population Fund should once again be defunded, Mr. Chairman, this time permanently.

SOLVENCY / ADVOCACY

We need to stop spending tax money on driving down the birth rate - it wastes money and makes us poorer

Steven W. Mosher 2011. (completed all the requirements for his doctorate in Cultural Anthropology from Stanford University, which was denied him after the Chinese government complained about his research and publications; holds two Masters Degrees from Stanford Univ in Cultural Anthropology and East Asian Studies, and Bachelors and Masters degrees in Biological Oceanography from the Univ of Washington) quoted by Population Research Institute, “Seven Billion People: Cause to Celebrate?” 24 Oct 2011 http://www.pop.org/content/seven-billion-people-cause-celebrate

According to Mosher, “Contrary to what you might hear, the most pressing problem in country after country today is not overpopulation, but underpopulation. In a time of fiscal austerity, the last thing that we need to be doing is spending more tax dollars to drive down the birth rate, reducing the amount of human capital available, and making us all poorer in the long run.”

UN should stop trying to solve world population

Steven W. Mosher 2011. (completed all the requirements for his doctorate in Cultural Anthropology from Stanford University, which was denied him after the Chinese government complained about his research and publications; holds two Masters Degrees from Stanford Univ in Cultural Anthropology and East Asian Studies, and Bachelors and Masters degrees in Biological Oceanography from the Univ of Washington) (“neative” (negative) was misspelled in the original; UNPD = United Nations Population Division) July/Aug 2011 “New Numbers, Same Old Song” Population Research Institute, <http://www.pop.org/content/new-numbers-same-old-song>

The UNFPA seems to be using its funding to “leverage” the UNPD into producing numbers that the UNFPA can in turn use to justify the continuation and expansion of population control and abortion. There is a real population crisis, of course. I am speaking of the crisis of aging and dying populations, for which there seems to be no easy solution. It is a crisis that, by reducing the amount of human capital available, will have a dramatic and neative impact on every aspect of life. Peter Drucker, the late management guru, wrote way back in 1997 that “The dominant factor for business in the next two decades — absent war, pestilence, or collision with a comet — is not going to be economics or technology. It will be demographics.” Drucker was particularly concerned with the “increasing underpopulation of the developed countries,” but a decade later this reproductive malaise has spread even to the less developed world, and is a truly global phenomenon. The UN needs to stop spending time, money and resources trying to solve a problem that we've never had. Science shows that the world's population is due to fall dramatically, not rise uncontrollably. To recklessly seek to curb procreation in countries that are, or soon will be, dying will only compound the tragedy.

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

Infant mortality not linked to fertility rates

Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt 2007. (PhD in political economy & government, Harvard Univ. holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute; has consulted for governmental and international organizations, the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. State Department, USAID, and World Bank, and has testified before Congress) “Too Many People?” July 2007 <http://www.aei.org/files/2007/07/11/20070712_Too_Many_People.pdf>

Infant mortality provides scarcely more information about fertility levels or fertility change. By the UN Population Division’s projections, for example, the 2000/2005 infant mortality rate for Armenia was somewhat higher than for the “Occupied Palestinian Territory” of West Bank and Gaza (30 per 1000 vs. 21 per 1000) – but while Armenia’s estimated fertility level at that time was far below replacement (1.35 births per woman), the level for the West Bank and Gaza was put at 5.63 births per woman per lifetime, over four times as high!

There is no overpopulation problem: UN estimates about global population are wrong

Dr. Susan Yoshihara 2011. (was on the faculty at the U.S. Naval War College where she taught national security decision making and international relations; former Commander, U.S. Navy; worked for the Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade as a White House Fellow; Ph.D. in international relations from the Fletcher School, Tufts Univ) 25 Aug 2011 “United Nations’ Forecasts Invent Nonexistent Overpopulation” <http://www.lifenews.com/2011/08/25/united-nations-forecasts-invent-nonexistent-overpopulation/>

The UN has reversed a decade of speculation about a demographic winter in the West, and now says that every country will achieve replacement fertility by 2100 resulting in a global population of 10 billion. The problem is there is no basis for their turnabout. UN agencies are hailing new numbers as evidence of overpopulation in the developing world and vindication of decades of anti-natal policies in the West, but the scientific basis of the latest UN forecasts is slim. The most significant change in the UN’s new numbers is an increase in the predicted convergence rate from 1.85 children per woman, below replacement, to 2.1, about replacement fertility. While the UN claims there is consensus on the matter, demographers have long argued that there is no evidence to support the assumption that global fertility will ever converge, and no basis for the assertion that all nations go through three phases of demographic change: from declining birth rates where most developing nations are today, to below replacement rates experienced by all developed countries except the US, and finally to recovery at near replacement rates which a few Northern European countries have achieved.

No starvation and no overcrowding: Plenty of room and plenty of food for billions more people to live on earth

Glenn T. Stanton 2011. (research fellow for global family formation at Focus on the Family in Colorado Springs; directing a major research project on international family formation trends at the Institute of Marriage and Family in Ottawa; debates and lectures extensively on the issues of gender, sexuality, marriage and parenting at universities and churches; consultant to GW Bush administration on increasing fatherhood involvement in the Head Start program; master’s degree in interdisciplinary humanities with an emphasis in philosophy, history and religion) Seven Billion People? No Problem 1 Nov 2011 NATIONAL REVIEW online, <http://www.nationalreview.com/corner/281879/seven-billion-people-no-problem-glenn-t-stanton>

At 7 billion, there is still plenty room on our terrestrial ball. As both *Time* and the *Guardian* report, all 7 billion of us could head on over to Texas and collectively dwell there with no more density than we find in New York City, where a lot of very sophisticated people live. They seem to find the city quite pleasant. To make it even more interesting, all of us 7 billion folks could move to Rhode Island and have 6.4 square feet per person. That’s not enough room to run around and really be happy, but it is enough for everyone to carefully do some jumping jacks, if they pleased. The rest of this great world could be used for either preservation or production, depending on whether you’re a Democrat or Republican. And there is still plenty of food. The *Guardian* article linked above explains that we are already producing enough grain globally to feed 10 billion people a vegetarian diet. Currently half of the food produced in the world is either intentionally discarded or allowed to waste.

Overpopulation isn’t the cause of disease and hunger

Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt 2009. (PhD in political economy & government, Harvard Univ. holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute; has consulted for governmental and international organizations, the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. State Department, USAID, and World Bank, and has testified before Congress) “Curb the Population Myth” 1 Aug 2009 <http://www.policynetwork.net/environment/media/curb-population-myth>

To be sure, a horrifying number of people today still live in squalor, scourged by disease and hunger - but the correct name for this is poverty, not 'overpopulation.' In countries where people cannot securely own property, cannot sell their produce freely and get scant protection in law, government is poverty's handmaiden.

No way to define “overpopulation”. Measuring food scarcity, the world is less overpopulated now than 100 years ago

Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt 2011. (PhD in political economy & government, Harvard Univ. holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute; has consulted for governmental and international organizations, the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. State Department, USAID, and World Bank, and has testified before Congress) 4 Nov 2011 WASHINGTON POST “Five myths about the world’s population” <http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/five-myths-about-the-worlds-population/2011/10/26/gIQArjSWmM_story.html>

Back in the 1970s, some scholars tried to estimate the “optimum population” for particular countries, but most gave up. There were too many uncertainties (how much food would the world produce with future technologies?) and too many value judgments (how much parkland is ideal?). Even considering resource scarcity isn’t all that helpful. During the 20th century’s population explosion — when we went from 1.6 billion people to more than 6 billion — real prices for rice, corn and wheat fell radically, and despite recent spikes, real prices for food are lower than 100 years ago. Prices, of course, are meant to reflect scarcity; by such reasoning, the world would be less overpopulated today than a century ago, not more.

Rapid population growth doesn’t block economic growth: Examples of S.Korea and Taiwan show the opposite

Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt 2011. (PhD in political economy & government, Harvard Univ. holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute; has consulted for governmental and international organizations, the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. State Department, USAID, and World Bank, and has testified before Congress) 4 Nov 2011 WASHINGTON POST “Five myths about the world’s population” http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/five-myths-about-the-worlds-population/2011/10/26/gIQArjSWmM\_story.html

In 1960, South Korea and Taiwan were poor countries with fast-growing populations. Over the two decades that followed, South Korea’s population surged by about 50 percent, and Taiwan’s by about 65 percent. Yet, income increased in both places, too: Between 1960 and 1980, per capita economic growth averaged 6.2 percent in South Korea and 7 percent in Taiwan. Clearly, rapid population growth did not preclude an economic boom in those two Asian “tigers” — and their experience underscores that of the world as a whole. Between 1900 and 2000, as the planet’s population was exploding, per capita income grew faster than ever before, rising nearly fivefold, by the reckoning of economic historian Angus Maddison . And for much of the last century, the countries with faster economic growth tended to be the ones where population was growing most rapidly, too.

Local population density has nothing to do with poverty or health

Peter Schwartzman and David Schwartzman 2007. (Peter Schwartzman is Chair of the Environmental Studies Program at Knox College. David Schwartzman is a Professor of Biology at Howard University) The misleading mantra of ‘overpopulation’ <http://climateandcapitalism.com/2011/07/01/the-misleading-mantra-of-overpopulation/>

So much “overpopulation” propaganda appeals to images of overcrowding (busses, markets, streets, etc.). However, population density (i.e., people per square mile) isn’t correlated with abject poverty or early death (two supposed symptoms of “overpopulation”). Countries like Japan and the Netherlands are among the densest to be found, but also have some of the highest standards of living and the longest longevity. Some of the poorest countries also are very sparsely populated (such as Mali and Bolivia). Thus, high population densities do not by themselves cause abject poverty nor do low densities guarantee health and prosperity.

Doom and gloom predictions are wrong: New ideas proliferate faster than population and new technologies will emerge

Laura E. Huggins 2011. (research fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institution and at the Property and Environment Research Center; masters degree in public policy from Utah State University) 22 July 2011 LOS ANGELES TIMES Overpopulation: Don't buy 'more people, more problems' [Blowback] http://opinion.latimes.com/opinionla/2011/07/overpopulation-dont-buy-more-people-more-problems-blowback.html

Given past trends, we are right to deny doom and gloom claims such as this one in Harte and Ehrlich’s op-ed article: "Perpetual growth is the creed of a cancer cell, not a sustainable human society." New ideas and technologies proliferate at a much faster rate than population. They depend on individuals who are free to pursue their own interests and innovate with few constraints. As Stanford economist Paul Romer put it, "Every generation has perceived the limits to growth that finite resources and undesirable side effects would pose if no new recipes or ideas were discovered. And every generation has underestimated the potential for finding new recipes and ideas. We consistently fail to grasp how many ideas remain to be discovered. Possibilities do not add up; they multiply."

Ecosystem collapse isn’t caused by poor countries

Peter Schwartzman and David Schwartzman 2007. (Peter Schwartzman is Chair of the Environmental Studies Program at Knox College. David Schwartzman is a Professor of Biology at Howard University) The misleading mantra of ‘overpopulation’ <http://climateandcapitalism.com/2011/07/01/the-misleading-mantra-of-overpopulation/>

It is rather easy to look at big numbers or images of a crowded street (likely in cities of Asia or Africa) and think that population size must be a major contributing factor in the development of our current woes. Isn’t this why so many are hungry, sickly, and poverty-stricken? While this is the recurrent message we hear, it is largely untrue. The reasons why so many suffer are many but overpopulation is probably only a small and highly exaggerated part of this story. For example, the key reasons have more to do with us (the 18% living in the “developed” world) than them (the 82% living in the “developing” world). Coming to understand the reasons why humans are suffering and ecosystems are collapsing is paramount.

“Overpopulated masses” are not responsible for for planetary environmental impact - it’s the rich

Peter Schwartzman and David Schwartzman 2007. (Peter Schwartzman is Chair of the Environmental Studies Program at Knox College. David Schwartzman is a Professor of Biology at Howard University) The misleading mantra of ‘overpopulation’ <http://climateandcapitalism.com/2011/07/01/the-misleading-mantra-of-overpopulation/>

Let’s compare India and the U.S. as an example. India has about 4 times the population that the U.S. does. Yet, for all measures of affluence, the U.S.’s beats India by a much larger ratio. The U.S.’s per capita GNP (Gross National Product) is 12 times that of India’s. The U.S.’s per capita energy usage is 17 times larger. And, most lopsidedly, U.S. per capita car and truck ownership is 97 times higher. So affluence would appear to be a much more influential factor (than population size) in terms of resource use and waste production. (This point is made even more striking when one considers that even the little wealth that is found in India is concentrated in the hands of the very few. Therefore, the “overpopulated” masses have even less of an impact on the planet.)

China’s “one child policy” didn’t cause economic growth

Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt 2011. (PhD in political economy & government, Harvard Univ. holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute; has consulted for governmental and international organizations, the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. State Department, USAID, and World Bank, and has testified before Congress) 4 Nov 2011 WASHINGTON POST “Five myths about the world’s population” <http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/five-myths-about-the-worlds-population/2011/10/26/gIQArjSWmM_story.html>

China’s economic boom has coincided with the promulgation of its one-child policy, which has used state muscle in an effort to limit births. Both this restrictive policy and the Chinese tilt toward pro-market reforms began in the late 1970s, and since then China’s per capita income has risen more than eightfold. But that doesn’t mean the two are linked. Just before the one-child policy was enacted, China’s total fertility rate (births per woman per lifetime) was about 2.7; today it is believed to be around 1.6, or roughly 40 percent lower. But between the late 1960s and the late 1970s , China’s total fertility rate fell from about 5.9 to 2.9 births per woman per lifetime — a sharper drop. Yet China’s per capita economic growth was much slower back in the pre-Deng Xiopeng decade of 1968-78. (Small wonder: Maoist economic formulas did not do wonders for material progress.)

“Birth spacing” child mortality in Mozambique - DHS [Demographic & Health Surveys] study had incorrect data on child ages. Sandra D. Gonçalves, who generally supports the negative position, nevertheless admits in 2009

Sandra D. Gonçalves 2009. (masters degree candidate at Univ of Cape Town, South Africa; consultant for UNAIDS and World Bank in Mozambique ) “Short birth spacing and child mortality in Mozambique,” Paper presented to Session 168: Maternal and perinatal health: determinants of the XXVI International Population Conference of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP), Marrakech, Morocco, September-October 2009 (ellipses in original) <http://iussp2009.princeton.edu/download.aspx?submissionId=92210>

3. REVIEW OF BIRTH SPACING AND CHILD MORTALITY IN MOZAMBIQUE

Preceding birth intervals in the 1997 and 2003 DHS are skewed to the right. Heaping was noted at interval lengths of 24 months (4.8 per cent) and 36 months (3 per cent) in the 1997 DHS and lengths of 22 months (3.9 per cent) and 26 months (4.5 per cent) in the 2003 DHS. The 1997 and 2003 DHS collected birth history data starting with the oldest child. After reporting the date of birth of their oldest child, it is most likely that women estimated the date of birth of subsequently younger children in intervals of 2 years/3 years. The heaping patterns in the 2003 DHS most likely resulted from enumerator’s attempts to avoid the 1997 DHS heaping patterns by questioning the reported interval of 24 months, with the end result being heaping at ± 2 months of that interval. It is important to highlight that some of the observed trends in the length of the preceding birth interval variable may be a result of imputing of date of births. According to Croft (1991:20), “...short birth intervals may be a result of the imputation process and not necessarily the real situation.”

3. 2A EVIDENCE: FOOD RESERVES

BACKGROUND & DEFINITIONS

Background on the UN High Level Panel of Experts

Timothy Wise & Sophia Murphy 2012. (Wise - Director of the Research and Policy Program at the Global Development and Environment Institute at Tufts University. Murphy - senior advisor to Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy’s Trade and Global Governance program) Resolving the Food Crisis: Assessing Global Policy Reforms Since 2007, Jan 2012, <http://www.ase.tufts.edu/gdae/Pubs/rp/ResolvingFoodCrisis.pdf?utm_source=SRFood+Newsletter&utm_campaign=e512da1b14-2012-0206_Taking_back_globalization_in_Davos&utm_medium=email>

The FAO, for its part, took the lead in overseeing the rapid re-formation of the Committee on World Food Security (CFS) to serve as the multi-stakeholder coordinating body for the international response to the food-price crisis. Up and running by 2010, the CFS committed to developing a Global Strategic Framework (GSF) and named a High Level Panel of Experts (HLPE) to conduct needed research and advise on priority issues, including high prices and volatility, land grabs, climate change, and social protection.

INHERENCY

G20 nations are resisting reform, not letting CFS coordinate response to food crisis

Note: CFS = UN Committee on Food Security

Timothy Wise & Sophia Murphy 2012. (Wise - Director of the Research and Policy Program at the Global Development and Environment Institute at Tufts University. Murphy - senior advisor to Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy’s Trade and Global Governance program) Resolving the Food Crisis: Assessing Global Policy Reforms Since 2007, Jan 2012, <http://www.ase.tufts.edu/gdae/Pubs/rp/ResolvingFoodCrisis.pdf?utm_source=SRFood+Newsletter&utm_campaign=e512da1b14-2012-0206_Taking_back_globalization_in_Davos&utm_medium=email>

Unfortunately, we find that the international institutions reviewed have shown weakening resolve to address these issues. This is due largely to the resistance of some developed-country governments to making the necessary reforms. At the G-20, where the world’s most economically powerful nations have asserted leadership on food security, the actions have been tepid if not counterproductive. This has had a chilling effect on reform efforts elsewhere in the international system, most notably at the U.N.. This raises important governance issues. The U.N.’s CFS is formally recognized by most institutions as the appropriate body to coordinate the global response to the food crisis, because of both its mandate and its inclusive, multi-stakeholder structure. Yet in practice the G-20, a self-appointed body with little formal authority in the international system, has systematically constrained the reform agenda. Similar actions by the most powerful countries also recently derailed progress in major summits on climate change and trade, with dire implications for agricultural development and food security.

Status Quo doesn’t have willingness to change policies that contributed to the recent crisis

Timothy Wise & Sophia Murphy 2012. (Wise - Director of the Research and Policy Program at the Global Development and Environment Institute at Tufts University. Murphy - senior advisor to Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy’s Trade and Global Governance program) Resolving the Food Crisis: Assessing Global Policy Reforms Since 2007, Jan 2012, <http://www.ase.tufts.edu/gdae/Pubs/rp/ResolvingFoodCrisis.pdf?utm_source=SRFood+Newsletter&utm_campaign=e512da1b14-2012-0206_Taking_back_globalization_in_Davos&utm_medium=email>

We see neither the necessary urgency nor the willingness to change policies that contributed to the recent crisis. New international funding is welcome, but only $6.1 billion of the G-8’s pledged $22 billion, three-year commitment represents new money, and those pledges have been slow to materialize and are now threatened with cutbacks as developed countries adopt austerity measures. The overwhelming priority is to increase production. There are reasons to focus on this, specifically within low-income net-food importing countries. The setting of production targets at the global level, however, encourages an expansion in industrial agriculture and the consolidation of land holdings, including land grabs, and ignores environmental constraints and equity issues.

“Markets solve” - Response: They solve by letting the poor go hungry to reduce food demand until it matches supply.

Benoit Daviron & the UN High Level Panel of Experts 2011. (lead author; team leader, High level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition (HLPE), Project Team, UN Committee on World Food Security. The other members of the project team were: Niama Nango Dembele, Sophia Murphy and Shahidur Rashid) “Price Volatility and Food Security” - A report by the High Level Panel of Experts On Food Security and Nutrition, July 2011 <http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/hlpe/hlpe_documents/HLPE-price-volatility-and-food-security-report-July-2011.pdf>

Given the overall growth in world incomes, food demand is now less price sensitive, which, as price theory shows, can lead to more volatility. This observation raises an international equity issue. In the international markets, consumers with very different income levels compete for access to food. Consumers in poor countries are much more sensitive to price changes than consumers in rich countries. This is true of richer and poorer consumers within countries as well. It also means that, when supplies are short, the poorest consumers must absorb the largest part of the quantitative adjustment necessary to restore equilibrium to the market. While a spike in food prices forces the poorest consumers to reduce their consumption, richer consumers can maintain more or less the same level of consumption, increasing inequity in the overall distribution of food. Biofuel support policies tend to reinforce this uneven division of the quantitative adjustment because they make the biofuel industry less sensitive to higher commodity input prices.

“Free trade solves” - Response: Neo-classical economic theory is wrong. Trade does not ensure adequate food for all

Sophia Murphy 2009. (senior advisor to the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (a non-profit organization that researches international agriculture policies) on trade, food security and global governance issues ) “Strategic Grain Reserves in an Era of Volatility” Oct 2009 <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=9&ved=0CGYQFjAI&url=http%3A%2F%2Fkms1.isn.ethz.ch%2Fserviceengine%2FFiles%2FISN%2F108756%2Fipublicationdocument_singledocument%2Fb76b791b-1a36-4276-84d9-be119e7d5ab0%2Fen%2F2009-10-StrategicGrainReserves.pdf&ei=MW38T4alBY-k8ATxz_zhBg&usg=AFQjCNG06nc6wuRRzMtwI7DvhfBbnwC0sA&sig2=xiZylby3QMXO7zYUC_lRnA>

At the time of the 1996 World Food Summit, many governments seemed to conflate the two concepts almost completely: the strong implication was that the realization of a fully-integrated global agricultural trade system would somehow ensure universal access to adequate and nutritional food for all. This is clearly not true. And today, in 2009, such a strong assertion of the primacy of international trade as a food security tool is also less often heard in the policy debates. Price volatility, the continuing (but perhaps today, more visible) problem of a chronic lack of access to affordable and appropriate food, and the evident triumph of politics over neo-classical economic theory in most (though not all) major agricultural exporting and importing countries’ trade policies has brought the debate back to earth.

“Free trade solves” - Response: 2007-2008 price spikes prove it doesn’t solve for volatility

Ian McCreary 2011. (economist and former director of the Canadian Wheat Board) Canadian Foodgrains Bank Occasional Paper, Canadian Foodgrains Bank, Mar 2011, <http://foodgrainsbank.ca/uploads/Food%20Security%20Price%20Volatility%20and%20Policy%20Responses-%20final%20-%2025%20March%2011.pdf>

Proponents of free trade argue that trade will solve the issue of volatility if it were only more free. The events of the 2007-8 crop year suggest otherwise. Wheat prices in March 2008 were three times the average prices of 2004/5 which in turn were above the previous ten year average. There were no trade restrictions causing this volatility and producer supports in Europe and US likely created production capacity which would not have been in place in an unfettered agriculture market, a move which should have moderated the price spike. For rice, it is difficult to fathom that in a world of imperfect information any nation would not have placed export bans when it appeared their domestic supplies were not adequate to meet local needs. These restrictions would likely be made regardless of the international trade rules.

“International trade solves” - Response: 2007-2008 crisis proves trade doesn’t solve

Sophia Murphy 2010. (senior advisor to the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (a non-profit organization that researches international agriculture policies) on trade, food security and global governance issues ) 21 Oct 2010 . “Averting the Next Food Crisis: What role for food reserves?” <http://triplecrisis.com/averting-the-next-food-crisis-what-role-for-food-reserves/>

Trade, too, is invaluable to most countries’ food security, and has been used by many societies as a way to enhance domestic supply for centuries. But the 2007-2008 food price crisis highlighted the limits of trade. Global trade, like local production, has its own versions of supply shocks and resulting volatility. Meanwhile, many of the exporters that had been pushing at the WTO to reduce all barriers to trade, and to insist that the realization of food security required only that countries have access to their surpluses, imposed export restrictions. Few of these restrictions lasted long, but the message they sent was unmistakeable: when push comes to shove, our domestic needs will come first. The importing countries, many of them, heard the message.

“Free markets solve” - Response: No such thing, worldwide farmers don’t have the option to trade freely

Sophia Murphy 2009. (senior advisor to the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (a non-profit organization that researches international agriculture policies) on trade, food security and global governance issues ) Free Trade in Agriculture: A Bad Idea Whose Time Is Done, MONTHLY REVIEW, <http://monthlyreview.org/2009/07/01/free-trade-in-agriculture-a-bad-idea-whose-time-is-done>

Free trade would make the whole world a bazaar. Only, of course, it cannot. There is no global marketplace where the Argentine and Brazilian and U.S. farmers can bring their soybeans to sell to the highest bidder. The reality for those farmers is that they must sell to the elevator near their farm. There might be a choice of two firms but there will rarely be more than that. Their crops will face quality controls, sanitary standards (protecting human, animal, and plant health), and political whim. For subsistence farmers the world over, their choices are even more constrained. Poor roads, poor storage, inequitable land distribution, poor law-enforcement (and often bad laws), grossly unequal market power, and weak local and national institutions: all shape trade in multiple ways, none of them “free.” A mass of regulations and political struggles, both domestic and multilateral, stand between the free trade ideal and the real world.

National government interventions aren’t solving for volatility - they’re causing it!

Dr. Homi Kharas 2011. (PhD Harvard; Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Global Economy and Development, Development Assistance and Governance Initiative; former chief economist in the East Asia and Pacific Region of the World Bank) 3 Mar 2011 “Making Sense of Food Price Volatility” <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2011/03/03-food-prices-kharas>

Many government interventions are designed to shelter local markets against volatility in the global price of food, but in fact it is precisely these national interventions that are spurring global volatility. The various border protections against the global market in place around the world segregate the world food market into a number of much smaller national markets, the exact opposite of what is needed today. If these distortions didn’t exist—in other words, if there was truly a single global market for food, and an actual “world” price of food—the volatility of prices would be much lower than the volatility in each of the protected local markets for food that we currently have.

“Individual countries have grain reserves” - Response: National reserves are inefficient and will not avoid future food crises. We must have an international system to restore confidence to the grain market

Dr. Joachim von Braun 2009. (PhD in agricultural economics from University of Göttingen, Germany; Director General of the International Food Policy Research Institute) Eliminating Drastic Food Price Spikes 11 Mar 2009 <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/eliminating-drastic-food-price-spikes>

The end result of the recent grain crisis is the collapse of confidence in the international grain market, with many countries now trying to achieve grain self-sufficiency and rebuild their own public reserves. While the motivation of each country is justifiable, the result will be a very inefficient global production system, a large total global reserve, and a very thin global grain market. In this case, if a country encounters an unexpected shock to its demand or supply which is larger than its public reserves, not only will its domestic price surge, but also any attempts to import grain from a thin global market will cause the global market price to surge. A food crisis akin to the recent one may not be avoidable by individual country action alone. It is imperative, therefore, to find a way to coordinate each country’s efforts and to restore confidence in international grain market.

HARMS

Millions are in poverty because of food price spikes

World Bank Global Monitoring Report 2012. “Food Prices, Nutrition, and the Millennium Development Goals” Chap 1: Poverty and Food Price Developments <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1327948020811/8401693-1327957211156/8402494-1334239337250/Chapter-1.pdf>

The food price spikes have prevented millions of people from escaping extreme poverty . The record prices in 2008 kept or pushed 105 million people below the poverty line in the short run . They hit urban poor and female-headed households hardest . While food prices dropped sharply in 2009 with the financial crisis, they quickly rebounded and by early 2011 were almost back to 2008 levels . Sudden, unexpected increases in food prices impose particularly severe hardship on many households because they need time to adjust to higher prices . The large, initial impact on poverty of a rise in food prices tends to decline over time as production increases and the income of the poor in rural areas rises, but it is usually not large enough to offset the initial negative impact on poverty in the short run.

Food price uncertainty and volatility are rising

World Bank Global Monitoring Report 2012. “Food Prices, Nutrition, and the Millennium Development Goals” Chap 1: Poverty and Food Price Developments <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1327948020811/8401693-1327957211156/8402494-1334239337250/Chapter-1.pdf>

Food price uncertainty is rising. The uncertainty of food prices is driven by changes in both demand, including closer links to oil prices, exchange rate changes, and lower stock-to-use ratios, and supply, including weather, expansion of export crop production to areas where yields are less stable, switching of production to biofuels, and trade interventions affecting global supply. Higher oil price volatility is contributing to higher food price volatility.

HARM: Food price spikes are a big problem, and the goal should be to solve them.

INHERENCY: Status Quo has few concrete actions toward this goal. Lack of public food reserves contributes to price volatility

Timothy Wise & Sophia Murphy 2012. (Wise - Director of the Research and Policy Program at the Global Development and Environment Institute at Tufts University. Murphy - senior advisor to Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy’s Trade and Global Governance program) Resolving the Food Crisis: Assessing Global Policy Reforms Since 2007, Jan 2012, <http://www.ase.tufts.edu/gdae/Pubs/rp/ResolvingFoodCrisis.pdf?utm_source=SRFood+Newsletter&utm_campaign=e512da1b14-2012-0206_Taking_back_globalization_in_Davos&utm_medium=email>

PRICE VOLATILITY: High spikes in prices remain a major problem for poor people worldwide, and for food importing developing countries in particular. The policy goal, for effective market functioning and for food security, should be relatively stable prices that are remunerative to farmers and affordable to consumers. We find few concrete actions toward this goal. There is strong evidence that financial speculation contributed to recent food-price volatility, though there remains considerable debate Precautionary regulations are warranted but few have been taken. Similarly, the shortage of publicly held food reserves contributes to the shortages that make speculation possible while leaving vulnerable countries at risk. Reserves should be explored more actively than simply as emergency regional humanitarian policy instruments.

Price volatility is the specific cause of food insecurity

Ian McCreary 2011. (economist and former director of the Canadian Wheat Board) Canadian Foodgrains Bank Occasional Paper, Canadian Foodgrains Bank, Mar 2011, <http://foodgrainsbank.ca/uploads/Food%20Security%20Price%20Volatility%20and%20Policy%20Responses-%20final%20-%2025%20March%2011.pdf>

Establishing reserves by the public sector will create benefits and losses among different groups and a discussion of reserves needs to include a discussion of the potential impacts on markets and market participants. The objective needs to be to reduce market volatility while still allowing market prices to develop in a manner which encourages investment in agriculture when supplies are required. It is market volatility, not high prices, which is the overriding concern for food security. Income support and income generating approaches can be developed to address high prices but will not deal effectively with the volatility.

Food price volatility wreaks havoc. Rapid and unpredictable changes in food prices cause problems in world food markets

Dr. Homi Kharas 2011. (PhD Harvard; Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Global Economy and Development, Development Assistance and Governance Initiative; former chief economist in the East Asia and Pacific Region of the World Bank) 3 Mar 2011 “Making Sense of Food Price Volatility” <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2011/03/03-food-prices-kharas>

As an initial point, it’s worth stressing that the crux of the food price challenge is about price volatility, rather than high prices per se. It is the rapid and unpredictable changes in food prices that wreak havoc on markets, politics and social stability, rather than long-term structural trends in food prices that we can prepare for and adjust to. And it is also worth noting that volatility cuts both ways—prices go up and down. The only reason food prices are going up so much this year is because they came down so fast after reaching 2008 peaks. Both rapid increases and rapid declines in food prices can create problems.

Price volatility means people go hungry

Benoit Daviron & the UN High Level Panel of Experts 2011. (lead author; team leader, High level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition (HLPE), Project Team, UN Committee on World Food Security. The other members of the project team were: Niama Nango Dembele, Sophia Murphy and Shahidur Rashid) “Price Volatility and Food Security” - A report by the High Level Panel of Experts On Food Security and Nutrition, July 2011 <http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/hlpe/hlpe_documents/HLPE-price-volatility-and-food-security-report-July-2011.pdf>

Price volatility has a strong impact on food security because it affects household incomes and purchasing power. Simply put, it can transform vulnerable people into poor and hungry people. Price volatility also interacts with price levels to affect welfare and food security. The higher the price, the stronger the welfare consequences of volatility for consumers, while the opposite is true for producers.

During the last price spike, 200 million people went without adequate nutrition

Ian McCreary 2011. (economist and former director of the Canadian Wheat Board) Canadian Foodgrains Bank Occasional Paper, Canadian Foodgrains Bank, Mar 2011, <http://foodgrainsbank.ca/uploads/Food%20Security%20Price%20Volatility%20and%20Policy%20Responses-%20final%20-%2025%20March%2011.pdf>

With increased globalization over recent decades, a significant portion of the global adjustments to price volatility falls on those who can simply not afford to purchase the food required for a healthy and dignified life. Households who achieve some level of stability prior to a price spike but are spending 60 to 80% of total income on food will be very vulnerable. Vulnerable people are forced into coping strategies which can disrupt development for sustained periods of time. In the last price spike, international organizations estimate that the number of people who face inadequate nutrition globally increased by approximately 200 million.

Specific example of how grain market speculation and oil prices caused price volatility: 2012 study of maize, wheat and soybean prices between 1986-2009

Dr. Joachim von Braun and Dr. Getaw Tadesse 2012. (von Braun - PhD in agricultural economics from University of Göttingen, Germany; Director General of the International Food Policy Research Institute. . Tadesse - PhD; post-doctoral fellow with International Food Policy Research Institute; also known as Getaw Tadesse Gebreyohanes) Global Food Price Volatility and Spikes: An Overview of Costs, Causes, and Solutions, ZEF- Discussion Papers on Development Policy No. 161, Center for Development Research, Bonn, January 2012 <http://www.zef.de/fileadmin/webfiles/downloads/zef_dp/zef_dp_161.pdf>

We used food and oil nominal prices from the World Bank commodities database and production data from FAOSTAT. We also used the daily volumes of futures trading from the Chicago Board of Trade of the U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission for maize, wheat, and soybeans. Since data on rice futures are not available for 1986 to 2000, the rice equation does not include excessive speculation. We used data from January 1986 to December 2009 mainly because of lack of data for futures trading before 1986 and for production after 2009. The results indicate a significant difference between the data sets used for the analysis (Table 9). If the whole data set from January 1986 to December 2009 is used, only excessive speculation is a highly significant determinant of food price spikes. But if price data since 2000 are used, oil price also has a significant effect on price spikes. The effect of supply shocks on spikes is limited to one commodity—soybeans. Nominal prices are used to avoid misrepresentation of the global real price by the US consumer price index.

- Generally, supply shocks are not an important cause of the price spikes. This result is in line with what would be expected because price spikes are very short-term fluctuations.

- This also indirectly implies that declines in stock that may in fact aggravate the effect of supply shocks do not adequately explain the emergence of food price spikes.

- As hypothesized, a market factor—excessive speculation—has significantly driven the extreme spikes seen in global food price dynamics.

SOLVENCY / ADVOCACY

International markets cannot work without adequate public stocks

Ian McCreary 2011. (economist and former director of the Canadian Wheat Board) Canadian Foodgrains Bank Occasional Paper, Canadian Foodgrains Bank, Mar 2011, <http://foodgrainsbank.ca/uploads/Food%20Security%20Price%20Volatility%20and%20Policy%20Responses-%20final%20-%2025%20March%2011.pdf>

Recent moves by China and Middle Eastern importers to look for regions in Africa where land can be contracted for long term production is a sign of this loss of confidence in international markets. All importers need to know that the international marketplace will be there with adequate supplies if they are to move away from the self sufficiency policies. Given that food is required daily and produced seasonally, it is difficult to understand how international trade proponents can expect a food trading system to work without adequate stocks. Private stock holding will not be adequate. By definition, demand must adjust in the event that there are supply shortfalls. In the absence of adequate stocks, this means that people need to eat less.

An international coordinated global food reserve would protect countries from unexpected market shocks

Dr. Joachim von Braun 2009. (PhD in agricultural economics from University of Göttingen, Germany; Director General of the International Food Policy Research Institute) Eliminating Drastic Food Price Spikes 11 Mar 2009 <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/eliminating-drastic-food-price-spikes>

A new international coordinated global food reserve. The end result of the recent grain crisis is the collapse of confidence in the international grain market, with many countries now trying to achieve grain self-sufficiency and rebuild their own public reserves. While the motivation of each country is justifiable, the result will be a very inefficient global production system, a large total global reserve, and a very thin global grain market. In this case, if a country encounters an unexpected shock to its demand or supply which is larger than its public reserves, not only will its domestic price surge, but also any attempts to import grain from a thin global market will cause the global market price to surge. A food crisis akin to the recent one may not be avoidable by individual country action alone. It is imperative, therefore, to find a way to coordinate each country’s efforts and to restore confidence in international grain market.

Mandate 2 Inherency + Advocacy: Status Quo fails to develop an international reserve, which is bad because that would be much less expensive than a proliferation of emergency and national reserves

Ian McCreary 2011. (economist and former director of the Canadian Wheat Board) Canadian Foodgrains Bank Occasional Paper, Canadian Foodgrains Bank, Mar 2011, <http://foodgrainsbank.ca/uploads/Food%20Security%20Price%20Volatility%20and%20Policy%20Responses-%20final%20-%2025%20March%2011.pdf>

The failure of the international community to develop a modern form of international food reserves will result in the proliferation of emergency food reserves and national reserves to insulate individual markets or groups of consumers from market volatility. This approach will be very expensive as vulnerable households and consumer groups exist in every nation and the volume of reserves required in this form will be much larger and more expensive than a coordinated system of international grain reserves.

International grain reserve should be established under the UN to intervene in the market

Dr. Joachim von Braun 2009. (PhD in agricultural economics from University of Göttingen, Germany; Director General of the International Food Policy Research Institute) Eliminating Drastic Food Price Spikes 11 Mar 2009 <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/eliminating-drastic-food-price-spikes>

While the specific features for a new international coordinated effort could be further discussed we propose that there should be an agreement under the auspices of the United Nations that each member country (from The Club) will hold a certain amount of public grain reserve in addition to the pipeline stock that the private sector holds for commercial operations. Although the exact amount of public reserve that each country holds is a subject for study, it will not be too large as a percentage of its domestic grain demand annually. These reserves would be drawn upon by the high-level technical commission only when needed for intervention in the spot market.

“Virtual Fund” would divert grain speculators from the market

Dr. Joachim von Braun 2009. (PhD in agricultural economics from University of Göttingen, Germany; Director General of the International Food Policy Research Institute) Eliminating Drastic Food Price Spikes 11 Mar 2009 <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/eliminating-drastic-food-price-spikes>

The innovative concept behind the virtual reserve is the signal that it gives to markets, including speculators. Its presence alone is likely to divert speculators from entering this market. Nonetheless, the commission must be ready to trade grain when necessary and to assume the costs if in the future it must buy back contracts at a higher price than it sold them for. Preliminary estimates show that for the virtual reserve to be a credible signal, the fund should be US$12–20 billion. A fund of this size might cover 30 to 50 percent of normal grain trade volume. Determining the exact size of this fund will require further analysis, however, because commodity futures markets allow for high levels of leverage.

Details on how the virtual reserve would work

Dr. Joachim von Braun 2010. (PhD in agricultural economics from University of Göttingen, Germany; Director General of the International Food Policy Research Institute) 25 Aug 2010 'Price Increases Are Costing Millions of People their Health' interview in DER SPIEGEL magazine <http://www.spiegel.de/international/business/the-dangers-of-agricultural-speculation-price-increases-are-costing-millions-of-people-their-health-a-713456.html>

The virtual grain reserve could consist of a capital fund in the vicinity of $20 to 30 billion (about €15 to 24 billion), which could be used in crisis. For instances, when prices go haywire, this club would buy futures contracts on all the major exchanges, in Chicago, London and Paris. The money in this fund would be sufficient to buy about half of the wheat, rice and corn being traded internationally, products which are critical for poor people. In other words, the club would assume the role of a central bank for the world's grain.

Details on how virtual reserve solves for price volatility

Dr. Joachim von Braun and Dr. Maximo Torero 2008.(von Braun - PhD in agricultural economics from University of Göttingen, Germany; Director General of the International Food Policy Research Institute. Torero - PhD economics UCLA; Division Director of the Markets, Trade, and Institutions Division at the International Food Policy Research Institute) Physical and Virtual Global Food Reserves to Protect the Poor and Prevent Market Failure , June 2008 <http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/bp004.pdf>

This commission, which could be appointed by the group of participating countries on a permanent basis, would depend on a “global intelligence unit” to trigger the alarm that prices are significantly above their estimated dynamic price band (that is, lower and upper price limits) based on market fundamentals, and that intervention is needed. The intervention would consist of executing a number of silent short sells over a specific period of time (that is, selling a firm promise—or a futures contract—to deliver grain at a later date at the specified price) in futures markets around the world at a price lower than the current spot price. The global intelligence unit would recommend the price or series of prices to be offered in the short sells, which should move smoothly toward the upper limit of the estimated price band. This increase in the supply of future sells (short) should lower spot prices and minimize speculative attacks. In other words, the virtual fund will come into play only if there is a need to realize the future sells, in which case the fund will be used to obtain the necessary grains to comply and calm the markets. Usually, this action would not be necessary and the whole operation would stay virtual.

“Virtual Reserve” would counter excess speculation in futures market and ease price fluctuations

Dr. N. Hassan Wirajuda 2008. (MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA) Talking Point at the High Level Event on the Food and Climate Change Crisis, New York, 25 September 2008, published by Consulate of Indonesia, Frankfurt-Am-Main, Germany, <http://www.indonesia-frankfurt.de/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=110%3Atalking-point-at-the-high-level-event-on-the-food-and-climate-change-crisis-new-york-25-september-2008&catid=47&lang=id>

Mr. Secretary General, your proposal for a “virtual grain reserve” is indeed interesting. With the changing nature of today’s food economy, the ability to ease sharp price fluctuations for major staples is important. A virtual grain reserve can be useful to counter balance excessive speculation in the commodity futures market, considering that grains are increasingly used as commodity-based financial instruments in portfolio investments.

Advocacy: Arthur C. Yap, former Agriculture Secretary of the Philippines, recommends UN-managed global food reserve

Jennifer Ng 2010. (journalist) 29 Aug 2010 “FAO committee meets to tackle global and regional food reserves” BUSINESS MIRROR (Philippines newspaper) <http://businessmirror.com.ph/home/53-agri-commodities/608-fao-committee-meets-to-tackle-global-and-regional-food-reserves>

The head of the CFS noted that it was the Philippines that pushed for the set-up of a global food reserve during the 2008 High Level Conference on World Food Security organized by FAO in Rome. Former Agriculture Secretary Arthur C. Yap had proposed that the food reserve will be run by the United Nations and that participation will be on a “voluntary basis,” with actual food inventories stocked or kept in countries and regions projected to experience shortfalls for immediate access in times of need. The Philippines was one of the countries that bore the brunt of the volatility of commodity prices in 2008 when it paid for more than $1,000 per metric ton of imported rice. Apart from imported rice, local farmers had to contend with high fertilizer prices due to the high cost of imported petroleum.

Food reserves will be critical to managing food volatility and allowing rapid response to future crises

Oxfam 2012. (an international confederation of 15 non-governmental organizations working in 90 countries; originally founded in Oxford, UK, in 1942 as the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief ) Food Crisis in the Sahel, 6 Apr 2012 <http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/ib-food-crisis-sahel-09042012-en.pdf>

Firstly, with food often available on the market but inaccessible due to high prices, developing food reserves in vulnerable regions will be critical not only in enhancing access to affordable stocks in order to rapidly respond to future crises, but also to help governments prevent and manage food price volatility. ECOWAS recently committed to defining a regulatory framework for the development of a regional system of food reserves, a process that should be supported by donors, including at the G20 meeting in June 2012. Secondly, national policies and programmes promoting social protection measures and social safety nets are needed for the most vulnerable people and communities, especially children, pregnant and breastfeeding women and the elderly. This will increase the long-term resilience of households, improve the nutrition of children, pregnant and breastfeeding women, and lessen the impact of the future droughts.

Food reserve stocks solve price volatility, but they have to be coordinated by international agreement

Benoit Daviron & the UN High Level Panel of Experts 2011. (lead author; team leader, High level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition (HLPE), Project Team, UN Committee on World Food Security. The other members of the project team were: Niama Nango Dembele, Sophia Murphy and Shahidur Rashid) “Price Volatility and Food Security” - A report by the High Level Panel of Experts On Food Security and Nutrition, July 2011 <http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/hlpe/hlpe_documents/HLPE-price-volatility-and-food-security-report-July-2011.pdf>

2. Stocks: The relationship between stock levels and price volatility is well established: low stocks are strongly associated with price spikes and volatility. It is likely that some international coordination of stocks would also make an important contribution to restoring confidence in international markets.. Empirically, a minimum level of world stocks seems to be a sufficient condition to avoid price spikes. Experience also shows that, in a crisis, access to financing mechanisms may not secure stocks during supply shortages. Past experience shows that managing world stocks for price stability is difficult as this requires intergovernment cooperation and information. This needs international agreement regarding complex issues - among other issues - when to stock, governance of the systems, location, coordination and ensuring that the stocks reach those who need it most.

Grain reserves are a relatively cheap way to insure against market failure and resulting starvation

Sophia Murphy 2010. (senior advisor to the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (a non-profit organization that researches international agriculture policies) on trade, food security and global governance issues ) Grain Reserves: A Smart Climate Adaptation Policy, Institute for Agriculture & Trade Policy, 1 Dec 2010 <http://www.iatp.org/documents/grain-reserves-a-smart-climate-adaptation-policy>

Given the challenges posed by climate change, here is an idea that makes a lot of sense: grain reserves. Why? Because grain reserves are a relatively cheap public insurance policy in the face of tremendous uncertainty, when the risks of failure include starvation. Governments can use a reserves policy to invest in storage and transportation infrastructure; to work with the private sector to cover gaps and market failures; to provide farmers with guarantees that encourage investment; and to increase transparency to discourage hoarding and speculation. Confronted with the reality of climate change, governments must take a smarter approach towards managing our food supply. Grain reserves have an impressive pedigree. For thousands of years, households and governments have stored some of each harvest as an insurance against the uncertainties of the next. Food reserves respond to inherent characteristics of agriculture, particularly the presence of relatively constant, inelastic demand coupled with much more variable short-term supply. Unregulated agricultural markets often over-produce, leading to a pattern of many years of declining prices, interrupted by short, sharp, upward spikes. Food reserves can lessen the unwanted consequences of unstable agricultural markets.

We need international food stocks: Restores confidence in markets and reduces price volatility

Benoit Daviron 2011. (lead author; team leader, High level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition (HLPE), Project Team, UN Committee on World Food Security. The other members of the project team were: Niama Nango Dembele, Sophia Murphy and Shahidur Rashid) “Price Volatility and Food Security” - A report by the High Level Panel of Experts On Food Security and Nutrition, July 2011 <http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/hlpe/hlpe_documents/HLPE-price-volatility-and-food-security-report-July-2011.pdf> (brackets in original)

Stocks: The relationship between stock levels and price volatility is well established: low stocks are strongly associated with price spikes and volatility. It is likely that some international coordination of stocks would also make an important contribution to restoring confidence in international markets.. Empirically, a minimum level of world stocks seems to be a sufficient condition to avoid price spikes. Experience also shows that, in a crisis, access to financing mechanisms may not secure stocks during supply shortages. Past experience shows that managing world stocks for price stability is difficult as this requires intergovernment cooperation and information. This needs international agreement regarding complex issues - among other issues - when to stock, governance of the systems, location, coordination and ensuring that the stocks reach those who need it most. a. The current context is different from the past, therefore, it is recommended that the CFS continues to explore forms of international cooperation regarding world food stocks and food security including the establishment of guidelines for the efficient management of such stocks. b. Better and transparent information systems are essential for policy decisions and management of stocks. The [AMIS] system proposed by the Inter-agency Report for the G20 is welcomed.

SOLVENCY: Some nations are trying national food reserves, but a coordinated international effort would be better

INHERENCY: International donors are resisting regional food reserve integration

Timothy Wise & Sophia Murphy 2012. (Wise - Director of the Research and Policy Program at the Global Development and Environment Institute at Tufts University. Murphy - senior advisor to Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy’s Trade and Global Governance program) Resolving the Food Crisis: Assessing Global Policy Reforms Since 2007, Jan 2012, <http://www.ase.tufts.edu/gdae/Pubs/rp/ResolvingFoodCrisis.pdf?utm_source=SRFood+Newsletter&utm_campaign=e512da1b14-2012-0206_Taking_back_globalization_in_Davos&utm_medium=email>

Similarly, Bangladesh and other countries used food reserves to reduce the impact of the food-price spikes, in far more ambitious efforts than the G-20 is proposing to support in West Africa. In fact, national food reserves are again increasingly common, and some are proposing more ambitious regional initiatives to improve, not distort, trade (see, for example, Timmer 2010). While a more coordinated international effort would be less costly and more comprehensive, these are initiatives national governments can undertake on their own. So too are efforts to promote regional integration, which are too often met with resistance by international donors more interested in globalized markets and willing to rely on humanitarian aid and social safety nets rather than structural change to eradicate poverty (Mousseau 2011).

Plan Advocate Joachim von Braun is highly qualified

Center for Development Research 2012. (German initials are ZEF. Research institute affiliated with the Univ. of Bonn, Germany) Quote begins correctly with a lower case letter. <http://www.zef.de/staff/793.html>

von Braun is an economist, with a Doctoral degree in agricultural economics from University of Göttingen, Germany. He joined ZEF as Professor and Director of the Department for Economic and Technological Change in December 2009. He was also Director at ZEF during its foundation phase 1997-2002. Before returning to ZEF, von Braun was Director General of the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) based in Washington, DC, U.S.A. 2002 to 2009. von Braun also has been Professor for Food Economics and Policy at Kiel University, Germany. His research addresses international development economics topics, incl. markets and trade; poverty; health and nutrition; science and technology. von Braun serves on various boards of publishers of journals, as well as national and international advisory bodies of research and policy organizations. 2000-03 he was President of the International Association of Agricultural Economists (IAAE), he is member of the Academy of Science of North-Rhine Westphalia, of the German Academy of Science and Engineering (acatech), and Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences; among awards received by von Braun are a honorary Doctoral degree from University of Hohenheim, and the Bertebos Prize of the Swedish Academy of Agricultural Sciences for his research on food security, and the Justus von Liebig Prize for his research on international nutrition.

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

“Higher food prices help farmers” - Response: Net impact is negative, more people are harmed than helped

Dr. Joachim von Braun and Dr. Getaw Tadesse 2012. (von Braun - PhD in agricultural economics from University of Göttingen, Germany; Director General of the International Food Policy Research Institute. . Tadesse - PhD; post-doctoral fellow with International Food Policy Research Institute; also known as Getaw Tadesse Gebreyohanes) Global Food Price Volatility and Spikes: An Overview of Costs, Causes, and Solutions, ZEF- Discussion Papers on Development Policy No. 161, Center for Development Research, Bonn, January 2012 <http://www.zef.de/fileadmin/webfiles/downloads/zef_dp/zef_dp_161.pdf>

A recent World Bank simulation suggests that the 2011 food price hike has pushed 68 million people into poverty and pulled 24 million people out of poverty, a net increase of 44 million poor people (Ivanic et al. 2011). Household-level analyses also suggest that – as expected - poor consumers are affected much more than rich households. An 11-country study of the impacts of high food prices shows that the poorest households, in both urban and rural areas, are the worst affected (Zezza et al. 2008). An increase in food prices often constitutes a transfer from the large majority of consumers to a minority of producers and results in an overall increase in poverty.

4. 2A EVIDENCE: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL

TOPICALITY + ADVOCACY + AFFIRMATIVE PHILOSOPHY

UN human rights system reform is key to UN reform

David Matas 2009. (attorney; Senior Legal Counsel, B’nai Brith Canada) Reforming the “Reformed” United Nations Human Rights Council, May 2009, Institute for International Affairs of B’nai Brith Canada, a Jewish human rights advocacy group, <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/files/11052009.pdf>

Walking away from the UN, saying nothing about the malfunctioning of the UN, means turning a blind eye to its victimization of the Jewish state and its envenoming of the conflict in the Middle East. The call for UN reform focuses attention on its incitement to hatred against the Jewish state and the Jewish people. UN reform advocacy is a call for global solidarity in protest against the victimization of the Jewish state and the Jewish people. At the end of the day, UN reform will be achieved through public awareness and mobilization. Unless a functioning UN human rights system is promoted by the human rights community and endorsed by humanity at large, the UN's ideals will wither. When we put aside UN reform because those in charge are little interested, we ignore our most crucial support, the public, in the struggle for respect for human rights. Mobilize global humanity behind UN human rights reform and eventually the UN itself will follow.

Human Rights Council reform is a critical element of overall UN reform

Luisa Blanchfield 2011. (Specialist in International Relations, Congressional Research Service) “|The United Nations Human Rights Council: Issues for Congress” 15 Nov 2011 <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33608.pdf>

The United States also viewed the Council as a critical element of overall U.N. reform. The Bush Administration identified the establishment of a new Council as a key reform priority necessary to achieve a “strong, effective, and accountable organization.” Congress also identified U.N. human rights reform as a significant component of overall U.N. reform. Recent proposed legislation has linked payment of U.N. assessed dues with the fulfillment of specific reforms, including those involving human rights and the Human Rights Council.

INHERENCY

How the UNHRC operates: Geographic distribution of 47 seats

Jo Becker 2009. (Pulitzer prize-winning journalist, investigative reporter for The New York Times) UN Human Rights Council: Defeating the Election of Human Rights Abusers (ethical disclosure on the date: The article has no formal date, but internally it references the time frame for its research as being current as of mid-2009) <http://ducis.jhfc.duke.edu/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Defeating-the-Election-of-Human-Rights-Abusers-for-the-UN-Human-Rights-Council.pdf>

The 47 seats on the Council are distributed geographically, with 13 seats for Africa, 13 for Asia, six for Eastern Europe, eight for Latin America and the Caribbean, and seven for Western Europe and Other Countries (which included the United States, Canada, and Israel). Each year, one-third of Council members are elected to three-year terms. Each can run for re-election for a second term, but then must go off the Council for at least one year before running again.

The specific reforms of this plan (Membership Criteria and Stop Bashing Israel) were considered and rejected by the UN

Anne Bayefsky 2011. (B.A., M.A. and LL.B. from the University of Toronto and an M.Litt. from Oxford University; served as the director of York's Centre for Refugee Studies, project director for the university's Human Rights Treaty Study; has served as a member of Canadian delegations to the UN Human Rights Commissions, the UN General Assembly, and the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights) 20 June 2011 “Obama’s efforts to reform the UN Human Rights Council have failed miserably” CANADA FREE PRESS (ellipses in original) <http://www.canadafreepress.com/index.php/article/37712>

Even as late as March 25 of this year, a poker-faced administration spokesperson said: “The United States… looks forward to working with UN member states as the HRC review process continues in New York. There is still room to… ensure greater scrutiny of the human rights records of candidates for election to this body.” ON FRIDAY, those promises were shown to be utterly fraudulent. Every major recommendation that American negotiators made over a process spanning many months, including instituting membership criteria and changing the discriminatory anti-Israel agenda, was rejected. Only four states voted in the GA against the outcome of the non-reform reform: Israel, the United States, Canada and Palau.

When the HRC was first formed in 2006, the US pushed for, but failed to win, the membership criteria

Scott R. Lyons 2006. (legal analyst and project manager for the American Bar Association's Central European and Eurasian Law Initiative (ABA/CEELI); former Institute Scholar for the Law, Peace Negotiations and War Crimes Institute and Peace Fellow for the Public International Law and Policy Group) “The New United Nations Human Rights Council “ 27 Mar 2006 American Society of International Law, ASIL INSIGHTS, <http://www.asil.org/insights060327.cfm>

John Bolton, the United States Permanent Representative to the UN, voiced strong opposition and voted against the proposal because the compromise included a fundamental concession among the many problems in the view of the U.S.: the text dropped the requirement for election to the Council from a minimum two-thirds of UN Member States present and voting, to a simple majority of all Member States. The U.S. argued that this provision, along with the failure to include a clause excluding States sanctioned for human rights abuses by the Security Council, may permit abusive regimes to participate in the Human Rights Council.

Description of UNHRC Status Quo membership policies

Luisa Blanchfield 2011. (Specialist in International Relations, Congressional Research Service) “|The United Nations Human Rights Council: Issues for Congress” 15 Nov 2011 <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33608.pdf>

The Council comprises 47 members apportioned by geographic region as follows: 13 from African states; 13 from Asian states; 6 from Eastern Europe states; 8 from Latin America and the Caribbean states; and 7 from Western European and other states. Members are elected for a period of three years and may not hold a Council seat for more than two consecutive terms. If a Council member commits “gross and systematic violations of human rights,” the General Assembly may suspend membership with a two-thirds vote of members present. (To date, the Assembly has suspended the membership of one country, Libya.)

Reform of the old UN Human Rights Commission into the new UN Human Rights Council didn’t work

Ambassador Terry Miller 2011. ( Director of the Center for International Trade and Economics (CITE) and the Mark A. Kolokotrones Fellow in Economic Freedom at The Heritage Foundation; former Ambassador to the United Nations Economic and Social Council; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Global Issues) March 3, 2011, Reform of the United Nations: Lessons Learned <http://www.heritage.org/research/testimony/2011/03/united-nations-reform-lessons-learned>

The George W. Bush Administration sought real reform in 2005, arguing for a smaller body with rigorous membership criteria that would exclude countries with poor human rights records from membership. It wanted a Council that would focus on actual violations of human rights and leave discussions of thematic issues to the U.N. General Assembly. In the negotiations that year, one might have expected regimes such as Cuba or Libya to oppose real reform, and they did. What was more puzzling was the willingness of major human rights non-governmental organizations to accept only cosmetic changes to a system they had acknowledged was failing. Many actually indicated that they respected the ambition of the U.S. reforms, but so captured had they become by the system that they were willing to agree to almost any compromise or fig leaf of reform to preserve the status quo. In the end, the U.N. abolished the Commission on Human Rights and replaced it with a new Human Rights Council with almost the same membership and responsibilities. This was heralded by the U.N. as launching a new era of cooperation in support of human rights, but in fact, almost the only thing that had happened was that more resources were poured into existing mechanisms or almost identical replacements.

Commission reforms failed: The new Council is even worse than the old Commission

David Matas 2009. (attorney; Senior Legal Counsel, B’nai Brith Canada) Reforming the “Reformed” United Nations Human Rights Council, May 2009, Institute for International Affairs of B’nai Brith Canada, a Jewish human rights advocacy group, <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/files/11052009.pdf>

The need to protect the UN human rights system from being overwhelmed by anti-Zionism got overtaken by other agendas. Whatever triggered the reform, the reform movement was captured by people who paid little mind to why the reform movement had started. There is a direct correlation between the reforms – from changes to size, the number of votes needed for convening a special session, shifts in numbers of regional blocs, to the frequency of sessions - and the malfunctioning of the Council. In the end, these reforms made matters worse because the states running the Council had little political interest in an effective human rights body.

“Review” policy doesn’t solve: just kicks reconsideration down the road 10-15 years

Anne Bayefsky 2011. (B.A., M.A. and LL.B. from the University of Toronto and an M.Litt. from Oxford University; served as the director of York's Centre for Refugee Studies, project director for the university's Human Rights Treaty Study; has served as a member of Canadian delegations to the UN Human Rights Commissions, the UN General Assembly, and the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights) 20 June 2011 “Obama’s efforts to reform the UN Human Rights Council have failed miserably” CANADA FREE PRESS <http://www.canadafreepress.com/index.php/article/37712>

The council was the “reformed” version of the UN Human Rights Commission, which once flaunted a Libyan chair. The Bush administration and its UN ambassador John Bolton opposed this 2006 “reform” on the grounds that the changes were superficial and there were no membership criteria for election to what was, after all, the UN’s top human rights body. The European Union, however, was bought off by including a five-year review plan. That review ended Friday with the adoption of a GA resolution that kicked any further reconsideration down the road “10-15 years.”

New Council operates just like the old Commission: bash Israel, wrong focus, and no membership criteria

Ambassador Terry Miller 2011. ( Director of the Center for International Trade and Economics (CITE) and the Mark A. Kolokotrones Fellow in Economic Freedom at The Heritage Foundation; former Ambassador to the United Nations Economic and Social Council; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Global Issues) March 3, 2011, Reform of the United Nations: Lessons Learned <http://www.heritage.org/research/testimony/2011/03/united-nations-reform-lessons-learned>

Not surprisingly, the new Council operated in a fashion almost identical to the old Commission on Human Rights—the same focus on Israel, the same emphasis on so-called economic, social and cultural rights, and the same list of members dominated by countries with questionable human rights records. What was much more surprising was the decision by the Obama Administration, despite these problems, to rejoin the Council.

Status Quo membership criteria not adequate

Deborah Brown 2012.( first Leo Nevas Human Rights Fellow of the UNA-USA, a program of the United Nations Foundation; BA in political science and human rights from Barnard College’ MA Democracy and Governance and Arab Studies from Georgetown Univ) 19 Jan 2012 The Human Rights Council and Libya: an historic precedent and missed opportunity, published by Institute for the Study of Human Rights, <http://blogs.cuit.columbia.edu/rightsviews/2012/01/19/the-human-rights-council-and-libya-an-historic-precedent-and-missed-opportunity/>

According to the resolution establishing the HRC, “members elected to the Council shall uphold the highest standards in the promotion and protection of human rights [and] shall fully cooperate with the Council.” The problem is that these criteria are aspirational and are enforced only by the voting choices made by UN member states at the General Assembly, which are supposed to take into account the human rights records and voluntary pledges of candidates in annual elections. The reality is that because the membership criteria are not enforceable, states often vote according to political considerations, which explains how Libya (not to mention China, Russia, and Saudi Arabia) was elected to the HRC in the first place.

MINOR REPAIR Response. “Just ignore it” - Response: Council has worldwide influence on public opinion

David Matas 2009. (attorney; Senior Legal Counsel, B’nai Brith Canada) Reforming the “Reformed” United Nations Human Rights Council, May 2009, Institute for International Affairs of B’nai Brith Canada, a Jewish human rights advocacy group, <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/files/11052009.pdf>

If the Council were a world unto itself, ignoring the Council might make sense. But the invective inside the Council chambers reverberates around the world. Anti-Zionists, like hate promoters everywhere, try to manipulate established institutions, to give credibility to their incitement. We see this pattern with universities and libraries. It is no different with the United Nations. When outsiders hear that an arm of the United Nations condemns Israel, many are not sophisticated enough to know that this condemnation is a manoeuvre orchestrated by the enemies of Israel. They take the condemnation as an indication that Israel has done something wrong. The UN manipulation puts wind in the sails of anti-Zionism; it increases the sympathy for the anti-Zionist cause around the world.

FAILURES

Would be funny if it weren’t sad: Genocidal Sudanese warlord regime nominated for seat on the HRC

Joshua Rhett Miller 2012. (journalist) 8 Aug 2012 FOX NEWS “Genocidal Sudanese regime's appointment to UN human rights council all but certain, watchdog says“ <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2012/08/08/sudan-election-to-un-human-rights-council-all-but-certain-watchdog-says/>

The election of a Sudanese warlord accused of genocide to the United Nations Human Rights Council is now virtually guaranteed, since he has the full backing of the world body's African delegation. The International Criminal Court has issued a warrant for Omar Al-Bashir -- its first ever for a sitting head of state -- for crimes against humanity he allegedly committed in Darfur. Yet, his regime is set to take its place on the panel, in the latest bizarre appointment to make a mockery of the UN's human rights credibility, according to critics. It's like putting “Jack the Ripper in charge of a women’s shelter,” said Hillel Neuer, executive director of UN Watch.

Evil dictators encouraged. Before he was overthrown and killed by his own people, Libya’s dictator-for-life Muammar Qaddafi received generous praise from the UNHRC.

Tom Kuntz 2011. (journalist) NEW YORK TIMES 5 Mar 2011 “Libya’s Late, Great Rights Record” <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/06/weekinreview/06libya.html>

Until Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi’s violent suppression of unrest in recent weeks, the United Nations Human Rights Council was kind in its judgment of Libya. In January, it produced a draft report on the country that reads like an international roll call of fulsome praise, when not delicately suggesting improvements. Evidently, within the 47-nation council, some pots are loath to call kettles black, at least until events force their hand.

UNHRC is ineffective due to bad countries getting elected as members

Lula Ahrens 2010. (journalist) RADIO NETHERLANDS, “UN Human Rights Council faces the same criticism as its predecessor” 21 May 2010 <http://www.rnw.nl/international-justice/article/un-human-rights-council-faces-same-criticism-its-predecessor>

Both International Rights Professor Menno Kamminga and political scientist Dick Leurdijk say the UN Human Rights Council is largely “ineffective,” which they blame primarily on the increased number of non-Western members with bad human rights records such as China, Cuba and Jordan. “Without paying too much tribute to the Western countries - their human rights record isn't flawless either - the new make-up hasn't contributed to the council's human rights record. The trend is towards members saying 'If you don't criticize me, I won't criticize you either,” Kamminga told Radio Netherlands Worldwide. “It's a problem that cannot be solved, Leurdijk says, “because of the nature of the UN”. “The UN system entails that every country can become a member.”

UNHRC programs promote the destruction of Israel

Anne Bayefsky 2012. (B.A., M.A. and LL.B. from the University of Toronto and an M.Litt. from Oxford Univ.; served as the director of York's Centre for Refugee Studies, project director for the university's Human Rights Treaty Study; served as a member of Canadian delegations to the UN Human Rights Commission, the UN General Assembly, and the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights) 26 June 2012 “A Hamas Victory at the UN Human Rights Council” (ellipses in original) <http://www.algemeiner.com/2012/06/26/a-hamas-victory-at-the-un-human-rights-council/>

There was the pamphlet with this bigoted diatribe: “a racist ideology is inherent in political Zionism and… is being implemented as a political project by the state of Israel. Political Zionism idealizes and advances a racist and chauvinistic… religion and nationalism.” And there was the map with the word “Palestine” splashed across the entirety of what is now Israel. Advocating the elimination of a UN member state, the most elementary violation of the UN Charter, is evidently acceptable literature in the belly of the UN human rights beast. A third handout, entitled “Apartheid against Palestinians,” analogized Israelis to Nazis: “The Israeli regime is based on… race and religious supremacy… Modern nation states formed through these corrosive ideals scarred the 20th century, including in Germany and the South African apartheid regime.” This is the second time in two consecutive sessions of the Human Rights Council that Hamas and its messengers have been allowed into the UN fold.

UN condemnations of Israel make peace harder to achieve

David Matas 2009. (attorney; Senior Legal Counsel, B’nai Brith Canada) Reforming the “Reformed” United Nations Human Rights Council, May 2009, Institute for International Affairs of B’nai Brith Canada, a Jewish human rights advocacy group, <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/files/11052009.pdf>

UN condemnations more than just reflect that anti-Zionism that is a facet of state policy of so many countries in the world. United Nations sanction for this bigotry gives it a credibility it would not otherwise have. It provides propaganda fodder for anti-Zionists who portray the trumped up condemnations of Israel they ram through the Council as the voice of international law. It hardens the advocates of war with Israel in their negationist positions; it makes peace with Israel harder to achieve.

Anti-Zionism harms human rights victims by distracting the Council away from genuine problems

David Matas 2009. (attorney; Senior Legal Counsel, B’nai Brith Canada) Reforming the “Reformed” United Nations Human Rights Council, May 2009, Institute for International Affairs of B’nai Brith Canada, a Jewish human rights advocacy group, <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/files/11052009.pdf>

If we adopt a generalized global human rights perspective, while anti-Zionism is or should be a problem, corruption of UN human rights mechanisms is an even greater problem. From this perspective, the harm of anti-Zionism is not just the harm it does to the Jewish community. It is also the harm it does to human rights victims everywhere because, when the Council is monopolized wrongly to attack the Jewish state, it can not be used to combat real human rights violations.

Council has a regular agenda item dedicated specifically to Israel

David Matas 2009. (attorney; Senior Legal Counsel, B’nai Brith Canada) Reforming the “Reformed” United Nations Human Rights Council, May 2009, Institute for International Affairs of B’nai Brith Canada, a Jewish human rights advocacy group, <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/files/11052009.pdf>

Each Council session has two country agenda items. One is Israel. The other is all other countries. This duality shows the need for two reforms. One is abolishing the Israel-specific item. The second is getting the agenda item that allows for a focus on other countries to work more effectively.

HRC continuously bashes Israel

Anne Bayefsky 2011. (B.A., M.A. and LL.B. from the University of Toronto and an M.Litt. from Oxford University; served as the director of York's Centre for Refugee Studies, project director for the university's Human Rights Treaty Study; has served as a member of Canadian delegations to the UN Human Rights Commissions, the UN General Assembly, and the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights) 20 June 2011 “Obama’s efforts to reform the UN Human Rights Council have failed miserably” CANADA FREE PRESS <http://www.canadafreepress.com/index.php/article/37712>

With their actual human rights credentials off the table, council members adopted a fixed agenda of only a few items to govern their proceedings. One item is devoted to Israel alone and one to all other 191 UN member states. The Human Rights Commission spent 40 years adopting country-specific criticisms, a third of which condemned Israel. Fifty percent of the “reformed” council’s country-specific resolutions and decisions are devoted to Israel-bashing. There have been 12 special sessions in the last five years, and half of them have been on Israel alone. There has been only one “urgent debate” on a country – Israel. There have been more human rights reports commissioned on Israel than on any other state. And only one country is not allowed even to attend the lobbying and information-sharing regional meetings associated with the council sessions – Israel – while “Palestine” is invited to all of them.

SOLVENCY / ADVOCACY

Even if you’re not sure the reforms will work, we should at least try

David Matas 2009. (attorney; Senior Legal Counsel, B’nai Brith Canada) Reforming the “Reformed” United Nations Human Rights Council, May 2009, Institute for International Affairs of B’nai Brith Canada, a Jewish human rights advocacy group, <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/files/11052009.pdf>

There may be a tendency, when faced with the malfunction of the United Nations Human Rights Council, to note that malfunction with regret and move on. Yet the inability of the UN to deal effectively with human rights is too important an inability just to decry. What is wrong has to be made right. None of the options listed here may work, singly or together. But the importance of the goal means that we have to try.

Human Rights Council should defer consideration of Israel until a peace agreement has been reached

David Matas 2009. (attorney; Senior Legal Counsel, B’nai Brith Canada) Reforming the “Reformed” United Nations Human Rights Council, May 2009, Institute for International Affairs of B’nai Brith Canada, a Jewish human rights advocacy group, <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/files/11052009.pdf>

Security Council deferral, like all Security Council decisions, would require the acquiescence of the five permanent members - China, France, United Kingdom, the United States and Russia. These five would not have to vote in favour. But each would have to refrain from exercising the veto the state has. Given the general commitment to achieving peace in the Middle East, obtaining that acquiescence is arguably realistic. Recommendation: The Security Council should ask the Human Rights Council to defer consideration of all human rights violations in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza until Israel has reached a peace agreement with the other states in the region and the Palestinians.

Remove the “special agenda item” on Israel

David Matas 2009. (attorney; Senior Legal Counsel, B’nai Brith Canada) Reforming the “Reformed” United Nations Human Rights Council, May 2009, Institute for International Affairs of B’nai Brith Canada, a Jewish human rights advocacy group, <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/files/11052009.pdf>

Like other problems with the Council, the exclusive agenda item on Israel is an exemplification of the malfunctioning of the Council. If the Council were properly constituted, this separate Israel agenda item would not exist. The special agenda item on Israel is the symptom of a sick Council, not the cause of the disease. Removing this particular item would not remove the anti-Israel bias of the Council as long as the other manifestations of bias remain - the frequent special sessions on Israel, the parade of resolutions condemning Israel, the special mechanism asking someone to report specifically and only on what Israel has done wrong, excluding human rights violations by Palestinians against Israelis and against other Palestinians. Yet, the point needs to be made. In any indictment of the Council, this special agenda item on Israel should take pride of place. The sheer unlikelihood of the Council in the immediate future undoing what is has just done should not inure us to the enormity of their behaviour. We may not be able to change the behaviour of the Council; but we cannot afford to ignore or forget what they are doing. While the agenda item is there, it must be used, not to beat up on Israel but to remind the Council and the world how inappropriate it is to have this agenda item.

Every minute spent on bashing Israel is a minute not spent on real human rights violations

David Matas 2009. (attorney; Senior Legal Counsel, B’nai Brith Canada) Reforming the “Reformed” United Nations Human Rights Council, May 2009, Institute for International Affairs of B’nai Brith Canada, a Jewish human rights advocacy group, <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/files/11052009.pdf>

There is a link between accountability for human rights violations and ending human rights violations. Violations of human rights are indefensible. When states are held firmly and unequivocally to account for their violations, they back off and lessen the suffering. Every minute in the Human Rights Commission spent on Israel was a minute not spent on real human rights violators. In the later years of the Commission, anti-Zionism prolonged the suffering of victims of human rights violations everywhere.

UNHRC needs 2 key reforms: Stop focusing on Israel and fix membership problem

Luisa Blanchfield 2011. (Specialist in International Relations, Congressional Research Service) “|The United Nations Human Rights Council: Issues for Congress” 15 Nov 2011 <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33608.pdf>

The United States stated that the five-year review did not yield “even minimally positive results,” which forced it to “disassociate” itself from the outcome. U.S. representatives expressed particular concern regarding two key issues: (1) the Council’s focus on Israel, particularly the continued inclusion of a permanent item on the Council’s agenda addressing human rights in Palestine and other occupied Arab territories; and (2) the Council’s inability to address the “critical problem” of Council membership. (Many contend that the membership of widely perceived human rights abusers discredits the Council.)

Advocacy: Smaller council is more effective. Larger council = more inefficiency and diplomatic wrangling

Scott R. Lyons 2006. (legal analyst and project manager for the American Bar Association's Central European and Eurasian Law Initiative (ABA/CEELI); former Institute Scholar for the Law, Peace Negotiations and War Crimes Institute and Peace Fellow for the Public International Law and Policy Group) “The New United Nations Human Rights Council “ 27 Mar 2006 American Society of International Law, ASIL INSIGHTS, <http://www.asil.org/insights060327.cfm>

The Commission on Human Rights had 53 members, or over 25% of UN Member States. The U.S. continuously advocated that that number was too large to be effective, with Ambassador Bolton indicating a preference for 20 members in the new Council, and 30 as an absolute maximum. The new Council includes 47 members, which is a greater number than even than the original amount suggested by General Assembly President Eliasson. A larger Council increases the opportunity for small developing States to have access to the world stage. However, there is also a greater possibility of inefficiency and diplomatic wrangling.

Countries will change their vote to elect HRC members when they learn information about the human rights record of a candidate country

Jo Becker 2009. (Pulitzer prize-winning journalist, investigative reporter for The New York Times) UN Human Rights Council: Defeating the Election of Human Rights Abusers (ethical disclosure on the date: The article has no formal date, but internally it references the time frame for its research as being current as of mid-2009) <http://ducis.jhfc.duke.edu/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Defeating-the-Election-of-Human-Rights-Abusers-for-the-UN-Human-Rights-Council.pdf> (brackets added)

[NGO Coalition for an Effective Human Rights Council] Coalition members said that they were surprised at the shallow knowledge that many UN ambassadors had regarding the human rights records of candidates for the Human Rights Council. One African government told a Coalition member that they had changed several of their votes at the last moment as a specific result of the Coalition’s advocacy and the materials it had provided.

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

“Won’t be able to deal with legitimate violations by Israel” - Response: No doubt other forums will be used to criticize Israel after plan is enacted

David Matas 2009. (attorney; Senior Legal Counsel, B’nai Brith Canada) Reforming the “Reformed” United Nations Human Rights Council, May 2009, Institute for International Affairs of B’nai Brith Canada, a Jewish human rights advocacy group, <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/files/11052009.pdf>

Dropping consideration of Israel from the Council and its specialized mechanisms does not mean giving Israel a human rights free ride. There would, one can be sure, continue to be charges of human rights violations made against Israel whether those charges are levied within the Council walls or not. Avoiding the topic within the Council would be only a recognition that this silence is necessary for the Council itself to survive as a meaningful human rights body. Recommendation: The Human Rights Council should not address the human rights situation in Israel, the West Bank or Gaza as long as Israel remains at war with its anti-Zionist neighbours.

“Can’t solve legitimate problems in Israel” - Response: Israel bashing in Status Quo backfires and causes Israel to ignore any legitimate criticism

David Matas 2009. (attorney; Senior Legal Counsel, B’nai Brith Canada) Reforming the “Reformed” United Nations Human Rights Council, May 2009, Institute for International Affairs of B’nai Brith Canada, a Jewish human rights advocacy group, <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/files/11052009.pdf>

For Israel, it is all too easy to ignore whatever few kernels of truth there may be in the mountains of propaganda directed against it. For the Palestinian Authority and Israel's anti-Zionist neighbours, the silence of the United Nations Commission and Council about the victimization they cause has meant to them a license to keep on doing it.

5. 2A EVIDENCE: ABOLISH THE IMF

OPENING QUOTE / AFF PHILOSOPHY

Time to stop funding IMF

Dr. Don Boudreaux 2011. (PhD economics, Auburn Univ. Prof of economics at George Mason Univ) 19 May 2011 “Abolish the IMF” <http://cafehayek.com/2011/05/abolish-the-imf.html>

As my great teacher Leland Yeager observed, “self-important international bureaucracies have institutional incentives to invent new functions for themselves, to expand, and to keep client countries dependent on their aid.” Isn’t it time to close the window on funding for the IMF?

DEFINITIONS / HISTORY / BACKGROUND

History of IMF

The World Bank 2003. (The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank) A GUIDE TO THE WORLD BANK, <http://books.google.com/books?id=Pao6rPimHf4C&pg=PA29&lpg=PA29&dq=IMF+%22specialized+agency%22+%22United+nations%22&source=bl&ots=e8Nw9wJ8Sd&sig=Tk5OPgDVc3-QSyK0psCS3LdQA6Y&hl=en&sa=X&ei=rPsLULTwJIeu8QTP0aTTCg&ved=0CE0Q6AEwADgK#v=onepage&q=IMF%20%22specialized%20agency%22%20%22United%20nations%22&f=false>

The World Bank Group is an independent specialized agency of the United Nations, and it works in particularly close cooperation with another independent specialized U.N. agency, the IMF. These relationships are explained below (see also the history timeline in appendix B).

The Bretton Woods Institutions

The World Bank and the IMF were both established in 1944 at a conference of world leaders in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, with the aim of placing the international economy on a sound footing after World War II. As a result of their shared origin, the two entities -- the IMF and the expanded World Bank Group -- are sometimes referred to collectively as the Bretton Woods institutions.

IMF’s definition of itself

IMF Official Website, undated. <http://www.imf.org/external/about/overview.htm>

The IMF has 188 member countries. It is a specialized agency of the United Nations but has its own charter, governing structure, and finances. Its members are represented through a quota system broadly based on their relative size in the global economy.

IMF’s original reason to exist (stabilising currency exchange rates) disappeared in the 1970s

Patrick Welter 2007. (economics editor of the German daily, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. A graduate in economics; has worked and conducted research at the Univ of Cologne, Germany, and George Mason Univ in Fairfax, Virginia) Less is more! Future prospects for the International Monetary Fund, <http://www.fnf.org.ph/downloadables/Less%20is%20More.pdf>

The early 1970s witnessed the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system of fixed and theoretically adjustable exchange rates. The US closed the gold window and the value of the American dollar was no longer linked to gold. The transition to more or less flexible exchange rates brought to an end the IMF’s primary task of bailing out a country with balance of payments problems. When exchange rates are flexible, the problem of short-term balance of payment problems does not arise – if a country has a greater demand for imported goods (and therefore foreign currency) than foreigners have for the country’s local goods and local currency, the domestic currency depreciates, curbing domestic imports. In other words, the Fund was no longer needed.

IMF became an economic advisor by tying its lending to its advice

Analysis: This means that the IMF offers loans but puts conditions on the lending, so a country that borrows has to agree to certain changes in their government policies in order to get the loan

Patrick Welter 2007. (economics editor of the German daily, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. A graduate in economics; has worked and conducted research at the Univ of Cologne, Germany, and George Mason Univ in Fairfax, Virginia) Less is more! Future prospects for the International Monetary Fund, <http://www.fnf.org.ph/downloadables/Less%20is%20More.pdf>

But international organisations do not go down easily. On the lookout for a new task, the IMF increasingly took on the role of advisor on macroeconomic adjustment for (mainly) developing countries. Advice was tied to lending to make it easier for a country to implement the structural reforms and adjustments that it proposed.

How IMF lending works

Patrick Welter 2007. (economics editor of the German daily, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. A graduate in economics; has worked and conducted research at the Univ of Cologne, Germany, and George Mason Univ in Fairfax, Virginia) Less is more! Future prospects for the International Monetary Fund, <http://www.fnf.org.ph/downloadables/Less%20is%20More.pdf>

Imagine that you live beyond your means and are unable to pay your credit card bill. You raise a loan from a bank, which gives you money, provided you promise to pay back according to the repayment schedule. The IMF operates in a similar fashion. If governments and countries live beyond their means on borrowed money, it is only a matter of time before their creditors lose confidence, withdraw their capital and trigger a financial crisis. At this point, a government borrows money from the IMF. The Fund lends money on the condition that the government pledges to undertake economic reform.

FAILURES

IMF lends money in order to justify its own existence - it is not effective at promoting reform

Doug Bandow 2011. ( J.D., Stanford Univ; senior fellow at the Cato Institute, specializing in foreign policy and civil liberties; worked as special assistant to President Reagan ) “Shut Down the Wasteful IMF” 27 June 2011 <http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/shut-down-wasteful-imf>

Even when the organization pushes for sensible reform, it has rarely proved to be a tough taskmaster. Only a minority of borrowers reduced their need for aid; many nations were addicted to Fund programs for decades. New programs routinely followed old, failed ones. For example, Peru negotiated *seventeen* different programs between 1971 and 1977. Economist John Williamson pointed to the problem of the Fund feeling pressure "to lend money in order to justify having it."

Doomed bailouts: IMF borrowing to bailout the Greek welfare state cannot end well

Doug Bandow 2011. ( J.D., Stanford Univ; senior fellow at the Cato Institute, specializing in foreign policy and civil liberties; worked as special assistant to President Reagan ) “Shut Down the Wasteful IMF” 27 June 2011 <http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/shut-down-wasteful-imf>

It is an extraordinary spectacle. The U.S. and other improvident, irresponsible debt-laden countries provide money that they do not have to an international organization that produces nothing to lend to even more improvident, irresponsible debt-laden countries. The U.S. borrows money from China to lend to Greece to pay off German banks which financed the generous Greek welfare state. The outcome of this process cannot be good. Mr. Strauss-Kahn's travails have provided at least one important public service: focusing attention on the IMF. With America drowning in red ink, Washington must stop throwing good money after bad. The Fund would be a good place to start.

IMF can’t solve global financial crises - and their efforts to help actually increase crisis risks

Brett Schaefer and Anthony Kim 2007. (Schaaefer - Jay Kingham Fellow in International Regulatory Affairs at Heritage's Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom; master's degree in international development from the School of International Service at American University. Kim - Policy Analyst in Heritage's Center for International Trade and Economics; master's degree in international trade and investment policy from the Elliott School of International Affairs at the George Washington University) “The World Needs Less IMF, Not More” October 23, 2007 <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2007/10/the-world-needs-less-imf-not-more>

The days when an institution like the IMF can arrest serious global financial crises are waning or ended. It simply doesn't have enough money. Today's global markets facilitate the flow of trillions of dollars in private capital. In 2006, international net capital flows totaled more than $4 trillion, of which $650 billion went to developing countries. Global trade of goods and commercial services exceeded $14 trillion in 2006. The usable resources of the IMF, at less than $300 billion, are minimal in relation to international financial flows-certainly insufficient to counter private capital flows. Solving serious financial crises through IMF bailouts is simply no longer possible. Worse, attempts or implicit promises to perform such a role arguably increase market volatility and the likelihood of crisis by creating a moral hazard that encourages imprudent risk-taking by governments and investors.

Just talking about the possibility of IMF bailouts hurts reform efforts

Terry Miller 2012. (former ambassador to the United Nations Economic and Social Council; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Global Issues) 24 Jan 2012 Treasury Right to Reject Additional Funds for IMF <http://blog.heritage.org/2012/01/24/treasury-right-to-reject-additional-funds-for-imf/>

European nations have offered to channel about $200 billion of their own funds to themselves through the IMF (a kind of gentleman’s money-laundering to avoid restrictions in their own treaties). Lagarde wants others to add $300 billion to that kitty. The U.S. Treasury has said no, and rightly so. Replacing current euro-debt with IMF loans, no matter how rigorously structured, will only prolong the agony. The failing euro-zone economies need to get their fiscal and economic houses in order. That means reining in government spending now, not more debt, and aggressively pursuing economic policies such as labor market reforms that can ignite growth rather than paying lip service to growth as a throwaway line at the end of a speech. Even talking about the possibility of big IMF bailouts may be having a negative impact, because it suggests more time and more debt before real action is taken.

IMF bailouts make bankers more careless and guarantee more trouble

Alan Reynolds 2002. ( senior fellow with the Cato Institute; served as Research Director with National Commission on Tax Reform and Economic Growth, an advisor to the National Commission on the Cost of Higher Education, and as a member of the Office of Management & Budget transition team in 1981. His studies have been published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Joint Economic Committee, the Federal Reserve Banks of Atlanta and St. Louis) 29 Sept 2002, “When the IMF Extends an Embrace” <http://www.cato.org/pub_display.php?pub_id=3618>

IMF bailouts just make local politicians and their foreign bankers more careless, guaranteeing more trouble ahead. If the IMF has any legitimate role to play in preventing or fixing economic crises, it has yet to be demonstrated in practice.

Impact: Bailouts and reckless banking perpetuate financial crisis

Prof. Willem Buiter 2009. (Professor of European Political Economy, London School of Economics and Political Science; former chief economist of the EBRD, former external member of the MPC; adviser to international organisations, governments, central banks and private financial institution) 6 Mar 2009, “The Fed’s moral hazard maximizing strategy, FINANCIAL TIMES (London newspaper) <http://blogs.ft.com/maverecon/2009/03/the-feds-moral-hazard-maximising-strategy/>

I am deeply worried that other people may, as a result of this, be willing to do business with other U.S. financial institutions on the same ludicrous terms that brought us the current crisis. And why wouldn’t they be happy and relaxed about once again taking wild and crazy bets? They now know that, should their bets fail, in a crisis like this, there is some sucker-institution in Washington DC that will make sure that they don’t have to take some losses. Unless the counterparties pay the full price for their hubris and recklessness, they will be back for more.

IMF slows progress towards needed market reforms and promote more risky lending

Doug Bandow 2011. ( J.D., Stanford Univ; senior fellow at the Cato Institute, specializing in foreign policy and civil liberties; worked as special assistant to President Reagan ) “Shut Down the Wasteful IMF” 27 June 2011 <http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/shut-down-wasteful-imf>

There is an even more insidious problem with IMF lending. Many countries have moved unsteadily towards more market-oriented policies because they have suffered the consequences of disastrous economic failure. The day of reckoning finally came. Naturally, the IMF claims credit for today's reforms. But the organization likely has retarded the process. The Fund's financial assistance alone is unlikely to persuade governments otherwise lacking the will to reform. Loans can, however, undermine that commitment by reducing the financial pain caused by politically popular but economically harmful policies. Indeed, argued economist Roland Vaubel, "the prospect of cheap IMF lending is likely to generate a moral hazard by reducing the incentive to stay solvent. It would pay a potential borrower to pass the international means test." While governments rarely desire to wreck their economies, they do choose to take greater risks. In 1998 a report by the Joint Economic Committee noted: "Recent IMF lending and prospects for future lending not only reinforce existing risk-promoting incentives in emerging economies but also create incentives for additional risky lending by international financial institutions."

Link: IMF hurts US national interests by associating the US with oppressors

Dr. Marian Tupy 2003. (Marian L. Tupy is a policy analyst with the [Center for Global Liberty and Prosperity](http://www.cato.org/research/gel/index.html) specializing in the study of the political economy of Europe and sub-Saharan Africa) 22 Jan 2003, “Time to Reassess the Role of the IMF in the U.S. Foreign Policy” <http://www.cato.org/pub_display.php?pub_id=2962>

The United States should reevaluate its participation in the IMF. As far as its political and economic goals are concerned, the IMF is inimical to the U.S. national interest. It prevents the market mechanism from operating and encourages irresponsible behavior on the part of recipient governments and investors. It exacerbates the degree of economic adjustments and compromises both the free market and the reputation of the United States in the world. Instead of associating the United States with its natural allies -- the masses of hardworking people -- it associates America with their oppressors.

Impact: Our standing can play a fundamental role in the success or failure of US foreign policy

American Political Science Association, September 2009. APSA President Peter J. Katzenstein (prof. of International studies at Cornell University); APSA Chair Jeffrey W. Legro (professor in Dept of Politics at Univ of Virginia); US Standing in the World: Causes, Consequences, and the Future, Long Report of the Task Force on U.S. Standing in World Affairs <http://www.apsanet.org/media/PDFs/APSA_TF_USStanding_Long_Report.pdf> (VT)

First, recent history suggests that standing can play a fundamental role in the shaping of strategy. In the wake of the 9/11 attacks, President George W. Bush initiated a new national strategy for the United States that favored the credibility dimension of standing— emphasizing a policy package of assertive unilateralism, preventive use of force, and aggressive democratization. The administration achieved some initial successes, swiftly toppling the Taliban in Afghanistan, securing dismantlement of Libya’s nuclear program, and encouraging an apparent halt or slow-down in Iran’s nuclear weaponization program. Yet, over time, despite the lack of further terrorist attacks on U.S. soil, the Bush administration’s single-minded approach lost significant support at home and abroad, as the United States grew mired in Iraq, was accused of violations of international law, and drew international criticism and resentment—even as Osama bin Laden remained at large. The attendant declines in standing, in terms of both credibility and esteem, only made it harder for the United States to be effective in foreign affairs—prompting the Bush administration to take what some saw as a reverse course after 2005, returning to a posture that was more akin to the typical pattern of American internationalism since World War II.

IMF loans were disastrous for the Russian economy

Alan Reynolds 2002. ( senior fellow with the Cato Institute; served as Research Director with National Commission on Tax Reform and Economic Growth, an advisor to the National Commission on the Cost of Higher Education, and as a member of the Office of Management & Budget transition team in 1981. His studies have been published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Joint Economic Committee, the Federal Reserve Banks of Atlanta and St. Louis) 29 Sept 2002, “When the IMF Extends an Embrace” <http://www.cato.org/pub_display.php?pub_id=3618>

Russia was under the IMF's thumb from 1992 through 2000, with the customary disastrous effects. On July 16, 1998, Russia promised the IMF that "the federal government budget will target a primary surplus of at least 3 percent of GDP on the strength of tax policy measures" (including a new 5 percent sales tax and a 3 percent surcharge on tariffs). That pitiful economic suicide note succeeded in attracting another $21 billion of foreign loans, mostly from the IMF, but also in provoking a mass exodus of capital that pushed Russia into default and devaluation four weeks later. The economy shrank 5 percent.

ADVANTAGES / ADVOCACY

The IMF typically makes problems worse; it should be converted into a shopping mall and all its workers fired

Alan Reynolds 2002. ( senior fellow with the Cato Institute; served as Research Director with National Commission on Tax Reform and Economic Growth, an advisor to the National Commission on the Cost of Higher Education, and as a member of the Office of Management & Budget transition team in 1981. His studies have been published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Joint Economic Committee, the Federal Reserve Banks of Atlanta and St. Louis) 29 Sept 2002, “When the IMF Extends an Embrace” <http://www.cato.org/pub_display.php?pub_id=3618>

The world might be a far more pleasant place if someone would fire the IMF's 2,600 overpaid workers and convert their imposing office buildings into a gigantic shopping mall. The IMF appointed itself economic central planner for the world, devoted to righting what it calls "imbalances." During the economic flare-ups that always astonish them, however, IMF firefighters have an unfortunate tendency to try extinguishing the fire with gasoline.

After we close IMF, all those smart people who used to work there would be more productive elsewhere

Ian Vasquez 2009. (director of the Cato Institute's [Center for Global Liberty and Prosperity](http://www.cato.org/economicliberty/). He is a member of the Mont Pelerin Society and has been a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations; master’s degree from the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University) Quoted in interview with Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, “Does Economic Downturn Mean New Role, Or No Role, For IMF? <http://www.rferl.org/content/Does_Economic_Downturn_Mean_New_Role_Or_No_Role_For_IMF/1566497.html>

I don't think that the IMF actually has a role to play. I think that the world would be better off if we abolished the IMF. That doesn't mean that that army of economists and smart people who work there would suddenly disappear and we would lose that talent. It means that they would start working in other agencies, in some banks, and in other consulting agencies, and we would have a competitive situation where countries paid to get good advice, rather than the other way around, where the IMF pays its clients to take its advice. When you pay your clients to take your advice, you get perverse results.

Russia prospers when not under IMF influence

Alan Reynolds 2002. ( senior fellow with the Cato Institute; served as Research Director with National Commission on Tax Reform and Economic Growth, an advisor to the National Commission on the Cost of Higher Education, and as a member of the Office of Management & Budget transition team in 1981. His studies have been published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Joint Economic Committee, the Federal Reserve Banks of Atlanta and St. Louis) 29 Sept 2002, “When the IMF Extends an Embrace” <http://www.cato.org/pub_display.php?pub_id=3618>

Once free from the IMF program, however, the Putin government pulled Russia out of the IMF's suffocating squeeze. In 2001, Russia enacted a 13 percent flat tax on individual income (down from 30 percent), cut the corporate profits tax from 35 to 24 percent and cut payroll taxes by 4 points. With more incentive to work and less to evade taxes, the IMF reluctantly acknowledges that "tax performance has exceeded expectations across the board." For the past two years, Russia also enjoyed the world's largest stock market gains.

Countries that refuse IMF policies do fine. Success in other countries comes despite IMF meddling.

Alan Reynolds 2002. ( senior fellow with the Cato Institute; served as Research Director with National Commission on Tax Reform and Economic Growth, an advisor to the National Commission on the Cost of Higher Education, and as a member of the Office of Management & Budget transition team in 1981. His studies have been published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Joint Economic Committee, the Federal Reserve Banks of Atlanta and St. Louis) 29 Sept 2002, “When the IMF Extends an Embrace” http://www.cato.org/pub\_display.php?pub\_id=3618

In 1997 and 1998, there were many gloomy forecasts that it would take decades for those economies to recover. Yet Asia and Russia rebounded quickly and vigorously, despite some foolish outside meddling (such as the IMF demanding higher taxes in Thailand). Countries that refused IMF loans and policies, such as Malaysia, bounced back as well as those who sipped the evil brew.

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

“IMF helps democracy” - Response: IMF loans motivate governments to reduce democracy and civil liberties

Dr. Chelsea Brown 2009. ( PhD from Univ of North Texas; post-doctoral fellow at Southern Methodist Univ., Tower Center for Political Studies) Democracy’s Friend or Foe? The Effects of Recent IMF Conditional Lending in Latin America, <http://ips.sagepub.com/content/30/4/431.abstract>

Structural adjustment is commonly prescribed as a condition for receiving loans from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, but the effects of structural adjustment and conditionality are controversial. While much research has been devoted to examining the economic effects of conditional lending, far fewer studies have looked at the political consequences. How do conditional lending agreements affect democracy? Does the number of required reforms or the type of reform play a role? Neoliberal theory suggests that improved economic conditions will result from structural adjustment, and over time this should lead to higher levels of democracy. Conversely, democratic practices may decline in the presence of conditionality as the government reduces civil liberties in an attempt to quell the social unrest that results from structural adjustment. Using a sample of Latin American countries from 1998 to 2003, this article analyzes the effects of both the number and type of required conditions on democracy and finds that while the presence of an IMF loan itself does not affect democracy, loan with a high number of required reforms have a deleterious effect on democratic practices.

“European Debt Crisis” - Response: IMF deliberately covered up the crisis

Richard Blackden 2012. (journalist) 20 July 2012 “Debt crisis: IMF ‘suppressed signs that Europe was facing debt crisis’” THE TELEGRAPH (British newspaper) parentheses in original. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/financialcrisis/9416608/Debt-crisis-IMF-suppressed-signs-that-Europe-was-facing-debt-crisis.html>

The International Monetary Fund deliberately suppressed evidence that Europe was heading for a debt crisis, according to a blistering resignation letter from a senior economist at the fund. Peter Doyle, an economist in the IMF’s European department, also used the letter to attack the appointment of Christine Lagarde, the fund’s managing director. The allegations are particularly embarrassing coming from someone who until last month was a senior official at the Washington-based institution and at a time when Europe’s debt crisis shows little sign of easing. “The substantive difficulties in these crises, as with others, were identified well in advance but suppressed here (at the IMF),” Mr Doyle wrote in the letter to Shakour Shaalan, head of the IMF’s board of directors. The letter goes on to claim that “the failure of the fund to issue them (warnings) is a failing of the first order, even if such warnings may not have been heeded”.

IMF policies have no beneficial effects on borrowers’ economies

Doug Bandow 2011. ( J.D., Stanford Univ; senior fellow at the Cato Institute, specializing in foreign policy and civil liberties; worked as special assistant to President Reagan ) “Shut Down the Wasteful IMF” 27 June 2011 <http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/shut-down-wasteful-imf>

The IMF famously imposes policy changes as part of its lending programs. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that the organization has effectively promoted economic growth. Even its advocates can point to few successes. Two decades ago Richard Feinberg and Catherine Gwin concluded that "the record of IMF-assisted adjustment efforts in Sub-Saharan Africa is discouraging." Back before he thought foreign aid could end poverty, economist Jeffrey Sachs warned that most agreements "are now honored in the breach." The Fund spent decades subsidizing the world's economic basket cases, including Egypt, pre-reform India, Sudan, pre-reform Turkey, communist Yugoslavia, Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau, Pakistan, Zaire (now Congo), and Zambia. None advanced because of Fund programs. In contrast, expanding private investment and trade offered development opportunities for countries that adopted sensible economic policies.

IMF is ineffective

Terry Miller 2009. (former ambassador to the United Nations Economic and Social Council; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Global Issues) A Trillion Dollars of Smoke and Mirrors, 3 Apr 2009 http://blog.heritage.org/2009/04/03/a-trillion-dollars-of-smoke-and-mirrors/

The IMF has staggered from financial crisis to financial crisis over the past few decades earning ever poorer marks. Few recipients of IMF assistance have had kind words for the organization after receiving IMF help. True, countries often ignore sound advice from the IMF, but being ineffective and ignored by recipient countries is not a convincing reason to give the organization hundreds of billions of new dollars.

**“IMF promotes needed reforms” - Response: IMF’s reform conditions are not enforced and not enforceable.**

Analysis: If a country promises reform, takes the loans, then ignores the reform, there’s nothing anyone can do

Patrick Welter 2007. (economics editor of the German daily, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. A graduate in economics; has worked and conducted research at the Univ of Cologne, Germany, and George Mason Univ in Fairfax, Virginia) Less is more! Future prospects for the International Monetary Fund, <http://www.fnf.org.ph/downloadables/Less%20is%20More.pdf>

The IMF’s largely politically determined weakness to enforce conditions not only harms its reputation but also misleads borrowers into believing that the conditions it imposes are not to be taken too seriously. Consequently, the Fund loses the only concrete tool at its disposal that gives it the leverage to attain its goals.

**“Need IMF demand stimulus for economic recovery” - Response: Won’t work.**

Consumers can’t increase spending, they’re wiped out and unlikely to spend more in the foreseeable future

Stephen Roach 2012. (Non-Executive Chairman of Morgan Stanley Asia, lecturer at Yale University's School of Management and Jackson Institute for Global Affairs) 3 Aug 2012 The Search for America’s Growth Engine: Stephen S. Roach, ECONOMY WATCH <http://www.economywatch.com/economy-business-and-finance-news/the-search-for-americas-growth-engine.03-08.html>

Both bubbles have long since burst, and US households are now dealing with post-bubble financial devastation – namely, underwater assets, record-high debt, and profound shortages of savings. At the same time, sharply elevated unemployment and subpar income growth have combined to tighten the noose on over-extended consumers. As a result, American households have hunkered down as never before. Consumers are diverting what little income they earn away from spending toward paying down debt and rebuilding savings. That is both logical and rational – and thus not something that the US Federal Reserve can offset with unconventional monetary easing. American consumers’ unprecedented retrenchment has turned the US economy’s growth calculus inside out. Consumption typically accounts for 70% of GDP (71% in the second quarter, to be precise). But the 70% is barely growing, and is unlikely to expand strongly at any point in the foreseeable future. That puts an enormous burden on the other 30% of the US economy to generate any sort of recovery.

Wrong focus: Consumer weakness means we need to focus on the rest of the economy, like capital spending and exports

Stephen Roach 2012. (Non-Executive Chairman of Morgan Stanley Asia, lecturer at Yale University's School of Management and Jackson Institute for Global Affairs) 3 Aug 2012 The Search for America’s Growth Engine: Stephen S. Roach, ECONOMY WATCH <http://www.economywatch.com/economy-business-and-finance-news/the-search-for-americas-growth-engine.03-08.html>

Given the strong likelihood that consumers will remain weak for years to come, America’s growth agenda needs to focus on getting more out of the other 30%. Of the four growth components that fall into this category, two have the greatest potential to make a difference – capital spending and exports.

6. 2A EVIDENCE: IPCC

AFFIRMATIVE PHILOSOPHY / OPENING QUOTE

Climate is always changing. Worrying about it is irrational hysteria

Dr. Richard Lindzen 2009. (atmospheric physicist andProfessor of Meteorology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; known for his work in the dynamics of the middle atmosphere; has published more than 200 scientific papers and books. PhD in applied mathematics) 26 Jul 2009 “Resisting climate hysteria: A Case Against Precipitous Climate Action” <http://www.quadrant.org.au/blogs/doomed-planet/2009/07/resisting-climate-hysteria>

The notion of a static, unchanging climate is foreign to the history of the earth or any other planet with a fluid envelope. The fact that the developed world went into hysterics over changes in global mean temperature anomaly of a few tenths of a degree will astound future generations. Such hysteria simply represents the scientific illiteracy of much of the public, the susceptibility of the public to the substitution of repetition for truth, and the exploitation of these weaknesses by politicians, environmental promoters, and, after 20 years of media drum beating, many others as well. Climate is always changing.

INHERENCY

IPCC’s theories are inconsistent with 10-year data on global temperatures

Dr. Roy Spencer 2012. ( PhD meteorlogy; Principal Research Scientist, University of Alabama in Huntsville) 26 Feb 2012 “ Ten Years After the Warming” <http://www.marshall.org/article.php?id=1070>

The version of global warming theory being pushed by the IPCC is that anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases are causing a radiative energy imbalance of the climate system, leading to warming. The radiative forcing history being used in the latest IPCC climate models looks something like the following, with red areas representing times when the climate system’s “stove is turned up”, that is, with heat accumulating in the system. (Actually, the correct analogy would be that the stove setting remains the same, but the lid partially covering the pot is covering it a little more over time…but that’s too hard to explain.) As can be seen, in the last 10 years the estimated forcing has been the strongest. Yet, most if not all temperature datasets show little or no global-average warming recently, either in the atmosphere, at the surface, or in the upper 700 meters of the ocean. So what is happening? You cannot simply say a lack of warming in 10 years is not that unusual, and that there have been previous 10-year periods without warming, too. No, we are supposedly in uncharted territory with a maximum in radiative forcing of the climate system. One cannot compare on an equal basis the last 10 years with any previous decades without warming.

Latest IPCC report (IPCC-AR5) due out in 2013 contains same arguments and evidence as the last one: strained arguments and questionable evidence

Dr. S. Fred Singer 2012. (PhD; professor emeritus at the Univ of Virginia; expert in remote sensing and satellites; was founding director of the US Weather Satellite Service; former vice chair of the US National Advisory Committee on Oceans & Atmosphere) 29 Feb 2012 “Climate Deniers Are Giving Us Skeptics a Bad Name” THE AMERICAN THINKER <http://www.americanthinker.com/2012/02/climate_deniers_are_giving_us_skeptics_a_bad_name.html>

Since I am an Expert Reviewer of IPCC, I've had an opportunity to review part of the 5th Assessment Report, due in 2013. Without revealing deep secrets, I can say that the AR5 uses essentially the same argument and evidence as AR4 -- so let me discuss this "evidence" in some detail. IPCC-AR4 uses only the *global surface* temperature (GST) record (shown in fig. 9.5 on page 648). It exhibits a rapid rise in 1910-1940, a slight decline in 1940-1975, a sharp "jump" around 1976-77 -- and then a steady increase up to 2000 (except for the temperature "spike" of the 1998 Super-El Niño). No increase is seen after about 2001. Most everyone seems to agree that this earlier increase (1910-1940) is caused by natural forces whose nature the IPCC does not specify. Clearly, the decline of 1940-1975 does not fit the picture of an increasing level of carbon dioxide, nor do the "jump" and "spike." So the IPCC uses the increase between 1978 and 2000 as evidence for human (anthropogenic) global warming (AGW). Their argument is somewhat strained, and their evidence is questionable.

"Inter Academy Council review solves" - Response: IAC is flawed

John McLean 2010. (Information Technology specialist with the Australian Climate Science Coalition at James Cook University, Australia. His analysis of the peer review of the latest IPCC assessment report has been raised in the US Senate) "We Have Been Conned - an Independent review of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change" Sept 2010 <http://mclean.ch/climate/docs/We_have_been_conned_rev2.pdf>

I see little reason to expect that the IAC review will be truly impartial because the IAC has far too many close links with the International Science Union (ICSU), an organization that spent almost 30 years pressuring the United Nations for the creation of the IPCC (see chapter 1). According to the IAC website, the 18-member board of the IAC has at least three people - Ralph Cicerone, Martin Rees and Kurt Lambeck - who head national science bodies, all of which are members of the ICSU. Howard Alper, also an IAC board member, is the co-chair of IAP, the global network of science academies, and most of those academies are ICSU members. Membership of the ICSU has the documented obligation of supporting its objectives, which means that already the IAC's independence is compromised.

IPCC still claims in 2012 anthropogenic (man-made) influences are contributing to extreme weather... even though they add a lot of qualifiers

IPCC 2012. SPECIAL REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE - MANAGING THE RISKS OF EXTREME EVENTS AND DISASTERS TO ADVANCE CLIMATE CHANGE ADAPTATION, <http://www.ipcc-wg2.gov/SREX/images/uploads/SREX-All_FINAL.pdf>

There is evidence that some extremes have changed as a result of anthropogenic influences, including increases in atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases. It is likely that anthropogenic influences have led to warming of extreme daily minimum and maximum temperatures at the global scale. There is medium confidence that anthropogenic influences have contributed to intensification of extreme precipitation at the global scale. It is likely that there has been an anthropogenic influence on increasing extreme coastal high water due to an increase in mean sea level. The uncertainties in the historical tropical cyclone records, the incomplete understanding of the physical mechanisms linking tropical cyclone metrics to climate change, and the degree of tropical cyclone variability provide only low confidence for the attribution of any detectable changes in tropical cyclone activity to anthropogenic influences. Attribution of single extreme events to anthropogenic climate change is challenging.

“IPCC has reformed their estimates/methods” - Response: In 2012 they’re still citing their 2007 claims about man-made climate change

IPCC 2012. SPECIAL REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE - MANAGING THE RISKS OF EXTREME EVENTS AND DISASTERS TO ADVANCE CLIMATE CHANGE ADAPTATION, <http://www.ipcc-wg2.gov/SREX/images/uploads/SREX-All_FINAL.pdf>

Climate change may be due to natural internal processes or external forcings, or to persistent anthropogenic changes in the composition of the atmosphere or in land use (see Chapter 3 for greater detail). Anthropogenic climate change is projected to continue during this century and beyond. This conclusion is robust under a wide range of scenarios for future greenhouse gas emissions, including some that anticipate a reduction in emissions (IPCC, 2007a).

Interesting reform: buried in a 594 page report on “Managing the Risks of Extreme Events and Disasters To Advance Climate Change Adaptation” IPCC admits 1) they don’t know the sign (direction) in which things will change; 2) the amount of change is small compared to natural variability

Analysis: If they don’t know these things, what’s the basis for any theories about climate change? And, if they don’t know the direction in which things will change, no matter what happens, they will claim they predicted it. And if evidence for climate warming is hard to determine among all the “natural variability,” what’s all the fuss about?

IPCC 2012. SPECIAL REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE - MANAGING THE RISKS OF EXTREME EVENTS AND DISASTERS TO ADVANCE CLIMATE CHANGE ADAPTATION, Chap. 3 p. 112, <http://www.ipcc-wg2.gov/SREX/images/uploads/SREX-All_FINAL.pdf>

There are three main sources of uncertainty in the projections: the natural variability of climate; uncertainties in climate model parameters and structure; and projections of future emissions. Projections for differing emissions scenarios generally do not strongly diverge in the coming two to three decades, but uncertainty in the sign of change is relatively large over this time frame because climate change signals are expected to be relatively small compared to natural climate variability.

CLIMATE CHANGE FACTS

IPCC is wrong: Models don’t correctly measure warming, and there hasn’t been any warming in the last 14 years

Dr. Richard Lindzen 2009. (atmospheric physicist andProfessor of Meteorology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; known for his work in the dynamics of the middle atmosphere; has published more than 200 scientific papers and books. PhD in applied mathematics) 26 Jul 2009 “Resisting climate hysteria: A Case Against Precipitous Climate Action” <http://www.quadrant.org.au/blogs/doomed-planet/2009/07/resisting-climate-hysteria>

According to the UN’s Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the greenhouse forcing from man made greenhouse gases is already about 86% of what one expects from a doubling of CO2 (with about half coming from methane, nitrous oxide, freons and ozone), and alarming predictions depend on models for which the sensitivity to a doubling for CO2 is greater than 2 [degrees]C[elsius] which implies that we should already have seen much more warming than we have seen thus far, even if all the warming we have seen so far were due to man. This contradiction is rendered more acute by the fact that there has been no statistically significant net global warming for the last fourteen years.

Climate data doesn’t match the warming models - and alarmists are ignoring the data to preserve the models

Dr. David Evans 2011. (former pro-warming consultant for the Australian Greenhouse Office (now the Department of Climate Change) modelling carbon in plants, debris, mulch, soils, and forestry and agricultural products; mathematician and engineer, with six university degrees, including a PhD from Stanford Univ. in electrical engineering) FINANCIAL POST 7 Apr 2011 Climate models go cold <http://opinion.financialpost.com/2011/04/07/climate-models-go-cold/>

The climate models all predict that as the planet warms, a hot spot of moist air will develop over the tropics about 10 kilometres up, as the layer of moist air expands upwards into the cool dry air above. During the warming of the late 1970s, ’80s and ’90s, the weather balloons found no hot spot. None at all. Not even a small one. This evidence proves that the climate models are fundamentally flawed, that they greatly overestimate the temperature increases due to carbon dioxide. This evidence first became clear around the mid-1990s. At this point, official “climate science” stopped being a science. In science, empirical evidence always trumps theory, no matter how much you are in love with the theory. If theory and evidence disagree, real scientists scrap the theory. But official climate science ignored the crucial weather balloon evidence, and other subsequent evidence that backs it up, and instead clung to their carbon dioxide theory — that just happens to keep them in well-paying jobs with lavish research grants, and gives great political power to their government masters.

NASA scientists renounce Hansen and the man-made warming hypothesis

[Note: Hansen was a NASA scientist who popularized global-warming theory in 1988 testimony before a Senate committee.]

Prof. Larry Bell 2012. (professor at the University of Houston; director of the Sasakawa International Center for Space Architecture and head of the graduate program in space architecture) 29 May 2012 FORBES magazine, Global Warming Alarmism: When Science IS Fiction (ellipses in original) <http://www.forbes.com/sites/larrybell/2012/05/29/global-warming-alarmism-when-science-is-fiction/>

On April 10, forty-nine former NASA scientists and astronauts sent a letter to NASA Administrator Charles Bolden, admonishing the agency in general, and GISS under Hansen’s leadership in particular, for its role in advocating a high degree of certainty that man-made CO2 is a major cause of climate change…while neglecting basic empirical evidence that calls that theory into question. The group, which includes seven Apollo astronauts and two former directors of NASA’s Johnson Space Center in Houston, is dismayed over the failure to make an objective assessment of all available scientific data on climate change, charging that NASA is relying too heavily upon complex models that have proven to be scientifically inadequate for climate predictions.

Many informed scientists believe human contributions to climate change are negligible

Prof. Larry Bell 2012. (professor at the University of Houston; director of the Sasakawa International Center for Space Architecture and head of the graduate program in space architecture) 29 May 2012 FORBES magazine, Global Warming Alarmism: When Science IS Fiction (ellipses in original) <http://www.forbes.com/sites/larrybell/2012/05/29/global-warming-alarmism-when-science-is-fiction/>

Although global temperatures have been pretty flat despite rising atmospheric CO2 levels since the big 1998 El Nino, no one that I know disputes that climate changes. Nor do they doubt that there has been very mild warming since the mid-19th century when our planet began thawing out of the last “Little Ice Age” (predating the Industrial Revolution). And while most acknowledge that greenhouse warming may well be a contributing factor, it is also true that a great many very informed scientists believe that any human contributions to that influence are negligible, undetectable and thereby grossly exaggerated by alarmists, while far more important natural climate drivers (both for warming and cooling), are virtually ignored. Particularly consequential among these are long-and short-term effects of ocean cycles along with changes in solar activity.

JUSTIFICATIONS

CORRUPT / DISHONEST SCIENTIFIC METHODS

Environmentalist, former IPCC supporter Vaherenholt, admits IPCC science is sloppy, incompetent and dishonest

Prof. Larry Bell 2012. (professor at the University of Houston; director of the Sasakawa International Center for Space Architecture and head of the graduate program in space architecture) 29 May 2012 FORBES magazine, Global Warming Alarmism: When Science IS Fiction (ellipses in original) <http://www.forbes.com/sites/larrybell/2012/05/29/global-warming-alarmism-when-science-is-fiction/>

Fritz Vaherenholt, a socialist founder of Germany’s environmental movement who headed the renewable energy division of the country’s second largest utility company, was once a big IPCC believer. Recently, however, his new book titled *The Cold Sun: Why the Climate Disaster Won’t Happen*, charges the organization with gross incompetence and dishonesty… especially regarding fear-mongering exaggeration of human CO2 emission influences. After serving as an IPCC reviewer for their report on renewable energy, he was stunned by the large number of errors and wondered if the other IPCC reports on climate change “were similarly sloppy.”

IPCC peer review is a travesty

IPCC omits and distorts information to suit its agenda

John McLean 2010. (Information Technology specialist with the Australian Climate Science Coalition at James Cook University, Australia. His analysis of the peer review of the latest IPCC assessment report has been raised in the US Senate) "We Have Been Conned - an Independent review of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change" Sept 2010 <http://mclean.ch/climate/docs/We_have_been_conned_rev2.pdf>

The peer-review system used by the IPCC is a travesty because it is nothing like the normal review prior to publishing scientific papers but only a means of soliciting further supporting information. Any suggestions that wider material be included are rejected, even if it means citing an IPCC's author's unpublished paper to do so **(*chapter 3*)**. The IPCC omits and distorts information to suit its agenda. We are not told, for example, that it seems likely that the Earth is currently cool compared to the mean temperature of the last 10,000 years and that the 650-year cold spell ending around 1850 was likely the longest sustained cold spell in 10 millennia. The IPCC hides, in a throwaway line, buried deep in a long paragraph, the critical fact that the amount of warming caused by increasing levels of carbon dioxide is logarithmic (i.e. will decrease as carbon dioxide increase).

IPCC is a disgrace to science

John McLean 2010. (Information Technology specialist with the Australian Climate Science Coalition at James Cook University, Australia. His analysis of the peer review of the latest IPCC assessment report has been raised in the US Senate) "We Have Been Conned - an Independent review of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change" Sept 2010 <http://mclean.ch/climate/docs/We_have_been_conned_rev2.pdf>

The IPCC is a disgrace to science. In its desire to fit the square peg of science into the round hole of politics it has abandoned the "scientific method" and replaced it with a desperate search for data and other material that might support a specific hypothesis. Its reports are not an honest assessment of climate because they omit, dismiss or distort research findings that do not conform to a certain belief, and if the IPCC was true to its charter it would focus only on any possible human influence on climate and not mention other climate forces, leaving that work to some parallel organization. The IPCC was established on the basis of alarmist claims that were given a political dimension by organizations that, if they had any integrity, would have demanded better evidence for those claims than the output of primitive climate models **(*chapter 1*)**.

IPCC climate models show blatant dishonesty

John McLean 2010. (Information Technology specialist with the Australian Climate Science Coalition at James Cook University, Australia. His analysis of the peer review of the latest IPCC assessment report has been raised in the US Senate) "We Have Been Conned - an Independent review of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change" Sept 2010 <http://mclean.ch/climate/docs/We_have_been_conned_rev2.pdf>

The IPCC's greatest fallacy is in its use and citing of climate models. The Assessment Reports show very clearly that knowledge of many climate factors is poor, which means that accurate models can't be created, but later chapters of the reports ignore those deficiencies and cite the predictions of models as if they were unchallengeable. Worse yet, these same models are used to attribute blame for variation in climate under the dubious notion that if observations agree with models that include a certain factor but disagree with the models if that factor is omitted, then it is evidence that the factor was the cause of climate variation. This line of reasoning, with the incomplete climate models, is not merely a rejection of commonsense but blatant dishonesty.

Since IPCC admits its models are inaccurate, it follows that every report based on them is knowingly fraudulent

John McLean 2010. (Information Technology specialist with the Australian Climate Science Coalition at James Cook University, Australia. His analysis of the peer review of the latest IPCC assessment report has been raised in the US Senate) "We Have Been Conned - an Independent review of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change" Sept 2010 <http://mclean.ch/climate/docs/We_have_been_conned_rev2.pdf> (Note: The last sentence ends without a period in the original)

The notion that incomplete models can accurately predict temperatures 50, 70 or even 100 years into the future is absolute fantasy. The IPCC was founded on the claims based on very primitive climate models and every assessment report has relied heavily on climate models for claims about attribution and future temperatures, but given that the IPCC 4AR of 2007 said very clearly that climate models are inaccurate, it follows that every IPCC report has been knowingly fraudulent

IPCC authors cite and review their own papers - confirming their own biases and diminishing integrity and credibility

John McLean 2010. (Information Technology specialist with the Australian Climate Science Coalition at James Cook University, Australia. His analysis of the peer review of the latest IPCC assessment report has been raised in the US Senate) "We Have Been Conned - an Independent review of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change" Sept 2010 <http://mclean.ch/climate/docs/We_have_been_conned_rev2.pdf>

Any passage of text in an IPCC Assessment report will very likely be the product of very few people, which means that it very likely includes various biases stemming from individuals' agendas, including the defence of one's own work in this field and the denigration of alternative opinions. This is not an impartial assessment of the facts. 7. Pivotal chapters were written by a network of climate modellers with vested interests, relying heavily on their own papers, which were likely reviewed by other climate modellers who may also have been co-authors of the same chapter. The IPCC appears to support these vested interests rather than act as an impartial assessor, and this diminishes its integrity and credibility.

IPCC falsely claims scientific "consensus" on climate change

John McLean 2010. (Information Technology specialist with the Australian Climate Science Coalition at James Cook University, Australia. His analysis of the peer review of the latest IPCC assessment report has been raised in the US Senate) "We Have Been Conned - an Independent review of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change" Sept 2010 <http://mclean.ch/climate/docs/We_have_been_conned_rev2.pdf>

It has publicly claimed that an overwhelming consensus exists among climate scientists but has failed to produce any evidence to support this or show why science should reject the notion that scientific truth is likely shown when a hypothesis accounts for all observations and successfully predicts new situations, and does so regardless of the number of people professing belief. The IPCC's claims about consensus are meaningless to science but geared to publicity and politics.

IPCC official admits they had to “correct” the sea-level data in order to create a trend

Nils-Axel Mörner 2010. (oceanographic expert; studied sea level and its effects on coastal areas for 45 years; retired director of the Paleogeophysics and Geodynamics Department at Stockholm University) “There Is No Alarming Sea Level Rise!” Fall 2010 <http://www.nc-20.com/pdf/Great%20Sea%20Level%20Humbug.pdf>

This tide-gauge record is contradicted by the four other records existing in Hong Kong, and obviously represents a site specific subsidence, a fact well known to local geologists. Nevertheless, a new calibration factor has been introduced in the Figure 7 graph. At the Moscow global warming meeting in 2005, in answer to my criticisms about this “correction,” one of the persons in the British IPCC delegation said, “We had to do so, otherwise there would not be any trend.” To this I replied: “Did you hear what you were saying? This is just what I am accusing you of doing.”

INCOMPETENCE

All 4 IPCC reports are bad

John McLean 2010. (Information Technology specialist with the Australian Climate Science Coalition at James Cook University, Australia. His analysis of the peer review of the latest IPCC assessment report has been raised in the US Senate) "We Have Been Conned - an Independent review of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change" Sept 2010 <http://mclean.ch/climate/docs/We_have_been_conned_rev2.pdf>

I suppose that we shouldn't be too surprised at this conclusion given that the First Assessment Report was a similar concoction that was eventually honest enough to say that no evidence was found, and then for the Second Assessment Report, in desperation for supporting material various IPCC authors wrote a paper so that it could be cited. The Third Assessment Report elevated the alarmism over the second report, mainly by the use of a flawed graph cited by its creator, and the Fourth Report had a political imperative to further exaggerate the claims despite the paucity of credible evidence.

IPCC is a disgrace to science

IPCC cannot prove any significant man-made CO2 influence on temperatures

John McLean 2010. (Information Technology specialist with the Australian Climate Science Coalition at James Cook University, Australia. His analysis of the peer review of the latest IPCC assessment report has been raised in the US Senate) "We Have Been Conned - an Independent review of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change" Sept 2010 <http://mclean.ch/climate/docs/We_have_been_conned_rev2.pdf>

The IPCC has been a disgrace to science. Integrity has been rejected in favour of the postnormal science approach of deciding a hypothesis - or even a conclusion - and then searching for supporting data. The IPCC's brand of eco-political activism has of course been helped at every opportunity by its acolytes making media statements that seek to blame human activity for climate changes that could very well have natural causes. Despite the IPCC's hyperbole there is no evidence at all that anthropogenic emissions of carbon dioxide have a *significant* influence on temperatures, and I venture to say, no evidence of any net influence whatsoever.

IPCC 3rd report admits long-term prediction of climate is not possible

John McLean 2010. (Information Technology specialist with the Australian Climate Science Coalition at James Cook University, Australia. His analysis of the peer review of the latest IPCC assessment report has been raised in the US Senate) "We Have Been Conned - an Independent review of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change" Sept 2010 <http://mclean.ch/climate/docs/We_have_been_conned_rev2.pdf>

The Third Assessment Report was rather honest when it said - "The climate system is a coupled non-linear chaotic system, and therefore the long-term prediction of future climate states is not possible."66, but the Fourth Assessment Report got back on theme with its claims about "likely" future temperatures.

IPCC predicts sea levels rising...

IPCC 2012. SPECIAL REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE - MANAGING THE RISKS OF EXTREME EVENTS AND DISASTERS TO ADVANCE CLIMATE CHANGE ADAPTATION, <http://www.ipcc-wg2.gov/SREX/images/uploads/SREX-All_FINAL.pdf>

It is very likely that mean sea level rise will contribute to upward trends in extreme coastal high water levels in the future. There is high confidence that locations currently experiencing adverse impacts such as coastal erosion and inundation will continue to do so in the future due to increasing sea levels, all other contributing factors being equal. The very likely contribution of mean sea level rise to increased extreme coastal high water levels, coupled with the likely increase in tropical cyclone maximum wind speed, is a specific issue for tropical small island states.

But actual measurements show the current sea level trend is falling

Nils-Axel Mörner 2010. (oceanographic expert; studied sea level and its effects on coastal areas for 45 years; retired director of the Paleogeophysics and Geodynamics Department at Stockholm University) “There Is No Alarming Sea Level Rise!” Fall 2010 <http://www.nc-20.com/pdf/Great%20Sea%20Level%20Humbug.pdf>

Adding to this the eustatic component of the northwestern European region (Mörner 1973), we get partly the local rate of subsidence (red curve), and partly the eustatic component, extended up to the present and double-checked for the pre-1970 section (the difference between the blue and the red curves). The regional eustatic sea level change decelerates after 1930-1940, becomes flat around 1950-1970, and falls from 1970 up to the present. This provides firm evidence that sea level is not at all in a rapidly rising mode today; rather there is the opposite trend: a slow falling mode.

IPCC authors use data selectively to prove sea-level trend

Nils-Axel Mörner 2010. (oceanographic expert; studied sea level and its effects on coastal areas for 45 years; retired director of the Paleogeophysics and Geodynamics Department at Stockholm University) “There Is No Alarming Sea Level Rise!” Fall 2010 <http://www.nc-20.com/pdf/Great%20Sea%20Level%20Humbug.pdf>

The IPCC authors take the liberty to select what they call “representative” records for their reconstruction of the centennial sea level trend. This, of course, implies that their personal view— that is, the IPCC scenario laid down from the beginning of the project— is imposed in the selection and identification of their “representative” records. We start to smell another “sea-level-gate.”

POLICY INFLUENCE

IPCC misleads the public, selectively uses the data to make climate a political issue

Dr. Tim Ball 2012. (Ph.D. (Doctor of Science), Queen Mary College, University of London ) Current Global Weather Patterns Normal Despite Government and Media Distortions, 28 June 2012 <http://drtimball.com/2012/current-global-weather-patterns-normal-despite-government-and-media-distortions/>

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) science and its promotion involves selection of only material that supports the hypothesis that human CO2 is causing warming and latterly climate change. It is used in everything from tree ring samples chosen to create the hockey stick, to omission of the Milankovitch Effect, and the role of cosmic rays in the formation of low cloud from IPCC computer models. There’s a similar pattern of selective reporting about weather events. People are inundated with reports giving the impression that what is happening is worse then ever before, unusual and therefore due to human activities. When weather and climate became a political issue through the IPCC claims of impending doom it became a focus for media. They all exaggerated everything to make it newsworthy, or presented only one side of what was going on because of political bias.

Bad policy influence example: US and Indian military planning for false Himalayan glacier calamity, based on IPCC report

Prof. Larry Bell 2012. (professor at the University of Houston where I founded and direct the Sasakawa International Center for Space Architecture and head the graduate program in space architecture) FORBES magazine, 13 May 2012, Defense Secretary Leon Panetta On Defensive Over Global Climate Warm-Mongering (ellipses in original) <http://www.forbes.com/sites/larrybell/2012/05/13/defense-secretary-leon-panetta-on-defensive-over-global-climate-warm-mongering/>

Secretary Panetta’s speech followed political lines of the latest 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) which referred to climate change as an “accelerant of instability or conflict”, declaring that it will play a “significant role in shaping the future security environment”- and cause a “…need to adjust to the impacts of climate change on our facilities and military capabilities.” The QDR warns that his will result in “…placing a burden to respond on civilian institutions and militaries around the world.” And exactly what climatic U.S. national security threats were they so worried about? One big concern security planners highlighted at the time was that global warming would melt the massive Himalayan glaciers. This would first cause rivers to flood… then dry up once the glaciers retreated, endangering tens of millions of people in lowland Bangladesh. Retired Air Marshal A.K. Singh, a former commander in India’s air force, foresaw this leading to mass migrations across national borders, with militaries (including ours) becoming involved. This dire Himalayan glacier calamity was predicted by a preeminent international climate science organization, none other than the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). Who could doubt their competence and veracity? Well, actually, many scientists have good reasons to do so. And in this instance as it turned out, and as IPCC later admitted, the Himalayan prediction was completely fabricated with absolutely no supporting science by a fellow who worked for the IPCC’s director.

Policy Influence Example: Expensive algae fuel for Navy jets

Prof. Larry Bell 2012. ( professor at the University of Houston; director of the Sasakawa International Center for Space Architecture and head of the graduate program in space architecture) FORBES magazine, 13 May 2012, Defense Secretary Leon Panetta On Defensive Over Global Climate Warm-Mongering <http://www.forbes.com/sites/larrybell/2012/05/13/defense-secretary-leon-panetta-on-defensive-over-global-climate-warm-mongering/>

In 2007, Senate Armed Services Committee members Hillary Clinton (D-NY) and John Warner (R-VA) snuck some language into the National Defense Authorization Act which initially got our military into the climate protection business whether they wanted to be or not. The amendment required DoD to consider the effects of climate change upon their facilities, capabilities and missions. Accordingly, through the QDR, Defense is incorporating “threat” of climate change considerations into its long-range strategic plans. A proudly featured example is a $12 million commitment from our Navy to purchase 450,000 gallons of algae biofuel for aircraft, which calculates out at about $26.67 per gallon. Although Navy Secretary Ray Maybus has said they will really pay about $15 per gallon, this is hardly a bargain, since it will perform the same as standard JP-5 aircraft jet fuel that costs less than $3 per gallon. The good news is that the total fuel price will be only about five times more (rather than 9 times) after it is mixed with the standard stuff.

HIDDEN AGENDA

IPCC should be dumped because it exists to promote political goals that could not otherwise be achieved, not to do genuine scientific investigation

Dr. Roy Spencer 2010. ( PhD meteorlogy; Principal Research Scientist, University of Alabama in Huntsville) 30 Aug 2010 “Dump the IPCC Process, It Cannot Be Fixed” <http://www.marshall.org/article.php?id=912>

In a recent opinion piece, Ross McKitrick has argued that the IPCC process needs to be fixed. He correctly points out that, “There is too much conflict of interest built into the report-writing process”. But I say the process cannot be fixed. *DUMP* the IPCC process. The reason why is because the IPCC process was never created to achieve what the U.N. claims, and what most people believe it exists for. The IPCC was created to use the scientific community to build a case for regulating CO2 emissions. Period. While you might believe otherwise, climate scientists back in the 1980s did not get together and decide “let’s create the IPCC and investigate the evidence for and against manmade climate change”. Instead, politicians and politically savvy opportunists saw global warming as the perfect excuse for instituting policies that would never have been achieved on their own merits.

The agenda is exploiting climate change fear to make money: billions of dollars are at stake

Dr. Richard Lindzen 2009. (atmospheric physicist andProfessor of Meteorology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; known for his work in the dynamics of the middle atmosphere; has published more than 200 scientific papers and books. PhD in applied mathematics) 26 Jul 2009 “Resisting climate hysteria: A Case Against Precipitous Climate Action” <http://www.quadrant.org.au/blogs/doomed-planet/2009/07/resisting-climate-hysteria>

When an issue like global warming is around for over twenty years, numerous agendas are developed to exploit the issue. The interests of the environmental movement in acquiring more power, influence, and donations are reasonably clear. So too are the interests of bureaucrats for whom control of CO2 is a dream-come-true. After all, CO2 is a product of breathing itself. Politicians can see the possibility of taxation that will be cheerfully accepted because it is necessary for ‘saving’ the earth. Nations have seen how to exploit this issue in order to gain competitive advantages. But, by now, things have gone much further. The case of ENRON (a now bankrupt Texas energy firm) is illustrative in this respect. Before disintegrating in a pyrotechnic display of unscrupulous manipulation, ENRON had been one of the most intense lobbyists for Kyoto. It had hoped to become a trading firm dealing in carbon emission rights. This was no small hope. These rights are likely to amount to over a trillion dollars, and the commissions will run into many billions.

Hidden agenda: World government

Dr. David Evans 2011. (former pro-warming consultant for the Australian Greenhouse Office (now the Department of Climate Change) modelling carbon in plants, debris, mulch, soils, and forestry and agricultural products. He is a mathematician and engineer, with six university degrees, including a PhD from Stanford University in electrical engineering) FINANCIAL POST 7 Apr 2011 Climate models go cold <http://opinion.financialpost.com/2011/04/07/climate-models-go-cold/>

We are now at an extraordinary juncture. Official climate science, which is funded and directed entirely by government, promotes a theory that is based on a guess about moist air that is now a known falsehood. Governments gleefully accept their advice, because the only ways to curb emissions are to impose taxes and extend government control over all energy use. And to curb emissions on a world scale might even lead to world government — how exciting for the political class!

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

No need for alarm - the case for warming is exaggerated

Even if warming happens, global average temperature doesn’t determine disasters - those depend on unpredictable regional factors

Fighting global warming will not prevent disasters

Dr. Richard Lindzen 2009. (atmospheric physicist andProfessor of Meteorology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; known for his work in the dynamics of the middle atmosphere; has published more than 200 scientific papers and books. PhD in applied mathematics) 26 Jul 2009 “Resisting climate hysteria: A Case Against Precipitous Climate Action” <http://www.quadrant.org.au/blogs/doomed-planet/2009/07/resisting-climate-hysteria>

Given that the evidence (and I have noted only a few of many pieces of evidence) strongly implies that anthropogenic warming has been greatly exaggerated, the basis for alarm due to such warming is similarly diminished. However, a really important point is that the case for alarm would still be weak even if anthropogenic global warming were significant. Polar bears, arctic summer sea ice, regional droughts and floods, coral bleaching, hurricanes, alpine glaciers, malaria, etc. etc. all depend not on some global average of surface temperature anomaly, but on a huge number of regional variables including temperature, humidity, cloud cover, precipitation, and direction and magnitude of wind. The state of the ocean is also often crucial. Our ability to forecast any of these over periods beyond a few days is minimal (a leading modeler refers to it as essentially guesswork). Yet, each catastrophic forecast depends on each of these being in a specific range. The odds of any specific catastrophe actually occurring are almost zero. This was equally true for earlier forecasts of famine for the 1980's, global cooling in the 1970's, Y2K and many others. Regionally, year to year fluctuations in temperature are over four times larger than fluctuations in the global mean. Much of this variation has to be independent of the global mean; otherwise the global mean would vary much more. This is simply to note that factors other than global warming are more important to any specific situation. This is not to say that disasters will not occur; they always have occurred and this will not change in the future. Fighting global warming with symbolic gestures will certainly not change this.

Dr. Vincent R. Gray - IPCC says he’s an expert

Lawrence Solomon 2007. (executive director of Energy Probe and the Urban Renaissance Institute) NATIONAL POST (Canadian newspaper) IPCC too blinkered and corrupt to save, <http://www.financialpost.com/story.html?id=55387187-4d06-446f-9f4f-c2397d155a32>

Dr. Gray is one of the 2,000 to 2,500 top scientists from around the world whom the IPCC often cites as forming the basis of its findings. No one has been a more faithful reviewer than Dr. Gray over the years -- he has been an IPCC expert almost from the start, and perhaps its most prolific contributor, logging almost 1,900 comments on the IPCC's final draft of its most recent report alone.

7. 2A EVIDENCE: PALESTINE MEMBERSHIP

INHERENCY

Palestine made a formal application to the UN for membership in 2011

UN Security Council report 2011. Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of Palestine for admission to membership in the United Nations, 11 Nov 2011 <http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=s/2011/705>

In relation to the application of Palestine (S/2011/592), attention was drawn to the letter received by the Secretary-General from the President of Palestine on 23 September 2011, which contained a declaration — made in a formal instrument — stating that the State of Palestine was a peace-loving nation; that it accepted the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations; and that it solemnly undertook to fulfil them.

U.S. blocks Palestinian membership

Associated Press 2012. Palestinians mull non-member state status at UN, 8 June 2012 <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2012/06/08/palestinians-mull-non-member-state-status-at-un/>

The U.S. insists on a negotiated settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict before Palestine joins the U.N. The U.S. says it would veto a resolution recommending membership now -- leaving the Palestinians the option of going to the 193-member General Assembly, where there are no vetoes.

Palestinians want UN membership

BBC News 2011. (British Broadcasting Corporation) 24 Sept 2011 “Q&A: Palestinian bid for full membership at the UN” <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-13701636>

The Palestinians, as represented by the Palestinian Authority, have long sought to establish an independent, sovereign state in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and Gaza - occupied by Israel since the 1967 Six Day War. However, two decades of on-and-off peace talks have failed to produce a deal. The latest round of negotiations broke down a year ago. Late last year, Palestinian officials began pursuing a new diplomatic strategy: asking individual countries to recognise an independent Palestinian state on the 1967 borders. Now they want the UN to admit them as a full member state. Currently the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) only has observer entity status. This would have political implications and allow Palestinians to join UN agencies and become party to international treaties, such as the International Criminal Court, where they could take legal action to challenge the occupation of territory by Israel.

Palestinians want UN membership

Victor Kattan 2011. (was a Teaching Fellow at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, currently studying there as PhD candidate; previously worked for the British Institute of International and Comparative Law ) 1 Sept 2011 A State of Palestine: The Case for UN Recognition and Membership <http://hrjpalestine.org/090111-news/>

Mahmoud Abbas, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and President of the Palestinian National Authority (PA), affirmed in the *New York Times* on 17 May 2011 that “this September, at the United Nations General Assembly, we will request international recognition of the State of Palestine on the 1967 border and that our state be admitted as a full member of the United Nations.”

130 countries have recognized the State of Palestine

Ambassador Dr. Riyad Mansour 2011. (ambassador from Palestinian Authority, Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations) Security Council, Debate on the Situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian Question, 24 October 2011 : <http://www.un.int/wcm/content/site/palestine/cache/offonce/pid/29220;jsessionid=87AE2CFDAD291EF6692AE25B17118950>

We reflect today on that which has brought us to this stage in our long quest for realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and a peaceful solution to the conflict. To date, 130 countries have recognized the State of Palestine. These countries have taken a principled stand in support of our people’s right to self-determination and in line with the countless UN resolutions, from resolution 181 (II) in 1947 to the present. We are grateful for their recognition and support, which constitute an investment in peace consistent with the two-State solution on the basis of the pre-1967 borders, a solution which is internationally-supported and endorsed.

SOLVENCY & ADVOCACY

Plan Advocate: The US Government in 2003. U.S. endorsed Palestinian UN membership in the 2003 Quartet Roadmap document

Victor Kattan 2011. (was a Teaching Fellow at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, currently studying there as PhD candidate; previously worked for the British Institute of International and Comparative Law ) 1 Sept 2011 A State of Palestine: The Case for UN Recognition and Membership <http://hrjpalestine.org/090111-news/>

Phase II of the 2003 Roadmap prepared by “The Quartet” (the U.S., the EU, Russia, and the UN) and endorsed by the UN Security Council calls for “creating an independent Palestinian state with provisional borders and attributes of sovereignty, based on the new constitution, as a way station to a permanent status settlement.” As part of Phase II (June–December 2003), Quartet members were supposed to “promote international recognition of a Palestinian state, including possible UN membership.” Thus, the Quartet envisaged that a Palestinian state could be established prior to the conclusion of final status negotiations with Israel. In other words, it was accepted that the PLO need not wait until Israel had agreed to completely withdraw from the territory before asserting its claim to statehood with provisional borders and attributes of sovereignty by seeking recognition and UN membership.

Plan Advocate: The European Parliament. In a lengthy list of resolutions and recommendations, the European Parliament declared in 2011 that it QUOTE:

European Parliament resolution of 29 September 2011 on the situation in Palestine, <http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/28ead5e67368b9ea852579180070e4d6/a1754cb9c455055b8525791e00529b5e?OpenDocument>

“2. Supports and calls on Member States to be united in addressing the legitimate demand of the Palestinians to be represented as a state at the United Nations as a result of negotiations to be concluded during the current 66th session of the UN General Assembly;”

Plan Advocate: Norway.

UN Dept. of Public Information, 2011. “CLOSING 'HISTORIC AND UNFORGETTABLE' ANNUAL DEBATE, GENERAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT SAYS TIME TO SHIFT GEARS TO CRUCIAL NEXT STEP, 'TURN TALK INTO REAL IMPACT'” 27 Sept 2011 (brackets added) <http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/28ead5e67368b9ea852579180070e4d6/eb34d0dabacc50f185257919004c32d3?OpenDocument>

Turning to the Middle East, he [Espen Barth Eide, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs for Norway] said Norway’s policy was based on the vision of two States, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security. It was legitimate for Palestinians to turn to the United Nations under current circumstances and he welcomed the call by the Quartet for negotiations on outstanding final status issues to be completed within a year. Norway looked forward to welcoming Palestine as a full United Nations member.

UN membership for Palestine would have much greater impact than Status Quo declaration of statehood

BBC News 2011. (British Broadcasting Corporation) 24 Sept 2011 “Q&A: Palestinian bid for full membership at the UN” <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-13701636>

In 1988, the late Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, unilaterally declared a Palestinian state on the 1967 borders. This won recognition from about 100 countries, mainly Arab, Communist and non-aligned states - several of them in Latin America. UN membership of Palestine as a sovereign state would have much greater impact as the UN is the overarching world body and a source of authority on international law.

Palestine should be admitted to the UN. The US and Israel can worry about recognizing statehood later

Prof. Paul Parker 2012. (Chairperson and a Professor of Religious Studies at Elmhurst College) 17 Apr 2012 FOREIGN POLICY JOURNAL “U.N. Membership Would Unshackle Israel and Palestine” <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2012/04/17/u-n-membership-would-unshackle-israel-and-palestine/>

What Palestine needs, however, and what Israel and the entire world need, is Palestine’s admission to the UN as a Member or as a Permanent Observer. Israel and the United States’ formal recognition of the State of Palestine is a domestic political question that Israelis and Americans will resolve in their own time. For UN membership, Article 4 of the UN Charter requires only that an applicant is a state, not diplomatic recognition of that state—and Palestine is a state.

UN procedures for adding a new member

Victor Kattan 2011. (was a Teaching Fellow at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, currently studying there as PhD candidate; previously worked for the British Institute of International and Comparative Law ) 1 Sept 2011 A State of Palestine: The Case for UN Recognition and Membership <http://hrjpalestine.org/090111-news/>

“According to UN procedures, a new state or government submits its application for membership to the Secretary General together with a formal declaration to accept the obligations of the UN Charter. The application is first considered by the Security Council and must receive a majority of nine votes with no vetoes. If the Council recommends admission, this is submitted to the General Assembly, where it must receive two-thirds of the votes http://www.un.org/geninfo/faq/factsheets/memberstate.pdf”

Membership process: Security Council recommendation followed by General Assembly decision

Prof. John Cerone 2011. ( Professor of Law and Director of the Center for International Law & Policy at New England Law, Boston) The UN and the Status of Palestine – Disentangling the Legal Issues, ASIL INSIGHTS, published by American Society of International Law, (brackets in original) <http://www.asil.org/insights110913.cfm>

Membership in the United Nations is regulated by Articles 3 to 6 of the UN Charter. Pursuant to Article 4(1) of the Charter, UN membership is open to all “peace-loving states[[4] ] which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.” The admission of any such state to membership is “effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.”

“Palestine isn’t a state, so can’t join the UN” - Response: According to the Montevideo Convention, Palestine qualifies as a state

Prof. Paul Parker 2012. (Chairperson and a Professor of Religious Studies at Elmhurst College) 17 Apr 2012 FOREIGN POLICY JOURNAL “U.N. Membership Would Unshackle Israel and Palestine” (“spurious” means FALSE) <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2012/04/17/u-n-membership-would-unshackle-israel-and-palestine/>

The assertion that Palestine cannot join the UN because it not a state is spurious according to the classic and authoritative principles of the 1933 Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States. Palestine meets the conditions of the treaty which stipulates that a state must have a permanent population, a defined territory, a government, and the capacity to enter relations with others states.

Palestinian Authority has institutions sufficient to the functioning government of a state

OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS 2012.“PALESTINIAN STATE-BUILDING: AN ACHIEVEMENT AT INCREASED RISK” 21 Mar 2012 <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/336CBEA9224C9080852579C6006AC079>

In April 2011 the United Nations’ (UN) report to the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC) concluded that Palestinian Authority (PA) institutions were sufficient for a functioning government of a state. Over the course of the reporting period, some advances have been made in building the institutions of a Palestinian state. Progress has been realised inter alia in improving the capacity of the security forces in the West Bank and in the provision of basic services, including addressing the needs of the most vulnerable members of Palestinian society. This deepening of institutional progress represents a further step forward in strengthening the institutions of a future Palestinian state.

“Palestine doesn’t have defined borders” - Response: They are defined well enough to qualify as a state, and disputed borders don’t negate statehood

Prof. Paul Parker 2012. (Chairperson and a Professor of Religious Studies at Elmhurst College) 17 Apr 2012 FOREIGN POLICY JOURNAL “U.N. Membership Would Unshackle Israel and Palestine” (ellipses in original) <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2012/04/17/u-n-membership-would-unshackle-israel-and-palestine/>

After World War I, the League of Nations confirmed the British Mandate, which defined the exact borders of Palestine. In November 1947, the UN General Assembly again confirmed the boundaries of British Mandated Palestine in Resolution 181, which recommended that “independent Arab and Jewish States . . . shall come into existence in Palestine.” The size and borders of Palestine have changed and are now disputed, but Palestine still exists. Many states have lost land and changed boundaries without loss of statehood. The *CIA World Factbook* identifies over one hundred ongoing border disputes between sovereign states. Lost land and disputed borders do not negate statehood.

Even Israel has acknowledged that Palestine is a state

Prof. Paul Parker 2012. (Chairperson and a Professor of Religious Studies at Elmhurst College) 17 Apr 2012 FOREIGN POLICY JOURNAL “U.N. Membership Would Unshackle Israel and Palestine” (ellipses in original) <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2012/04/17/u-n-membership-would-unshackle-israel-and-palestine/>

Even Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has acknowledged and bitterly complained that the government of Israel has acknowledged that Palestine is a state with a government although *not* formally recognized. In 1993 one week after Mr. Yitzhak Rabin signed the Oslo Accords, Mr. Netanyahu eviscerated him on the floor of the Knesset: “Despite its denials, this government has accepted the creation of a Palestinian state . . . . Even if the words, ‘Palestinian state’, are not mentioned, you do not need a sign; *this is a Palestinian state*.” Who would sign the Oslo Accords with the government of the State of Israel if not the government of the State of Palestine?

“Recognition” of a state doesn’t matter much: A state may legally exist whether it is recognized or not

Prof. John Cerone 2011. ( Professor of Law and Director of the Center for International Law & Policy at New England Law, Boston) The UN and the Status of Palestine – Disentangling the Legal Issues, ASIL INSIGHTS, published by American Society of International Law, <http://www.asil.org/insights110913.cfm>

Recognition of statehood by other states is a distinct issue. While in earlier times recognition was considered by some jurists to be an essential element of statehood, the dominant position among international lawyers today is that recognition is merely declaratory. A state comes into being if it meets the Montevideo criteria. Recognition then merely declares an already existing legal reality. Whether a state chooses to recognize another state is a political, discretionary act, and a state’s act of recognizing another state, or withholding recognition, does not by itself affect the legal existence of the other state.

“Should negotiate a settlement” - Response: Negotiations aren’t working

OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS 2012.“PALESTINIAN STATE-BUILDING: AN ACHIEVEMENT AT INCREASED RISK” 21 Mar 2012 <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/336CBEA9224C9080852579C6006AC079>

Beyond the issue of continued funding shortfalls, the depth and breadth of progress in the Palestinian state-building achievement has not been matched by political progress towards a final status agreement. The achievements of the Palestinian Authority still represent the solid basis for a future Palestinian state and must be preserved. However, the prolonged absence of a credible political horizon as a result of the continuing failure by the parties to engage in meaningful negotiations is now beginning to undermine the viability of the Palestinian state-building effort. Despite the efforts of the Quartet, the intervening six months have been marked by growing mistrust between the parties and negative developments on the ground, in particular settlement activity.

ADVANTAGES

Net benefits: Admitting Palestine would have no negative consequences. The risk is in continuing the Status Quo, which isn’t working

Daniel Levy 2012. (Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation and co-directs the Middle East Taskforce; former senior policy adviser to Israeli Minister of Justice; formerly worked in the Israeli Prime Minister's Office as special adviser and head of the Jerusalem Affairs unit ; was a member of the Israeli delegation to the Taba Summit with the Palestinians in 2001) Jan 2012, “‘THE U.N. SHOULD ADMIT PALESTINE AS A FULL MEMBER STATE,’ DECIDES INTELLIGENCE SQUARED U.S. AUDIENCE” <http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf>

Our toolbox is an impoverished one because we have tried so much already. But sticking exclusively with negotiations really must be the dumbest idea. So what do we have left that’s nonviolent. Let’s use the international tools of diplomacy that are at our disposal to make a statement. We haven’t heard negative consequences that can come from this. And mostly we haven’t heard what else to do except to blindly continue to place our faith in negotiations or that the Palestinians somehow should only be ingratiating themselves without creating any leverage with Israel and America. It’s been tried. It hasn’t worked. The risk is the status quo. The risk is the continued dissent of Israeli democracy to a place where it will be unrecognizable and an inability to reach a two-state solution. We need to send a signal here from this room that Palestine should be admitted to the UN.

Palestinian UN membership is important for a 2-state solution

Daniel Levy 2012. (Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation and co-directs the Middle East Taskforce; former senior policy adviser to Israeli Minister of Justice; formerly worked in the Israeli Prime Minister's Office as special adviser and head of the Jerusalem Affairs unit ; was a member of the Israeli delegation to the Taba Summit with the Palestinians in 2001)  Jan 2012, “Intelligence Squared U.S.” debate on the subject: “The U.N. should admit Palestine as a full member state” [http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf](http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf" \t "_blank)

And the UN needs to send a signal to Israelis and Palestinians that there's going to be a two-state solution, otherwise the next debate will be about equal rights in one indivisible territorial unit. I'm not against equal rights in democracy, but I want an Israel, an Israel that's different, that changes. But I want an Israel. And I'm sure Mustafa wants a Palestine. And we should have both of those as member states of the UN.

Opposing UN membership rejects the right of the Palestinian people to be free and hinders negotiations with Israel

Dr. Mustafa Barghouthi 2012. (Secretary General of the Palestinian National Initiative, the president of The Palestinian Medical Relief Society, a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, and a non-violence democracy leader based in Ramallah; nominee for Nobel peace prize)  Jan 2012, “Intelligence Squared U.S.” debate on the subject: “The U.N. should admit Palestine as a full member state” <http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf>

Third, it also indicates, as I suspect Mr. Gold will show, such a position against UN admission indicates an underlying intention of rejecting the principle of having a Palestinian state, which means rejecting the right of the Palestinian people to be free. Continuing negotiations while settlements continue to grow is like having two sides negotiating over a piece of cheese. One side, the Palestinian side, is stuck behind bars. The Israeli side having access to the piece of cheese and eating it while negotiating. At the end of the day, we'll find nothing to negotiate about. And that is not a solution.

UN membership would help solve illegal Israeli settlements, good for peace and a 2-state solution

Dr. Mustafa Barghouthi 2012. (Secretary General of the Palestinian National Initiative, the president of The Palestinian Medical Relief Society, a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, and a non-violence democracy leader based in Ramallah; nominee for Nobel peace prize)  Jan 2012, “Intelligence Squared U.S.” debate on the subject: “The U.N. should admit Palestine as a full member state” <http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf>

And I want to say here that if we are admitted to the UN, the most important thing that will come out is that the illegal actions of settlements which are destroying the possibility of a two-state solution would be invalid. That means de facto creation of settlements on the ground does not undermine the right of the Palestinians to have a state. That will be good for peace and for two-state solution.

UN admission is an important strategy towards a non-violent solution to Palestinian-Isreaeli conflict

Daniel Levy 2012. (Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation and co-directs the Middle East Taskforce; former senior policy adviser to Israeli Minister of Justice; formerly worked in the Israeli Prime Minister's Office as special adviser and head of the Jerusalem Affairs unit ; was a member of the Israeli delegation to the Taba Summit with the Palestinians in 2001)  Jan 2012, “Intelligence Squared U.S.” debate on the subject: “The U.N. should admit Palestine as a full member state” <http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf>

Let's acknowledge that it's not going to be easy but the current policies aren't helping. What, then, can be done? The Palestinians do actually have options, violence. I'm against that. That's illegitimate. They can use nonviolence, coercive diplomacy of sanctioning. I can see its legitimacy, but I'm not an advocate of that. Or they can use declarative diplomacy, draw a line, lay down a marker to get the attention of Israelis. That's what U.N. membership is, and I would argue it correlates with what is best, therefore, for Israel. We can't expect the Palestinians to wait forever, and we can't say to them that you can neither have self-determination and express it at the U.N. but nor can you accept the one-state reality and argue for equal rights in one state. Suggesting the Palestinians can do neither is unrealistic, but it's also immoral. So if we want to salvage a two-state solution but at the same time if we can't impose a solution and if we can't even prevent deterioration, if we can't even get a settlement freeze, then how do we give oxygen to this gasping for breath two-state idea? We vote to admit Palestine to the U.N. and we vote for this motion tonight. U.N. membership is not a silver bullet. It’s not a panacea. It’s not sprinkling pixie dust on the harsh realities of the Middle East.  But it is an important and legitimate part of a strategy to signal a different future.

UN membership for Palestine would change political views within Israel and move the Israeli public toward accepting a two-state solution

Daniel Levy 2012. (Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation and co-directs the Middle East Taskforce; former senior policy adviser to Israeli Minister of Justice; formerly worked in the Israeli Prime Minister's Office as special adviser and head of the Jerusalem Affairs unit ; was a member of the Israeli delegation to the Taba Summit with the Palestinians in 2001)  Jan 2012, “Intelligence Squared U.S.” debate on the subject: “The U.N. should admit Palestine as a full member state” <http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf>

In the following way, and this isn't just about Prime Minister Netanyahu and his coalition, but I do think that when Prime Minister Netanyahu can strut his stuff and say, "You see, the international community doesn't admit Palestine to the U.N.," I think that sends precisely the wrong signal to the Israeli public. I give credit to the Israeli public intelligence in knowing the cost benefit calculation of the signals they're receiving are not affirmative enough yet regarding two states, and I think it's that signal that matters, and I do think it's not going to change everything but it would change something in the discourse if Palestine is admitted to the U.N. And that's the kind of change that we need to begin to see happening.

Palestinian membership would help motivate Israel to accept a 2-state solution

Daniel Levy 2012. (Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation and co-directs the Middle East Taskforce; former senior policy adviser to Israeli Minister of Justice; formerly worked in the Israeli Prime Minister's Office as special adviser and head of the Jerusalem Affairs unit ; was a member of the Israeli delegation to the Taba Summit with the Palestinians in 2001)  Jan 2012, “Intelligence Squared U.S.” debate on the subject: “The U.N. should admit Palestine as a full member state” <http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf>

Prime Minister Netanyahu may have talked the talk on two states, but he has not walked the walk. His own Likud party platform opposes two states, and one must take seriously the Jewish-Israeli narrative that says 100 years ago we had nothing, then we got Balfour, then we got the '47 partition, then we got 78 percent of the land, then in 1967 we got 100 percent of the land, and we're not going anywhere.  That's a serious view, and it has an amen corner, by the way, certain people perhaps in New Hampshire tonight's part of that amen corner. Passivity cannot be the response. If we want two states, we have to act. And U.N. admission for Palestine is precisely the anchor for a two-state future, a clarifying moment. We need to be deeply respectful of the choices that Israelis are going to have to make, difficult choices, and the conversations in Israel, and, therefore, to understand just how unproductive the lack of clarity is for that Israeli conversation. Indulging bad behavior, treating that with impunity, is unhelpful in any human predicament.

Lack of Palestine membership reduces Palestinians’ hope, which reduces security for Israel.

Palestinian membership would help uphold democracy in Israel by reducing support for occupation of Palestinian territory

Daniel Levy 2012. (Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation and co-directs the Middle East Taskforce; former senior policy adviser to Israeli Minister of Justice; formerly worked in the Israeli Prime Minister's Office as special adviser and head of the Jerusalem Affairs unit ; was a member of the Israeli delegation to the Taba Summit with the Palestinians in 2001)  Jan 2012, “Intelligence Squared U.S.” debate on the subject: “The U.N. should admit Palestine as a full member state”   (“Kaddish” in some contexts is a funeral mourner’s prayer) <http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf>

And finally, if we are concerned about Israel’s security, then let’s acknowledge that hope too is a security currently. Hopelessness encourages violence. There will always be the next mountain range that you need to occupy, but strategic security is about a basket of interests and balances and avoiding casus belli. And perhaps, perhaps, occupation itself contributes to insecurity and Israeli democracy. Eventually managing an occupation and justifying it and sustaining democracy cannot happily coexist. Not to dramatize, but if we don’t have a Palestine, we are saying Kaddish. We are saying the right of prayer, of last prayer for Israeli democracy. I urge you to support this motion, to support the principle of Palestine alongside Israel at the U.N.

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

“Palestinian Statehood bad” - Response: UN membership doesn’t confer statehood

Prof. John Cerone 2011. ( Professor of Law and Director of the Center for International Law & Policy at New England Law, Boston) The UN and the Status of Palestine – Disentangling the Legal Issues, ASIL INSIGHTS, published by American Society of International Law, <http://www.asil.org/insights110913.cfm>

As an initial matter, the question of statehood is distinct from the question of UN Membership. Indeed, it is possible to be a sovereign state without being a Member State of the United Nations (as Switzerland was for many years), and it is also possible to be a UN Member State without being a fully independent state (as India was prior to achieving complete independence from the United Kingdom). The existence of states is regulated by general international law, while UN membership is regulated by the UN Charter in conjunction with the practice of the Organization and its Members.

UN is the right forum to deal with Palestinian statehood issues

Prof. Henry Siegman 2011. (President of the U.S./Middle East Project; non-resident research professor at the Sir Joseph Hotung Middle East Program, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London) 11 Aug 2011 Challenging the Insupportable Arguments Against Palestinian Statehood <http://hrjpalestine.org/081111-news/>

The claim that the UN is not the appropriate address for bringing about Palestinian statehood that underlies the various legal, political and prudential arguments mustered against the Palestinian initiative can only be described as a lie. Not only was the UN set up to deal with issues of war and peace, it set the indisputable legal point of reference for all subsequent Israeli-Palestinian peace efforts—Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

“Bypass/Interrupt peace process negotiations” - Response: Palestinians will still have to go through the negotiations, they are not asking the UN to bypass

Prof. Henry Siegman 2011. (President of the U.S./Middle East Project; non-resident research professor at the Sir Joseph Hotung Middle East Program, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London) 11 Aug 2011 Challenging the Insupportable Arguments Against Palestinian Statehood <http://hrjpalestine.org/081111-news/>

Palestinians do not intend to ask the UN to address any of the permanent status issues they are required to negotiate with Israel. If the UN were to declare that Palestinians have achieved the requirements of statehood—as they have in fact been found to have done by the IMF and the World Bank—and a Palestinian state were accepted into full UN membership, Palestinians would still have to reach agreement on each of the permanent status issues with Israel.

“Bypasses the negotiated peace process” - Response: Nothing changes on the ground, they still have to negotiate everything.

Alvaro De Soto 2011. (studied law and international relations in Lima and Geneva; worked for Peru's foreign ministry in Lima and at its UN missions in New York City and Geneva; former special adviser to UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar; former Senior Political Adviser to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali; former UN Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs) 21 Sept 2011 “Palestine’s UN Cliffhanger, Then and Now” FOREIGN AFFAIRS, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/68289/alvaro-de-soto/palestines-un-cliffhanger-then-and-now>

At the end of this week, Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas is expected to bring a request for full United Nations membership before the Security Council. Even in the unlikely event that this succeeds, little will change on the ground: Israel will still occupy Palestinian territory, and Israelis and Palestinians will still have to negotiate an end to their conflict. U.S. and Israeli officials have chastised Abbas for what they call a “unilateral action” that will endanger prospects for peace.

“Violates Oslo agreement” - Responses: 1) Oslo is dead anyway due to Israeli violations; 2) UN membership wouldn’t violate Oslo

Prof. Henry Siegman 2011. (President of the U.S./Middle East Project; non-resident research professor at the Sir Joseph Hotung Middle East Program, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London) 11 Aug 2011 Challenging the Insupportable Arguments Against Palestinian Statehood <http://hrjpalestine.org/081111-news/>

The alleged legal objection to the Palestinian initiative is that it violates the terms of the Oslo accords, which preclude measures by either party to resolve unilaterally any of the permanent status issues. If it were true, as Israel’s government maintains, that an impermissible unilateral measure frees the other party from the Oslo accords’ obligations, then Palestinians were freed of Oslo’s obligations long ago, for both the UN and the International Court of Justice have declared that Israel’s settlements in the West Bank are not only impermissible unilateral acts but in clear violation of established international law. More fundamentally, however, it is simply not true that the proposed Palestinian initiative violates the Oslo agreement. Palestinians do not intend to ask the UN to address any of the permanent status issues they are required to negotiate with Israel.

All “peace process” DA’s - generic response: Non Unique - Status Quo peace process isn’t working anyway

Allen L. Keiswetter 2012. (retired Senior Foreign Service Officer; Scholar at the Middle East Institute; Adjunct Professor at the Univ of Maryland; taught courses on Islam and on the Middle East at the National War College and the National Defense Intelligence College; served as the Senior Advisor on the Middle East to the US Delegation to the General Assembly. ) 13 Jan 2012 The Arab Spring: Implications for US Policy and Interests, published by The Middle East Institute, <http://www.mei.edu/content/arab-spring-implications-us-policy-and-interests>

On the Middle East peace process, the immediate prospects look worse than before. The Arab Spring has sparked Israeli apprehensions that the relatively stable region of the past couple of decades has shifted against them. The Israeli government finds itself more isolated than ever. The Palestinians have found new energy but it is unclear how that can play into progress towards a negotiated settlement with Israel.

Hamas has officially declared commitment to nonviolence

Can’t argue Palestinians are divided and then oppose them when they seek unity

Dr. Mustafa Barghouthi 2012. (Secretary General of the Palestinian National Initiative, the president of The Palestinian Medical Relief Society, a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, and a non-violence democracy leader based in Ramallah; nominee for Nobel peace prize)  Jan 2012, “Intelligence Squared U.S.” debate on the subject: “The U.N. should admit Palestine as a full member state” [http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf](http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf" \t "_blank)

But on one side, we are told we would not be able to progress because Palestinians are divided. But then the same people, Israel and Mr. Gold, are against Palestinian unity. What we are working on, what we have achieved, actually, through the most recent negotiations is that Hamas officially declared, on the words of Khaled Meshal, that they are committing to nonviolence.

“Hurts 2-state solution process” - Response: Status Quo isn’t working very hard on the 2-state solution anyway

Khaled Elgindy 2012. (served with the Negotiations Support Unit as an advisor to the Palestinian leadership on permanent status negotiations with Israel; Visiting Fellow, Foreign Policy, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, Brookings Institution) “The Two-State Solution” <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2012/07/06-israel-palestine-elgindy>

How much time must go by, how many Israeli settlers must be added, how much territorial fragmentation must occur before the parties and the international community finally conclude that a two-state solution is simply no longer even a *physical* possibility? Ask any Israeli or Palestinian–or American or European–official this question (which I do as matter of course) and you are likely to hear only vague reaffirmations of the crucial need for a negotiated resolution based on two states for two peoples. Press them further, however, and they will eventually concede something like the following: “The two-state solution cannot expire because there is no alternative.” But if there is no alternative, then time is certainly not “running out.” It is this paradox that gives American, Israeli, and even Palestinian leaders the illusion that the status quo can be maintained indefinitely, and why it is so easy for all sides to support a two-state solution without ever taking the necessary steps to make it happen.

8. 2A EVIDENCE: PEACEKEEPER ACCOUNTABILITY

OPENING QUOTE / EMOTIONAL APPEAL

Peacekeepers’ abuse victims are the most vulnerable people on earth: We have to take action to protect them

Renee A. Vezina 2012. (JD candidate, Ave Maria School of Law) “COMBATING IMPUNITY IN HAITI: WHY THE ICC SHOULD PROSECUTE SEXUAL ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS,” Spring 2012, AVE MARIA INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL <http://legacy.avemarialaw.edu/ILJ/assets/articles//vol1_num2/Vezina.pdf>

Human rights violations by UN personnel destroys, damages, and undermines the UN’s image, mandates, and peacekeeping operations. Former UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, expressed this sentiment, “sexual exploitation and abuse by humanitarian staff cannot be tolerated. It violates everything the United Nations stands for. Men, women, and children displaced by conflict or other disasters are among the most vulnerable people on earth. They look to the United Nations and its humanitarian partners for shelter and protection.” Consequently, the UN must take action against its personnel who violate its own mandates, such as the prohibition of sexual violence, and international human rights and humanitarian law if MINUSTAH is to be remembered as a successful peacekeeping operation.

BACKGROUND

UN has 100,000 peacekeepers and $7.8 billion budget

Christopher Rhoads 2012. (journalist) Peacekeepers at War, WALL STREET JOURNAL 23 June 2012 <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702303836404577476460542151978.html>

Since 1990, the U.N. has launched close to 50 missions. The number of U.N. peacekeepers world-wide has grown sevenfold since 1999, to 100,000, and the global peacekeeping budget has increased by a similar degree to $7.8 billion, of which the U.S. is assessed 27%.

List of top 10 troop contributing countries to UN Peace Operations

Center on International Cooperation at New York University 2012. Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2012, <http://www.cic.nyu.edu/peacekeeping/docs/gpo_2012.pdf>

Top Troop-Contributing Countries to UN Peace Operations: 2011

1 Pakistan

2 Bangladesh

3 India

4 Ethiopia

5 Nigeria

6 Egypt

7 Nepal

8 Rwanda

9 Ghana

10 Uruguay

ICC isn’t part of the UN, but it has a mandate to work with the UN

[Response to extra-topicality argument that the plan is reforming the ICC in addition to the UN. No reform is occurring at the ICC, it already has a mandate to cooperate with the UN. It’s reforming the UN by sending UN peacekeepers to the ICC instead of sending them back to their home countries when they commit abuse.]

War Crimes Research Office, American University Washington College of Law 2009. “THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT AND THE UNITED NATIONS” August 2009 <http://www.wcl.american.edu/warcrimes/icc/documents/WCRO_Report_on_ICC_and_UN_August2009.pdf>

Those states that worked on the creation of the Court understood that the ICC needed to maintain judicial independence from the political workings of the UN, but also realized that, to be effective, the Court would need the active support of the United Nations. Ultimately, the ICC was created as a separate institution, placed outside of the UN framework, and was established by a multilateral treaty rather than a UN General Assembly or Security Council resolution. Nevertheless, Article 2 of the Rome Statute mandated that the ICC enter into a cooperation agreement with the United Nations, which was adopted as the Negotiated Relationship Agreement Between the International Criminal Court and the United Nations (Relationship Agreement) in October 2004.

INHERENCY

NO ACCOUNTABILITY

Status Quo mechanisms fail to address abuse and exploitation by UN Peacekeepers

Prof. Elizabeth Defeis 2011. (Professor of Law and former Dean of Seton Hall University School of Law) “THE UNITED NATIONS AND WOMEN—A CRITIQUE” WILLIAM & MARY JOURNAL OF WOMEN AND THE LAW, Volume 17 <http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1312&context=wmjowl>

Despite widespread reports and documentation of sexual abuse by United Nations Peacekeepers dating back more than two decades, there is not yet a sufficient mechanism in place to address these very serious offenses. Although the U.N. has been successful in setting norms and developing treaties in the area of gender equality, it has been unsuccessful in its efforts to address the egregious acts of sexual abuse and exploitation committed by U.N. Peacekeepers.

**UN’s “zero tolerance” policy isn’t stopping abuse: More incidents in Haiti after the policy was reaffirmed by Ban Ki Moon**

Prof. Elizabeth Defeis 2011. (Professor of Law and former Dean of Seton Hall University School of Law) “THE UNITED NATIONS AND WOMEN—A CRITIQUE” WILLIAM & MARY JOURNAL OF WOMEN AND THE LAW, Volume 17 (ellipses in original) (brackets added) <http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1312&context=wmjowl>

In response to these new allegations, the newly appointed Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon reaffirmed the U.N.’s zero-tolerance policy and stated: “The UN standard on this issue is clear—zero tolerance meaning zero complacency and zero impunity. . . . It is the UN’s policy to treat credible allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse as serious offences to be investigated by the Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS).” Later that year, however, 100 Sri Lankan peacekeepers were repatriated from Haiti following allegations that some had sexually exploited or abused children, according to a report in the Wall Street Journal.

Status Quo UN has limited control over peacekeepers: They can only be disciplined by their national authorities

Dr. Carol Allais 2011. (PhD Sociology, Univ of Port Elizabeth, S.Africa; professor and chairman of Department of Sociology at Univ of South Africa) SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS: THE PSYCHOSOCIAL CONTEXT OF BEHAVIOUR CHANGE <http://www.ajol.info/index.php/smsajms/article/viewFile/70511/59115>

Taking action against alleged perpetrators is, however, beset with difficulties. Allred highlights some factors identified by the Comprehensive review that contribute to the problem. A major underlying problem is the limited control that the UN has over individual peacekeepers. UN staff is a small minority of the membership of a peacekeeping mission. Most peacekeepers are soldiers on loan from troop-contributing countries (TCCs). With respect to them, the UN has no disciplinary authority. They serve under the operational control of their own national establishments and are subject to discipline only by their national authorities.

Home country investigations aren’t reliable, UN members rejected a disciplinary process, and civilian contractors are sent home with immunity.

Neil MacFarquhar 2011. (journalist) NEW YORK TIMES, Peacekeepers’ Sex Scandals Linger, On Screen and Off, 7 Sept 2011 <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/08/world/08nations.html?pagewanted=all>

“Member states are not reliable enough to do a good job on their own, especially in the early stages of a military investigation,” said Prince Zeid Raad Zeid al-Hussein, the Jordanian ambassador and the author of a damning study of sexual exploitation in peacekeeping in 2005 as special adviser on the issue under the previous secretary general. Mr. Ban never filled the post. Member states rejected the study’s recommendations to establish a coordinated, nimble investigation and discipline process. Soldiers serving the United Nations are subject to their own countries’ military justice. The only wrist slap often faced by contractors is being sent home, because they enjoy immunity as United Nations employees.

UN troops are immune from being prosecuted in the country where they are stationed

Dr. Carol Allais 2011. (PhD Sociology, Univ of Port Elizabeth, S.Africa; professor and chairman of Department of Sociology at Univ of South Africa) SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS: THE PSYCHOSOCIAL CONTEXT OF BEHAVIOUR CHANGE (brackets added) <http://www.ajol.info/index.php/smsajms/article/viewFile/70511/59115>

There is also a perception among peacekeepers that they are immune to prosecution for crimes they may commit while being deployed. Allred points out that in many cases this is true. When a TCC [troop contributing country] supplies peacekeeping soldiers to the UN it does so under a memorandum of agreement (MOA) that reserves its right to discipline its own forces. The UN then enters into a status of forces agreement with the host nation where the peacekeepers will be deployed, under which the host nation waives jurisdiction over peacekeepers for violations of host-nation law. As a consequence, the TCC has exclusive jurisdiction to punish its soldiers and the host nation has none. The lack of host nation jurisdiction gives these troops de facto immunity from prosecution there.

Troop Contributing Countries don’t discipline their peacekeepers when they commit crimes on UN missions

Dr. Carol Allais 2011. (PhD Sociology, Univ of Port Elizabeth, S.Africa; professor and chairman of Department of Sociology at Univ of South Africa) SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS: THE PSYCHOSOCIAL CONTEXT OF BEHAVIOUR CHANGE (brackets added) http://www.ajol.info/index.php/smsajms/article/viewFile/70511/59115

The UN has abandoned the past practice of requiring TCCs [troop contributing countries] to commit to exercising their jurisdiction over errant troops. This leaves the TTC with the right but not the obligation to even consider disciplinary action. If the TCC exercises its jurisdiction to discipline troops who commit crimes abroad, this arrangement will work well, but TCCs are unlikely to actually exercise jurisdiction over their troops – so many crimes committed by deployed peacekeepers simply go unpunished. TCCs are often embarrassed by reports that their troops committed crimes abroad and are inclined to keep criminal charges such as human trafficking, rape and paedophilia as quiet as possible. Even when TCCs are conscientious and hold their troops accountable they often find the criminal investigations against their troops are inadequate or incomplete or they fail to collect evidence in a manner compliant with TCC law.

UN investigation of peacekeepers’ crimes is lagging: no accountability, and too much left to the countries contributing the troops

Neil MacFarquhar 2011. (journalist) NEW YORK TIMES, Peacekeepers’ Sex Scandals Linger, On Screen and Off, 7 Sept 2011 (brackets added) <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/08/world/08nations.html?pagewanted=all>

The United Nations has focused serious attention on addressing sexual crimes among the more than 120,000 personnel it has deployed in 16 peacekeeping missions globally, including widespread training. But the question that diplomats, advocates and even some United Nations officials ask is why the efforts still lag in terms of investigating accusations and, most important, making sure those who send troops and contractors abroad hold them accountable. Human rights experts and some member states fault the United Nations for leaving too much of the job of enforcing its “zero tolerance” policy announced in 2003 to the countries contributing troops. Individual cases and any disciplinary action are rarely made public. “They never come up with actual facts; they never come up with actual cases,” Ms. [Kathy] Bolkovac [American police officer working with UN peacekeeping] said.

There is no adequate legal remedy in Status Quo for crimes committed by Peacekeepers because their home countries do not prosecute

Renee A. Vezina 2012. (JD candidate, Ave Maria School of Law) “COMBATING IMPUNITY IN HAITI: WHY THE ICC SHOULD PROSECUTE SEXUAL ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS,” Spring 2012, AVE MARIA INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL <http://legacy.avemarialaw.edu/ILJ/assets/articles//vol1_num2/Vezina.pdf>

The Haitian government has requested to investigate human rights abuses by peacekeepers, such as the sexual assault and rape of children, under the “principles of equality before the law and the universal nature of human rights.” This request by the Haitian government and Senator Latortue demonstrates that the SOFA [Status of Forces Agreement] and the immunity provisions do not provide an adequate legal remedy or justice for the egregious crimes committed by the peacekeepers, because the accused are not prosecuted by their respective countries.

UN peacekeepers are exclusively under the jurisdiction of their sending state (their home country) and this is not effective at preventing abuse

Melanie O’Brien 2009. ( B.A./LL.B. (University of Newcastle, Australia), GDLP (University of Technology Sydney, Australia), LL.M.(Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, University of Lund, Sweden), Doctoral Candidate at University of Nottingham, UK ) “ISSUES OF THE DRAFT CONVENTION ON THE CRIMINAL ACCOUNTABILITY OF UNITED NATIONS OFFICIALS AND EXPERTS ON MISSION” <http://griffith.academia.edu/MelanieOBrien/Papers/850019/Issues_of_the_Draft_Convention_on_the_Criminal_Accountability_of_United_Nations_Officials_and_Experts_on_Mission>

While the mandate of the Group of Legal Experts was to assess the criminal accountability of only officials and experts on mission, it is illogical to create an international instrument that only applies to a certain group of peacekeeping personnel and not all of them. This is particularly important given the fact that the majority of allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse committed by peacekeepers are committed by military personnel, who are subject to absolute immunity from host state jurisdiction which cannot be waived by the UN as they are subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of their sending state. Therefore, it should be a priority that they are not excluded from the scope of application of any international convention aiming to secure criminal accountability for peacekeepers. The fact that exclusive jurisdiction is and always has been granted to the sending state over military personnel through the SOFA has not led to comprehensive disciplinary and criminal actions, nor effective prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse by military personnel.

UN has no jurisdiction to prosecute abusive peacekeepers: Only states and international courts can do it

Melanie O’Brien 2009. ( B.A./LL.B. (University of Newcastle, Australia), GDLP (University of Technology Sydney, Australia), LL.M.(Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, University of Lund, Sweden), Doctoral Candidate at University of Nottingham, UK ) “ISSUES OF THE DRAFT CONVENTION ON THE CRIMINAL ACCOUNTABILITY OF UNITED NATIONS OFFICIALS AND EXPERTS ON MISSION” <http://griffith.academia.edu/MelanieOBrien/Papers/850019/Issues_of_the_Draft_Convention_on_the_Criminal_Accountability_of_United_Nations_Officials_and_Experts_on_Mission>

The UN has created Conduct and Discipline Units, located at Headquarters and in-mission, the role of which includes increasing awareness of conduct and discipline issues,training, acting as a focal point for allegations of misconduct (including sexual exploitation and abuse) and collection of data on investigations. However, the reports, bulletins, directives and other documents issued by the UN all confirm the fact that the UN does not have the ability to carry out criminal proceedings over offences committed by peacekeeping personnel. The organisation can carry out administrative investigations, and facilitate and co-operate with states’ investigations and prosecutions, but due to the fact that it is an international organisation, it does not have the power of criminal jurisdiction. Only states and international courts and tribunals have the power to exercise criminal jurisdiction over peacekeepers.

Some countries have no laws against sexual exploitation by their troops serving abroad

Melanie O’Brien 2009. ( B.A./LL.B. (University of Newcastle, Australia), GDLP (University of Technology Sydney, Australia), LL.M.(Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, University of Lund, Sweden), Doctoral Candidate at University of Nottingham, UK ) “ISSUES OF THE DRAFT CONVENTION ON THE CRIMINAL ACCOUNTABILITY OF UNITED NATIONS OFFICIALS AND EXPERTS ON MISSION” (brackets added; parentheses in original) http://griffith.academia.edu/MelanieOBrien/Papers/850019/Issues\_of\_the\_Draft\_Convention\_on\_the\_Criminal\_Accountability\_of\_United\_Nations\_Officials\_and\_Experts\_on\_Mission

Perhaps it is assumed that national laws adequately cover criminal accountability of military personnel for crimes committed during PSOs [Peace Support Operations] given that sending states are granted exclusive jurisdiction over their military personnel, but this is not necessarily the case. States not only require laws that cover the subject-matter jurisdiction of sexual exploitation and abuse (and indeed, any other crimes), but these must be applicable extra-territorially. Not all states have such laws enacted, and a convention obligating states to do so should cover all personnel participating in PSOs. For example, in a study of Australian and United States law, the author has found that neither country has legislation covering the crime of sexual exploitation when committed by forces or CivPol [civilian police].

Leaving it to their home countries isn’t enough: Not all nations have comprehensive war crimes legislation

Melanie O’Brien 2009. ( B.A./LL.B. (University of Newcastle, Australia), GDLP (University of Technology Sydney, Australia), LL.M.(Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, University of Lund, Sweden), Doctoral Candidate at University of Nottingham, UK ) “ISSUES OF THE DRAFT CONVENTION ON THE CRIMINAL ACCOUNTABILITY OF UNITED NATIONS OFFICIALS AND EXPERTS ON MISSION” (brackets added) <http://griffith.academia.edu/MelanieOBrien/Papers/850019/Issues_of_the_Draft_Convention_on_the_Criminal_Accountability_of_United_Nations_Officials_and_Experts_on_Mission>

IHL is a lex specialis, and serves to ensure a balance between military necessity and humanitarian considerations, aiming to diminish suffering and protect civilians while maintaining the effectiveness of military operations. An example of this is murder or assault, which have specific definitions under IHL that enables combatants to lawfully kill or assault someone within the confines of armed conflict. Thus requiring applicability of the crimes covered in the Draft Convention may result in unjust criminal accountability for actions performed in armed conflict.However, the counter-argument is that IHL [International Humanitarian Law] may not necessarily cover all criminal behaviour which may amount to sexual exploitation and abuse, which can still be committed by a peacekeeper during armed conflict. This will depend on a state’s national laws, including whether its interpretation of IHL is expansive enough to cover crimes that may not necessarily be specifically stated in legislation or codes. National domestic laws being enacted to implement the crimes under the ICC Statute are a step towards ensuring that violations of IHL are more comprehensively criminalised, but not all states have comprehensive war crimes legislation.

UN training and “Zero Tolerance” policy don’t prevent peacekeeper abuse: failed in Haiti

Renee A. Vezina 2012. (JD candidate, Ave Maria School of Law) “COMBATING IMPUNITY IN HAITI: WHY THE ICC SHOULD PROSECUTE SEXUAL ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS,” Spring 2012, AVE MARIA INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL <http://legacy.avemarialaw.edu/ILJ/assets/articles//vol1_num2/Vezina.pdf>

The sexual abuse of children in Haiti has been reported on by various international media outlets, of particular note is the systematic rape of young girls by Sri Lankan Peacekeepers and the abuse of a teenage boy by five peacekeepers from Uruguay. Despite the efforts of the United Nations (hereinafter UN) to train peacekeepers and implementing a ‘zero-tolerance’ for sexual violence committed by peacekeepers they have not succeeded in preventing these human rights violations.

UN Resolution 1325 hasn’t been implemented effectively

Renee A. Vezina 2012. (JD candidate, Ave Maria School of Law) “COMBATING IMPUNITY IN HAITI: WHY THE ICC SHOULD PROSECUTE SEXUAL ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS,” Spring 2012, AVE MARIA INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL <http://legacy.avemarialaw.edu/ILJ/assets/articles//vol1_num2/Vezina.pdf>

The UN has attempted to implement procedures and to ensure that proper measures are taken against child sex abusers, including developing investigative procedures and protocols. Alas, the Intern-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) has stated that “it has been impossible to determine if the incidence of sexual exploitation and abuse has increased or decreased” despite the efforts of the United Nations and other international Non-Governmental Organizations. The UN, in response to sexual exploitations by peacekeepers, passed Resolution 1325, which holds participating States responsible for failures in international human rights law. Importantly, Resolution 1325 calls for States to end impunity and prosecute those who are involved in crimes against humanity, such as sexual violence against children. Amnesty International has reported that Resolution 1325 has not been implemented effectively by member States.

Resolution 1820 (zero tolerance + prosecution at home by member states) leaves many unpunished. We need ICC jurisdiction to prosecute peacekeepers

Renee A. Vezina 2012. (JD candidate, Ave Maria School of Law) “COMBATING IMPUNITY IN HAITI: WHY THE ICC SHOULD PROSECUTE SEXUAL ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS,” Spring 2012, AVE MARIA INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL <http://legacy.avemarialaw.edu/ILJ/assets/articles//vol1_num2/Vezina.pdf>

In 2008, the UN renewed commitment to preventing sexual violence in conflict settings by passing Resolution 1820. The resolution implements a ‘zero-tolerance’ policy concerning sexual abuse in peacekeeping operations, calling for Member States to immediately comply with their obligations by prosecuting persons responsible for such acts, removing armed forces personnel, and holding commanders responsible.” Most importantly, Resolution 1820 grants jurisdiction to the ICC by categorizing sexual violence as a war crime. However, unless jurisdiction is granted to the ICC the investigation and prosecution of sexual crimes committed by peacekeepers remain with the member States, which unfortunately leads to many peacekeepers being unpunished.

Counterplan / Minor Repair “Ratify the Draft Convention on The Criminal Accountability of United Nations Officials and Experts on Mission” - Response: Perpetrators can avoid accountability under loopholes in the Draft Convention. Melanie O’Brien, who favors the Draft Convention, nevertheless admitted in 2009:

Melanie O’Brien 2009. ( B.A./LL.B. (University of Newcastle, Australia), GDLP (University of Technology Sydney, Australia), LL.M.(Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, University of Lund, Sweden), Doctoral Candidate at University of Nottingham, UK ) “ISSUES OF THE DRAFT CONVENTION ON THE CRIMINAL ACCOUNTABILITY OF UNITED NATIONS OFFICIALS AND EXPERTS ON MISSION” <http://griffith.academia.edu/MelanieOBrien/Papers/850019/Issues_of_the_Draft_Convention_on_the_Criminal_Accountability_of_United_Nations_Officials_and_Experts_on_Mission>

However, there is no obligation for a sending state to investigate and/or arrest an alleged perpetrator who is a national of the state party and has committed a crime in the host state while engaged on a PSO, and is still located in the host state. Thus, there is once again a gap in obligations for states in the Draft Convention. This enables a perpetrator to avoid criminal accountability by not returning to his/her country, as that state is not obligated under the Convention to investigate unless the alleged perpetrator is within that state’s territory. While the Group placed an emphasis on the fact that the host state should be the primary source of criminal jurisdiction, this may not always be possible - and in fact, even if the Draft Convention is amended to apply to military personnel, the host state may still not have jurisdiction at all over that category of personnel due to SOFA and MoU provisions.

WIDESPREAD ABUSE - NOT BEING SOLVED / GETTING WORSE

“Zero Tolerance Policy” didn’t work - in fact, the problem of peacekeeper misconduct is getting worse

Dr. Carol Allais 2011. (PhD Sociology, Univ of Port Elizabeth, S.Africa; professor and chairman of Department of Sociology at Univ of South Africa) SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS: THE PSYCHOSOCIAL CONTEXT OF BEHAVIOUR CHANGE <http://www.ajol.info/index.php/smsajms/article/viewFile/70511/59115>

Stecklow and Lauria point out that, several years after the United Nations implemented a zero-tolerance policy for sexual misconduct for its peacekeepers, the organisation is still struggling to persuade member states to investigate and discipline accused solders. Interviews and UN documents reveal that the problem continues and is, in fact, rising

Despite UN policies, abuse persists and is even increasing

Prof. Elizabeth Defeis 2011. (Professor of Law and former Dean of Seton Hall University School of Law) “THE UNITED NATIONS AND WOMEN—A CRITIQUE” WILLIAM & MARY JOURNAL OF WOMEN AND THE LAW, Volume 17 <http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1312&context=wmjowl>

In the first half of 2010, forty-five allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse by U.N. personnel in peacekeeping and political missions were received, eighteen of which involved minors; this represented an increase from the same period as the previous year. Despite the harrowing revelations and specific recommendations for reform contained in many U.N. reports and reports of NGOs monitoring the issue, sexual exploitation and abuse in U.N. Peacekeeping Operations persists.

Problem is escalating: Despite publicity and reports, reports of abuse and official inaction are escalating

Prof. Elizabeth Defeis 2011. (Professor of Law and former Dean of Seton Hall University School of Law) “THE UNITED NATIONS AND WOMEN—A CRITIQUE” WILLIAM & MARY JOURNAL OF WOMEN AND THE LAW, Volume 17 <http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1312&context=wmjowl>

The allegations of sexual abuse have now tarnished the reputation of both the United Nations and the difficult work of the U.N. peacekeepers. While the issue of sexual abuse has been addressed in numerous Security Council resolutions, U.N. reports, press reports and reports of NGOs, reports of sexual abuse and official inaction continue to escalate.

Peacekeepers commit every kind of sexual abuse imaginable. We’ll leave out the graphic details and just give you the part we can safely quote from Dr. Carol Allais in 2011:

Dr. Carol Allais 2011. (PhD Sociology, Univ of Port Elizabeth, S.Africa; professor and chairman of Department of Sociology at Univ of South Africa) SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS: THE PSYCHOSOCIAL CONTEXT OF BEHAVIOUR CHANGE <http://www.ajol.info/index.php/smsajms/article/viewFile/70511/59115>

The sexual exploitation of children is particularly insidious. Research into the sexual exploitation and abuse of children conducted by Save the Children in Cote D’Ivoire, Haiti and Southern Sudan in 2007 revealed cases of abuse associated with a sum total of 23 humanitarian, peacekeeping and security organisations. These included civil humanitarian agencies such as those delivering food and nutritional assistance, care, educational and health services, reconstruction, shelter, training, and livelihood support as well as military actors providing peace and security support. Allegations of sex with minors were reported against staff from the World Food Programme (WFP), the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) as well as local and international NGOs. Troops associated with the UN Department of Peacekeeping Services (DPKO) were identified as a particular source of abuse in these fieldwork locations, particularly in Haiti and Cote D’Ivoire. The report identified “every kind of child sexual abuse and exploitation imaginable”, including trading sex for food and other non-monetary items or services, forced sex, verbal sexual abuse, child prostitution, child pornography, sexual slavery, indecent sexual assault, and child trafficking linked with commercial sexual exploitation.

UN peacekeeper abuse figures could well be under-reported

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2009. (LL.B. (University of Zambia), LL.M. (Harvard Law School), D. Phil. (Trinity College, Oxford University), Professor of Law, Cornell Univ Law School, and Director, Cornell Institute for African Development) The United Nations Responses To The Sexual Abuse And Exploitation Of Women And Girls By Peacekeepers During Peacekeeping Missions , Cornell Law Library <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1058&context=facpub>

While acknowledging the progress made in addressing the problem and the decrease in the numbers of cases in 2007, the figures continue to reveal a serious problem of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse by peacekeepers during United Nations missions. Given the widely acknowledged fact that sexual abuse is often not reported by victims who feel powerless and are frightened and intimidated at the prospect of being confronted by investigators, the figures could very well be an under-reporting of the problem.

HARMS

Cases of abuse weaken the credibility and effectiveness of UN peacekeeping operations

Renee A. Vezina 2012. (JD candidate, Ave Maria School of Law) “COMBATING IMPUNITY IN HAITI: WHY THE ICC SHOULD PROSECUTE SEXUAL ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS,” Spring 2012, AVE MARIA INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL (brackets added) <http://legacy.avemarialaw.edu/ILJ/assets/articles//vol1_num2/Vezina.pdf>

MINUSTAH [UN peacekeeping operation in Haiti] has been able to accomplish important goals, such as the peaceful transfer of power and improving the overall security situation. However, the cholera outbreak and the sexual abuse scandals, especially those involving children, have weakened the overall success of MINUSTAH. Although success of peacekeeping operations is never a guarantee, it is evident that success is largely based on the UN peacekeeping forces being legitimate and credible, especially in the “eyes of the local population.” The sexual abuse and exploitation of children by UN peacekeeping personnel destroys the legitimacy and credibility of the UN’s operations.

SOLVENCY / ADVOCACY

Peacekeepers should be prosecuted by the ICC

Renee A. Vezina 2012. (JD candidate, Ave Maria School of Law) “COMBATING IMPUNITY IN HAITI: WHY THE ICC SHOULD PROSECUTE SEXUAL ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS,” Spring 2012, AVE MARIA INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL <http://legacy.avemarialaw.edu/ILJ/assets/articles//vol1_num2/Vezina.pdf>

Consequently, the international community and the United Nations must prove their commitment to protecting children through the establishment of a limited tribunal held by the International Criminal Court (hereinafter ICC). This paper argues that sexual abuse of children committed by UN peacekeepers in Haiti during the Stabilization of Mission to Haiti (hereinafter MINUSTAH) should be submitted to the ICC for prosecution because protecting children from sexual violence is not only a legal obligation but also a moral obligation that all members of the human race have.

Abusive peacekeepers in Haiti should be brought before the ICC

Renee A. Vezina 2012. (JD candidate, Ave Maria School of Law) “COMBATING IMPUNITY IN HAITI: WHY THE ICC SHOULD PROSECUTE SEXUAL ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS,” Spring 2012, AVE MARIA INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL <http://legacy.avemarialaw.edu/ILJ/assets/articles//vol1_num2/Vezina.pdf>

Consequently, if the international community and the UN are committed to establishing human rights worldwide, including the rights of the child, the peacekeepers accused for sexually assaulting or raping children in Haiti must be submitted to the ICC to be held criminally responsible for their acts. It is our moral duty to ensure that justice is served and that these children are protected from such evils.

Security Council should refer abusive peacekeepers to the ICC for prosecution

Renee A. Vezina 2012. (JD candidate, Ave Maria School of Law) “COMBATING IMPUNITY IN HAITI: WHY THE ICC SHOULD PROSECUTE SEXUAL ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS,” Spring 2012, AVE MARIA INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL (brackets in original) <http://legacy.avemarialaw.edu/ILJ/assets/articles//vol1_num2/Vezina.pdf>

The UN has been given the responsibility to “reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person [including children].” Rape, or sexual violence against children, is a human rights violation, and the UN is charged in protecting and eliminating human rights violations and has an affirmative duty to protect from and prevent sexual violence by peacekeepers. The Security Council can, and should, refer peacekeepers to the ICC for prosecution for these crimes because they are crimes against humanity and the SOFAs and MODs are voidable upon a jus cogen or erga omnes obligation.

Moral and legal obligation to bring abusive UN peacekeepers before the ICC

Renee A. Vezina 2012. (JD candidate, Ave Maria School of Law) “COMBATING IMPUNITY IN HAITI: WHY THE ICC SHOULD PROSECUTE SEXUAL ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS,” Spring 2012, AVE MARIA INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL <http://legacy.avemarialaw.edu/ILJ/assets/articles//vol1_num2/Vezina.pdf>

When UN peacekeepers sexually abuse, assault, and exploit children where they have a duty protect, they are effectively violating international and moral obligations. Furthermore, when the peacekeepers who have abused children leave Haiti, the effects of their abuse will remain with the children and their families and communities. The UN and the international community have a moral and legal obligation to ensure the punishment, through an ICC limited tribunal, of those who commit sexual violence against children because, after all, “Respect for children is respect of humanity.”

“Cost of ICC is expensive and slow” - Response: They can have special tribunals on site where the abuses occurred

“Sexual violence isn’t under ICC jurisdiction” - Response: ICC has explicitly codified sexual violent crimes

Renee A. Vezina 2012. (JD candidate, Ave Maria School of Law) “COMBATING IMPUNITY IN HAITI: WHY THE ICC SHOULD PROSECUTE SEXUAL ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS,” Spring 2012, AVE MARIA INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL <http://legacy.avemarialaw.edu/ILJ/assets/articles//vol1_num2/Vezina.pdf>

There are barriers to an ICC trial, they can be costly and time consuming. In the alternative, a special tribunal of the ICC can accomplish the same goals of an ICC trial without the extensive cost and time. Tribunals have been created before, in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, which have both prosecuted individuals for crimes against humanity, including rape and sexual violence. Unlike the tribunals of Yugoslavia, a tribunal under the ICC would not be ad hoc or embedded with the UN Security Council. A tribunal in Haiti can be limited in time and scope, similar to former tribunals. Furthermore, since the ICC is a permanent court the residual issues that resulted from former tribunals or “selective justice” is irrelevant. The ICC has also explicitly codified sexual violent crimes that are comparable to grave crimes against humanity, including: rape, sexual slavery, and forced prostitution. If an ICC tribunal were located in Haiti, it would ensure that victim testimony and evidence would not be tampered with. It would also decrease the costs of the tribunal because the ICC would not have to transport the victims and witnesses to several countries. By having the tribunal in Haiti, the victim will have the opportunity to be heard, which would satisfy the CRC’s mandate, that children should be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial proceeding that affects the child.

ICC can provide accountability for abusive peacekeepers

Melanie O’Brien 2011. (Research Fellow, ARC Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security, Griﬃ th University,Brisbane, Australia; B.A./LL.B. (University of Newcastle, Australia), GDLP (University of Technology Sydney, Australia), LL.M.(Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, University of Lund, Sweden), Doctoral Candidate at University of Nottingham, UK ) Sexual Exploitation and Beyond:Using the Rome Statute of the InternationalCriminal Court to Prosecute UN Peacekeepers forGender-based Crimes , International Criminal Law Review <http://griffith.academia.edu/MelanieOBrien/Papers/850002/Sexual_Exploitation_and_Beyond_Using_the_Rome_Statute_of_the_International_Criminal_Court_to_Prosecute_UN_Peacekeepers_for_Gender-based_Crimes>

The commission of crimes against women such as sexual exploitation and rape by peacekeepers is particularly reprehensible. Such conduct violates the duty of care to the civilian population that peacekeepers are charged with. It is important that perpetrators are held accountable for such oﬀences. The ICC is one forum in which accountability could be implemented. The Rome Statute covers very eﬀectively some of the relevant gender-based crimes considered in this article, particularly rape, traﬃcking-related oﬀences, sexual slavery and enforced prostitution. However it does not contain express provisions to prosecute peacekeeping personnel for sexual exploitation. The crime of ‘sexual violence’ may be used to prosecute for sexual exploitation, but sexual exploitation is a crime of suﬃcient gravity to be introduced as a stand-alone, express sexual oﬀence.

ICC can handle charges regarding sexual violence

Dianne Luping 2009. (Trial Lawyer in the Prosecution Division of the Office of the Prosecutor (OTP) at the International Criminal Court (ICC)) INVESTIGATION AND PROSECUTION OF SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED CRIMES BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT, American University - Journal of Gender, Social Policy & the Law, Volume 17 <http://www.wcl.american.edu/journal/genderlaw/17/2luping.pdf>

The ICC has built upon lessons learnt and has moved onwards. The dual focused and mainstreamed approach has been adopted in all ICC investigations. As a result, important charges regarding sexual and gender-based crimes have been brought, including charges in the Darfur case of rape as a form of genocide; charges in the Central African Republic case of rape as a crime against humanity and as a war crime, rape constituting torture as both a crime against humanity and war crime, and rape as the war crime of outrages upon personal dignity; and charges in the second Democratic Republic of Congo of sexual slavery and rape as both crimes against humanity and war crimes.

ICC has a mandate to investigate sexual crimes under international criminal law and can do it effectively

Dianne Luping 2009. (Trial Lawyer in the Prosecution Division of the Office of the Prosecutor (OTP) at the International Criminal Court (ICC)) INVESTIGATION AND PROSECUTION OF SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED CRIMES BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT, American University - Journal of Gender, Social Policy & the Law, Volume 17 <http://www.wcl.american.edu/journal/genderlaw/17/2luping.pdf> (brackets added)

The Court has been granted an important mandate in the investigation and prosecution of sexual and gender-based crimes under international criminal law, by virtue of its progressive legal framework. The OTP [office of the prosecutor] has implemented this positive framework and built upon past experience to ensure the effective investigation and prosecution of sexual and gender-based crimes before the ICC.

ICC has jurisdiction and would be fair

Renee A. Vezina 2012. (JD candidate, Ave Maria School of Law) “COMBATING IMPUNITY IN HAITI: WHY THE ICC SHOULD PROSECUTE SEXUAL ABUSE BY UN PEACEKEEPERS,” Spring 2012, AVE MARIA INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL <http://legacy.avemarialaw.edu/ILJ/assets/articles//vol1_num2/Vezina.pdf>

It is recognized that international humanitarian law and international human rights law is applicable to individuals. The Rome Statute explicitly authorizes the ICC’s jurisdiction over individuals who commit crimes that are under the jurisdiction of the Court. The ICC is favorable because it would be a fair and impartial trial. Furthermore, the ICC’s ruling will be absolute and equitable. States vary within their penal code and punishment, which creates inequitable results, for example if a peacekeeper rapes a child, how the peacekeeper will be punished will depend on what State he originates from. Therefore, a tribunal created by the ICC would ensure that those who sexually abuse children would be subject to the same consequences and penalties.

UN can provide funding to the International Criminal Court

Negotiated Relationship Agreement between the International Criminal Court and the United Nations 2004. United Nations official website “United Nations Rule of Law” <http://www.unrol.org/files/ICCASP3Res1_English.pdf>

Article 13

Financial matters

1. The United Nations and the Court agree that the conditions under which any funds may be provided to the Court by a decision of the General Assembly of the United Nations pursuant to article 115 of the Statute shall be subject to separate arrangements. The Registrar shall inform the Assembly of the making of such arrangements.

2. The United Nations and the Court further agree that the costs and expenses resulting from cooperation or the provision of services pursuant to the present Agreement shall be subject to separate arrangements between the United Nations and the Court. The Registrar shall inform the Assembly of the making of such arrangements.

3. The United Nations may, upon request of the Court and subject to paragraph 2 of this article, provide advice on financial and fiscal questions of interest to the Court.

ICC has special protections for victims of gender-based war crimes

Andrea R. Phelps 2006. ( JD Candidate, College of William and Mary - Marshall Wythe Law School) GENDER-BASED WAR CRIMES, WILLIAM AND MARY JOURNAL OF WOMEN AND THE LAW, Volume 12, <http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1114&context=wmjowl>

Another benefit to prosecuting gender-based war crimes established by the ICC are the protections for victims. 'The ICC's rules concerning how and when victims testify are purposely loose in order to accommodate as many victims as possible without further traumatizing them. The ICC also allows for victims to have a legal representative to assist them with the process.' The creators of the ICC recognized the shortcomings of the ICTY and ICTR with respect to victims and therefore ensured that victims were protected under the Rome Statute.' Overall, the Rome Statute strives to create a court where the victims are more than mere witnesses. Rather, victims are afforded a status as an integral part of the criminal prosecution process, while also being given the protection and assistance they need to ensure that the truth comes to light." ' When the victims speak fully and truthfully in court, it is more likely that justice will be effectuated and the victims will be vindicated.

As ICC begins prosecuting more cases, potential criminals will be on notice, expanding deterrent effects

Andrea R. Phelps 2006. ( JD Candidate, College of William and Mary - Marshall Wythe Law School) GENDER-BASED WAR CRIMES, WILLIAM AND MARY JOURNAL OF WOMEN AND THE LAW, Volume 12, <http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1114&context=wmjowl>

The creation of the ICC represents an important step forward in retributive justice as well as the accomplishment of the other goals of international criminal prosecution of gender-based war crimes. Most importantly, the ICC is permanent and therefore avoids repeated outlays of start-up capital (associated with ad hoc tribunals) and repeated debates over rules and procedure. The existence of a court and established rules of procedure will better facilitate the arrest and detainment of suspected war criminals. As the ICC begins to try cases and punish war criminals, the hope is that a precedent will be set and the rule of law will become entrenched on the international level.' Potential war criminals will theoretically be on notice of criminal liability before any conflict begins. This will expand upon the deterrent effects of ad hoc tribunals because criminal prosecution and liability for gender based war crimes will no longer be sporadic, but rather a known consequence that potential war criminals should consider before acting.

International tribunals are effective at prosecuting gender-based war crimes

Andrea R. Phelps 2006. ( JD Candidate, College of William and Mary - Marshall Wythe Law School) GENDER-BASED WAR CRIMES, WILLIAM AND MARY JOURNAL OF WOMEN AND THE LAW, Volume 12, (brackets added) <http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1114&context=wmjowl>

The ICTY [International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia] and ICTR [International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda] have made significant progress in setting precedents in the international prosecution of gender-based war crimes, including convictions for rape and recognition of gender-based war crimes as a part of overall genocide schemes. Ad hoc international criminal tribunals have been successful in specific deterrence, while peoples' tribunals have demonstrated their ability to provide victim vindication. A permanent tribunal can build upon those successes and attain the additional goals of general deterrence and retribution, putting the world on notice that war crimes, including gender-based war crimes, will be prosecuted and punished whenever and wherever they occur.

Public accountability deters future abuse

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2009. (LL.B. (University of Zambia), LL.M. (Harvard Law School), D. Phil. (Trinity College, Oxford University), Professor of Law, Cornell Univ Law School, and Director, Cornell Institute for African Development) The United Nations Responses To The Sexual Abuse And Exploitation Of Women And Girls By Peacekeepers During Peacekeeping Missions , Cornell Law Library (brackets added) <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1058&context=facpub>

As described by [senior researcher at [Leuven Institute of Criminology](http://www.law.kuleuven.be/linc/english), Belgium. Dr. Estelle] Zinsstag, accountability would be achieved by ensuring that the perpetrators of sexual abuse and sexual exploitation answer for their crimes by making them publicly acknowledge their criminal responsibility for the acts they committed. In this regard, the elimination of impunity would require taking measures that ensure that appropriate action will be taken so that perpetrators of sexual abuse and sexual exploitation are prosecuted and receive appropriate punishment. Finally, she anticipates that the elimination of impunity would deter others from committing similar crimes in the future.

Just getting public recognition of the truth is a worthwhile goal

Dr. Payam Akhavan 2012. (Professor of International Law at McGill University, first Legal Advisor to the Prosecutor’s Office of the International Criminal Tribunals at The Hague) 7 June 2012 “A Candid Discussion with Payam Akhavan” <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2012/06/07/candid-discussion-payam-akhavan/>

Hannah Arendt famously remarked after Nuremberg that the Nazi crimes “explode the limits of the law.” Prosecutions cannot bring back the dead; they cannot undo the unspeakable evil that has been done. But I found on many occasions that for survivors, public recognition of the truth was very important, both for their healing and for national reconciliation. Silence and denial are a continuing injustice that is itself linked with the physical crimes, so documenting and exposing the atrocities and identifying the culprits, is itself a highly worthwhile goal, let alone the prosecution of the most senior leaders.

Setting a precedent of international criminal accountability can transform the culture

Payam Akhavan 2001. (Visiting senior lecturer and research fellow, E. M. Meijers Institute of Legal Studies and Faculty of Law, Leiden University, the Netherlands; formerly legal adviser, Office of the Prosecutor, International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia) BEYOND IMPUNITY: CAN INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE PREVENT FUTURE ATROCITIES? AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW <http://www.asil.org/ajil/recon2.pdf>

A postconflict culture of justice also makes moral credibility a valuable political asset for victim groups, rendering vengeance less tempting and more costly. Of course, the preventive effects of international criminal justice can extend beyond postconflict peace building in directly affected countries. The prosecution and related political demise of such leaders sends a message that the cost of ethnic hatred and violence as an instrument of power outweighs its benefits. Precedents of accountability, however selective and limited, contribute to the transformation of a culture of impunity that has hitherto implied the political acceptability of massive human rights abuses.

ICC is effective at deterring crime

Lawrence Moss 2012. (international lawyer based in New York; represented Human Rights Watch and the New York City Bar Association at the United Nations, and served as a consultant to the Open Society Institute, a member of the Task Force on Human Rights of the United Nations Association USA, and adjunct professor at New York University's Center for Global Affairs; graduate Stanford University Law School, and is a member of the bar of the State of New York and the State of Washington ) The UN Security Council and the International Criminal Court - Towards a More Principled Relationship, March 2012 <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/08948.pdf>

The UN Security Council's power to refer potential prosecutions to the International Criminal Court (ICC) in situations outside the Court's treaty-based territorial and nationality jurisdiction helps deter the perpetration of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity everywhere in the world. It is unclear if referral to the ICC has had any effect in preventing the commission of further crimes in Darfur or Libya, and referral was no substitute for the Council's use of other measures to restore peace and security. The Council should use referrals to ensure accountability for serious crimes, and to strengthen the general deterrent effect of international criminal law, rather than as a primary tool to address breaches of the peace.

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

“Hurts US sovereignty” - Response: US should stop opposing the ICC, because allowing ICC jurisdiction would be better for deterring crime and obtaining justice

Andrea R. Phelps 2006. ( JD Candidate, College of William and Mary - Marshall Wythe Law School) GENDER-BASED WAR CRIMES, WILLIAM AND MARY JOURNAL OF WOMEN AND THE LAW, Volume 12, <http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1114&context=wmjowl>

In efforts to prevent servicemembers from coming under the ICC's jurisdiction the Bush administration has taken unprecedented steps." These actions go beyond the United States' refusal to ratify the Rome Statute. They undercut the potential benefits and successes of the ICC on the international level. ' Impugning American servicemembers diminishes the ICC's ability to act as both a general deterrent and retributive body. In order for the ICC to establish the rule of law with regard to criminal prosecution of gender-based war crimes, all countries must recognize, rather than undermine, its jurisdiction.'

ICC poses extraordinarily low risk to US sovereignty

Lt Col Butch Bracknell 2011**. (**Marine lieutenant colonel and a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council; as of 2012 he serves as the legal advisor to a major Marine unit and as the officer in charge of the military justice litigation activity at Camp Lejeune, NC.) 26 May 2011 LOS ANGELES TIMES “The U.S. and the International Criminal Court: An unfinished debate” <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/may/26/opinion/la-oe-bracknell-icc-20110526>

The ICC poses extraordinarily low risk to U.S. sovereignty, service members and public officials abroad. Under the Rome Statute's "complementarity" principle, before the court asserts jurisdiction over a citizen, the ICC prosecutor must determine and substantiate that the citizen's country is operating with impunity or that its judicial processes are broken or powerless. To avoid ICC jurisdiction over American service members and public officials, the United States would not have to charge, indict and bring cases to court. All that is required is for the U.S. to undertake a good-faith investigative effort of offenses under the statute and domestic law, and meaningfully assert national jurisdiction over alleged offenses.

“Olivera Simic’s critiques of the definition of abuse versus consensual behavior” - Response: Even Simic agrees the UN needs to remove peacekeeper immunity and take sexual offenses seriously - because failure to do so undermines UN credibility

Dr. [Olivera Simic](http://rd.springer.com/search?facet-author=%22Olivera+Simic%22) 2012. (LLB from Nis Univ. Law School (Serbia), LLM from Essex Univ (UK), MA from UN University for Peace (Costa Rica); PhD from Melbourne Law School; Visiting Lecturer at the Centre for Interdisciplinary and Postgraduate Studies, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; formerly worked with UNICEF and OSCE as a legal consultant on human trafficking) REGULATION OF SEXUAL CONDUCT IN UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, “Sexual Conduct and Peacekeeping” (brackets added) <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=15&ved=0CGoQFjAEOAo&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.springer.com%2Fcda%2Fcontent%2Fdocument%2Fcda_downloaddocument%2F9783642284830-c1.pdf%3FSGWID%3D0-0-45-1332605-p174306658&ei=1YkqUPn3HdS5hAfQq4H4DQ&usg=AFQjCNEeFIpu8JJXaCatW6AbHQQqzN3IEg&sig2=vFwOb0jttcY5BL-OpnoZSg>

Following on from the perspectives of many interviewees, the book suggests that rather than focusing so heavily on the idea that sexual relationships and prostitution threaten the reputation of the UN, the UN should place more emphasis on reconsidering the breadth of immunities that peacekeepers enjoy while on mission. Such immunities contribute to the fact that peacekeepers committing most sexual offences act with impunity. This creates a general sense of imperial power which plays a significant role in undermining UN credibility in local communities.

9. 2A EVIDENCE: SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP REFORM

SIGNIFICANCE

Misuse of veto leads to inaction even in the face of genocidal killings

Brian Cox 2009 (Student Works Editor, S.C. JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW & BUSINESS) “United Nations Security Council Reform:Collected Proposals and Possible Consequences,” South Carolina Journal of International Law and Business, published by Univ. of S. Carolina School of Law, Vol. 6, Issue 1, Article 4 1-1-2009, <http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/scjilb/vol6/iss1/4>

The veto carries the most blame for the Council's ineffectiveness. The frustration is understandable. The veto is often "used in order to protect countries with which [permanent members] have close cultural, economic and/or political ties," most notoriously in situations of mass genocidal killings.

The “Permanent 5” Single Veto format leads to abuse and inaction

Lionel Beehner 2012, (fellow at the Truman National Security Project, former senior writer at the Council on Foreign Relations, and PhD student in political science at Yale Univ), The World Policy Journal, “The UN's Fossilized Security Council”, June 6, 2012 <http://www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2012/06/06/uns-fossilized-security-council>

According to Middle East Professor Stephen Zunes of the University of San Francisco, “The shameless protection by P5 countries of client states from international censure did not end with the Cold War.” Indeed, without meaningful reform, the body will be seen as neither legitimate nor effective in enforcing international law. Legitimacy is a subjective thing, of course, requiring actors to perceive of the council’s actions as holding legal and moral authority. The implication is that actors obey these rules less out of self-interest or fear of sanction—Security Council resolutions are often never enforced—than out of international norms and because they believe the institution to be the only legitimate and deliberative body representative of the international community.

UN is losing credibility due to lack of Security Council reform

UN News Service 2011 (official publication of the United Nations) “Without Security Council reform, UN will lose credibility – General Assembly chief”, UN News Centre, 16 May 2011. <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=38390&Cr=security+council&Cr1=reform>

The United Nations will lose its credibility as the pre-eminent international forum if Member States are unable to agree on reforming the size, membership and working methods of the Security Council, General Assembly President Joseph Deiss said today. Speaking to a conference on global governance and Council reform in Rome, Mr. Deiss said it was unacceptable that the international community had been unable to make substantial progress on reforming the 15-member Council, despite active debate for almost two decades. “Unless we find the determination to advance on this issue, the United Nations will lose its credibility,” he said. “Our organization will be marginalized, and important issues will be discussed in other forums and groupings which are perceived to be more efficient and more representative of the new realities of the day.”

Security Council is important because of its impact on international use of force

Dr. Michael Fullilove 2009. (PhD in International Relations from Oxford Univ.; Director of the Global Issues Program at the Lowy Institute for International Policy in Sydney and a Nonresident Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution in Washington ) The Case for Australia’s UN Security Council Bid, Sept 2009, published by Lowy Institute for International Policy <http://www.unaavictoria.org.au/files/Lowy_Institute_Report_-_The_case_for_Australia_s_candidacy.pdf>

The Council represents the pointy end of the United Nations, because of its power under Chapter VII of the Charter to take whatever means it sees fit, including the imposition of sanctions and the use of force, to respond to threats to international peace and security. The 2002­2003 debate over the invasion of Iraq demonstrates the centrality of the Council in conferring international legitimacy on the use of force, or denying it – which in turn affects the risks and costs of a military operation

INHERENCY

How the Security Council works today: 15 members, 9 votes to pass a resolution if it is not vetoed

Justin Morris and Prof. Nicholas Wheeler 2007. (Morris - M.A., LLB, head of department and senior lecturer at Department of Politics and International Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Hull, UK. Wheeler - Department of International Politics, University of Wales, UK) INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, The Security Council's Crisis of Legitimacy and the Use of Force <http://www.palgrave-journals.com/ip/journal/v44/n2/full/8800185a.html>

However, with regard to conduct in the field of international peace and security, it is recognized that the securing of a consensus within a co-extensive social constituency is impractical given the size of the UN's membership, the diversity of views and interests therein, and the necessity of expeditious action. The procedures of the Charter provide, therefore, a surrogate social constituency — that is, the UNSC — in order to satisfy the test of congruence that this legitimacy challenge poses. Under the Charter it is the 15-state Council that makes decisions in this regard, with resolutions requiring nine affirmative votes and the casting of no veto for successful passage (Article 27).

Status Quo veto reform is impossible because those with the veto won’t give it up

Natalino Ronzitti 2010. (Chair of International Law at "LUISS" Libera Università degli Studi Sociali (Rome) and an advisory expert for IAI. He has been a visiting Fellow and Scholar in Residence at numerous foreign universities, including in the United Kingdom and the United States.) “The Reform of the UN Security Council,” Instituto Affari Internazionali, July 12, 2010, <http://www.iai.it/pdf/DocIAI/iai1013.pdf>

The right of veto is a contentious item. The only stumbling block is that the right of veto now held by the P5 is not up for discussion. Nobody can conceive of this right being eliminated. On this point the Charter cannot be amended, since the amendment abolishing the right of veto for all or part of the P5 must also be ratified by the veto holders.

P5 will not allow reform even in the face of genocide

Natalino Ronzitti 2010. (Chair of International Law at "LUISS" Libera Università degli Studi Sociali (Rome) and an advisory expert for IAI. He has been a visiting Fellow and Scholar in Residence at numerous foreign universities, including in the United Kingdom and the United States.) “The Reform of the UN Security Council,” Instituto Affari Internazionali, July 12, 2010, <http://www.iai.it/pdf/DocIAI/iai1013.pdf>

As regards the power of veto, the S5 urge the permanent members to refrain from using the veto in cases of genocide, crimes against humanity and mass violations of international humanitarian law. But, as the recent problems over the Goldstone report show, definitions of what constitutes a serious violation of human rights law are indeed divergent. The risk exists that all this talk will be in vain, since the P5 are adamant that the standing prerogatives of the existing permanent members must not be changed by the reform.

Security Council is unrepresentative of the world

Lionel Beehner 2012 (fellow at the Truman National Security Project, former senior writer at the Council on Foreign Relations, and PhD student in political science at Yale University), The World Policy Journal, “The UN's Fossilized Security Council”, June 6, 2012, <http://www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2012/06/06/uns-fossilized-security-council>

Most proposals to reform the Council are either too piecemeal to make a difference or too radical to have a chance of being accepted. Many just tinker around the margins and do not ameliorate the main criticism of the institution: that it is a fossilized institution unrepresentative of today’s realities. Consider the following: Europe comprises less than 10 percent of the world’s population but has a 40 percent vote in the P5. India is a country of over 1 billion people, while Japan is the United Nations’ second largest contributor to the UN. Yet both powers, puzzlingly, are outside the Security Council’s permanent five. Latin America and Africa—areas of over 560 million and 1 billion respectively—get no veto on matters of war and peace.

Security Council is no longer representative of the contemporary world

Ambassador Richard Butler 2012. (Penn State University’s Distinguished Scholar of International Peace and Security; has held numerous senior Australian posts, including Deputy Representative at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the OECD; Ambassador for Disarmament (Geneva); Australian Ambassador to Thailand and Cambodia; Australian Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations) Penn State Journal of Law & International Affairs, Apr 2012 Reform of the United Nations Security Council, <http://elibrary.law.psu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=jlia>

A good number of newly independent states have now been independent for a considerable number of years, some for half a century. Moreover, these new independent states have significant populations, economic prospects, the ability to contribute to the life of the U.N. and the international community, and represent cultural diversity and historical experience. For these reasons, but also for the reason of hardheaded political sense, it is time to recognize that this Council, with its five permanent and ten elected members, is simply unrepresentative of the contemporary world. There is also considerable doubt now that the original reasons for establishing permanent membership and giving the extraordinary veto power to those Five any longer has relevance.

Security Council members aren’t committed to responding effectively to atrocities: they won’t commit to RN2V will not be adopted by current SC. RN2V means “Responsibility Not to Veto”

Ariela Blätter 2010. (Adjunct Professorial Lecturer , American University, School Of International Service and Director of Policy and Programs for Citizens for Global Solutions), “The Responsibility Not To Veto: A Way Forward,” <http://globalsolutions.org/files/public/documents/RN2V_White_Paper_CGS.pdf>

The extent to which members of the P5 are willing to countenance the idea of RN2V is arguably a good barometer of the depth of their commitment to responding effectively to mass atrocities. While the RN2V idea appears to have originated from a P5 member – French Foreign Minister Hubert Védrine – the P5 have not taken up the issue publicly since then. In many ways their reluctance to openly discuss self imposed limits on their veto authorities beyond what is prescribed by the UN Charter is hardly surprising. What is perhaps more telling is that all references to the RN2V were removed from the final version of the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document despite being present in earlier drafts of the text.

One member threatening to veto blocks UN response to civil war and genocide

Prof. Paul Kennedy 2006. (Professor of History and director of International Security Studies at Yale University) 15 Sept 2006 “Circus tricks” THE GUARDIAN (British newspaper) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/sep/16/comment.politics>

Even though the knotty question of what one does when society is rent by civil war and genocide would remain regardless of a particular clause in the charter, the existence of the veto often compounds this problem. But on many occasions the ability of the UN to take action on domestic conflict and civil rights abuses (Darfur, Palestine, Tibet, Chechnya) has been severely impaired because one of the permanent five threatens to employ its veto.

One country “too frequently” blocks UNSC action with veto or veto threat

Reform would be in US interest

Impact: ...Because we have to be able to deal with mass atrocities

Ariela Blatter 2010. (Policy Director for Citizens for Global Solutions; worked at Amnesty International USA as the Senior Director for International Programs; international human rights lawyer ; served as a permanent representative to the UN on the establishment of the International Criminal Court, overseeing a team of NGO's lobbyists and policy staff; served on the U.S. Genocide Prevention Task Force; currently an adjunct faculty at American University’s School of International Service) The Responsibility Not To Veto: A Way Forward <http://globalsolutions.org/files/public/documents/RN2V_White_Paper_CGS.pdf>

In early 2008 the idea was put back on the agenda by an alternative and bipartisan group of Americans who were planning a rather different approach to R2P. This initiative was the Genocide Prevention Task Force established by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, the American Academy of Diplomacy, and the US Institute of Peace and chaired by former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and former Secretary of Defense William Cohen. The Task Force was assigned to create a blueprint for the incoming administration to procedurally and structurally align the US government to prevent genocide and mass atrocities worldwide. Among other suggestions, the Task Force also discussed the question of the P5 veto. ‘Too frequently,’ its report argued, ‘one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council has made effective collective action virtually impossible by threatening veto, implicitly or explicitly. This has led to either watered-down, ineffectual resolutions, or no resolution at all.’ Recognizing that in the contemporary international system there is little substitute for effective action taken by the Security Council, the Task Force pointed out that it was in US national interests to improve the manner in which the Council deals with mass atrocities.

The Current P5 Will Never Allow Reform

C. Eduardo Vargas Toro 2008, (project manager for refugee and conflict issues and political advocacy at Intersections International. Previously, he worked with the UN Office of Caritas Internationalis on a variety of refugee issues with UN Security Council member states and UN Economic and Social Council NGOs. He holds a MA from the John C. Whitehead School of Diplomacy and International Relations at Seton Hall University) “UN Security Council Reform: Unrealistic Proposals and Viable Reform Options” American Diplomacy, November 2008, <http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2008/1012/comm/vargas_un.html>

The static idea of permanence and power has created a class struggle between the bourgeoisie (*veto countries*) and the proletariat (*non-veto countries*). The arrogance of the P-5 leads them to believe that they have a better understanding of the world than the majority of the member states when they oppose Security Council reform. Consequently, it is safe to conclude that any Security Council reform that would diminish the power of the P-5 by eliminating their veto will not materialize anytime soon.

Reforming Veto keeps UN closer to original goals

Brian Cox 2009 (Student Works Editor, S.C. JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW & BUSINESS) “United Nations Security Council Reform:Collected Proposals and Possible Consequences,” South Carolina Journal of International Law and Business, published by Univ. of S. Carolina School of Law, Vol. 6, Issue 1, Article 4 1-1-2009, <http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/scjilb/vol6/iss1/4>

The veto was only intended to be used to protect "matters of vital importance to a permanent member," not to "obstruct the operation of the Council.' This is consistent with the intentions of the original drafters that the permanent members "keep their power of the veto to protect their national interests while adhering to the principles of saving 'succeeding generations from the scourge of war.’

G4 (India, Japan, Brazil and Germany) would accept the burden of UNSC membership and think Africa should be represented as well

Indrani Bagchi 2012. (journalist) 27 Jan 2012 “G-4 nations put joint bid for Security Council expansion,”INDIA TIMES <http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-01-27/india/30670278_1_g-4-permanent-membership-joint-bid>

India, Japan, Brazil and Germany chose the Indian Republic Day to launch a fresh offensive in the UN for expansion of the Security Council. The G-4, as they are better known, for the first time, put a joint bid for the UN Security Council during a closed plenary session at the UN General Assembly on Thursday, which is headed by Zahir Tanin, the UN ambassador from Afghanistan. In a strongly worded statement, the G-4 countries said, "This Council should be expanded in both the permanent and non-permanent categories of membership, taking into consideration the contributions made by countries to the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as the need for increased representation of developing countries in both categories. On numerous occasions, we have reconfirmed our view that Africa should be represented in the permanent membership in an enlarged Council."

Enhanced SC legitimacy is important

Dr. Daniel Trachsler 2010. (senior researcher at the Center for Security Studies. He studied History, Political Science, and Constitutional Law at the University of Zurich and completed his Doctorate in 2009.) “UN SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM: A GORDIAN KNOT?”, Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich No. 72 April 2010, <http://www.css.ethz.ch/publications/pdfs/CSS-Analyses-72.pdf>

The principle of the “Responsibility to Protect” has even qualified the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of states. These developments increased the UNSC’s need for legitimacy. An enhancement of its legitimacy, advocates of reform hope, would make for more efficient decision making, more realistic mandates, and more determined implementation of its resolutions.

Legitimacy is critical to political power of SC

Prof. Andrea Bianchi 2006 (Professor of International Law, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, and Catholic University, Milan) “Assessing the Effectiveness of the UN Security Council’s Anti-terrorism Measures: The Quest for Legitimacy and Cohesion,” European Journal of International Law (2006) 17 (5): 881-919. <http://ejil.oxfordjournals.org/content/17/5/881.full>

Although the conceptual contours of legitimacy as a legal category are often difficult to grasp, its importance ought not to be underestimated. Indeed, the question of legitimacy was highlighted by the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change as a key issue for the effectiveness of the global collective security system.In particular, the perception that relevant decisions adopted for the maintenance of international peace and security are taken on the basis of legal principles and established practices is likely to enhance their effectiveness. In a self-contained, treaty-based system like the UN Charter that ultimately hinges on Member States’ consent, the issue of the legitimacy of SC action is not one that can be treated in the abstract. The lack of a formal and express entitlement under the Charter to produce law-making resolutions is but one factor that affects the perceptions of legitimacy. It has been contended that whatever the SC says is the law.However, the perception of its being fair and adopted in accordance with accepted rules and procedures may remarkably affect its effectiveness.

UN voting rules are inefficient - China should not be able to single-handedly block peacekeeping efforts. Germany & Japan should be more involved.

Prof. Erik Voeten 2008. (Associate Professor of Geopolitics at Georgetown University) “Why no UN Security Council reform?” Multilateralism and Security Institutions in an Era of Globalization, <http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/ev42/index_files/Multilateralism_and_Institutions_chapter.pdf>

The UNSC’s voting rules contains clear inefficiencies from the perspective of an institution that produces public goods. The UNSC grants veto power to actors that should not have it. For example, China has temporarily blocked peacekeeping missions in Guatemala and Macedonia for the simple reason that government officials in those countries had interactions with, or made statements about, Taiwan. From an efficiency standpoint, China should not have the ability to single-handedly block those efforts given that it contributes very little to peacekeeping efforts. Similarly, Japan and Germany should be given more incentives to help produce public goods by granting them greater responsibilities.

The fact that NATO acted when the Security Council was blocked does not mean we should find alternatives to the Security Council - it means we should fix the Security Council

Ariela Blatter 2010. (Policy Director for Citizens for Global Solutions; worked at Amnesty International USA as the Senior Director for International Programs; international human rights lawyer ; served as a permanent representative to the UN on the establishment of the International Criminal Court, overseeing a team of NGO's lobbyists and policy staff; served on the U.S. Genocide Prevention Task Force; currently an adjunct faculty at American University’s School of International Service) The Responsibility Not To Veto: A Way Forward <http://globalsolutions.org/files/public/documents/RN2V_White_Paper_CGS.pdf>

Of the three cases summarized above Kosovo (1998-9) fits the RN2V [responsibility not to veto] scenario most closely. Even here, however, Russian and Chinese threats of veto did not stop NATO carrying out its intervention. What effect this operation had on the Security Council’s legitimacy is still being debated today but it seems reasonable to conclude that the task for those seeking effective responses to mass atrocities ‘is not to find alternatives to the Security Council as a source of authority, but to make the Security Council work better than it has.’

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

“Palestine would be admitted as a UN member without US veto” - Responses: Wonderful, bring it on.

1)  Palestinian UN membership would uphold human rights.

Dr. Mustafa Barghouthi 2012. (Secretary General of the Palestinian National Initiative, the president of The Palestinian Medical Relief Society, a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, and a non-violence democracy leader based in Ramallah; nominee for Nobel peace prize)  Jan 2012, “Intelligence Squared U.S.” debate on the subject: “The U.N. should admit Palestine as a full member state” [http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf](http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf" \t "_blank)

My third point is that, supposing our right to be admitted to the United Nations will be sending the right message, the message of respect to human rights, the message of respect to people's right for self-determination, the message of respect of the right of people to be sovereign. If we speak about the right of people in South Sudan and in Kosovo and in Libya and in Syria to be free and to have self-determination, then why not Palestine? And why continue to use the double standard, especially that admitting Palestine in the UN would be about correcting a historical mistake that was made. Since 1947 resolution the United States spoke about two states, Israel was established. Palestine was not.

2) Improved security for Israel. Palestine’s UN status is key to Israel’s security

Prof. Paul Parker 2012. (Chairperson and a Professor of Religious Studies at Elmhurst College) 17 Apr 2012 FOREIGN POLICY JOURNAL “U.N. Membership Would Unshackle Israel and Palestine” <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2012/04/17/u-n-membership-would-unshackle-israel-and-palestine/>

Palestine’s status in the UN is the key to Israel’s security and international support—and to Palestinian freedom, equal rights, and a just resolution of the refugees’ right of return. The UN is the world’s most inclusive institution devoted to peace. It is not perfect, but it is better than unending war. By hindering Palestine’s entrance to the UN, America has left Israelis and Palestinians with the limited options of capitulation to the other’s most recent demands or violence—and neither state is ready to capitulate.

3) Palestinian membership would help motivate Israel to accept a 2-state solution

Daniel Levy 2012. (Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation and co-directs the Middle East Taskforce; former senior policy adviser to Israeli Minister of Justice; formerly worked in the Israeli Prime Minister's Office as special adviser and head of the Jerusalem Affairs unit ; was a member of the Israeli delegation to the Taba Summit with the Palestinians in 2001)  Jan 2012, “Intelligence Squared U.S.” debate on the subject: “The U.N. should admit Palestine as a full member state” [http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf](http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf" \t "_blank)

Prime Minister Netanyahu may have talked the talk on two states, but he has not walked the walk. His own Likud party platform opposes two states, and one must take seriously the Jewish-Israeli narrative that says 100 years ago we had nothing, then we got Balfour, then we got the '47 partition, then we got 78 percent of the land, then in 1967 we got 100 percent of the land, and we're not going anywhere.  That's a serious view, and it has an amen corner, by the way, certain people perhaps in New Hampshire tonight's part of that amen corner. Passivity cannot be the response. If we want two states, we have to act. And U.N. admission for Palestine is precisely the anchor for a two-state future, a clarifying moment. We need to be deeply respectful of the choices that Israelis are going to have to make, difficult choices, and the conversations in Israel, and, therefore, to understand just how unproductive the lack of clarity is for that Israeli conversation. Indulging bad behavior, treating that with impunity, is unhelpful in any human predicament.

“US won’t be able to veto anti-Israel resolutions” - Response: Vetoes in support of Israel are not justified

Jan Wouters & Tom Ruys 2005. (Wouters - Professor of International Law and the Law of International Organizations, Director of the Institute for International Law, Leuven University, Belgium. Ruys - Research assistant, Institute of International Law, Leuven University) Security Council Reform: A New Veto for a New Century? Aug 2005 http://books.google.com/books?id=2qeWtBVjSXcC&pg=PA15&lpg=PA15&dq=%22On+several+occasions,+the+US+justified+its+use+of+the+veto+on+the+grounds+that+the+various+draft+resolutions+were+severely+unbalanced+since+they+did+%22&source=bl&ots=\_lwv\_b1VoX&sig=T2apK6e5YiLgmPN\_7HAwboH5YLE&hl=en#v=onepage&q=%22On%20several%20occasions%2C%20the%20US%20justified%20its%20use%20of%20the%20veto%20on%20the%20grounds%20that%20the%20various%20draft%20resolutions%20were%20severely%20unbalanced%20since%20they%20did%20%22&f=false

On several occasions, the US justified its use of the veto on the grounds that the various draft resolutions were severely unbalanced since they did not unequivocally condemn terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians. This reasoning seems at least partially unfounded. First, the Security Council has frequently condemned attacks against Israeli civilians. This was also the case with regard to the draft resolution condemning the assassination of Yassin, which condemned “all terrorist attacks against any civilians” and called on all sides to cease all acts of terrorism, provocation and destruction. Secondly, these vetoes are reprehensible because they fail to recognise the fact that certain human rights cannot be derogated from even in times of war or other public emergencies and because they ignore the idea that the application of international humanitarian law generally does not depend on reciprocity. Such conduct strongly undermines the maintenance of international peace and security as well as the progressive implementation of international law, by preserving a climate of impunity.

“US won’t be able to veto anti-Israel resolutions” - Response: US vetoes are helping Israel violate international humanitarian law

Prof. Stephen Zunes 2012. (Professor of Politics and Chair of Mid-Eastern Studies, Univ of San Francisco) “Putting the UN Veto in Perspective,” Huffington Post, February 10, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/stephen-zunes/syria-russia-un-veto\_b\_1267495.html

“A little perspective is required here: Since 1970, China has used its veto power eight times, and Russia (and the former Soviet Union) has used its veto power 13 times. However, the United States has used its veto power 83 times, primarily in defense of allies accused of violating international humanitarian law. Forty-two of these US vetoes were to protect Israel from criticism for illegal activities, including suspected war crimes. To this day, Israel occupies and colonizes a large swath of southwestern Syria in violation of a series of UN Security Council resolutions, which the United States has successfully blocked from enforcing. Yet, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton insists that it is the Russians and Chinese who have "neutered" the Security Council in its ability to defend basic human rights.”

10. 2A EVIDENCE: ABOLISH THE SECURITY COUNCIL VETO

INHERENCY

The 5 permanent Security Council members each have veto power

Shiwei Jiang 2010. (PhD candidate at Old Dominion Univ., Graduate Program in International Studies) “ODUMUNC 2011 Issue Brief for the GA Sixth Committee: Legal UN Security Council Reform” <http://al.odu.edu/mun/docs/Issue%20brief%202011%20-%20UN%20Security%20Council%20Reform.pdf>

The Security Council is the only UN body that can demand and enforce action. Its power comes from the membership of major powers, each of them protected by the ability to veto actions that might hurt their interests. The Council has five permanent members (the P-5), each with a veto: China, France, Russia, the United States and United Kingdom.

The UN Security Council has had 265 vetoes in its history.

Ambassador Richard Butler 2012. (Penn State University’s Distinguished Scholar of International Peace and Security; has held numerous senior Australian posts, including Deputy Representative at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the OECD; Ambassador for Disarmament (Geneva); Australian Ambassador to Thailand and Cambodia; Australian Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations) Penn State Journal of Law & International Affairs, Apr 2012 Reform of the United Nations Security Council, <http://elibrary.law.psu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=jlia>

Since the beginning of its work, there have been 265 vetoes cast in the Security Council. The U.S.S.R./Russia Federation has cast 126, the United States 82, the United Kingdom 32, France 18, and China 7. The vetoes cast by Russia and the United States were cast largely in the period of the Cold War, and by each of them in defense of their client states.

Private veto threats have a big influence on the decision-making process.

Ambassador Richard Butler 2012. (Penn State University’s Distinguished Scholar of International Peace and Security; has held numerous senior Australian posts, including Deputy Representative at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the OECD; Ambassador for Disarmament (Geneva); Australian Ambassador to Thailand and Cambodia; Australian Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations) Penn State Journal of Law & International Affairs, Apr 2012 Reform of the United Nations Security Council, <http://elibrary.law.psu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=jlia>

There is also the threatened veto. It would simply be impossible to calculate how many times the decision making process of the Security Council, in an informal, private session, has been shaped by the threat of a veto to be cast in a formal session by one of the Permanent Members. This distinction between private and public sessions is an important one. Having taken part in meetings of the Security Council for almost three years, I can affirm that the great proportion of what takes place in the Council is not seen publicly. If I were to put a percentage on the amount of time I spent in the Security Council private meeting room, as against in the public chamber, I suspect it would come out in the order of ninety-eight percent to two percent, respectively.

United States opposes reform of the Security Council veto

UN General Assembly, Dept of Public Information 2011. “ ‘Opaque, Non-inclusive’ Security Council Must Pursue Lasting, Candid Interaction with Entire United Nations Membership, General Assembly Delegations Say” 8 Nov 2011 <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2011/ga11168.doc.htm>

Of permanent Council members speaking today, the representative of the United States said her Government was open “in principle” to a “modest” expansion of both permanent and non-permanent members, but that expansion must be “country-specific”. In assessing which countries would be allowed to participate, the ability of the country to contribute to the activities of the Security Council, to preserve international peace and security, and to provide financial support must be considered. She added that her delegation was not in favour of any proposal that changed the current veto structure.

Formal veto isn’t the only problem: There are also private threats of veto and anticipated vetoes that influence outcomes

Ariela Blatter 2010. (Policy Director for Citizens for Global Solutions; worked at Amnesty International USA as the Senior Director for International Programs; international human rights lawyer ; served as a permanent representative to the UN on the establishment of the International Criminal Court, overseeing a team of NGO's lobbyists and policy staff; served on the U.S. Genocide Prevention Task Force; currently an adjunct faculty at American University’s School of International Service) The Responsibility Not To Veto: A Way Forward <http://globalsolutions.org/files/public/documents/RN2V_White_Paper_CGS.pdf>

The other key point to make regarding the veto system is that the actual use of the P5 veto is only part of the story because of the important roles played by a wide range of informal processes within the UN system. Once a distinction is made between the formal, overt use of the veto and the informal, threatened or anticipated use of the veto the political terrain becomes significantly more complicated. In sum, it is widely recognized that the veto power can be used for deterrence and coercive purposes without actually being cast. As the editors of a major recent study on the Security Council concluded, ‘Even when the veto is not actually used, it casts a shadow.’ Unlike the actual use of vetoes, which has declined significantly in the post-Cold War era, it is a widely held belief within the UN system that the informal threat of the veto in the Council’s private consultations ‘has not diminished’.

The fact that NATO acted when the Security Council was blocked does not mean we should find alternatives to the Security Council - it means we should fix the Security Council

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G20 cannot fill the gap left by a weak Security Council

Lionel Beehner 2012. (fellow at the Truman National Security Project, former senior writer at the Council on Foreign Relations; PhD student in political science at Yale Univ) The UN's Fossilized Security Council” 6 June 2012 <http://www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2012/06/06/uns-fossilized-security-council>

Already the lack of leadership and representativeness by the Security Council has resulted in greater powers bestowed on groups like the G20. The body, which comprises the world’s fastest growing economies and accounts for more than 85 percent of the world’s GDP (and 65 percent of its population), was very involved in dealing with the fallout from the 2008-09 global recession. But the G20 remains an informal group invested with no legal authority, no peacekeeping missions, and no secretariat. Its members remain deeply divided on not just matters of international financial issues, but also on security issues. For matters of war and peace, institutions like the G20 cannot fill the gap left by a weak Security Council. It has no peacekeeping capabilities or enforcement mechanism for upholding international law.

Security Council is empowered to use embargos or use force to enforce a decision

Prof. Vik Kanwar 2008. (LL.M. (advanced law degree), NY Univ School of Law; Visiting Assistant Professor, Loyola Univ. New Orleans College of Law) TWO CRISES OF CONFIDENCE: SECURING NON-PROLIFERATION AND THE RULE OF LAW THROUGH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS (ethical disclosure about date: article was undated, but refers to “recent” events that happened in 2008; it could have been written later than ‘08 but we took the oldest possible date to be fair) (ellipses in original) <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&frm=1&source=web&cd=31&ved=0CEwQFjAAOB4&url=http%3A%2F%2Fworks.bepress.com%2Fcontext%2Fvik_kanwar%2Farticle%2F1000%2Ftype%2Fnative%2Fviewcontent%2F&ei=xDMYUNrdIYL48wSpi4CAAw&usg=AFQjCNFZ1_8pw9MMGKFY3X9FJg2BanVLYg>

In contrast Chapter VII, Article 39 empowers the Security Council to “determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression” to “make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken… to maintain or restore international peace and security.” These measures may include a mandatory embargo or authorizing the use of force to enforce a decision.

SOLVENCY / ADVOCACY

Veto is a hangover from World War 2 and urgently needs to be reformed

Dr. Lloyd Axworthy 2012. (PhD from Princeton; former Minister of Foreign Affairs for Canada) “Vetoes Underline Need to Reform UN” 8 Feb 2012 <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council/security-council-as-an-institution/the-power-of-the-veto-0-40/general-analysis-on-the-security-council-veto/51283-vetoes-underline-need-to-reform-un.html>

Ultimately, the undermining of the Security Council by the double veto gives urgency to the need for reform of the UN, in particular the revamping of the membership of the Security Council and the downgrading, if not elimination, of the veto. In the past, I've argued the veto (which is a hangover from the Second World War thinking that the permanent members of the council needed protection against the launch of an invasion across their own borders) needed to be specifically excluded in cases where the protection of civilians was at stake. Surely, the blatant resistance of two of the five permanent members must now call into question the use of the veto for such self-interested purposes, and the very concept of permanent members with exalted status and powers. The impact of this present situation cannot be left to just end with a whimper.

Vetoes to protect a nation that is violating international law should not be allowed

Ambassador Richard Butler 2012. (Penn State University’s Distinguished Scholar of International Peace and Security; has held numerous senior Australian posts, including Deputy Representative at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the OECD; Ambassador for Disarmament (Geneva); Australian Ambassador to Thailand and Cambodia; Australian Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations) Penn State Journal of Law & International Affairs, Apr 2012 Reform of the United Nations Security Council, <http://elibrary.law.psu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=jlia>

Vetoing U.N. action against a state that is clearly in violation of international law and practice because that state is an ally should not be acceptable. This practice was never intended in San Francisco and it should not be acceptable in practical, political reality. Yet, this position has been accepted repeatedly. Using votes as favors is possibly the most significant instance of abuse of permanent privilege.

Veto destroys the ideals of the UN

Prof. Paul Kennedy 2011. (Professor of History and director of International Security Studies at Yale University) 25 Oct 2011 NEW YORK TIMES, Crossing a Watershed, Unawares <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/26/opinion/26iht-edkennedy26.html?pagewanted=all>

The fourth change is, alas, the slow, steady and growing decrepitude of the United Nations, and especially of its most critical organ, the Security Council. The U.N. Charter was carefully crafted to help the family of nations enjoy peace and prosperity after the horrendous evils of 1937-1945. But the charter itself was a calculated risk: recognizing that the Great Powers of 1945 would have to be given a disproportionate role (like a permanent Security Council seat and the veto), the drafters nonetheless hoped that those five governments might work together to realize the world body’s high ideals. The Cold War killed such hopes, the collapse of the Soviet Union revived them, but now they are fading again due to the cynical abuse of the veto power. When China and Russia veto any measure to stop the Syrian regime of Hafez al-Assad from killing its own citizens, and when the United States vetoes any resolution to stop Israel from advancing into Palestinian lands, the world organization is made redundant. And Moscow, Beijing and Washington seem to like it that way.

JUSTIFICATIONS

Veto blocks ability to carry out the Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

Dr Iftekhar Ahmed 2012. (Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of South Asian Studies (ISAS), an autonomous institute at the National University of Singapore; former Foreign Minister of Bangladesh) June 2012 How Goliath Slew David at the United Nations: A South Asian Perspective, DIPLOMATIST magazine, <http://www.diplomatist.com/dipo6th2012/story_014.htm>

The Security Council, one of the principal UN organs, and indeed the key one, is charged with the maintenance of international peace and security. It has 15 members, the P5 and 10 non-permanent members each elected for a two-year term. Under Chapter 6 of the UN Charter it can make recommendations that are non-binding with regard to peaceful settlement of disputes. Article 7 empowers the Council to use force to obtain compliance in situations involving “threats to peace, breaches of peace or acts of aggression”. The 2005 World Summit adopted the principle of ‘Responsibility to Protect (aka R2P) that further entitled it to intervene in certain special circumstances. In reality, however, the only limit to its powers is when one or more of P5 refuse to play ball. Each of them pursues perceived national self-interest and uses the veto freely to that end.

One country “too frequently” blocks UNSC action with veto or veto threat

Reform would be in US interest

Impact: ...Because we have to be able to deal with mass atrocities

Ariela Blatter 2010. (Policy Director for Citizens for Global Solutions; worked at Amnesty International USA as the Senior Director for International Programs; international human rights lawyer ; served as a permanent representative to the UN on the establishment of the International Criminal Court, overseeing a team of NGO's lobbyists and policy staff; served on the U.S. Genocide Prevention Task Force; currently an adjunct faculty at American University’s School of International Service) The Responsibility Not To Veto: A Way Forward <http://globalsolutions.org/files/public/documents/RN2V_White_Paper_CGS.pdf>

In early 2008 the idea was put back on the agenda by an alternative and bipartisan group of Americans who were planning a rather different approach to R2P. This initiative was the Genocide Prevention Task Force established by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, the American Academy of Diplomacy, and the US Institute of Peace and chaired by former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and former Secretary of Defense William Cohen. The Task Force was assigned to create a blueprint for the incoming administration to procedurally and structurally align the US government to prevent genocide and mass atrocities worldwide. Among other suggestions, the Task Force also discussed the question of the P5 veto. ‘Too frequently,’ its report argued, ‘one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council has made effective collective action virtually impossible by threatening veto, implicitly or explicitly. This has led to either watered-down, ineffectual resolutions, or no resolution at all.’ Recognizing that in the contemporary international system there is little substitute for effective action taken by the Security Council, the Task Force pointed out that it was in US national interests to improve the manner in which the Council deals with mass atrocities.

Definition of “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P)

Ariela Blatter 2010. (Policy Director for Citizens for Global Solutions; worked at Amnesty International USA as the Senior Director for International Programs; international human rights lawyer ; served as a permanent representative to the UN on the establishment of the International Criminal Court, overseeing a team of NGO's lobbyists and policy staff; served on the U.S. Genocide Prevention Task Force; currently an adjunct faculty at American University’s School of International Service) The Responsibility Not To Veto: A Way Forward <http://globalsolutions.org/files/public/documents/RN2V_White_Paper_CGS.pdf>

In October 2005 the United Nations’ (UN) member states unanimously endorsed the responsibility to protect (R2P) principle in three paragraphs of the World Summit Outcome Document. This principle affirmed that each state had ‘the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity’ as well as ‘their incitement’ (paragraph 138). Moreover, should any state be found to be ‘manifestly failing to protect their populations’ from these four crimes, the world’s governments committed themselves ‘to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter’ (paragraph 139). Since then, the R2P principle has been endorsed in a variety of international venues including in Security Council resolutions related to peacekeeping and the protection of civilians – notably resolutions 1674 (2006), 1706 (2006) and 1894 (2009) – and in a UN General Assembly resolution which appeared after a long series of debates.

Impact: UN legitimacy + R2P = saving lives in atrocity crime prevention situations

*Dr. Robert Zuber 2012. (Director of the UN-based Global Action to Prevent War and the Project for a UN*

Emergency Peace Service; serves as consultant, adviser or board member to a wide variety of nonprofit, policy and educational organizations, including Green Map system, Our Humanity in the Balance, and the Paris-based human rights organization FIACAT; has degrees from Yale and Columbia Universities and has written and spoken extensively on diverse human security issues and has organized workshops and conferences in over 30 countries) Operationalizing the Responsibility to Protect - A Contribution to the Third Pillar Approach, “A Living Trust: Strategies for Sustaining and Growing Support for Third Pillar Response to Threats of Mass Atrocities” <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/Operationalizing%20the%20Responsibility%20to%20Protect%20-%20The%20Challenges%20of%20the%20Third%20Pillar%20Approach.pdf>

The role that the UN is choosing to play in atrocity crime prevention has life saving implications – with able direction from the joint office (Genocide Prevention and Responsibility to Protect) and other sectors of the secretariat as well as significant input from the state “friends” of RtoP, other governments and various NGOs. Despite several political miscalculations and needlessly stubborn capacity gaps, the UN still maintains legitimacy on security matters that regional organizations struggle even to approximate.

Life-saving intervention blocked. The UN Security Council was blocked by vetoes from taking action to protect innocent people from being slaughtered by their own government in Syria.

Dr. Lloyd Axworthy 2012. (PhD from Princeton; former Minister of Foreign Affairs for Canada) “Vetoes Underline Need to Reform UN” 8 Feb 2012 <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council/security-council-as-an-institution/the-power-of-the-veto-0-40/general-analysis-on-the-security-council-veto/51283-vetoes-underline-need-to-reform-un.html>

The double veto by the Russians and the Chinese on an Arab League resolution on Syria at the Security Council has created a major crisis for the UN, resulting in new calls for action that promise to circumvent the stalemated organization as the international agency to protect innocent people from being slaughtered by their government. This, as Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon stated, "undermines the world body" after the heady days when a UN resolution kicked off a successful effort to thwart the murderous threats of Libyan dictator Moammar Gadhafi.

Possible solutions to the Rwanda genocide in the 1990s were never even proposed because they feared a veto

Ariela Blatter 2010. (Policy Director for Citizens for Global Solutions; worked at Amnesty International USA as the Senior Director for International Programs; international human rights lawyer ; served as a permanent representative to the UN on the establishment of the International Criminal Court, overseeing a team of NGO's lobbyists and policy staff; served on the U.S. Genocide Prevention Task Force; currently an adjunct faculty at American University’s School of International Service) The Responsibility Not To Veto: A Way Forward <http://globalsolutions.org/files/public/documents/RN2V_White_Paper_CGS.pdf>

Another illustration is what Howard Adelman and Astri Suhrke called the ‘anticipatory veto,’ namely the ‘unspoken rule’ that the Secretariat should ‘discern what the Council was likely to accept, then to prepare policy within this range of options.’ These authors used the idea of the ‘anticipatory veto’ to explain the Secretariat’s failure to provide meaningful strategic options to the Council in relation to the Rwandan genocide of 1994. In other words, the veto system exists within a broader web of understanding which influences expectations about what are realistic policies when it comes to matters of international peace and security.

Veto impairs the ability of the UN to respond to conflict and civil rights abuse

Prof. Paul Kennedy 2006. (Professor of History and director of International Security Studies at Yale University) 15 Sept 2006 “Circus tricks” THE GUARDIAN (British newspaper) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/sep/16/comment.politics>

Even though the knotty question of what one does when society is rent by civil war and genocide would remain regardless of a particular clause in the charter, the existence of the veto often compounds this problem. But on many occasions the ability of the UN to take action on domestic conflict and civil rights abuses (Darfur, Palestine, Tibet, Chechnya) has been severely impaired because one of the permanent five threatens to employ its veto.

Vetoes block action on genocide: Darfur violence went on for 2 years before the Security Council acted

Alicia Bannon 2006. (JD candidate, Yale Law School) The Responsibility To Protect: The U.N. World Summit and the Question of Unilateralism, YALE LAW JOURNAL, Vol 115 [www.yalelawjournal.org/pdf/115-5/Bannon.pdf](http://www.yalelawjournal.org/pdf/115-5/Bannon.pdf)

First, the structure of the United Nations does not foster quick and decisive responses. Vetoes by the permanent members of the Security Council–or even threats of vetoes–can undermine effective international action. Bureaucratic hurdles and diplomatic negotiations can be time-consuming, making it difficult to respond to rapidly unfolding events. More generally, any form of international coercion is usually diplomatically and politically costly, creating a strong incentive for international actors to avoid difficult measures. The international response to the crisis in Darfur is illustrative. China, which has ties to the Sudanese government and enjoys a permanent seat on the Security Council, was reported to have opposed coercive measures like sanctions. The first Security Council resolution that took any direct action against the perpetrators of human rights abuses was not passed until March 29, 2005, two years after the violence began.

Vetoes block effective action on threats to peace and security

Ambassador Richard Butler 2012. (Penn State University’s Distinguished Scholar of International Peace and Security; former Australian Deputy Representative at the International Atomic Energy Agency, Ambassador for Disarmament (Geneva); Australian Ambassador to Thailand and Cambodia; Australian Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the UN) PENN STATE JOURNAL OF LAW & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS,, Apr 2012 Reform of the United Nations Security Council, <http://elibrary.law.psu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=jlia>

The case can be made that the Security Council has failed in its job of addressing important issues of international peace and security in a relevant, fair, or balanced way. When one moves from the agenda to the track record of the Security Council in taking decisions, we are confronted with what has possibly been its greatest failure. The Council has had successes, but its record is more distinguished by its repeated failure to reach agreement on how to adequately deal with threats to peace and security. A principal reason for this has been the refusal of one or another of the Permanent Members to set aside their own interests. Vetoing U.N. action against a state that is clearly in violation of international law and practice because that state is an ally should not be acceptable.

Enforcement of non-proliferation is possible if permanent UN Security Council members don’t veto

Dr. George Perkovich 2006. (PhD from Univ of Virginia; vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; served as a speechwriter and foreign policy adviser to Senator Joe Biden; currently an adviser to the International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations' Task Force on U.S. Nuclear Policy) The End of the Nonproliferation Regime? CURRENT HISTORY Nov 2006 [www.carnegieendowment.org/files/perkovich\_current\_history.pdf](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/perkovich_current_history.pdf)

The general legitimacy problem in the current nonproliferation regime does not necessarily make it impossible to enforce rules in particular cases. It depends on whether the veto-wielding members of the UN Security Council are united. More precisely, enforcement is possible if none of the permanent members would veto enforcement measures agreed to by the others.

Vetoes can block Security Council sanctions against nuclear proliferators, allowing them to resist enforcement

Dr. George Perkovich 2006. (PhD from Univ of Virginia; vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; served as a speechwriter and foreign policy adviser to Senator Joe Biden; currently an adviser to the International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations' Task Force on U.S. Nuclear Policy) The End of the Nonproliferation Regime? CURRENT HISTORY Nov 2006 [www.carnegieendowment.org/files/perkovich\_current\_history.pdf](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/perkovich_current_history.pdf)

When a state like Iran defies the Security Council, the council can accept defeat and allow the dangerous behavior in question to continue and its own credibility to plummet, or it can adopt various forms of sanctions or even authorize military action to compel the state to comply. Problems that are grave enough to require Security Council action generally are not resolved in one step; often a progression of political statements and sanctions of increasing intensity occurs. The more powerful the noncompliant state is, the more cautiously the Security Council acts. But this becomes a dangerous, circular process: aggressive Iranian leaders pursue a strategy of brazen noncompliance with international demands, hoping that international actors will back down; international actors appear intimidated and do not respond to a series of defiant acts; the nation’s aggressive leadership claims success, silences internal opponents who seek greater cooperation with the international community, and acts still more boldly; the international community reports the problem to the divided Security Council, where Russia makes clear it will not support strong enforcement measures; the Iranian leadership reaffirms the effectiveness of its hard-line strategy and concludes it cannot be stopped. Given the veto power held by the five permanent members of the Security Council, a noncompliant state can resist enforcement if it is confident that at least one permanent member will block consensus on sanctions and, ultimately, the use of force. A range of conflicting interests prevents the permanent members from cooperating to address urgent problems in the nonproliferation regime.

UN Security Council is the most legitimate enforcer of the Non-Proliferation Treaty

Dr. George Perkovich 2006. (PhD from Univ of Virginia; vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; served as a speechwriter and foreign policy adviser to Senator Joe Biden; currently an adviser to the International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations' Task Force on U.S. Nuclear Policy) The End of the Nonproliferation Regime? CURRENT HISTORY Nov 2006 [www.carnegieendowment.org/files/perkovich\_current\_history.pdf](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/perkovich_current_history.pdf)

Today, the UN Security Council enjoys more international legitimacy than other institutions or individual states. Its imprimatur does not guarantee that rule breakers will comply with its resolutions, but enforcement of rules without this imprimatur, or that of a regional body in the area involved, is difficult to sustain. The Security Council is the designated authority to which cases of noncompliance with safeguards requirements are to be reported, and is widely perceived to be the most legitimate enforcer of the NPT.

Nuclear non-proliferation regime is working and should be preserved and strengthened

Can’t be done by the US alone: we need international cooperation

Dr. George Perkovich 2006. (PhD from Univ of Virginia; vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; served as a speechwriter and foreign policy adviser to Senator Joe Biden; currently an adviser to the International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations' Task Force on U.S. Nuclear Policy) The End of the Nonproliferation Regime? CURRENT HISTORY Nov 2006 [www.carnegieendowment.org/files/perkovich\_current\_history.pdf](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/perkovich_current_history.pdf)

The nuclear nonproliferation regime is actually one of history’s greatest success stories. Attempting to keep the vast majority of nations from acquiring the most potent technology on earth, while establishing rules under which a small minority manage these technologies, the nonproliferation system has been “defeated” by only one country that acquired nuclear weapons illegally: North Korea. The system is being tested by another, Iran, and has been bypassed by three others: Israel, India, and Pakistan. Although much of the world would say the system is flawed insofar as the states with nuclear weapons are not pursuing disarmament seriously enough, this disaffection does not necessarily portend a collapse of the regime. This record makes the nonproliferation regime worth preserving and strengthening despite the difficult challenges it faces. Perhaps the most important point to remember, and the easiest to forget in the post–cold war, post–9-11 era, is that the basic framework and success of the nonproliferation regime were built on cooperation between the superpowers in a bipolar world system. That system is gone. The fundamental requirement today is to establish a basis of cooperation between the most powerful state—the United States—and the others, without which pressing proliferation problems cannot be solved. The sole superpower cannot solve the North Korean and Iranian cases, or change the rules regulating nuclear technology. It must find ways to induce other key powers to cooperate with it even as they also wish to balance, influence, and perhaps reduce America’s power.

Veto blocks action on nuclear non-proliferation

Ambassador Richard Butler 2012. (Penn State University’s Distinguished Scholar of International Peace and Security; has held numerous senior Australian posts, including Deputy Representative at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the OECD; Ambassador for Disarmament (Geneva); Australian Ambassador to Thailand and Cambodia; Australian Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations) Penn State Journal of Law & International Affairs, Apr 2012 Reform of the United Nations Security Council, <http://elibrary.law.psu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=jlia>

I mentioned earlier that I would address a particular set of circumstances. Specifically, this is the Security Council’s role in the enforcement of the treaties on weapons of mass destruction, in particular, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The current political structure refers any violations of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty or the Chemical Weapons Convention to the Security Council. The Council is then asked to make a decision on what action should be taken to rectify or deal with this transgression. There have been instances in the past where, even though a good case appears to have been made that such a transgression is occurring, a Permanent Member of the Security Council has blocked proposed remedial action.

Nuclear proliferation is critical to Security Council effectiveness

Ambassador David Hannay 2009. (former British Ambassador to the UN) Effectiveness and Ineffectiveness of the UN Security Council in the Last Twenty Years: A European Perspective, Nov 2009 [www.iai.it/pdf/DocIAI/iai0928.pdf](http://www.iai.it/pdf/DocIAI/iai0928.pdf)

No policy area is more crucial to future Security Council effectiveness than nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear proliferation. The problems in this sector reach far beyond those posed by North Korea and Iran, although the outcome of those two cases will have a major effect on the wider picture and vice-versa. The programme sketched out in President Obama’s Prague speech – significant new US-Russian arms control agreements, wider measures to reduce the assets of all nuclear weapons states, a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty, the coming into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, measures to guarantee internationally the supply of enrichment and reprocessing services so that the expansion of civil nuclear energy as part of the climate change campaign does not create new proliferation risks – leading towards a world free of nuclear weapons, sets out a formidably challenging agenda.

Nuclear proliferation impact: Higher risk of terrorist group getting a nuke

Prof. Paul Rogers 2010. (professor in the department of peace studies at Bradford University, England) The nuclear-weapons risk, 15 Apr 2010 <http://www.opendemocracy.net/paul-rogers/nuclear-weapons-risk>

On the first question, there is a small but definite possibility that a determined group could obtain a useable nuclear device illicitly either from a major existing nuclear state or from one of the newer powers. It is impossible to estimate the size of that risk, but it is probably the case that there was a greater danger in the immediate aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Even so, as nuclear weapons slowly proliferate, especially in countries with weaker security controls, then the chances of this outcome grow.

Nuclear proliferation impact: If enough more nations get nuclear weapons, it’s unrealistic to think nuclear catastrophe could be avoided

Henry Kissinger 2006. (former US Secretary of State) The New Challenges of Nuclear Proliferation, <http://www.trilateral.org/download/file/annual_meeting/nuclear_proliferation.pdf>

During the Cold War, a balance of terror was precariously maintained between the two superpowers. Leaders of both knew that their first imperative was to avoid a nuclear Armageddon, of which both would be the first victim. Even then, the disparity between the vast consequences of a decision to use nuclear weapons on the one hand and any conceivable political outcome that could be achieved on the other hand had a paralyzing effect on decision making. The deliberate choice to use nuclear weapons in a preventive or preemptive manner defied the principles of rational conduct, since it guaranteed casualties among the civilian populations of both superpowers that were beyond comprehension. If one imagines a world of tens of nations with nuclear weapons and major powers trying to balance their own deterrent equations, plus the deterrent equations of the subsystems, deterrence calculation would become impossibly complicated. To assume that, in such a world, nuclear catastrophe could be avoided would be unrealistic.

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

Abolishing the veto would not hurt American interests: If Security Council passes a resolution criticizing the U.S. or its friends, so what?

Ambassador Richard Butler 2012. (Penn State University’s Distinguished Scholar of International Peace and Security; has held numerous senior Australian posts, including Deputy Representative at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the OECD; Ambassador for Disarmament (Geneva); Australian Ambassador to Thailand and Cambodia; Australian Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations) Penn State Journal of Law & International Affairs, Apr 2012 Reform of the United Nations Security Council, <http://elibrary.law.psu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=jlia>

Hence, the United States could, with impunity, consider the abolition of the veto. The United States could then seek to establish a decision-making methodology, in the Security Council based on a two-thirds majority vote for the passage of any substantive decisions. The United States would then call upon all Permanent Members to do the same and make the fulfillment of its offer conditional upon the other four following suit. What substantive American interests, as against past notions of prestige, would be harmed by such a move? Truly, does the prospect of a Security Council resolution criticizing the United States or its friends, especially coming from today’s Security Council, seem particularly frightening or disturbing? Absolutely not.

Vetoes in support of Israel are not justified

Jan Wouters & Tom Ruys 2005. (Wouters - Professor of International Law and the Law of International Organizations, Director of the Institute for International Law, Leuven University, Belgium. Ruys - Research assistant, Institute of International Law, Leuven University) Security Council Reform: A New Veto for a New Century? Aug 2005 <http://www.egmontinstitute.be/paperegm/ep9.pdf>

On several occasions, the US justified its use of the veto on the grounds that the various draft resolutions were severely unbalanced since they did not unequivocally condemn terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians. This reasoning seems at least partially unfounded. First, the Security Council has frequently condemned attacks against Israeli civilians. This was also the case with regard to the draft resolution condemning the assassination of Yassin, which condemned “all terrorist attacks against any civilians” and called on all sides to cease all acts of terrorism, provocation and destruction. Secondly, these vetoes are reprehensible because they fail to recognise the fact that certain human rights cannot be derogated from even in times of war or other public emergencies and because they ignore the idea that the application of international humanitarian law generally does not depend on reciprocity. Such conduct strongly undermines the maintenance of international peace and security as well as the progressive implementation of international law, by preserving a climate of impunity.

US vetoes are helping Israel violate international humanitarian law

Prof. Stephen Zunes 2012. (Professor of Politics and Chair of Mid-Eastern Studies, Univ of San Francisco) “Putting the UN Veto in Perspective,” Huffington Post, February 10, 2012, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/stephen-zunes/syria-russia-un-veto_b_1267495.html>

“A little perspective is required here: Since 1970, China has used its veto power eight times, and Russia (and the former Soviet Union) has used its veto power 13 times. However, the United States has used its veto power 83 times, primarily in defense of allies accused of violating international humanitarian law. Forty-two of these US vetoes were to protect Israel from criticism for illegal activities, including suspected war crimes. To this day, Israel occupies and colonizes a large swath of southwestern Syria in violation of a series of UN Security Council resolutions, which the United States has successfully blocked from enforcing. Yet, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton insists that it is the Russians and Chinese who have "neutered" the Security Council in its ability to defend basic human rights.”

“Palestine would be admitted as a UN member without US veto” - Responses: Wonderful, bring it on.

Improved security for Israel. Palestine’s UN status is key to Israel’s security

1)  Palestinian UN membership would uphold human rights.

Dr. Mustafa Barghouthi 2012. (Secretary General of the Palestinian National Initiative, the president of The Palestinian Medical Relief Society, a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, and a non-violence democracy leader based in Ramallah; nominee for Nobel peace prize)  Jan 2012, “Intelligence Squared U.S.” debate on the subject: “The U.N. should admit Palestine as a full member state” [http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf](http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf" \t "_blank)

My third point is that, supposing our right to be admitted to the United Nations will be sending the right message, the message of respect to human rights, the message of respect to people's right for self-determination, the message of respect of the right of people to be sovereign. If we speak about the right of people in South Sudan and in Kosovo and in Libya and in Syria to be free and to have self-determination, then why not Palestine? And why continue to use the double standard, especially that admitting Palestine in the UN would be about correcting a historical mistake that was made. Since 1947 resolution the United States spoke about two states, Israel was established. Palestine was not.

2) Improved security for Israel. Palestine’s UN status is key to Israel’s security

Prof. Paul Parker 2012. (Chairperson and a Professor of Religious Studies at Elmhurst College) 17 Apr 2012 FOREIGN POLICY JOURNAL “U.N. Membership Would Unshackle Israel and Palestine” <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2012/04/17/u-n-membership-would-unshackle-israel-and-palestine/>

Palestine’s status in the UN is the key to Israel’s security and international support—and to Palestinian freedom, equal rights, and a just resolution of the refugees’ right of return. The UN is the world’s most inclusive institution devoted to peace. It is not perfect, but it is better than unending war. By hindering Palestine’s entrance to the UN, America has left Israelis and Palestinians with the limited options of capitulation to the other’s most recent demands or violence—and neither state is ready to capitulate.

3) Palestinian membership would help motivate Israel to accept a 2-state solution

Daniel Levy 2012. (Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation and co-directs the Middle East Taskforce; former senior policy adviser to Israeli Minister of Justice; formerly worked in the Israeli Prime Minister's Office as special adviser and head of the Jerusalem Affairs unit ; was a member of the Israeli delegation to the Taba Summit with the Palestinians in 2001)  Jan 2012, “Intelligence Squared U.S.” debate on the subject: “The U.N. should admit Palestine as a full member state” [http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf](http://intelligencesquaredus.org/images/debates/past/transcripts/palestine.pdf" \t "_blank)

Prime Minister Netanyahu may have talked the talk on two states, but he has not walked the walk. His own Likud party platform opposes two states, and one must take seriously the Jewish-Israeli narrative that says 100 years ago we had nothing, then we got Balfour, then we got the '47 partition, then we got 78 percent of the land, then in 1967 we got 100 percent of the land, and we're not going anywhere.  That's a serious view, and it has an amen corner, by the way, certain people perhaps in New Hampshire tonight's part of that amen corner. Passivity cannot be the response. If we want two states, we have to act. And U.N. admission for Palestine is precisely the anchor for a two-state future, a clarifying moment. We need to be deeply respectful of the choices that Israelis are going to have to make, difficult choices, and the conversations in Israel, and, therefore, to understand just how unproductive the lack of clarity is for that Israeli conversation. Indulging bad behavior, treating that with impunity, is unhelpful in any human predicament.

11. 2A EVIDENCE: UNEPS

MINOR REPAIR / COUNTERPLAN RESPONSES

“NATO does it instead” - Response: NATO fails to provide sustainable security

Dr. H. Peter Langille 2012. (directs global Common Security i3; served on the working group of the Canadian study, Towards A Rapid Reaction Capability For The United Nations, (Ottawa: 1995), which was presented to the UN General Assembly; supervised officers in the Canadian Forces College and taught in McMaster University’s Peace Studies program.) “A UN emergency peace service?“ 14 May 2012 <http://www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/h-peter-langille/un-emergency-peace-service>

How should the international community prevent mass atrocities and protect civilians at risk? Like the word ‘peace’, the laudable norms of protection and prevention appear suspect when applied by traditional military means. In Libya, NATO’s demonstrations of high-tech war with the initial shock and awe were too reminiscent of Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan. Each failed to provide sustainable security.

“Let E.U. or NATO do it instead” - Response: An international standing force would be better, because it would not trigger more aggressive foreign policy by Russia and China

United Kingdom Government Office for Science, last updated 2011. “One Flag, Many Nations: The Establishment of an International Army?” last updated 18 May 2011 <http://www.sigmascan.org/Live/Issue/ViewIssue/38>

An expanded European Union or NATO force is also possible and unlikely to be vastly different to the situation currently in place. However, any expanded EU or NATO military role is likely to be seen as a threat to other global powers and could be the cause for a more aggressive foreign policy on their part (i.e. Russia, China). EU states which have refused to join the Euro, like Denmark and Sweden, might also refuse to subscribe to an EU fighting force. In either case, the context of states’ unwillingness to ’go it alone’, an international standing force could become the preferred actor to deal with complex problems of conflict resolution and state-building.

Other options like NATO, African Union are not as fast, lack the skills, and don’t have the legitimacy of a UN force

Dr. Robert C. Johansen 2006. (PhD from Columbia Univ. Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Peace Studies, Notre Dame Univ.) “A UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE TO PREVENT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY” <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/uneps_publication.pdf>

In addition, an impressive number of studies carried out by the United Nations, by national governments, and by independent experts conclude that more highly skilled personnel need to be deployed more rapidly during crises to prevent armed conflict, protect civilians, and enforce the law. The growing recognition of need for a new UN capability has led to numerous efforts to prepare more readily available national police and military units, regional forces (e.g., NATO), voluntary forms of international collaboration (e.g., the Standby High Readiness Brigade), and ad hoc mechanisms (e.g., the Economic Community of West African States in Liberia and Sierra Leone). The African Union’s growing interest in developing a capacity to intervene against war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity, and the G-8 Action Plan for Expanding Global Capacity for Peace Support Operations are also important steps. Yet none of these groups will be immediately available. They cannot be deployed quickly because of insufficient readiness or because they require national decisions that in practice have delayed deployments. None possesses the full range and depth of competence needed. And these other forces may, in some cases, lack the legitimacy essential for eliciting financial support and enforcing measures that hold leaders accountable to international law.

“Let the USA do it” - Response: US intervention costs twice as much as UN peacekeeping

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2011. (Professor of Law, Cornell University Law School, and Director, Cornell University’s Institute for African Development) “UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND SECURITY AND RECONSTRUCTION” Cornell Law Faculty Publications. Paper 188. <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1187&context=facpub>

The annual cost of the charges to the international community has been modest — well under 1% of world military spending. The US Government Accountability Office estimated that it would cost the United States approximately twice as much as the United Nations to conduct a peacekeeping operation similar to the UN stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH): an estimated $876 million compared to the UN budgeted $428 million for the first 14 months of the mission.

“Re-hatting can speed up deployments” - Response: Re-hatting has multiple problems

Kavitha Suthanthiraraj, Mariah Quinn & Juan Méndez 2009. ( Suthanthiraraj - Masters Degree in Development Studies (with a focus on Peace and Conflict Studies) from the University of Sydney. Quinn - Research assistant with Global Action to Prevent War. Mendez - Former U.N. Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide) STANDING FOR CHANGE IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, May 2009 <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/standing-for-change-final-may-09.pdf>

‘Re-hatting’, a practice by which existing regional or multilateral forces are reassigned to serve as UN troops, has emerged as one means of expediting the initial deployment process. Oftentimes, initial deployment figures reflect the practice of re-hatting and therefore even those missions that boast a high initial deployment rate may not receive newly deployed troops for many months. For instance: “In Liberia (UNMIL) while 3,600 ECOWAS troops were ‘re-hatted’ into the UNMIL mission within 12 days (representing 24% of the authorized mission strength), deployment of the entire force did not occur until 2 years after the initial Security Council resolution.” Of the 15 UN missions reviewed, more than 50% of peacekeepers, or 30,000 personnel, had been re-hatted. Though re-hatting can address the need for rapid response in the short term, it is problematic for a number of reasons: re-hatting can give rise to troop fatigue; it exposes disparities in command structure and force mandates; and it does not allow for adequate, unified training to fulfill new mission responsibilities.

INHERENCY

High risk of future conflict outbreak

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2011. (Professor of Law, Cornell University Law School, and Director, Cornell University’s Institute for African Development) “UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND SECURITY AND RECONSTRUCTION” Cornell Law Faculty Publications. Paper 188. <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1187&context=facpub>

Although the number of wars has decreased, far too many remain — and there are still several places of instability around the globe that could easily turn into conflict areas. Furthermore, because the underlying causes of conflicts are too rarely addressed, the risks of new conflicts breaking out in the same area and old ones starting up again remain very real.

Total global military spending is $1.7 trillion

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 2012.  (non-profit research organization based in Sweden; established on the basis of a decision by the Swedish Parliament and receives a substantial part of its funding in the form of an annual grant from the Swedish Government) 17 April 2012 "World military spending levels out after 13 years of increases, says SIPRI" <http://www.sipri.org/media/pressreleases/17-april-2012-world-military-spending-levels-out-after-13-years-of-increases-says-sipri>

World military expenditure in 2011 totalled $1.74 trillion, almost unchanged since 2010 in real terms\*, according to figures released today by Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). The comprehensive annual update of the SIPRI Military Expenditure Database is accessible from today at www.sipri.org.The small rise of just 0.3 per cent in 2011 marks the end of a run of continuous increases in military spending between 1998 and 2010, including an annual average increase of 4.5 per cent between 2001 and 2009.

Current UN “stand by” arrangements are not adequate: they have 4-6 months of delay

Dr. H. Peter Langille 2012. (directs global Common Security i3; served on the working group of the Canadian study, Towards A Rapid Reaction Capability For The United Nations, (Ottawa: 1995), which was presented to the UN General Assembly; supervised officers in the Canadian Forces College and taught in McMaster University’s Peace Studies program.) “A UN emergency peace service?“ 14 May 2012 <http://www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/h-peter-langille/un-emergency-peace-service>

For peace operations -- even the majority, which are now authorised under Chapter VII with mandates to protect civilians -- the UN relies on a standby arrangement system that is helpful in normal circumstances, but is insufficient, and even prone to fail under more demanding crises. The standby arrangements are non-binding, conditional agreements that depend on national governments. National interests and whims, national political will and decisions, as well as the availability of national personnel and resources determine whether the UN will be able to help. Unfortunately, there has been a marked tendency for northern nations to *stand by* instead of standing up, incurring routine delays of four to six months, rather than timely, decisive responses.

The UN has no capacity for rapid intervention to stop genocide

Dr. Robert C. Johansen 2006. (PhD from Columbia Univ. Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Peace Studies, Notre Dame Univ.) “A UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE TO PREVENT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY” <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/uneps_publication.pdf>

Despite the need to be able to move quickly to prevent genocide and crimes against humanity, the United Nations has no capacity to avert such catastrophes, even when prompt action could save hundreds of thousands of lives. The international community’s failure to stop genocide in Rwanda in 1994 and to avert “ethnic cleansing” occurring in the Darfur region of Sudan a decade later illustrate this incapacity, as do the other massive killings of civilians in Cambodia, the former Yugoslavia, East Timor, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, and elsewhere. In recent years, huge atrocities have killed millions of innocent people, wounded millions more, forced tens of millions from their homes, destroyed entire economies, and wasted hundreds of billions of dollars.

International community invariably falls short of meeting the need for adequate peacekeeping

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2011. (Professor of Law, Cornell University Law School, and Director, Cornell University’s Institute for African Development) “UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND SECURITY AND RECONSTRUCTION” Cornell Law Faculty Publications. Paper 188. <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1187&context=facpub>

The demands of United Nations peacekeeping will always test the will of the international community to promote peace and security in the world’s conflict areas. Despite widespread recognition that, in order to be effective, United Nations peacekeeping needs the concrete contributions of the member states in the form of personnel, finances, and political support, the international community invariably fails to meet the needs of peacekeeping operations.

International community lacks rapid deployment capability that could save innocent lives

Dr. David Krieger, Prof. Saul Mendlovitz, William Pace 2006. (Krieger - J.D., PhD in political science; founder and president, Nuclear Age Peace Foundation. Mendlovitz - emeritus Professor of Peace and World Order Studies, Rutgers Univ. Pace - Executive Director of the World Federalist Movement-Institute for Global Policy) “A UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE TO PREVENT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY” <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/uneps_publication.pdf>

Tragically, violent outbreaks continue to plague human civilization, in which innocent people are ruthlessly killed simply because of their national, ethnic, racial, or religious identities. It is now widely recognized, however, that such mass killings and other crimes against humanity are clearly prohibited in international law. In addition, leading experts and numerous international commissions affirm that the international community could prevent many of these crimes if it would quickly send a professional security force to enforce the law in humanitarian crises, such as should have happened in Rwanda in 1994. Yet, the international community lacks the necessary capability to deploy such a law-enforcing body promptly where innocent people face threats to their dignity, their homes, and their lives.

FAILURES

Early intervention is often crucial for preventing bloodshed

Dr. Robert C. Johansen 2006. (PhD from Columbia Univ. Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Peace Studies, Notre Dame Univ.) “THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE EXECUTIVE SUMMARY” “A UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE TO PREVENT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY” <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/uneps_publication.pdf>

Moreover, a conflict that in retrospect might appear to have been beyond the capacity of a small emergency service might have been amenable to successful intervention if it had occurred in an early preventive phase of a conflict’s life cycle. Increasingly, governments understand that early preventive action is more effective and less costly than later, larger efforts after a conflict has escalated and spread. The capacity to respond rapidly is often crucial for preventing bloodshed that, once begun, may tear the social fabric forever beyond repair. If it had existed in the 1990s, such a capacity could have prevented untold destruction and suffering while reducing or eliminating the high costs of post-conflict reconstruction after a society and its supportive infrastructure have been devastated by violent conflict.

Most UN peacekeeping deployments are slow and late

Kavitha Suthanthiraraj, Mariah Quinn & Juan Méndez 2009. ( Suthanthiraraj - Masters Degree in Development Studies (with a focus on Peace and Conflict Studies) from the University of Sydney; & Quinn - Research assistant with Global Action to Prevent War. Mendez - Former U.N. Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide) STANDING FOR CHANGE IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, May 2009 <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/standing-for-change-final-may-09.pdf>

The Report of the Panel on United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (also known as the Brahimi Report) stipulated that, in order to achieve effective deployment, missions must be deployed within 30 days, with more complex missions taking up to 90 days.\* While not ideal, these benchmarks were seen as reasonable and achievable. The Brahimi recommendations have, in actuality, rarely been achieved. Recent analysis conducted by the UNEPS Secretariat indicated that of 15 UN missions authorized within the past 15 years, initial deployment occurred on average, 46 days after a formal authorization.\*\*19 A further concern is the delay in achieving maximum troop deployment, as authorized by the relevant Security Council resolution. In 9 of the 15 missions reviewed, less than 15% of the authorized force was deployed within the first 90 days and, on average, full deployment was not achieved until nearly 13 months later.

Today’s peacekeeping missions are more complex than in the past

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2011. (Professor of Law, Cornell University Law School, and Director, Cornell University’s Institute for African Development) “UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND SECURITY AND RECONSTRUCTION” Cornell Law Faculty Publications. Paper 188. <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1187&context=facpub>

The transformation of peacekeeping missions reflects in the UN’s own words more than hybridization: “The goals of Peacekeeping Missions have in fact changed significantly: from assisting in the maintenance of ceasefires during cold war peacekeeping operations during the 1990s increasingly becoming peacebuilding missions.” The broad and complex mandates of today’s multidimensional peace operations reflect the varied civilian, military, and police capabilities required to provide support to the challenges of modern day peacekeeping. These include tasks such as promoting political transitions, assisting in the development of political structures, demobilization of armed forces, the provision of humanitarian relief during emergencies to refugees and internally displaced people, establishing the rule of law, promoting security, supporting disarmament, holding elections, and jump-starting the economy.

SOLVENCY / ADVOCACY

UNEPS cost: $2 billion to start, $900 million/year to maintain

Dr. Robert C. Johansen 2006. (PhD from Columbia Univ. Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Peace Studies, Notre Dame Univ.) “THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE EXECUTIVE SUMMARY” “A UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE TO PREVENT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY” <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/uneps_publication.pdf>

Although the proposed UN Emergency Peace Service would entail significant financial costs, these almost certainly will be far less than the costs that will occur from conflicts allowed to fester until they spiral out of control in the absence of such a service. Estimates on the cost of the UN Service vary, but start-up expenses could come to $2 billion, with an annual recurring cost of $900 million or more, depending on field operations.

Net cost savings: 5000 UN troops sent early to Rwanda would have cost $500 million. Not sending them ended up costing $4.5 billion

Dr. Robert C. Johansen 2006. (PhD from Columbia Univ. Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Peace Studies, Notre Dame Univ.) “THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE EXECUTIVE SUMMARY” “A UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE TO PREVENT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY” <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/uneps_publication.pdf>

The cost of reinforcing UNAMIR in Rwanda, for example, with the 5,000 soldiers that UN commander General Romeo Dallaire “thought were needed to prevent or stop the genocide has been estimated at $500 million; the cost of humanitarian assistance to Rwanda and the region consequent on the genocide was in excess of $4.5 billion.”

Net cost savings: UNEPS would save billions of dollars in the long run with its preventive approach

Dr. Robert C. Johansen 2006. (PhD from Columbia Univ. Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Peace Studies, Notre Dame Univ.) “THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE EXECUTIVE SUMMARY” “A UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE TO PREVENT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY” <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/uneps_publication.pdf>

It is likely to be a cost-effective instrument, able to reduce the overall costs of UN peace and enforcement operations in the long run. The Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict found that the international community “spent approximately $200 billion on conflict management in seven major interventions in the 1990s (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, the Persian Gulf, Cambodia, and El Salvador).” It could have saved $130 billion of this amount “through a more effective preventive approach” that a UN Emergency Peace Service would help make possible. Additional billions could have been saved by external powers that were involved directly or indirectly in the conflicts. Yet if the proposed Emergency Service saved only one or two billion “conflict dollars” annually, which it almost certainly would do, it would be a cost-effective investment for saving both lives and financial resources.

UNEPS with 12,000-15,000 personnel would solve for slow deployment, recruiting and training problems

Dr. Robert C. Johansen 2006. (PhD from Columbia Univ. Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Peace Studies, Notre Dame Univ.) “A UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE TO PREVENT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY” http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/uneps\_publication.pdf

Because a UN Emergency Peace Service would be permanent, based at UN designated sites, and include mobile field headquarters, it could move to quell an emergency within 48 hours after United Nations authorization. Since it would be individually recruited from among volunteers from many countries, it would not suffer the reluctance of UN members to deploy their own national units. As its 12,000 to 15,000 personnel would be carefully selected, expertly trained, and coherently organized and commanded, it would not fail in its mission due to lack of skills, equipment, cohesiveness, experience in resolving conflicts, or gender, national, or religious imbalance. Because it would be an integrated service encompassing civilian, police, judicial, and military personnel prepared to conduct multiple functions in diverse UN operations, it would not suffer for lack of components essential to peace operations or from confusion about the chain of command. By providing a wide range of functions, the UN Emergency Peace Service would, for the first time in history, offer a rapid, comprehensive, internationally legitimate response to crisis.

UNEPS solves delayed deployments and inadequate training and eliminates barriers to the decision to deploy

UNEPS would not need approval of individual contributing countries to deploy

Dr. Robert C. Johansen 2006. (PhD from Columbia Univ. Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Peace Studies, Notre Dame Univ.) “A UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE TO PREVENT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY” <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/uneps_publication.pdf>

The proposed UN Emergency Peace Service is designed to surmount past problems of UN peace operations, such as delayed deployments, inadequate training, and diffuse command structure, while also reducing the reluctance of governments to deploy their own national citizens in conflicts with high risk and low national interest. A dedicated UN Service with personnel recruited from among carefully selected volunteers would no longer need to acquire the approval of individual contributing countries to deploy; nor would it need to meet the operational conditions sometimes imposed by member states that contribute national contingents.

Existence of UNEPS could deter evil leaders from misbehavior

Dr. Robert C. Johansen 2006. (PhD from Columbia Univ. Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Peace Studies, Notre Dame Univ.) “THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE EXECUTIVE SUMMARY” “A UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE TO PREVENT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY” <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/uneps_publication.pdf>

The UN Service could also play a constructive preventive role during crises when mass violence might otherwise appear tempting to some. If cynical political leaders in strife-ridden societies knew that a rapid reaction UN Service could be deployed quickly to enforce international law, some of those political leaders who otherwise might be tempted to commit misdeeds would be more likely to be deterred. As Secretary-General Annan put it, “If states bent on criminal behavior know that frontiers are not the absolute defence; if they know that the Security Council will take action to halt crimes against humanity, then they will not embark on such a course of action in expectation of sovereignty impunity.”

UNEPS would increase willingness to deploy and willingness to accept UN presence, improving prevention of mass murder and war

Dr. Robert C. Johansen 2006. (PhD from Columbia Univ. Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Peace Studies, Notre Dame Univ.) “A UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE TO PREVENT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY” <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/uneps_publication.pdf>

The UN Emergency Peace Service could also be helpful in encouraging a government to *consent* to the deployment of UN personnel in some cases, rather than be *forced* to accept them under Chapter VII procedures, either as a result of pressure from the Security Council or because a government wanted UN help to prevent its society from sliding into chaos. A permanent, reputable Service would increase the willingness of both the Security Council to deploy and a state to give consent to a UN presence, thereby doubly facilitating UN prevention of mass murder and possibly war.

Standing peacekeeping capacity allows the UN to respond more effectively to outbreaks of violence

Kavitha Suthanthiraraj, Mariah Quinn & Juan Méndez 2009. ( Suthanthiraraj - Masters Degree in Development Studies (with a focus on Peace and Conflict Studies) from the University of Sydney; & Quinn - Research assistant with Global Action to Prevent War. Mendez - Former U.N. Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide) STANDING FOR CHANGE IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, May 2009 <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/standing-for-change-final-may-09.pdf>

WHAT IS STANDING PEACEKEEPING CAPACITY? A coherent, complementary, service-integrated peacekeeping capacity maintained in readiness with pre trained and well equipped personnel, available for immediate deployment once authorized. Proposed Standing Capacity at the UN would consist of individually-recruited UN personnel under strict mandates to respond to outbreaks of genocide and crimes against humanity. This semi-autonomous capacity would be based at designated UN sites and would be expertly trained under a unified UN command, allowing the UN to respond more effectively to outbreaks of severe violence as a last resort when diplomacy and prevention fail.

Rapid deployment ability would significantly improve UN peace operations and could prevent genocide

Gabriel Levitt 2010. (with the United Nations Association, board member of UNA-USA’s Southern New York State Division, president of the UNA Brooklyn Chapter; M.A. in international politics from American University) 20 Jan 2010 “Rapid Deployment Requires a Permanent UN Force” http://www.unausa.org/worldbulletin/012010/levitt

As we grapple with the problem of an overextended UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations while searching for a solution, let’s boldly focus on what is most needed. Leading peacekeeping experts like Sir Brian Urquhart vociferously argue that a strong rapid deployment ability is necessary to significantly improve UN peace operations. To achieve this capacity, the UN should have a standing military force, or United Nations Military Force. Rapid deployment of such a force might have prevented the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, reason enough to advocate for the creation of such an army.

UNEPS could save millions of innocent lives

Kavitha Suthanthiraraj, Mariah Quinn & Juan Méndez 2009. ( Suthanthiraraj - Masters Degree in Development Studies (with a focus on Peace and Conflict Studies) from the University of Sydney; & Quinn - Research assistant with Global Action to Prevent War. Mendez - Former U.N. Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide) STANDING FOR CHANGE IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, May 2009 <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/standing-for-change-final-may-09.pdf>

Complementarity: UNEPS has always been promoted as a rapid-response, “first-in, first-out” complementary capacity to existing UN peacekeeping and regional missions. UNEPS is also to be seen as complementary to other essential capacities for keeping the peace, such as early-warning systems, preventive diplomacy, peace-building initiatives and peace negotiations. UNEPS is not a cure-all nor is it a substitute for either robust diplomacy or competently-engaged, longer-term, UN and/or regional peacekeeping operations. As former UN Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs Sir Brian Urquhart suggests, UNEPS "is of the greatest importance both to the UN as a responsible institution and to the millions as of yet unknown, innocent victims who might, in the future, be saved by this essential addition”.

Rapid reaction force would prevent another Rwanda genocide.

Note: This card is a bit old, but it merits consideration because of the expertise of the source.

General Romeo A. Dallaire 1998. (Canadian Lieutenant-General, Force Commander of UNAMIR/UNOMUR - the UN peacekeeping force in Africa that was ordered not to intervene in the Rwanda genocide. Gen. Dallaire was on the scene in Rwanda watching people die and begging the UN to intervene.) Apr 1998, Foreword to “Preventing Genocide How the Early Use of Force Might Have Succeeded in Rwanda” <http://carnegie.org/fileadmin/Media/Publications/PDF/Preventing%20Genocide.pdf>

It behooves us to take the horrible lessons of the Rwandan debacle and prevent future genocide by formalizing a pragmatic and cohesive multidisciplinary prevention capability. The killings could have been prevented if there had been the international will to accept the costs of doing so even after the politically difficult losses of peacekeeping in Somalia and the ad hoc confusion of April 1994. We need to use our processes to achieve the aim of assisting humanity, as opposed to preserving our processes at the expense of humanity. The coalition of like-minded free nations, with well-developed doctrines respecting human rights, should form the nucleus of a rapid reaction capability for the United Nations to bolster its ability to keep the peace.

UNEPS would help reduce future wars and free up enormous resources - we need it desperately and as soon as possible

Dr. H. Peter Langille 2012. (directs global Common Security i3; served on the working group of the Canadian study, Towards A Rapid Reaction Capability For The United Nations, (Ottawa: 1995), which was presented to the UN General Assembly; supervised officers in the Canadian Forces College and taught in McMaster University’s Peace Studies program.) “A UN emergency peace service?“ 14 May 2012 <http://www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/h-peter-langille/un-emergency-peace-service>

If broadly supported, UNEPS could begin to revitalise a semblance of collective, common and sustainable security. That’s a step toward saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war, but it’s also another means by which ‘we the people’ might free up enormous resources to address a host of pressing problems. As Sir Brian Urquhart summed up, “This venture is of the greatest importance both to the UN as a responsible institution and to the millions as of yet unknown, innocent victims who might, in the future, be saved by this essential addition to the UN’s capacity to act on their behalf. There is one overwhelming argument for the United Nations Emergency Peace Service. It is desperately needed, and it is needed as soon as possible.”

Lots of advocacy: UN rapid deployment force was recommended in the UN Charter and endorsed by Ronald Reagan and others

Kavitha Suthanthiraraj, Mariah Quinn & Juan Méndez 2009. ( Suthanthiraraj - Masters Degree in Development Studies (with a focus on Peace and Conflict Studies) from the University of Sydney; & Quinn - Research assistant with Global Action to Prevent War. Mendez - Former U.N. Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide) STANDING FOR CHANGE IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, May 2009 (ellipses in original) <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/standing-for-change-final-may-09.pdf>

The notion of a standing rapid deployment force at the UN is neither new nor revolutionary. Article 43 of the UN Charter calls for the establishment of military forces at the UN, asking all members “…to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.” However, it is important to note that Article 44 calls for direct national contingent contribution, removing independence from any UN force. The onset of the Cold War and its political tensions meant that this UN force did not develop; however, the desire and calls for standing UN capacity didn’t disappear. From 1948 to 1994 more than a dozen proposals were made, ranging from former UN Secretary General Trygve Lie’s call for a UN Guard Force,\* to NGO proposals by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Ronald Reagan’s call at the end of his presidency for a “standing UN force – an army of conscience.”

Lots of advocacy: Many experts say UN needs a rapid-reaction capability to save innocent lives in danger

Dr. David Krieger, Prof. Saul Mendlovitz, William Pace 2006. (Krieger - J.D., PhD in political science; founder and president, Nuclear Age Peace Foundation. Mendlovitz - emeritus Professor of Peace and World Order Studies, Rutgers Univ. Pace - Executive Director of the World Federalist Movement-Institute for Global Policy) “A UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE TO PREVENT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY” <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/uneps_publication.pdf>

Yet, the international community lacks the necessary capability to deploy such a law-enforcing body promptly where innocent people face threats to their dignity, their homes, and their lives. In recent years, concerned governments, several United Nations study groups such as the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, and statements by the UN Secretary-General and by independent experts have all stressed the need for a more effective rapid-reaction capability to stop such crimes whenever possible. The need is clear. Yet, unless concerned citizens and officials throughout the world commit themselves to a set of principles and a desirable model of enforcement, an effective force to prevent such crimes will not be established. We will find ourselves again and again saying “never again.” The time has come to honor this bold commitment with solid action.

We need a standing UN military force to defend people from crimes against humanity

Gabriel Levitt 2010. (with the United Nations Association, board member of UNA-USA’s Southern New York State Division, president of the UNA Brooklyn Chapter; M.A. in international politics from American University) 20 Jan 2010 “Rapid Deployment Requires a Permanent UN Force” <http://www.unausa.org/worldbulletin/012010/levitt>

To prevent the deterioration of peacekeeping and move forward, we need a standing UN military force. And because national interests and politics have, and could again, constrain an urgent deployment of military forces, we must continue advocating for a such a unit that can immediately defend people from crimes against humanity. We should act before it is too late.

Peacekeeping works: 2 / 3 of UN peacekeeping missions are successful

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2011. (Professor of Law, Cornell University Law School, and Director, Cornell University’s Institute for African Development) “UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND SECURITY AND RECONSTRUCTION” Cornell Law Faculty Publications. Paper 188. <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1187&context=facpub>

Analyzing the causes of the improvement in global security since 1990, the 2006 Human Security Report argues that the United Nations played a critically important role in spearheading a huge upsurge of international conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities. The evidence that these initiatives worked is not just circumstantial. Contrary to popular perceptions, a recent RAND Corporation study, for example, found that two-thirds of the UN’s peacebuilding missions had succeeded. In addition, the sharp increase in peacemaking efforts led to a significant increase in the number of conflicts ending in negotiated settlements.

We need UNEPS to meet the goal of R2P - Responsibility to Protect. Status Quo tools are inadequate

Kavitha Suthanthiraraj, Mariah Quinn & Juan Méndez 2009. ( Suthanthiraraj - Masters Degree in Development Studies (with a focus on Peace and Conflict Studies) from the University of Sydney; & Quinn - Research assistant with Global Action to Prevent War. Mendez - Former U.N. Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide) STANDING FOR CHANGE IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, May 2009 <http://www.globalactionpw.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/standing-for-change-final-may-09.pdf>

Tools vs. Prose: The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principle, which strongly promotes civilian protection, currently lacks sufficiently robust and effective ‘tools’ to implement its protection agenda. The complementary goals of rapid response capacity and R2P could provide a plausible framework for the adoption of capacities like UNEPS and more robust discussions on actionable protection.

UN + R2P = saving lives in atrocity crime prevention situations

Dr. Robert Zuber 2012. (Director of the UN-based Global Action to Prevent War and the Project for a UN Emergency Peace Service; serves as consultant, adviser or board member to a wide variety of nonprofit, policy and educational organizations, including Green Map system, Our Humanity in the Balance, and the Paris-based human rights organization FIACAT; has degrees from Yale and Columbia Universities and has written and spoken extensively on diverse human security issues and has organized workshops and conferences in over 30 countries) Operationalizing the Responsibility to Protect - A Contribution to the Third Pillar Approach, “A Living Trust: Strategies for Sustaining and Growing Support for Third Pillar Response to Threats of Mass Atrocities” <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/Operationalizing%20the%20Responsibility%20to%20Protect%20-%20The%20Challenges%20of%20the%20Third%20Pillar%20Approach.pdf>

The role that the UN is choosing to play in atrocity crime prevention has life saving implications – with able direction from the joint office (Genocide Prevention and Responsibility to Protect) and other sectors of the secretariat as well as significant input from the state “friends” of RtoP, other governments and various NGOs. Despite several political miscalculations and needlessly stubborn capacity gaps, the UN still maintains legitimacy on security matters that regional organizations struggle even to approximate.

Definition of R2P

Melina Lito 2012. (Programme Director for Women, Peace and Security at Global Action to Prevent War where she works on issues of gender equality and their connection to disarmament, development and the prevention of mass atrocities; B.A. in International Relations from James Madison College of Public Affairs, Michigan State University, Juris Doctor degree in Law from Wayne State Univ Law School) Operationalizing the Responsibility to Protect - A Contribution to the Third Pillar Approach, “Gender Dimensions of Third Pillar Capacities: Women's Contributions to Conflict Prevention, Early Warning and Rapid Response” <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/Operationalizing%20the%20Responsibility%20to%20Protect%20-%20The%20Challenges%20of%20the%20Third%20Pillar%20Approach.pdf>

The RtoP norm was affirmed by the international community in 2005 with the aim to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity (hereinafter “mass atrocity crimes”). The UNSG’s report on Implementing the Responsibility to Protect (2009) noted that sexual violence against women could constitute a war crime, or a crime against humanity. As outlined in the Secretary-General’s 2009 report, there is a three pillar strategy on implementing the doctrine:

‘Each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.’ The international community has a responsibility to assist states in meeting those obligations. ‘The international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, to help protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.’ If such means prove inadequate and a state is “manifestly failing” in its efforts to protect civilians from mass atrocity crimes, then the international community, working with regional organizations, can engage in “collective action, in a timely and decisive manner.’

A force immediately available to the Security Council could overcome the problem of delayed deployment

Gabriel Levitt 2010. (with the United Nations Association, board member of UNA-USA’s Southern New York State Division, president of the UNA Brooklyn Chapter; M.A. in international politics from American University) 20 Jan 2010 “Rapid Deployment Requires a Permanent UN Force” <http://www.unausa.org/worldbulletin/012010/levitt>

When the Security Council authorizes a peace operation, the system of organizing forces for deployment works too slowly. By the time a force is ready to go, the crisis has usually deepened. In contrast, an all-volunteer force at the immediate disposal of the Security Council could overcome this crucial shortcoming.

“SHIRBRIG failed” - Response: SHIRBRIG succeeded and never should have been canceled

SHIRBRIG = Standby High Readiness Brigade for United Nations Operations

Col. Christof Tatschl 2009. ( SHIRBRIG’s Chief of Staff from 2007 to 2009 at SHIRBRIG’s permanent Planning Element in Høvelte, Denmark) SHIRBRIG’S SUPPORT TO THE AFRICAN STANDBY FORCE: A VIEW FROM PRACTICE, Studia Diplomatica Vol. LXII, 2009, N° 3 <http://www.globalgovernance.eu/images/documents/SHIRBRIGs%20Support%20to%20the%20African%20Standby%20Force.pdf>

SHIRBRIG has provided, according to numerous academic observers, military experts and our partners themselves, vital contributions to the build-up of the African Standby Force by replicating itself as a model, by transferring its knowledge and by diligently and effectively working with its partners. The ill-conceived and hasty closure of SHIRBRIG in June 2009 will not only represent a regrettable blow to the international struggle for equipping the UN with the well-trained and rapidly deployable troops it desperately needs, but it will also leave behind a considerable gap in the efforts to support the promising build-up of the African Peace and Security Architecture.

SHIRBRIG wasn’t a full UN standing army, but it still was effective at limited missions

Joachim Alexander Koops and Dr. Johannes Varwick 2008. (Koops - PhD Candidate at the Department of Political Science, University of Kiel, Germany; Analyst at the Security Section of the Oxford Council on Good Governance; masters degree in European Politics, Economics & Law from the University of Turku; Postgraduate Diploma in Legal Practice from the University of Oxford. Varwick - Professor of Political Science at the Department of Political Science, University of Kiel, Germany; PhD in Political Science from the University of Münster) Ten Years of SHIRBRIG - Lessons Learned, Development Prospects and Strategic Opportunities for Germany <http://www.gppi.net/fileadmin/gppi/Koops_Varwick__2008__SHIRBRIG_GPPi_RP_11.pdf>

Although SHIRBRIG is far from the ideal of a permanent, multinational standing army at the full, supranational disposal of the United Nations, it has to be recognized as a unique achievement in the 60-year history of similar international initiatives for equipping the UN with more reliable means for quick and effective peacekeeping. Indeed, the more than a dozen unsuccessful attempts of the past serve as an important reminder how difficult it has been to mobilize political will and generate consensus to create a standby arrangement for and within the wider UN-framework. As the political and organizational set-up costs of such an arrangement are extremely high, the very fact that a sizeable number of countries succeeded in creating and utilizing SHIRBRIG is an encouraging achievement in itself. Thus, SHIRBIRG, although far from ideal, should be taken seriously and constantly improved, modified and utilized. The political costs of abandoning it outright would be high. Proven Experience and Effectiveness in the Field SHIRBRIG has already amassed considerable experience in peacekeeping and can draw on a sizeable body of lessons learned. Although it has also shown numerous limitations, it seems to be more operational and less of a political and symbolic tool than similar, multinational arrangements of other international organizations. Furthermore, although the scope of SHIRBRIG’s actual missions remains rather narrow and modest so far, it nevertheless proved its effectiveness as an enabler of other organizations’ peacekeeping efforts, as an interim headquarters provider, and as part of an integrated UN Mission itself.

“SHIRBRIG decision making was slow” - Response: SHIRBRIG was different from a UN standing army

Joachim Alexander Koops and Dr. Johannes Varwick 2008. (Koops - PhD Candidate at the Department of Political Science, University of Kiel, Germany; Analyst at the Security Section of the Oxford Council on Good Governance; masters degree in European Politics, Economics & Law from the University of Turku; Postgraduate Diploma in Legal Practice from the University of Oxford. Varwick - Professor of Political Science at the Department of Political Science, University of Kiel, Germany; PhD in Political Science from the University of Münster) Ten Years of SHIRBRIG - Lessons Learned, Development Prospects and Strategic Opportunities for Germany <http://www.gppi.net/fileadmin/gppi/Koops_Varwick__2008__SHIRBRIG_GPPi_RP_11.pdf>

SHIRBRIG’s decisions to take up a peacekeeping mission are reached by consensus without infringing upon national decision-making procedures for approval and without preventing a member-state from refraining to participate in a particular mission. While this overarching principle may slow down SHIRBRIG’s rapid reaction time and integrated, full deployment, it plays a key role in alleviating member states’ fear of losing sovereignty. This distinguishes SHIRBRIG’s mandate of a standby and ‘more reliable’ force from a ‘fully reliable’ standing army.

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

“Standing army violates the Charter” - Response: The Charter called for it at the very beginning of the UN!

Planning Element officers of the Standby High Readiness Brigade for United Nations Operations 2009. (these were military officers who worked with the Brigade, also known as SHIRBRIG, a standby reaction force that worked on UN missions starting in 1996 and was disbanded in 2009. The report cited here was produced under the leadership of Chief of Staff Colonel Christof Tatschl, Lieutenant Colonel Conny Holmström, and Joachim Koops - PhD Candidate at the Department of Political Science, University of Kiel, Germany; masters degree in European Politics, Economics & Law from the University of Turku) SHIRBRIG LESSONS LEARNED REPORT, 1 June 2009 (brackets and ellipses in original) <http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/566~v~Shirbrig_lessons_learned_report.pdf>

The initiative of establishing SHIRBRIG in 1996 needs to be viewed in the longer historical context of all the preceding—and indeed, failed—efforts to provide the United Nations with reliable, readily available and rapidly deployable military means for guaranteeing and swiftly restoring international peace and security. The earliest attempts are indeed as old as the United Nations system itself. Article 43 of the UN Charter states: “All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities [...] necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security”. This was in effect, the first attempt of providing a standby, rapid reaction force pool for the United Nations. Yet, due to the ensuing Cold War tensions, member states—and particularly the two dominant Security Council members USA and the Soviet Union—were unwilling to commit their national troops to a supranational mechanism.

Cost of a permanent force would save money over time by stopping crises sooner

Gabriel Levitt 2010. (with the United Nations Association, board member of UNA-USA’s Southern New York State Division, president of the UNA Brooklyn Chapter; M.A. in international politics from American University) 20 Jan 2010 “Rapid Deployment Requires a Permanent UN Force” <http://www.unausa.org/worldbulletin/012010/levitt>

According to the report, a permanent force would cost $2 billion to start and $900 million annually thereafter. This down payment is formidable as a percentage of annual expenditures on UN peace operations, but over time the UN will save money, as crises averted sooner prevent larger costs later.

“Peacekeeper Abuse” Responses:

UN has “zero tolerance” policy for peacekeeper abuse

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2009. ( LL.B. (University of Zambia), LL.M. (Harvard Law School), D. Phil. (Trinity College, Oxford University), Professor of Law, Cornell University Law School, and Director, Cornell University's Institute for African Development) The United Nations Responses To The Sexual Abuse And Exploitation Of Women And Girls By Peacekeepers During Peacekeeping Missions, BERKELEY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW Vol 27 <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1058&context=facpub>

While much remains to be done, especially in terms of holding states accountable for the actions of fighting forces, significant progress has been made in criminalizing and exposing violence against women, sexual abuse and exploitation and galvanizing states in the fight against these evils. Progress has also been made in introducing codes of conduct that establish zero-tolerance to sexual violence crimes for all United Nations personnel, including peacekeepers, who sexually exploit or abuse those they are meant to protect.

Reforms are working: UN has made progress on peacekeeper abuse, shifting the mindset, and delivered results

IRIN, the humanitarian news and analysis service of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs 2012. “AID POLICY: Sexual exploitation and abuse 10 years on” 4 July 2012 (Brackets and parentheses in original; PSEA = Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse) http://www.irinnews.org/In-Depth/95783/97/

The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) has made far more progress than the NGO sector in institutionalizing prevention, and shifting the UN organization’s mind-set, the IASC review notes. The DPKO has had much higher numbers of reported abuses and partly changed course to avoid further scandals (as occurred in 2002 and 2008), but its hierarchical management structure and the resources it allocated to the issue have delivered results. “There is no one in DPKO that doesn’t know what the rules and measures are [for PSEA], and what the consequences are,” said Sylvain Roy, senior policy adviser at the UN Conduct and Discipline Unit.

12. 2A EVIDENCE: ABOLISH UNRWA

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND / DEFINITIONS

Origins of UNRWA and definition of “Palestinian Refugee”

Prof. Riccardo Bocco 2010. (professor of Political Sociology at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, University of Geneva) Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 28, Nos 2 & 3 <http://www.unrwa.org/userfiles/201006109359.pdf>

UNRWA, particularly at the beginning of its mandate, lacked a fixed definition; this changed mainly due to a need to delimit the number of relief recipients. When the Agency began its activities, it inherited a legacy of inflated registration: the United Nations Economic Survey Mission recorded approximately 720,000 people, while the number of recipients on the ration rolls of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (UNRPR) surpassed 950,000. It is the 1952 definition that has become the accepted one and has remained virtually unchanged: “a Palestine refugee shall mean any person whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period June 1, 1946 to May 15, 1948, and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict”.

UNRWA history: Originally tasked with emergency relief and economic reintegration of Palestinian refugees

Prof. Riccardo Bocco 2010. (professor of Political Sociology at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, University of Geneva) Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 28, Nos 2 & 3 <http://www.unrwa.org/userfiles/201006109359.pdf>

UNRWA became operational in May 1950 and was created primarily to pursue emergency relief that had been carried out until December 1949 by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the League of the Red Cross Societies (LRCS) and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC); it was also tasked with the implementation of public works programmes aimed at the economic reintegration of Palestine refugees. The Agency has since become the only international organization set up to face a specific refugee problem in a specific geographical area (Gaza, West Bank, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon). In principle, all other cases of forced migration are handled by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), including Palestine refugees residing outside the UNRWA’s five areas of operation.

“60 years of UNRWA” is nothing to celebrate - it proves FAILURE

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

In a surprising and unprecedented move for any emergency aid organization, UNRWA launched in September 2008 a two-year global celebration entitled: "UNRWA at 60". The celebrations are taking place at the UN headquarters (NY), Vienna, Geneva, Brussels, the Gulf States, and in the donor countries, among others. In the 60th celebration announcements UNRWA expresses the hope that its operations will grow and flourish for many more years to come. The lavish events put an additional financial burden on the donors that astonishingly did not stop to ask: is UNRW's 60th anniversary a cause for celebration, or is it a testimony of failure? We will show that "UNRWA at 60" is indeed a testimony of failure.

UNRWA official admits: UNRWA’s existence is a failure

John Ging 2010. (Head of UNRWA operations in Gaza; quoted by journalist Adi Schwartz) 15 Nov 2010 “UNRWA’s existence is a failure” <http://www.adi-schwartz.com/unrwas-existence-failure/>

“We shouldn’t exist after so many years”, says Ging, “and I perfectly understand the Israeli negative view towards my organization, because it is the manifestation of the political failure of the international community to resolve the conflict. Our 60th anniversary was not a moment of celebration but a commemoration of failure because we should not have had to exist after 60 years”.

Lots of fraud in measuring genuine “refugees” served by UNRWA

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ (grammatical errors in original) <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

As a result of these financial incentives, the number of putative "refugees" swelled from an estimated 914,000 in 1950 to over 5 million in 2009. UNRWA itself admits that the agency's "registration records do not necessarily reflect the actual refugee population owing to the factors such as: unreported deaths; false registration; and undetected absence from area of UNRWA operation". Thus, for six decades, UNRWA's vast budget is based on enormously inflated numbers of clients that have never been refugees. It is important to acknowledge the fact that for decades, UNRWA has been evading the donors numerous requests to replace the 60-year old refugee ID cards with a new picture ID cards. Such a process would have required UNRWA to execute a census, a process that UNRWA never conducted. The census and the demand for the refugees to come to UNRWA's offices, be photographed and get a bone fide UNRWA ID card would have resulted in a big embarrassment for the agency. Most probably the majority of the "registered refugees" will turn up to be none existent or settled.

Adding descendants has inflated the number of genuine Palestinian “refugees”

Dr. Jonathan Schanzer 2012. (worked as a terrorism finance analyst at the U.S. Department of the Treasury, where he played an integral role in the designation of numerous terrorist financiers; worked for the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, the Jewish Policy Center, and the Middle East Forum; studied Middle East history in four countries; Ph.D. from Kings College London on subject of terrorism) 31 May 2012 US Taxpayers Aid To UNRWA Tops $10 Billion <http://schanzer.pundicity.com/11784/us-taxpayers-aid-to-unrwa-tops-10-billion>

A battle erupted on Capitol Hill over the mandate of the organization charged with disbursing international aid to Palestinian refugees. Last week, Sen. Mark Kirk (R-Ill.) challenged the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for including the children, grandchildren and great grandchildren of Palestinian refugees among those who qualify for support. The addition of these descendants has inflated the numbers of refugees on UNRWA's books from 750,000 in 1949 to 5 million today, making the problem nearly impossible to solve.

The actual number of genuine refugees (people actually displaced by war) served by UNRWA is 30,000

Dr. Jonathan Schanzer 2012. (worked as a terrorism finance analyst at the U.S. Department of the Treasury, where he played an integral role in the designation of numerous terrorist financiers; worked for the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, the Jewish Policy Center, and the Middle East Forum; studied Middle East history in four countries; Ph.D. from Kings College London on subject of terrorism) 31 May 2012 US Taxpayers Aid To UNRWA Tops $10 Billion <http://schanzer.pundicity.com/11784/us-taxpayers-aid-to-unrwa-tops-10-billion>

By UNRWA's own count, the number of Palestinians who describe themselves as refugees has skyrocketed from 750,000 in 1950 to 5 million today. The number of Palestinians serviced by UNRWA who are true refugees from wars past is believed to be closer to 30,000 people

INHERENCY

UNRWA provides total welfare state for multiple generations, with no plan for resettlement and integration

Michael Bernstam 2011. (a research fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University; former visiting professor of economics at Monash University, Australia; former adjunct professor in Stanford University's Overseas Studies Program; former economic adviser to the Russian Parliament and the Central Bank of Russia) 7 Jan 2011 UNRWA: Five Letters That Spell Middle Eastern Misery, <http://www.cija.ca/middle-east/unrwa-five-letters-that-spell-middle-eastern-misery/>

The UNRWA charter specified that the Palestinians who lived in British Mandate Palestine during the years 1946-48 and who subsequently fled in 1948-49 qualified for refugee status — together with all their descendants. This open-ended definition of refugees applies for generations to come. It bestows housing, utilities, health care, education, cash allowances, public works and social services for multiple generations from cradle to grave. In practice, this means multigenerational refugee camps and ghettoes in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the West Bank and Gaza. Close to one-third of today’s refugees, about 1.4 million, live in 59 refugee camps. There is no longer any room in UNRWA’s mandate and agenda for resettlement and integration.

UNRWA annual budget is over ½ billion dollars, and continues to be renewed and expanded

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

The United Nations Relief and Work Agency for the Palestinian Refugees (UNRWA) was established in 1948 as a temporary relief agency. In spite of its failure to solve the refugee problem, it has been renewed and expanded for 60 years, with support from the entire United Nations community, including the United States and Israel. UNRWA's annual budget now exceeds half a billion dollars, and it has come to be treated as a permanent protector and advocate of what are depicted as millions of Palestinian "refugees" who, UNRWA claims. lack a homeland, citizenship, and governments to serve their needs. Its mandate has been renewed repeatedly by the UN General Assembly albeit with restrained criticism demanding more transparency and additional budget controls.

UNRWA has 30,000 employees, 58 refugee camps and 4.7 million refugees

Prof. Riccardo Bocco 2010. (professor of Political Sociology at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, University of Geneva) Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 28, Nos 2 & 3 <http://www.unrwa.org/userfiles/201006109359.pdf>

If we look at the Agency’s personnel and activities, the figures are impressive. At the end of the first decade of the new century, UNRWA employs almost 30,000 people, caters to the needs of almost 4,700,000 registered refugees, and provides services in fifty-eight camps scattered in its five fields of operation. The Agency runs 689 schools and 10 vocational and technical training centres, attended by almost half a million students, with an educational staff of more than 21,200.

UNRWA resists reform

Dr. Jonathan Schanzer 2012. (worked as a terrorism finance analyst at the U.S. Department of the Treasury, where he played an integral role in the designation of numerous terrorist financiers; worked for the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, the Jewish Policy Center, and the Middle East Forum; studied Middle East history in four countries; Ph.D. from Kings College London on subject of terrorism) 21 May 2012 “Status Update” FOREIGN POLICY <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/05/21/status_update>

In recent years, politicians and policy wonks, including one former UNRWA administrator, have called for UNRWA reform. The agency hasn't merely demurred; it has girded for battle. UNRWA set up shop in Washington with two Hill-savvy professionals, despite the fact that its operations are entirely based in the Middle East, anticipating the need for what looks a full-scale lobby effort to defend its mission. The agency even toyed with changing its name last year in an attempt to burnish its image in the West.

HARMS

UNRWA perpetuates the refugee problem by conferring refugee status on people who were never displaced by the 1948 conflict

Dr. Jonathan Schanzer 2012. (worked as a terrorism finance analyst at the U.S. Department of the Treasury, where he played an integral role in the designation of numerous terrorist financiers; worked for the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, the Jewish Policy Center, and the Middle East Forum; studied Middle East history in four countries; Ph.D. from Kings College London on subject of terrorism) 21 May 2012 “Status Update” FOREIGN POLICY <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/05/21/status_update>

The knock on UNRWA is that it exists to perpetuate the refugee problem, not solve it. It was UNRWA that bestowed refugee status upon "descendants of refugees," regardless of how much time had elapsed. As a result, the Palestinian refugee population has grown seven-fold since the start of the Arab-Israeli conflict. As one study projects, if descendants maintain their current status, the number of "refugees" in 2020 will be 6.4 million -- despite the fact that few of the actual, displaced Palestinians will still be alive. In 2050, that number will reach 14.7 million.

Harm: UNRWA weakens the Palestinian Authority, creating a major problem for the peace process

Inherency: Nobody wants to cut the UNRWA budget

DA Response: UNRWA uses scare tactics about disastrous consequences if their operations are cut

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

The billions donated to UNRWA reduce the amount of money available for aid to the PA, making the PA a weaker potential partner for peace. To secure its permanent existence, UNRWA uses scare tactics warning of disastrous consequences to the peace process if its operations are curtailed. Consequently, no donor dares to reduce or cut UNRWA's burgeoning budget. UNRWA's theme of the imagined "five million distressed refugees" feeds the impossible demand for a "right of return." Following UNRWA's path, in a few years we could be facing a fantastical "10 million distressed refugee population," demanding a "right of return. By perpetuating this myth, UNRWA has become a major problem not a solution.

UNRWA’s programs weaken the Palestinian Authority, most likely helping the rise of Hamas

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ (brackets added) <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

Operating as a "non-territorial, Palestinian government" UNRWA provides non-emergency, civil services (education, health, welfare, microfinance, etc) to an assorted population regardless of their refugee status. Ironically, the PA [Palestinian Authority], that is the legal governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza, is forced to compete with UNRWA in providing civil services to its own citizens. Regrettably, the PA is no match for the bureaucratic network and expertise UNRWA has accumulated during 60 years of operation. Thus, as a result of UNRWA's operation the PA's credibility, legitimacy, and ability to gain the respect of its citizens are greatly diminished, causing the weakening of the PA's authority and most likely playing a role in the rise of Hamas.

UNRWA school teachers promote terrorism

Moshe Dann 2007. (former asst professor of History; writer and journalist living in Jerusalem) April 8, 2007 Scandal: the welfare state of "Palestine" AMERICAN THINKER <http://www.americanthinker.com/2007/04/scandal_the_welfare_state_of_p.html>

In fact, nearly all teachers employed by UNRWA are members of terrorist-controlled unions. Funding these teachers and the curriculum of hatred and bigotry, supports terrorism and terrorist organizations. This may explain why so many children are willing to blow themselves up, carry weapons and explosives and place themselves as shields for terrorists.

Long-term refugee status is an incubator for future problems like violence and militarization

Michaela Clemens 2007. (masters degree candidate, Univ of Nebraska Dept of Anthropology) The Influence of Refugee Status on Palestinian Identity and the Impact of Identity on Durable Solutions to the Refugee Problem 1 Jan 2007 <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1027&context=nebanthro>

In protracted refugee situations, human rights violations escalate with time, and refugee settlements, like those in the occupied territories, can become "incubators for future problems" (UNHCR 2004a:3). As insecurity and instability progress, long-term refugee situations are particularly vulnerable to militarization. The UNHCR (1997) asserts that violence is inevitable in refugee settlements where young males, in particular, are deprived of education, recreation, and the opportunity to engage in productive activities and are powerless to plan for the future. These refugees are susceptible to recruitment into military groups from their country of origin or within the host country. In the case of Palestinian refugees, the development of organized militias is a factor in the ongoing conflict and violence between these groups and the Israeli army.

UNRWA obstructs Mid-East conflict resolution by expanding the number of refugees

Steven J. Rosen and Dr. Daniel Pipes 2012. (Rosen - taught political science and international relations from 1968 to 1978 at the University of Pittsburgh, Brandeis University, and the Australian National University. Pipes - PhD from Harvard; Distinguished visiting professor at Pepperdine Univ. School of Public Policy; Taube Distinguished Visiting Fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution; founder and director of the Middle East Forum; appointed by Pres. G.W. Bush to US Institute for Peace) The Jerusalem Post, Lessening UNRWA's Damage, July 10, 2012 <http://www.danielpipes.org/11583/unrwa-damage>

Further, UNRWA violates the Refugee Convention by insisting that nearly two million people who have been given citizenship in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon (and who constitute 40 percent of UNRWA's beneficiaries) are still refugees. As a result of such practices, instead of going down through resettlement and natural attrition, the number of UNRWA refugees has steadily grown since 1949, from 750,000 to almost 5 million. At this rate, UNRWA refugees will exceed 8 million by 2030 and 20 million by 2060, its camps and schools endlessly promoting the futile dream that these millions of descendants someday will "return" to their ancestors' homes in Israel. When even Palestinian Authority chairman Mahmoud Abbas acknowledges that sending five million Palestinians would mean "the end of Israel," it's clear that UNRWA obstructs conflict resolution.

SOLVENCY / ADVOCACY

Even Palestinians criticize UNRWA - it should be terminated because it harms Palestinians

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

In summary, UNRWA's clients, the Palestinian people, are highly critical of the "patron" that was imposed upon them. We agree with them that the termination of UNRWA's operations is not only feasible but is imperative. Donors to UNRWA actually harm the Palestinian community by perpetuating UNRWA's superfluous existence.

UNRWA’s services should be handed over to the Palestinian Authority and States in the region (like Jordan, Syria and Lebanon)

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

Our discussion clearly shows that the status of West Bank and Gaza Palestinians has been resolved, and UNRWA's services are redundant and superfluous. Jordan and Syria are two recognized, functioning states that could and should take over UNRWA's operations and provide all the necessary services equally, to all the Palestinians who have resided for four generations amidst them. The only place where emergency aid may be needed is Lebanon. Here too, the international community is actively and intensely involved in providing aid to the camps. UNRWA is only one of many well funded non governmental and governmental aid organizations that provide assistance to the camp residents (mostly non refugees) in Lebanon.

UNRWA functions should be turned over to the Palestinian Authority

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

In the case of Gaza and the West Bank, UNRWA functions as a "non territorial government" competing with the PA as it provides civil services to PA citizens. Since 1995, the PA has been the legitimate Palestinian governing authority. It should run schools, operate health clinics, issue building permits, and collect taxes. UNRWA's existence denies the aspiring Palestinian people the right to self-government and self-reliance.

“Won’t work in Lebanon” - Responses: 1) UNRWA is failing in Lebanon. 2) Outside donations from Arab nations are working far better than UNRWA at helping the Palestinians there

Tom Charles 2011. (journalist; Assistant Editor at Journal of Palestinian Refugee Studies) “The Unknown Hell of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon” 12 Dec 2011 (brackets added) <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/3490/the-unknown-hell-of-palestinian-refugees-in-lebano>

UNWRA has appointed over 1,800 staff, and their comfortable living standards differ sharply from those of Palestinians, many of whom at Nahr el-Bared did not distinguish UNRWA from the Lebanese government or from other international diplomats. [Member of British Parliament Michael] Connarty said:

“The greatest failure of UNRWA lies in the obvious inability to deliver resources effectively or projects efficiently,” said Michael Connarty. The Nahr el-Bared reconstruction seemed a failed project when the delegation visited. Destroyed by the Lebanese government on the pretext of the presence of an international Jihadi group in the camp in 2007, every section of rebuilding was at least a year behind schedule. UNRWA admitted they knew there was illegal and uncontrolled sub-contracting on the site in addition to Lebanese government impositions that slowed progress and added costs. “In comparison, the schools and medical facilities being paid for and built with separate and targeted funds from Arab nations were a hive of activity rising steadily within budget, making a mockery of UNWRA’s sorry efforts.”

“Won’t work in Lebanon” - Response: Lebanese Prime Minister says Palestinian Authority can solve by issuing passports to the refugees

Tom Charles 2011. (journalist; Assistant Editor at Journal of Palestinian Refugee Studies) “The Unknown Hell of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon” 12 Dec 2011 <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/3490/the-unknown-hell-of-palestinian-refugees-in-lebano>

Despite their obvious failings, the Lebanese government agrees with UNRWA that the living standards of the refugees are catastrophic. The meeting the delegation held with new Prime Minister Najib Mikati offered some hope that Lebanon is now prepared to take steps to improve the humanitarian situation. If the Palestinian Authority were to issue the refugees with passports or equivalent identity papers, Mikati stated that he would propose that Lebanon grant work permits as well as significantly improve property, civil, and human rights. This would give the refugees everything short of citizenship and voting rights.

ADVANTAGES

We need to end UNRWA’s mission to move the peace process forward

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ (ellipses in original) <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

In 2000, Palestinian leaders publicly expressed disappointment at UNRWA's resistance to relinquish its responsibilities. "While the Oslo Process of 1993 renewed the debate about the future of UNRWA, and for the first time since UNRWA was established it is possible to see on the horizon the end of the Agency's mission and UNRWA's ultimate dissolution…five years later, however, the future of the Agency remains unclear." To date, UNRWA continues to deny the well known fact: most refugees are long settled. Only an acknowledgment of this fact will move the peace process forward.

Terminating UNRWA will help the Palestinian Authority (PA) counter Hamas influence in Gaza

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

Ending this detrimental anomaly requires the termination of UNRWA's non-emergency operations and the transfer to the proper local authorities the responsibility and authority to plan and execute public policy, namely, educating the Palestinian children and running health clinics. The termination of UNRWA's status as a "non-territorial government" in the West Bank and Gaza will establish the PA as the only legal, governing authority. The PA leadership will gain the respect and trust of the people that is needed to counter Hamas influence in Gaza. Indeed, in the West Bank, where UNRWA's presence is weaker, the PA's position and authority is secure and growing.

Stronger Palestinian Authority is key to future of the Palestinian people, and UNRWA blocks PA success

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

The representatives of the 90 donor nations agreed that the future of the Palestinian people is dependent on a strong and stable PA. The US Congressional Research Service observed that "Experts advised that the PA stability hinges on improved security, economic development, Israeli cooperation, and the continuation of high levels of foreign assistance."The facts show that UNRWA's existence stands in the way of achieving all these goals. Notwithstanding, UNRWA continues to perpetuate the myth that it is the "best show in town."

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

“The poor refugees won’t be able to integrate in neighboring countries and they’ll suffer ” - Responses: 1) many of them aren’t truly “refugees”, they just joined up for the free services;

2) Most genuine Palestinian refugees from 1948 have integrated in the region or immigrated elsewhere

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

UNRWA claims that about five million Palestinians are refugees. We will show that most are not. Most Palestinians living in the West Bank, Gaza and Jordan have been integrated in the local communities, and many in Jordan have acquired Jordanian citizenship. In the West Bank and Gaza the residents carry PA official documents. Others have immigrated to the US and Europe where they are either legal residents or citizens. For most Palestinians, the transition from refugee camps to urban dwellings occurred decades ago. As early as 1950, the majority of the original 1948 refugees and their families began to move out of the camps and resettle in neighboring states and regions. Simultaneously, non-refugees began to move into the camps for economic advantages, especially to receive UNRWA's free services.

“Refugees will suffer without UNRWA” - Response: Most Palestinian “refugees” are self-supporting and don’t need UNRWA give-away programs

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ (brackets in original) <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

Already 30 years ago, it was reported that 95 percent of registered Palestinian refugees were self-supporting. A 2003 GAO report found that less than a third of the registered "refugees" live in designated so-called "refugee camps," some only because they prefer to build their homes in territory exempt from local taxes. Two thirds are integrated in the cities and states in the Middle East and beyond. Over two million are resettled in Jordan, most of whom are Jordanian citizens paying taxes and eligible to receive social services from the Jordanian government. All the same, these millions of people are, inappropriately, holders of UNRWA refugee cards and enjoy all of UNRWA's giveaway programs.

“Palestinians will suffer without aid” - Response: They get lots of aid from many other sources, they don’t need UNRWA

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ (the British charity “OXFAM” was misspelled OXFEM in the original text below. NGO=Non-Governmental Organization, like charitable and non-profit groups) <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

UNRWA is only one of many aid providers and indeed, the Palestinian environment resembles an "aid bazaar" with international organizations and donor states competing with each other over "who is the biggest aid provider". Donors come from all creeds, faith, agenda, ideology, size, affiliation and intentions. The Big Four are the USAID, the European Commission, the World Bank, and the United Nations Development Program. Others include FAFO (The Norwegian Peace Building Center), the Finnish government, the British Council, the Italian and Japanese governments, and many international NGO, including Catholic relief, Care, Save the Children, OXFEM, UNICEF, to name a few. All the aid providers work simultaneously, at the same locations, and provide aid to the same population. In this diffused system, UNRWA is seeking to preserve its dominance position even after its original task has long been achieved.

“Need UNRWA schools” - Response: UNRWA’s schools aren’t that good, and host country schools would be better

Prof. Nitza Nachmias 2009. (Senior Research Fellow at The Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Towson University, Maryland. 12 Oct 2009 “UNRWA at 60: Are There Better Alternatives?“ <http://www.meforum.org/2481/unrwa-at-60-better-alternatives>

If the international community wishes to assist Palestinian children by subsidies to their education, this could be accomplished more effectively and with fewer collateral problems by providing the same assistance to the state educational systems where they reside rather than through an over-sized international bureaucracy that perpetuates the political myth that the Palestinians are refugees and should be allowed to return to their former homes. As mentioned earlier, UNRWA's claim to fame in education proves misleading. Its schools are not scholastically superior, in fact they are often inferior, to the local-national schools, and Jordan is a case in point. James Lindsay's thorough report shows that while UNRWA's services are free, students still prefer the national school systems.

“Palestinian Identity” - Response: There is no Palestinian identity

Prof Michael Curtis 2011. (Professor Emeritus of political science at Rutgers University) 20 Dec 2011 “Palestinians: Invented People” Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, BESA PERSPECTIVES, <http://www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/docs/perspectives157.pdf>

The concept of Palestinian identity and nationalism is a recent invention. Both historically and in contemporary times, the Arabs living in the area now known as Palestine were regarded both by outsiders and by their own spokespeople as members of the greater Arab population, without a separate or distinct identity. Today, however, it is clear that Palestinian nationalism has emerged and become a political factor. The recent statement uttered by US Republican presidential candidate Newt Gingrich that the Palestinians are an “invented people” has been criticized by political opponents as indicating a lack of sobriety and stability. Yet, whatever one’s views of Gingrich's sagacity or judgment on other issues, or one’s opinions on the more general issue of the desirability and character of a Palestinian state existing alongside the State of Israel, the accuracy of his statement cannot be denied.

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This conclusion stems from two factors. The first is that Arabs living in the area now known as Palestine were regarded, both historically and in contemporary times, not as a separate entity but as part of the general Arab people. This has been recognized by Arab spokesmen, by scholars, and by objective international official reports. The second is that no independent Palestinian state has ever existed, let alone one that manifested a “Palestinian identity.”

There has never been a Palestinian people, only Arabs who lived in the region

Prof Michael Curtis 2011. (Professor Emeritus of political science at Rutgers University) 20 Dec 2011 “Palestinians: Invented People” Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, BESA PERSPECTIVES, <http://www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/docs/perspectives157.pdf>

That “Arab nation” never included a state known as “Palestine.” Indeed, the inhabitants of the general Palestinian area were not subjects of an Arab nation but of the Ottoman Empire, which ruled the area from 1516-1918. This was the last recognized sovereign power in the area. The area of Palestine was a district of the Empire, officially a vilayet (province), not a political entity. No independent Palestinian state has ever been established, nor was there a single administrative or cultural unit of Palestinians. Arabs in the area were not different in any way from other Arabs in the Middle East.

13. 2A EVIDENCE: VOLUNTARY FUNDING

INHERENCY

UN regular budget and peacekeeping are funded by ability-to-pay assessments, but spending is determined by one-country/one-vote, so low-paying countries vote to fund programs that benefit them

John Bolton 2010. (former US ambassador to the UN) 28 Oct 2010 “The Key to Changing the United Nations System” published by American Enterprise Institute <http://www.aei.org/article/foreign-and-defense-policy/international-organizations/the-key-to-changing-the-united-nations-system-outlook/>

Core funding for most UN agencies ("regular budget") and nearly all peacekeeping activities typically comes from "assessed," or "mandatory," contributions, a system under which members' shares are calculated based on a so-called capacity-to-pay formula that is adjusted periodically to take into account changes in per-capita gross national income and other factors.[1] Significantly, however, decisions on budgets and programs by the General Assembly and the governing bodies of the galaxy of specialized UN agencies are made on the basis of "one country, one vote" no matter what share of the assessments any member government pays.[2] Not surprisingly, governments that pay comparatively low assessments but receive comparatively high benefits have combined repeatedly to create and fund programs that inure to their benefit.

US influence for budget restraint broke down in the early 2000s

Brett Schaefer 2012 (master's degree in international development from the School of International Service at American University; Jay Kingham Fellow in International Regulatory Affairs at Heritage's Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom, Heritage Foundation) 2 April 2012 “The History of the Bloated U.N. Budget: How the U.S. Can Rein It In” <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2012/04/the-history-of-the-bloated-un-budget-how-the-us-can-rein-it-in>

The post-2000 budget surge was facilitated by the U.S. abandoning its zero-growth policy and, later, abrogation of the consensus budget agreement. The U.S. insistence on zero growth in the U.N. regular budget broke down in the early 2000s when the U.S. sought U.N. political missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. The missions were expensive and opened the door to other increases in the U.N. regular budget sought by other U.N. member states in return for their support.

After adjusting for inflation (using “constant dollars”), UN budget grew 72% during the past decade

Brett Schaefer 2012 (master's degree in international development from the School of International Service at American University; Jay Kingham Fellow in International Regulatory Affairs at Heritage's Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom, Heritage Foundation) 2 April 2012 “The History of the Bloated U.N. Budget: How the U.S. Can Rein It In” http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2012/04/the-history-of-the-bloated-un-budget-how-the-us-can-rein-it-in

However, measuring the U.N. budget in constant dollars reveals its truly extraordinary growth over the past decade. In constant 2005 dollars, the budget grew by 72 percent from 2000–2001 to 2010–2011. By comparison, the budget grew by only 36 percent from the 1974–1975 budget to the final appropriation for the 1984–1985 budget. In other words, inflation accounted for roughly three-quarters of the growth in the regular budget from the mid-1970s through the mid-1980s. By contrast, the budget grew by more than 70 percent in real terms from the final 2000–2001 appropriation budget to the final 2010–2011 appropriation budget.

Afghanistan and Iraq missions didn’t drive the big UN budget increases

Brett Schaefer 2012 (master's degree in international development from the School of International Service at American University; Jay Kingham Fellow in International Regulatory Affairs at Heritage's Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom, Heritage Foundation) 2 April 2012 “The History of the Bloated U.N. Budget: How the U.S. Can Rein It In” (brackets added) <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2012/04/the-history-of-the-bloated-un-budget-how-the-us-can-rein-it-in>

Contrary to some claims, the Afghanistan and Iraq missions did not drive the increase in the budget over the past decade. As noted by the U.S. Mission to the U.N., the increases to other parts of the regular budget were substantial and, in dollar terms, outstripped the costs of the political missions: [quoting Joseph M. Torsella, U.S. Representative to the United Nations for Management and Reform] In 2000–2001 the regular, two-year budget—not counting special political missions, such as those in Iraq and Afghanistan—was $2.4 billion. In 2010–2011, it was $4.2 billion. That is a 75 percent increase, over a period that included a major post-9/11 economic contraction and a global recession.

FAILURES

No transparency or accountability in UN budget

Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen 2011. ( R-Florida, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs) 7 Apr 2011 “REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS: THE FUTURE OF U.S. POLICY” hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, <http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/65630.pdf> (brackets and ellipses in original)

This is the third session the committee has held this year on reforming the United Nations. In the past decade, the U.N.’s regular budget has more than doubled. But has the U.N.’s transparency, accountability, or effectiveness increased in proportion? Well, the former head of the U.N.’s own internal ethics office had this to say in her exit report, excerpts of which were leaked to the press: ‘‘There is no transparency. There is [a] lack of accountability. . . I regret to say that the [U.N.] Secretariat now is in a process of decay . . . It is drifting into irrelevance.’’

Lots of waste and no transparency in the UN budget

Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen 2011. ( R-Florida, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs) 7 Apr 2011 “REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS: THE FUTURE OF U.S. POLICY” hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, <http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/65630.pdf>

Former UN Deputy Secretary-General Mark Malloch Brown said earlier this year, “There’s a huge redundancy and lack of efficiency” in the UN system and that the UN’s budget is “utterly opaque, un-transparent, and completely in shadow.”

Lots of corruption and fraud at the UN and it’s not being investigated properly

Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen 2011. ( R-Florida, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs) 7 Apr 2011 “REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS: THE FUTURE OF U.S. POLICY” hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, <http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/65630.pdf>

Ambassador Rice, with respect to the references in your prepared testimony to the U.N. Office of Internal Oversight Services, I must highlight that scores of procurement corruption and fraud cases from the now-defunct Procurement Task Force are collecting dust in this Office of Internal Oversight Services. The job of lead investigator has not been filled on a permanent basis since 2006. The individual who currently holds that position on an interim basis is under investigation himself for retaliating against whistle-blowers.

UN budget is too complex and conveys meaningless information

Ambassador Joseph Torsella 2011. (U.S. Representative for UN Management and Reform at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations) 27 Oct 2011 remarks on the Proposed UN Program Budget for 2012-13, before the Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee of the UN General Assembly, <http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/2011/176325.htm>

As the United States has said before, the United Nations’s budget is too complex and opaque, and it is built around the wrong measures. Paradoxically, there is too much data, and too little useful information. Readers of United Nations budget documents, for example, will search in vain for the actual travel budget by department or the cost of employee healthcare. But they can easily find the precise number of policy papers issued by any number of the executive committees, as if the number of papers itself is a meaningful measure of accomplishment. The budget in its current form of 37 different and partitioned sections would tie the hands of the best manager in the world.

DETAILS

How much is the “UN Regular Budget”? (one of the budgets affected by this plan): $5.15 billion

United Nations Dept of Management, 2012. “REGULAR BUDGET 2012-2013” (the “US” in front of $ is to indicate the currency is United States dollars and does not indicate how much the United States is paying) Feb 2012 <http://www.un.org/en/hq/dm/pdfs/oppba/Regular%20Budget.pdf>

The General Assembly approved the programme (regular) budget for 2012-2013 in the amount of US$ 5,152 million (resolution 66/248A). The proposal includes US$ 1,083 million in respect of special political missions that are expected to be extended or approved during the course of the biennium.

What’s in the “UN Regular Budget”? (one of the budgets that would be changed by this plan)

United Nations Dept of Management, 2012. . “REGULAR BUDGET 2012-2013” Feb 2012 <http://www.un.org/en/hq/dm/pdfs/oppba/Regular%20Budget.pdf>

Programme (regular) budget for 2012-2013

The breakdown of amounts per part of the programme budget is as follows:

I. Overall policy-making direction and coordination 14.0%

II. Political affairs 25.9%

III. International justice and law 1.8%

IV. International cooperation for development 8.5%

V. Regional cooperation for development 10.3%

VI. Human rights and humanitarian affairs 6.3%

VII. Public information 3.5%

VIII. Common support services 11.6%

IX. Internal oversight 0.7%

X. Jointly financed administrative activities and special expenses 2.5%

XI. Capital expenditures 1.3%

XII. Safety and Security 4.1%

XIII. Development Account 0.6%

XIV. Staff assessment 8.8%

List of “Specialised Agencies” funded by Assessments

The Consultative Group of Ministers or High-level Representatives on Broader International Environmental Governance Reform 2010. (published by a UN committee) “United Nations Specialised Agencies versus United Nations Programmes” 7 June 2010 <http://www.rona.unep.org/documents/partnerships/IEG/UN_Specialised_Agencies_Vs_UN_Programmes.pdf>

The core funding of specialised agencies is through assessed contributions which is normally based on the UN rating system and calculated on the basis of countries’ national income. The calculation also takes into account other factors including maximum and minimum ceilings. Specialised agencies do not receive any funds from the UN regular budget but trust funds and voluntary funding are commonly used to supplement core funding and usually account for 40-50% of their total funding. The Bretton Woods Institutions are the only specialised system that do not follow the UN’s assessed contribution system but rather have their own contribution system based on voting rights. There are more than 15 specialised agencies currently established under the UN, including:

ILO International Labour Organisation

FAO Food and Agriculture Organisation

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

WHO World Health Organisation

World Bank Group

IBRD International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

IDA International Development Association

IFC International Finance Corporation

MIGA Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency

ICSID International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes

IMF International Monetary Fund

ICAO International Civil Aviation Organisation

IMO International Maritime Organisation

ITU International Telecommunication Union

UPU Universal Postal Union

WMO World Meteorological Organisation

WIPO World Intellectual Property Organisation

IFAD International Fund for Agricultural Development

UNIDO United Nations Industrial Development Organisation

UNWTO World Tourism Organisation

Peacekeeping is funded by assessments

United Nations official website 2012. “Financing peacekeeping” <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/financing.shtml>

Every Member State is legally obligated to pay their respective share towards peacekeeping. This is in accordance with the provisions of Article 17 of the Charter of the United Nations. The General Assembly apportions peacekeeping expenses based on a special scale of assessments under a complex formula that Member States themselves have established. This formula takes into account, among other things, the relative economic wealth of Member States, with the five permanent members of the Security Council required to pay a larger share because of their special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

ADVANTAGE / ADVOCACY

Voluntary funding of the entire UN would allow control over expenditures and would force reform. Already working well in other UN budgets

Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen 2011. ( R-Florida, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs) 3 Mar 2011 “REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS: LESSONS LEARNED” Hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs <http://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=6350>

In the ’90s, when the U.N. regular and peacekeeping budgets were skyrocketing, Congress enacted the Helms-Biden agreement. The U.S. withheld our dues and conditioned repayment on key reforms. When the U.N. saw that we meant business, they agreed to change, and that saved U.S. taxpayer funds. Smart withholding worked. Withholding alone is insufficient to produce lasting reform. That is why we must demand that funding for the U.N. budget and U.N. entities move from an assessed to a voluntary basis. That way, Americans, not U.N. bureaucrats or other member countries, will determine how much taxpayer dollars are spent on the U.N., and where they go. We should pay for U.N. programs and activities that advance our interests and our values. If other countries want different things to be funded, they can pay for it. The voluntary model works for UNICEF and other U.N. entities. It can work for the U.N. as a whole

Each UN activity should be justified separately and funded voluntarily - don’t use good UN programs to justify bad ones

Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen 2011. ( R-Florida, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs) 3 Mar 2011 “REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS: LESSONS LEARNED” Hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs <http://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=6350>

Don’t compare apples and oranges. Some of the U.N.’s defenders like to cite some good U.N. activities to gain support for funding bad ones. However, we are not here to play ‘‘Let’s Make a Deal.’’ Each U.N. office, activity, program, and sub-program must be justified on its own merits and funded voluntarily. UNICEF aid to starving children cannot excuse UNRWA having members of Hamas on its payroll.

Voluntary funding creates incentives for UN programs to meet their goals and justify their funding

John Bolton 2010. (former US ambassador to the UN) 28 Oct 2010 “The Key to Changing the United Nations System” published by American Enterprise Institute <http://www.aei.org/article/foreign-and-defense-policy/international-organizations/the-key-to-changing-the-united-nations-system-outlook/>

Moving to voluntary funding would end the UN practice of charging member states for the expenses of the UN and its activities. Member states would instead determine for themselves how much to provide to the UN and, importantly, the specific tasks and activities that those contributions would support. The shift toward a voluntary payment system would impose a stronger market incentive for UN programs and activities to meet their goals and justify continued funding. After all, if an activity, program, or office could not demonstrate its effectiveness, member states would be reluctant to continue to support it.

Voluntary funding has important positive impact: It’s working already in several big UN agencies

John Bolton 2010. (former US ambassador to the UN) 28 Oct 2010 “The Key to Changing the United Nations System” published by American Enterprise Institute <http://www.aei.org/article/foreign-and-defense-policy/international-organizations/the-key-to-changing-the-united-nations-system-outlook/>

Evidence that switching to voluntary contributions would have an important positive impact comes from several decades of operations by UN agencies and programs. The World Food Program, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the UN Joint Programme on HIV/AIDS, and other voluntarily funded programs have typically been more responsive to major contributors, more effective in their work, and more transparent than those funded by assessed contributions. Their leadership has typically recognized that, lacking an entitlement to assessed contributions, they have to demonstrate their utility on a continuing basis or donors will take their scarce resources to other agencies and programs.

Money Talks: Withholding funding forces UN reform

Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen 2011. ( R-Florida, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs) 3 Mar 2011 “REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS: LESSONS LEARNED” Hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs <http://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=6350>

Lesson One: Money talks. The biggest problem with the U.N. is that those who call the shots don’t have to pay the bills. Most U.N. member nations pay next to nothing in assessed contributions, but work together to adopt U.N. programming decisions and budgets, passing the costs on to big contributors, like the U.S. The U.S. goes along and pays all contributions that the U.N. assesses to us: 22 percent of the U.N. regular budget, plus billions more every year. The current administration has unconditionally repaid our U.N. arrears. When the U.N. bureaucracy and other member countries know that we will pay in full, no matter what, they have zero incentive to reform. Almost every productive U.S. reform effort has been based on withholding our contributions unless and until needed reforms are implemented. In the 1980s, for example, Congress adopted an amendment to withhold funding until the U.N. changed how budgets are voted on. That effort showed some success until the amendment expired. The threat was no longer credible and the U.N. returned to business as usual.

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

“Programs would be threatened by voluntary funding” - Response: The only ones threatened are the ones that aren’t performing, which is exactly what we need

John Bolton 2010. (former US ambassador to the UN) 28 Oct 2010 “The Key to Changing the United Nations System” published by American Enterprise Institute <http://www.aei.org/article/foreign-and-defense-policy/international-organizations/the-key-to-changing-the-united-nations-system-outlook/>

Contrary to the claims of those who oppose moving toward voluntary funding, such a system would not necessarily threaten UN activities. Many independent UN-affiliated funds, programs, and specialized agencies currently work well relying on voluntary funding. Such funding has remained fairly stable from year to year, with donor nations consistently and reliably providing money for activities that they support. Indeed, in many cases, voluntary funding has increased sharply. Almost without exception, only voluntarily funded activities that fail to meet donor expectations of performance experience reductions in funding levels. This type of financial accountability is precisely what is needed at the UN.

“Uncertainty of funding” - Turn: That’s good because it promotes reform

Mark D. Wallace 2011. (President and CEO of United Against Nuclear Iran; former US representative to the UN for Management & Reform ) 3 March 2011 “REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS: LESSONS LEARNED” written statement submitted to the hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs <http://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=6350>

Some critics suggest a flaw of the voluntary contribution funding mechanism is that it will create uncertainty in income flows. I submit that this is not a negative, but a positive. Given the inability of the UN to reduce superfluous mandates and implement the most basic performance requirements for many agencies, it is time for Member States, and by extension the taxpayers, to begin imposing those standards ourselves. It is time for agencies within the UN community to know that, in many cases, there is competition. The net winners will be not only Member States, but the people many of these agencies are designed to help in the first place.

“What if they don’t pay” - Response: Not unique - they’re not paying all their “assessed” dues now. Example: Peacekeeping is mandatory, but countries owe $1.26 billion in unpaid dues

United Nations official website 2012. “Financing peacekeeping” <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/financing.shtml>

Many countries have also voluntarily made additional resources available to support UN Peacekeeping efforts on a non-reimbursable basis in the form of transportation, supplies, personnel and financial contributions above and beyond their assessed share of peacekeeping costs. Although the payment of peacekeeping assessments is mandatory, as of 30 June 2012, Member States owed approximately $1.26 billion in current and back peacekeeping dues.