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Carnegie Results is a quarterly newsletter published by Carnegie Corporation of New York. It highlights Corporation-supported organizations and projects that have produced reports, results or information of special note.

Strengthening the Work of the United Nations: A Sustained Strategy for Peace

"The real issue between nations usually matters little. ...The spirit in which nations approach each other to effect peaceful settlement is everything."

—Andrew Carnegie

The quest for peace was never far from Andrew Carnegie's mind and heart. "I am drawn more to this cause than to any," he wrote in 1907 when he accepted the presidency of the newly formed Peace Society of New York. Carnegie had always believed in the power of international laws and organizations to stave off conflict and he trusted that future wars would be averted by mediation. "Peaceful arbitration has so far been the chief agent of progress toward the reign of Peace," he maintained.

In 1903, Carnegie supported the founding of the Peace Palace at The Hague, which today houses the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the UN's International Court of Justice, the Hague Academy of International Law and one of the most prestigious international law libraries in the world. In 1910, in an effort to "hasten the abolition of international war," he gave \$10 million to establish the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, an organization dedicated to advancing cooperation between nations.

Carnegie Corporation of New York was founded in 1911 to "promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding," a mission that was, in Carnegie's mind, the surest path to permanent peace. "Whoso wants to share the heroism of battle let him join the fight against ignorance...and the mad idea that war is necessary," he declared in *The New York Times*.

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Carnegie felt that war is wasteful, that diplomacy can resolve disputes without bloodshed and that nations can and should act collectively to prosecute cases of injustice when necessary. One of the first to call for the establishment of a “league of nations,” he argued that war might be eliminated if such a global organization were established with authority to settle international disputes through arbitration and the use of economic sanctions. (Years later, President Woodrow Wilson’s proposal for the League of Nations had much in common with Carnegie’s ideas, as did subsequent proposals for the United Nations.)

Prior to World War I, Carnegie had used his influence with world leaders to try to halt the march to global conflict—to no avail. When the Great War did break out in 1914, Carnegie was devastated. He had been writing his autobiography, but the thought of “men slaying each other like wild beasts” so overwhelmed him that he put down his pen.

For Andrew Carnegie, the power of education to end conflict and engender peace was an article of faith, according to Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation. He saw foundations as catalysts for progress even when the odds against positive change seem overwhelming. “Throughout the course of the Corporation’s long history, we have held fast to that role. Carnegie’s lifelong dedication to international peace has been a hallmark theme of the Corporation’s work, which it pursued through World War II and the Cold War, and to which it still devotes untiring efforts,” Gregorian wrote in his 2003 annual

report essay. “We have carried out this mission through grants, scholarships, national and international commissions, convenings and research, and under the leadership of my predecessor David Hamburg, through the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (CCPDC).”

The members of the commission were among the world’s most distinguished leaders: Gro Harlem Brundtland, former prime minister of Norway; Virendra Dayal, member of the Human Rights Commission of India and former chef de cabinet for Secretaries General Pérez de Cuellar and Boutros-Ghali; Gareth Evans, former foreign minister of Australia and president of the International Crisis Group; Alexander L. George, professor emeritus of international relations at Stanford University; Flora MacDonald, former foreign minister of Canada; Donald F. McHenry, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations; Herbert S. Okun, former ambassador to the United Nations and the German Democratic Republic; Olara A. Otunnu, former UN under-secretary-general and former foreign minister of Uganda; David Owen, former foreign minister of the United Kingdom; John D. Steinbruner, then director of the Foreign Policy Studies program at the Brookings Institution; Brian Urquhart, former UN under secretary-general for special political affairs; Cyrus R. Vance, former U.S. secretary of state; John C. Whitehead, chairman emeritus of the Brookings Institution and Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan, former foreign minister of Pakistan.

CCPDC produced reports and analyses, held conferences and linked the world to its work

through its web site and, in the process, helped to make the concept of preventing deadly conflict a priority concern for the United Nations as well as the wider global community. The commission's work played a significant role in influencing Secretary-General Kofi Annan to adopt the concept of a "culture of prevention" for the UN. In his 1999 report to the fifty-fourth session of the General Assembly, Annan said, "For the United Nations, there is no higher goal, no deeper commitment and no greater ambition than preventing armed conflict. The main short- and medium-term strategies for preventing nonviolent conflicts from escalating into war, and preventing earlier wars from erupting again, are preventive diplomacy, preventive deployment and preventive disarmament."

Since 1997 when he was appointed president, Gregorian and the Corporation staff have maintained the focus on peace as central to the foundation's agenda. In that connection, the Corporation has supported various activities of the United Nations, including efforts to help the UN become a stronger, better institution by a range of means such as funding reform efforts, contributing to scholarship, doing policy research, training diplomats, sponsoring conferences or supporting publications that will keep the UN's legacy alive.

Building a Bridge to Understanding

Founded in 1945, the United Nations, originally comprising 51 member states, aimed to achieve "the willing coopera-

tion of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security."¹ From the beginning, Carnegie Corporation provided funding to build public support and understanding for the fledgling institution. In the second year of the UN's existence, in keeping with the Corporation's commitment to the diffusion of knowledge, a grant of \$30,000 (over \$250,000 in today's dollars) funded the *United Nations News*, a monthly publication designed to "give a brief, factual, unbiased summary of the current activities of the United Nations, with a minimum of editorial comment."

News editors summarized the work of all the UN's main organs, commissions and committees so that writers, editors and educational directors of membership organizations could use the information in their publications. Copies of the *News* were made available to public, school and college libraries and became source material for teachers, discussion group leaders, radio commentators and others. Within a year the *United Nations News* could boast of thousands of subscribers from coast to coast, among them members of Congress, foreign ambassadors and college presidents.

Between 1948 and 1952 the Corporation provided annual grants of \$25,000 (about \$195,000 today) to the Corporation's sister organization, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. This funding was earmarked for UN support because, at that time, the Endowment was actively conducting

¹ "History of the Charter of the United Nations," <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/history/index.html>

research and public education programs related to the United Nations and the future of the postwar international legal system, as well as providing diplomatic training for foreign service officers from emerging nations. (Earlier, while World War II was still being fought, the Endowment had conducted research in order to analyse the lessons learned from the League of Nations, which could be applied to the organization that would become the United Nations.)

It was with the appointment of David Hamburg as president of Carnegie Corporation in 1983 that the foundation embarked on an active pursuit of peace in potential conflict situations, focusing on mediation techniques, reconciliation approaches and, above all, robust prevention measures—a guiding theme of Hamburg’s presidency. During the early 1980s the Cold War was a major factor in international relations and the potential for nuclear confrontation existed between the world’s two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, these two nations along with France, Great Britain and China were conducting regular tests of nuclear weapons, and international tensions were running high.

Hamburg sized up the world situation in his first annual report essay, bluntly stating, “The overriding problem facing humanity today is the possibility of nuclear holocaust.” In response, the Corporation initiated the Avoiding Nuclear War program to promote the study of international security and the assembling of a body of scholarly analysis on nuclear issues and on U.S.-Soviet relations. The Carnegie Endowment for International

Peace joined in this effort to find good ideas for managing and preventing crises, and for over 20 years this organization has produced numerous studies, conferences and publications on nonproliferation, for which the Corporation has provided well over \$5 million in grants.

Like Andrew Carnegie, David Hamburg set his sights on the elimination of war. His lofty views were best summed up in his 1996 annual report essay, where he wrote, “As our children and their children learn about the horrifying mass violence that human beings have committed against each other throughout the ages, it is my fervent hope that, at the beginning of the second millennium, the communities of the world will have planted seeds of cooperation and reconciliation that will grow into a system in which mass violence becomes increasingly rare, or even—dare I say it—someday nonexistent.” During his tenure, the Corporation sought ways that, in Hamburg’s words, “governments, intergovernmental organizations and the institutions of civil society could foster the conditions under which different human groups can learn to live together amicably.” His objective was nothing less than “mobilization of the best possible intellectual, technical and moral resources to work on these great problems,” and he intended to apply research, analysis and education at the nation’s strongest universities to the task. “The painfully difficult effort to achieve decent, fair, peaceful relations among diverse human groups is an enterprise that must be renewed,” Hamburg maintained.

In aspiring to address the world’s most intran-

significant issues, the Corporation naturally turned its attention to the United Nations. As Hamburg saw it, to play its role effectively, the UN would require much more substantial financial and political support than it had ever received, which would depend on a much higher level of public understanding about the UN's functions and its potential than existed at the time. To meet this imperative, the Corporation has, through the years, provided significant, sustained support for many of the best minds in the foreign policy realm to study, advise, train and problem solve on behalf of UN entities from the secretary-general to the Security Council to the peacekeepers in the field. Corporation funding has flowed steadily to the UN and to organizations that facilitate its work, often at the UN's request, mitigating many critical areas of conflict—any one of which might have exploded into a global catastrophe. Since 1997, President Hamburg's successor, Vartan Gregorian, has continued his policies in pursuit of peace as well as in support of the UN.

How are these policies manifested? The Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict illuminated several fundamental issues in which the UN and other actors played a key role: self-determination; post-conflict peacebuilding and statebuilding in war-torn states and access to water resources. The Corporation has invested in these and other issues, supporting scores of individual scholars who have built up a corpus of knowledge that will be helpful to decision makers of international bodies and sovereign states. "Knowledge—steeped in history and constantly enriched by current and changing events—can provide a foundation for understand-

ing between societies, cultures, religious beliefs and political systems," Gregorian stresses, "and understanding can be a bridge to peace."

Policy-making: Behind the Scenes

It's a simple matter to promise unstinting support for the work of the United Nations, but delivering on that promise can be a complicated task. Making policies that prevent war and preserve peace is the UN's explicit purpose, but where and how this critical policymaking happens, and whether other concerned parties can lend a hand in the process is not always understood. This is true even when the need for support is widely acknowledged within the UN and specific requests for assistance come from officials at the organization's highest level.

The Corporation has established close ties with a respected group of scholars who have deep knowledge of international peace and security matters. Through their affiliations with research organizations, think tanks, academic institutions and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) these experts strive to provide essential information at the optimum time to enable United Nations officials to forge policies for the world's greater good. Many of these opinion shapers are Carnegie Corporation grantees continuing a practice of behind-the-scenes policy support that has been in place for decades.

One example serves to illustrate how these relationships work: Over twenty years ago, use of outer space for military purposes emerged as a major

issue when President Ronald Reagan launched the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). The Corporation, along with other national institutions and leaders, became concerned that this initiative, later popularly known as Star Wars, could have adverse consequences, and they raised questions about the feasibility of constructing policies that could balance military *and* civilian uses of space. Ultimately, this became an issue that called for UN involvement and the Corporation looked to a number of NGOs, including in the first instance, the United Nations Association of the United States (UNA-USA) as a means of bringing the issue to the fore in policy circles.

UNA-USA, a not-for-profit organization dedicated to strengthening the United Nations system and to achieving the goals of the UN Charter, was ideally positioned to undertake a comprehensive program of education, policy analysis and international dialogue aimed at assuring development of the resources of outer space for the benefit of all the world's peoples. In 1986, Carnegie Corporation provided funding of \$350,000 for this effort, involving key policymakers throughout the process and holding periodic briefings for UN representatives as well as the U.S. Congress and administration. In its final phase, the program's multilateral conference on the militarization of space delivered its vital message to the United Nations, NATO, the Soviet Union, China, Japan and other nations.

The Corporation continued to support UNA-USA throughout the decade, especially after a new relationship began to develop between the

West and the Soviet Union under the leadership of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, who had professed an increased awareness of the need for multilateral approaches to global security and—importantly—for greater emphasis on the role of the United Nations in resolving regional conflicts around the world. The Soviet Union (USSR) had, among other indications, asked to join UN-sponsored organizations it previously ignored and pledged to pay all its back dues. The USSR's shift toward the UN happened at a time when the United States, in contrast, had ceased to be the world body's strongest supporter, and had withdrawn from several UN organizations and withheld its dues in order to pressure the UN into carrying out needed reforms.

In response to these changes, UNA-USA launched a project aimed at testing the motivations behind the USSR's new outlook, stimulating new Soviet and American thinking in these areas and exploring how the UN might enhance its role as a central mechanism for managing conflict with U.S.-Soviet cooperation in mind. Carnegie Corporation underwrote the process of holding U.S.-Soviet dialogue, conducting research and producing and disseminating publications resulting from the project. A three-year grant of \$300,000 allowed UNA-USA to assemble a group of experts on American and Soviet arms control, security issues and international affairs led by respected UN representatives from both countries, who explored how the institution could become more effective in these critical areas.

Because, through the Aspen Institute (which

organizes international, bipartisan conferences for Congressional leaders), the Corporation is involved in bringing together Soviet and American decision makers, scholars and even generals, it was well positioned to help UNA-USA continue the process of bridge building. Topics investigated during this grant included: the role of the secretary-general in preventive diplomacy; peacekeeping operations in regional conflicts; terrorism; the World Court and multilateral arms control. Of particular note was the influence grant-related meetings had on shaping Soviet policy at the UN during a crucial period in that country's history. The final report quotes Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev's comment that the program "has for many years been bringing together key thinkers and policymakers, thus making an important input into the foreign policy of Russia and the United States."

Corporation grantees gave numerous media interviews and produced articles and op-eds in publications ranging from the *Washington Quarterly* to *The New York Times* to the *Christian Science Monitor*, which kept the interested public informed on grant-related activities. In 1989 UNA-USA and UNA-USSR issued their Joint Statement, "The UN's Role in Enhancing Peace and Security," which was widely disseminated at the highest levels of the UN and the U.S. government. Senator Sam Nunn, then chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, considered the publication well timed to coincide with "a year of resurgence and revitalization for the United Nations. . . . In the years ahead, there would appear to be increased opportunities to call on this crucial organization for assistance in maintaining

global stability, especially in the areas of nonproliferation, peacekeeping and termination of regional conflicts," he wrote.

Most dramatically, it was (according to the final grant report) at a UNA-USA/UNA-USSR joint session in November of 1991, after the collapse of the USSR, that representatives of six republics gathered to discuss the transformation in the Soviet Union and its impact on the UN. In the words of Sergei Lavrov, later deputy foreign minister of Russia, "All those who participated in that meeting remember that it was there that the concept of Russia as the continuing state to the USSR in the UN and its Security Council was in fact born." Finally, a detailed analysis of evolving policy appeared in the book *Soviet-American Relations After the Cold War*, edited by Robert Jervis and Seweryn Bialer, Duke University Press, © 1991. Written by Toby Trister Gati, UNA-USA senior vice president for policy studies, the chapter, "The UN Rediscovered: Soviet and American Policy in the United Nations of the 1990s," provided "ongoing insight," according to a review in the periodical *Foreign Affairs*.

With the end of the Cold War came renewed hope that the United Nations decision-making process could be strengthened. Enforcement policy arose as the UN's key concern—particularly in regional and internal crises involving the Security Council. Legally binding on all member nations, Security Council resolutions include a wide range of political, economic, and military sanctions, but for reasons such as the difficulty of dealing with civil strife and massive human rights violations, these actions were not consistently enforced. Seeking ways

to make the Security Council a more effective institution, the Corporation provided funding of \$350,000 to UNA-USA to conduct an extensive study of the strengths and weaknesses of UN enforcement measures and options for promoting implementation, with followup activities planned for the UN and member states. An international team of advisors chosen for their military/defense, economic, foreign policy and United Nations experience guided the project. Conference papers on enforcement policy were presented and the final report was handed over to high-level U.S. and UN policymakers.

Not surprisingly, the end of the Cold War had brought about an altered view of the world, which permeated discussions of global values, security, development and governance. Acknowledging the resulting need for renewed policies in these areas, the independent Commission on Global Governance had been established in 1992 to assess post-Cold-War policy needs and produce a report to advance fundamental changes in the structures and systems of governance at the global, regional, national and local levels. While not an official body of the United Nations, the commission was endorsed by the UN secretary-general and funded through two trust funds of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), nine national governments and several foundations.

Co-chaired by the prime minister of Sweden and the former secretary-general of the Commonwealth, the commission's 28 members, who represented a wide variety of countries, made myriad suggestions for change—recommending a

far broader definition of responsibilities for the UN Security Council (which would ultimately require amending the UN Charter), revitalizing the General Assembly and strengthening the International Court of Justice. Carnegie Corporation provided a grant of \$150,000 to disseminate the commission's report, *Our Global Neighborhood*, including a major policy-level briefing at the United Nations General Assembly's fiftieth anniversary.

The Corporation's work was not always involved directly with the UN, but also supported organizations interested in strengthening UN activities and impact. Another event timed to coincide with the UN anniversary was the publication of the American Assembly's findings on the relationship of United States foreign policy and the United Nations system. The assembly, a nonpartisan public affairs forum established by Dwight Eisenhower at Columbia University in 1950, had convened semi-annually to review a range of critical policy issues. The 1995 agenda covered peacemaking, nonproliferation, sustainable growth and development, human rights and refugees. The Corporation provided a \$100,000 grant to this program, which aimed to identify specific policies and reforms and ways to attain bipartisan U.S. support for the United Nations. Twenty thousand copies of the resulting report found their way to U.S. policy leaders, including members of Congress and UN officials.

Although the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict formally ended operations in December 1999, its work continued to influence the Corporation's strategy in

subsequent years. One issue of special concern—competition over scarce water resources—was expected to become increasingly important in the decades ahead, and several significant grants were made to address this critical problem. The Corporation was concerned that, although no wars had been fought strictly over water, with the earth's rapid population growth and accelerating pace of industrialization and modernization, contending claims to shared water supplies contributed to extreme tensions in many regions. Beyond the direct, and increasingly dangerous, threat of conflict over scarce water from the Middle East to Northern China, it was clear that water scarcity would also undermine a state's ability to function, increasing its risk of takeover or collapse.

In the year 2000, a \$400,000 grant to Johns Hopkins University and the research institute Global Environment and Energy in the 21st Century, supported the launching of "Track II," or unofficial diplomatic talks to address the technical aspects of water management in South Asia. Although a number of formal water-sharing agreements had been established between India and Pakistan at the time, a host of technical and political issues prevented successful implementation of the agreements. Members of the project, which brought together government officials, scholars, business leaders and other experts, produced a final report that was disseminated to policymakers and ultimately promoted technical solutions to regional problems while fostering cooperative relations among the neighboring countries.

In 2001, a joint \$389,000 grant went to Oregon

State University and the Pacific Institute, both leading centers of analysis on water issues, to build a body of knowledge and understanding that aimed at reducing the risks of water-related conflicts in international watersheds. The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars received \$400,000 in funding the same year toward interdisciplinary policy dialogues and publications on critical water issues leading to understanding of water as an economic or a social good; investigating water conflict and cooperation; and utilizing lessons learned about water conflict resolution. Coming after 9/11, this grant demonstrated the Corporation's awareness that terrorism added a further dimension to the issue of fresh-water scarcity, already regarded as a potentially destabilizing global problem.

Concurrently, the Corporation funded an international forum on arctic and circumpolar issues, providing \$60,000 in grants to the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies. Established in Reykjavik, Iceland, at the suggestion of that country's president, Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson, this ongoing biannual forum fosters regional stability and serves as a foundation for dialogue among the United States, Russia, Canada and the Scandinavian countries. Issues of mutual concern including social and environmental changes, sustainable development, economic globalization, security and economic development were (and continue to be) explored by study groups comprised of policymakers, scholars, economists and representatives of NGOs and grassroots groups. Corporation grants went toward publication and dissemination as well as attendance costs for key participants.

Several times during the past decade, requests have come from the UN secretary-general seeking the Corporation's leadership in bringing other foundations and NGOs to the aid of the UN. Responding with speed, efficiency and timely financial assistance, UN supporters (along with the Corporation) have enabled the secretary-general to act more expeditiously to address the needs of the world body. Such was the case in 2004, when the conflict in Iraq added urgency to the issue of how best to confront contemporary security threats. Deep divisions among the Security Council's five veto-wielding members—China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States—had drastically undermined the body's credibility and authority. Wilton Park, an internationally respected executive agency of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, convened a problem-solving session of senior policymakers from Security Council member states and other key countries along with UN personnel and independent policy analysts. A grant of \$25,000 made possible full participation in this event.

Training the Peacemakers

Once the UN officially agrees on a given policy, generally it's someone's assignment to follow through—and part of the UN program is to train personnel to carry out these diverse and challenging duties. In the early 1990s, the international community came to the realization that

heightened demands on the UN for preventive mediation and peacebuilding were pushing the diplomatic staff beyond capacity. To address this concern, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research worked with two nonprofits, the International Peace Academy and Parliamentarians for Global Action, to develop a Fellowship Programme in Peacemaking and Preventive Diplomacy, toward which the Corporation provided \$650,000 in funding.

The specialized curriculum provided middle- and senior-level UN staff, diplomats and parliamentarians with fundamental training in conflict resolution that was lacking within the UN system, covering theory as well as practical steps in problem solving, negotiation and mediation. Directed by a psychologist with a long diplomatic career and taught by high-level diplomats and academics, coursework included systematic coverage of the nature and causes of international conflict, hands-on sessions in applying conflict resolution methodology and an option for graduates to continue fieldwork in ongoing or developing conflicts and to evaluate the peacemaking efforts then underway.

Participants were expected to come to understand the root causes of dissension, viewing each situation in its own cultural, historical and political context. Case studies used to develop a body of knowledge for the program were disseminated within the UN and in the wider international community. Annual meetings allowed graduates, eventually numbering in the hundreds, to hear timely lectures by conflict prevention practitio-

ners and scholars. The program, which solicited nominations for candidates from relevant UN departments and offices, UN missions and foreign ministries, became increasingly competitive with each passing year, with well over 100 applicants typically vying for fifteen places. Program leaders aimed for gender and racial balance and reached out to students from troubled parts of the world such as Bosnia Herzegovina, Sudan, the Middle East and West Asia. The curriculum was continually revised to remain relevant under changing world conditions and to meet the evolving needs of participants.

Graduates' testimony found in the Corporation's files confirmed that the program had changed their approach to conflict prevention and resolution, and that the competencies acquired proved useful in real-world situations. Counselor Zhang Qiuye, Permanent Mission of China to the United Nations, commented positively, saying, "Your program, in giving greater emphasis on negotiation and mediation as the most important means of peacemaking and conflict prevention, has put peacemaking efforts in the right perspective." Like Qiuye, Counselor Yemisi K. Marcus, Permanent Mission of Nigeria, attributed key benefits to the training: "Personally, the program has enhanced my negotiating tactics from rigid country positions to those of amicable compromise, to the satisfaction of all concerned."

Yale University has, since 1993, had a United Nations Studies Program dedicated to training the next generation of UN scholars and practitioners. Drawing on the university's full range of disciplines, including law, environmental studies, ethics, politics,

economics and management, the program collaborates with international and intergovernmental organizations, the UN Secretariat among them, to address a range of issues under the heading of "human security." Students regularly explore such topics as ethnic conflict, civil war, human rights violations, poverty and environmental crises. Corporation funding of \$315,000 over a period of several years has helped strengthen the program, supporting research, seminars and working sessions with links to a worldwide community of scholars.

Yale received another grant of \$100,000 in 1997 to organize and preserve a record of the events of United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's tenure from 1992 to 1996. The role of the UN in maintaining world peace changed dramatically during this time, and crises in Somalia, the former Yugoslavia, Haiti and Rwanda influenced Boutros-Ghali to strengthen the organization's preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping role—an evolution in strategy that reflected the conclusions of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict. These events and Boutros-Ghali's salient agendas for peace, development and democratization would be the theme of the Yale project's ultimate publication.

Restoring War-Torn Societies

One of the main issues to face the UN in the late twentieth century is that of war-torn societies. "It's become painfully clear that state collapse anywhere can become a

direct security concern everywhere,” says Stephen J. Del Rosso, chair of the Corporation’s International Peace and Security program. Violent internal conflict occurred in one-in-five countries in the early 1990s and about one-in-seven at the end of the decade. Yet, even with international assistance, rebuilding shattered societies is a far from simple task, frequently prone to failure because of poor understanding of the extent of damage, lack of capacity and the severity of need.

The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) and the Program for Strategic and International Security Studies at Geneva’s Graduate Institute of International Studies (an academic and research institution dedicated to international relations) designed the \$3 million War-Torn Societies Project (WSP) in 1994 to help the international donor community respond more effectively to the needs of post-conflict societies. By 1998, the Corporation had provided grants totaling \$450,000 to the project.

Launching field studies in Eritrea, Mozambique, Somalia and Guatemala, WSP research teams analyzed ongoing policies, identified obstacles and formulated recommendations, publishing a newsletter and holding international conferences to disseminate their findings. From conception through implementation, the project had embodied the ideal multilateral peacebuilding approach, stressing the need to incorporate different forms of international assistance toward rebuilding within an integrated policy framework. In order for a base to be laid for future development, projects involved conflict survivors in the decision mak-

ing and implementation phases of peacebuilding, consistent with the recommendations of the final report of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict.

Within four years, the War-Torn Societies Project, which was meant to be a model research initiative, had evolved into an action-oriented NGO. Instead of simply studying theories of post-conflict policy, it was now positioned to acquire staff and put to use the effective strategies identified during the research phase. Because of this change to participatory status, the WSP, while still working in partnership with the UN, no longer qualified to be part of its research arm. The project’s donors (including the United Nations Development Program, UNICEF, the United States Agency for International Development, the Canadian International Development Research Centre, the World Health Organization, several European countries and various foundations) opted to have the War-Torn Societies Project officially move from pilot investigation program to active work on the ground, meeting the challenges of social, economic and political rehabilitation.

As the research phase wound down, its findings needed to be shared in order for successes to be replicated in other countries. Extensive dissemination activities provided outreach to the diplomatic, business and fundraising communities, especially the United Nations. A newsletter, *The Challenge of Peace*, a bibliography on post-conflict rebuilding and several substantive monographs had already been distributed to hundreds of individuals and institutions involved in peace-

building. A final Corporation grant was provided toward costs of the concluding phase of the WSP research and its follow-up activities; subsequent funding would come from one of the many donor institutions supporting the project's ongoing mission of problem solving and recovery.

In 2001, such diverse places as East Timor, Sierra Leone, Indonesia and the former Yugoslavia were wrestling with their histories of political violence and questioning how perpetrators could best be held accountable for their crimes. With a \$250,000 grant from the Corporation and support from other foundations, the International Center for Transitional Justice was established to provide post-conflict states with strategies for dealing with the legacies of the past. The Center was first headed by South African activist Alexander Boraine, who, with Nobel Prize-winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu, had co-chaired South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Three years later, the Center convened a meeting of representatives of local and international NGOs, academics and policymakers to review human rights violations in the Democratic Republic of Congo. A widely disseminated report on the workshop recommended options for the United Nations and the Congolese government. Beginning in 2002, the Center established its human-rights-oriented Transitional Justice Fellowships, and now offers three programs: in Chile, Canada (dedicated to work in the former Yugoslavia) and South Africa—where fellows are given the opportunity to meet with Archbishop Tutu.

Understandably, human rights concerns are paramount in post-conflict and other fragile societies,

and for this reason Corporation support consistently has gone toward the activities of Human Rights Watch. This international nonprofit organization sends missions into more than 70 countries to assess human rights conditions and advocate for policy changes. In 2002, for example, a \$100,000 grant was provided toward monitoring of human rights issues related to post-September 11 antiterrorism campaigns and the war in Afghanistan. Funding supported the following threefold program:

- On-the-ground research on the borders of Afghanistan with particular attention to the plight of refugees and internally displaced persons;
- Analysis of the potential human rights implications of changes in U.S. domestic and foreign policy;
- Promotion of a vigorous response by state and local authorities to bias crimes against Arabs, Muslims and South Asians in the United States.

In 2003, a new grant of \$200,000 enabled Human Rights Watch to continue its work in Afghanistan as well as to maintain a team of researchers on the ground in Iraq, where the war was in its early stages and civilians were still facing threats from both Saddam Hussein and the forces that opposed him. At the time this grant was made, the organization had already produced a series of background documents and contacted the warring parties, and was pressing neighboring countries to accept and protect refugees. Efforts were then underway to persuade the U.S. administration that the Geneva Conventions applied to

the armed conflict in Iraq and to the treatment of detainees in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Subsequent reports on the organization's findings were handed off to influential policymakers and received extensive media coverage.

From Iraq to Haiti, in recent years collapsed states have continued to threaten regional and world security, pointing up the lack of tools available to policymakers for preventing or reversing future failures. To address this situation, in 2004 the Corporation got involved on the UN's behalf, this time working through the Henry L. Stimson Center, a nonprofit organization that analyzes and offers practical solutions to problems of national and international security. With a grant of \$350,000, the Corporation, building on previous studies of UN peace operations, sponsored an investigation into ways in which the UN and regional organizations might support restoration of security and the rule of law in states shattered by war. This ongoing project, to be completed in 2006, aims to provide a range of viable options for policymakers attempting to prevent state collapse. The Stimson Center is conducting original research and consulting with practitioners in order to recommend best practices toward the UN's capacity to deploy civilian police and other law personnel rapidly for peace operations, and to assess programs for border security, export controls and restraint of lawless "spoiler" networks, such as illegal trade operations, which may continue to destabilize the region even after peace agreements are reached. They are also seeking strategies that discourage corruption and promote transparency

and accountability within peace operations and the local governments they support.

A related grant of \$300,000 will also focus on shoring up UN efforts toward post-conflict reconstruction. The nonprofit Center for Strategic and International Studies, which has close ties to the United Nations, had performed the first independent assessment of Iraq reconstruction efforts in 2003. Funding supported the center's efforts toward implementation of recommendations through interaction with the U.S. government and frontline UN agencies such as the United Nations Development Program and the World Food Program.

The Institute for International Law and Justice at New York University received a grant of \$300,000 in 2004 toward its work on key legal aspects of post-conflict reconstruction: internal governance and institution building including establishment of codes of conduct and accountability procedures; international governance involving institutions such as the UN and the World Bank, which make decisions that have major economic and political consequences in vulnerable states; and intelligence gathering and regulation of coercion with the goal of advancing consensus outside of normal political and bureaucratic confines. This grant was considered particularly timely in the aftermath of the interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq as well as the secretary-general's call for serious ideas on UN reform, which presented a unique window of opportunity to influence policy at the most basic level.

Sorting out Self-Determination

One outstanding issue that has plagued the League of Nations and later the United Nations is self-determination—the territorial integrity and autonomy of states, or the desire by groups within states to govern themselves. Within this context, the question has been how to assist without violating state sovereignty or lending assistance to separatists. The concept of sovereignty as inviolable, expressed in the United Nations Charter as “noninterference in the domestic jurisdiction of states” has not been universally supported by UN member nations. The right of the UN and others to intercede, as stated in UN Charter Chapter VII, “as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security,” is seen to be a major stumbling block between first- and third-world countries.

Secretary-General Kofi Annan drew attention to this issue in 2000, in his *We the Peoples* report, stating, “If humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable assault on sovereignty, how should we respond to a Rwanda, to a Srebrenica—to gross and systematic violations of human rights that offend every precept of our common humanity? . . . Armed intervention must always remain the option of last resort, but in the face of mass murder, it is an option that cannot be relinquished.” Again, at the request of the United Nations, to further review these issues, in 2000 the Corporation made a \$500,000 grant to support the work of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. Made up of twelve independent experts who sought to address

the controversial question of humanitarian intervention, the commission’s chief goal was to foster a global political consensus on conditions under which such intervention is possible.

The commission was directed by Gareth Evans, former Australian foreign minister and member of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, and Mohamed Sahnoun of Algeria, special advisor and representative to the UN secretary-general. Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy chaired the project’s advisory board. The commission produced a landmark report called *The Responsibility to Protect*, which concluded it was the right of external powers to intervene within a sovereign state in extreme situations of human rights abuse, and specified two critical issues: first, that there are times when humanitarian emergencies must be considered above state sovereignty, which justifies international action; second, that the issues surrounding such situations involve not only the right but indeed the responsibility to act. This concept was endorsed by the United Nation 2005 World Summit, the largest ever gathering of heads of government.

The UN embarked upon other important projects during the millennium year, and the Corporation was called upon to support a cluster of endeavors targeting issues of intervention and sovereignty. A joint project of the United Nations, the International Peace Academy and the University of Denver received a \$125,000 grant to identify differences in viewpoint on this subject among member countries of the UN and to organize multinational dialogues on cases such as Kosovo, Kashmir and the Democratic Republic of Congo in order to promote international

agreement. This project stood out for its awareness that existing research on sovereignty typically approached the subject from the intervening states' perspectives. To redress this imbalance, an effort was made to elicit the views of non-Americans, in particular the Chinese, to air disparate perspectives and produce tangible products for widespread dissemination.

At the project's conclusion, well over 1,000 copies of the policy brief, "Competing Claims: Self-Determination at the United Nations," were distributed to UN and national governmental policy makers, journalists, scholars and research institutes worldwide. According to Stephen Del Rosso, beyond the meetings and publications, the project established an informal network of international experts who continue to exchange ideas and viewpoints between formal sessions. Project grantees planned for next steps to focus on "the most pivotal relationship on which international peace and security may rest in the coming years, that between the current dominant power, the U.S., and the up-and-coming global power, China...in particular the processes of political reform, nationalism and the self-determination issues within China."

During the same period, several U.S. universities initiated projects exploring issues of national self-determination. Princeton hosted an interdisciplinary investigation of the causes of internal crises—among them, struggles for secession, emergence of ethnic identity as a political force, and easy access to sophisticated weaponry—in order to produce a menu of policy options for the

international community faced with managing the consequences of violent domestic conflicts. The Corporation's support enabled this project to evolve from pure research to a solution-focused undertaking targeting governance and security in the South Asian region, including Afghanistan. Several productive conferences were held over the grant's three-year period. One outstanding example was a colloquium on security with a direct videoconference link to Kabul to facilitate in-depth discussion with Afghan governmental leaders. Findings from this meeting were summarized in an action plan widely circulated among policymakers in North America, Europe and Afghanistan.

Stanford conducted a study of international intervention in civil wars, focusing on some basic questions. As the grantees explained it, with about 16.5 million dead in the course of 122 civil wars in the past half century, their interest was in learning what the principle difficulties are in doing peacekeeping and transitional administration, and how those difficulties might best be resolved. Further, they investigated what causes civil wars, whether there was any way they can be prevented or, once begun, how they can be ended. Stanford's data showed that civil wars are less about ethnic demographics, religious hatreds, economic inequality, or even absence of political rights than they are about a set of military techniques—rural guerrilla warfare. The best predictors of a higher probability of civil war onset are low per capita income, a large population, recent independence, mountainous terrain, oil production, and recent

change in the level of democracy.

This finding strongly indicates that badly run counter-insurgencies are a worse threat to peace than bad policy. For poor countries with weak armies under bad leadership, fighting rebels without creating new rebels becomes the major problem to address. The UN is poorly equipped to engage in such activities, and the long-term result of civil war and UN intervention is likely to be an accumulation of international protectorates or neo-trusteeships around the world, where the international peacekeepers' only hope for exit will be as a result of nation building leading to the ultimate transfer of responsibility to legitimate representatives of the war-torn country. These conclusions were presented at a series of high-level conferences in New York and Washington, D.C. and were also disseminated in the research paper, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," in *American Political Science Review*, volume 97, number 1, February 2003. While it is acknowledged that the path from scholarship to policy is an indirect one, according to Stephen Del Rosso, the challenges to conventional wisdom arising from this grant-sponsored research are known to be influencing key decision-makers at the UN, particularly the Peacebuilding Commission, the World Bank and the U.S. State Department as well as its European counterparts. A number of these institutions have recently undergone significant reforms and, in light of recent failures and with the hope of improving outcomes in countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq, are looking to the conclusions of the Stanford study for help in determining their critical next steps.

Columbia University's Institute of War and

Peace Studies made a systematic assessment of peacekeeping operations in self-determination disputes, which aimed at finding out whether external intervention can prevent the direst effects of the struggle for self-determination and, finally, whether peacekeeping in fact helps to keep the peace. The conclusions of their research, simply put, were that peace lasts longer when peacekeepers are deployed than when they are not, all else being equal, and that leadership by a single, highly motivated state with UN backing is the best design for an operation to be both legitimate and effective. Products of this grant included a series of papers and conference presentations as well as the book, *Enforcing the Peace: Learning from the Imperial Past*, by grantee Kimberly Zisk Marten, published in 2004 by Columbia University Press. The Corporation provided total funding of \$683,000 for these projects. These grants not only generated policy relevant ideas, but conclusions were also directed to policymakers wrestling with these challenges in the United Nations and national governments.

The Fund For Peace, a Washington, D.C.-based nonprofit whose mission is to prevent war and alleviate the conditions that cause war, undertook a concurrent two-year study to examine the feasibility of regional military responses to self-determination disputes. With a \$440,000 grant from the Corporation, the organization held a series of international policymaking conferences to find out whether, given the UN's self-admitted shortcomings in external interventions, other workable alternatives existed and what the criteria should be for other actions.

In 2001 a major project concerning self-deter-

mination was launched by the International Peace Academy (IPA). Founded in 1970, IPA is an independent, international NGO dedicated to promoting the prevention and settlement of armed conflicts between and within states through policy research and development. IPA works closely with the United Nations, especially with the secretary-general. According to Kofi Annan, “IPA has been invaluable in working with the UN to tackle essential tasks of reflection and redirection which [the UN has] neither the means nor the manpower to address alone.”

This time their approach was to research the United Nations’ involvement with transitional governments and weigh its impact on self-determination. Citing the UN’s complicated mandate in Kosovo and its role in East Timor, the first instance in which the world body exercised near complete sovereignty over a territory, this effort was directed toward shaping policy on the range of strategies that should involve the UN. By taking on this issue from the UN’s institutional perspective, the intention was to make significant progress in defining the role of the UN and establishing best practices. A grant of \$271,000 enabled the academy to do important fieldwork in Namibia, Cambodia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, East Timor and Western Sahara as well as extensive analysis and dissemination of research findings.

Stephen Del Rosso believes that by bringing together policymakers and experts, both of these grants not only benefited from the real-world experience of the participants, but established

a ready channel for dissemination of project findings. For example, the major event in IPA’s calendar regarding this project was a 2002 conference, “You the People: Transitional Administration, State-building and the United Nations.” Panelists and participants included officials from the UN Secretariat and its specialized agencies, diplomats, academics and NGO representatives, many of whom have held senior positions within UN transitional administrations—most significantly, a number of former and serving special representatives of the secretary-general (SRSG). One of them, Sergio Vieira de Mello, was at this time SRSG for Iraq. (In August 2003, he was killed in a bombing of the UN’s Baghdad headquarters.) The following year, IPA was invited to participate in a series of discussions within the UN about the world body’s potential post-conflict role in Iraq. Although these sensitive meetings were among the most important elements of the project, they were conducted on a confidential basis.

In their final report, the IPA grantees noted that the significant interest in this project within the UN community and beyond was reflected in the large number of publications: five policy reports, fifteen chapters and articles, and two dozen opinion pieces. Grantees were interviewed and quoted at length in the media and invited to present several dozen papers and guest lectures. Finally, the book *You the People: The United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building* by grantee Simon Chesterman was published in 2004 by Oxford University Press.

Peacebuilding: The Way Forward

In his address to the General Assembly in September 2003, United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan emphasized that threats to peace over the past twelve months had shaken the world's sense of collective security and its confidence in the possibility of finding common solutions. He warned member states that the United Nations had reached a fork in the road, and that if it did not rise to the challenge of meeting new threats, there was a risk of becoming irrelevant. To generate new ideas about the kinds of policies and institutions required for the UN to be effective in the 21st century, Annan created the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. (Two influential members of the panel were Corporation grantees on secondment.) Again responding to the UN's request, the Corporation provided a \$250,000 grant to support the panel's work.

In today's world, a threat to one is a threat to all, the panel concluded. Its report set out a vision of collective security for the future—taking into account the existence of new and evolving dangers that could not have been anticipated when the UN was founded in 1945. The report listed the following six clusters of threats with which the world must contend in the decades ahead:

- War between states;
- Violence within states, including civil wars, large-scale human rights abuses and genocide;
- Poverty, infectious disease and environmental degradation;

- Nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological weapons;
- Terrorism;
- Transnational organized crime.

Strategies for overcoming these dire eventualities were spelled out, with the conclusion that they will take considerable resources, long-term commitments and, most of all, leadership.

As world crises beset the early years of the twenty-first century, the Corporation continues to provide support to make UN activities effective, and always does so in response to the UN's request. With that in mind, a pivotal program assisting the development of the United Nations' Peacebuilding Commission is receiving funding from the Corporation for two years, beginning in April 2006. The International Peace Academy and the Center for International Cooperation at New York University have worked for several years on issues related to peacebuilding, the process of post-conflict reconstruction that strives to reduce the risk that a state will relapse into renewed violence. Their current project, which will address a number of the most significant threats specified by the high-level panel, is a joint effort to provide analytical and policy support to stakeholders in the new peacebuilding institutions at the UN during the critical start-up phase.

The UN, because of its fruitful, longstanding relationship with these two organizations, asked the Corporation to work with them. The goals for this project are: 1) to help senior UN personnel identify peacebuilding capacities and gaps within the UN system; 2) to contribute substantial peacebuilding

analysis and advice for long-term application, based on verifiable research from the field; and 3) to incorporate the views and voices of national and UN participants to assure that reform efforts reflect realities on the ground.

In an age plagued by nuclear weapons, threatened by the possibility of biological and chemical warfare, subject to terrorism and other unspeakable dangers, there is undoubtedly much work ahead for the United Nations and the organizations and individuals who support its core values of finding ways to advance world peace and security. And these efforts must be carried out collectively; the work of peacemaking must be shouldered by all nations and leaders. As the final report of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict states, “The prevention of deadly conflict is, over the long term, too hard—intellectually, technically and politically—to be the responsibility of any single institution or government, no matter how powerful. Strengths must be pooled, burdens shared and labor divided among actors. This is a practical necessity.”

The UN undeniably has numerous problems and sometimes falls short of the various expectations of its members, supporters and those who look to it for help but, as Vartan Gregorian has noted, “It remains the only world organization we have. If it did not exist we would have to create it, because humanity needs a collective moral authority to avert war, build understanding and meet urgent needs. As long as the United Nations is the only world body that continues to provide both a forum and a venue to discuss, debate and resolve final solutions to ongoing as well as new challenges to humanity in the realm of war, famine, national disaster and international violation of human rights, the Corporation, when appropriate, will continue to help support some of the institution’s peace efforts.”

In the words of Andrew Carnegie, “Peace wins her way not by force; her appeal is to the reason and the conscience of man.” It was to appeal to our reason and conscience that the United Nations was created, and its continued existence is our best, perhaps our only, hope for peace.

A Wider View: Awareness, Interaction and Aid

In looking back at 60 years of Carnegie Corporation involvement with the UN, it is a source of great pride to have been active in policymaking, reform and support for various commissions and dissemination measures designed to promote security and peace as well as human rights and justice. This report has dealt mainly with conflict and cooperation issues. But in response to the secretary general, Carnegie Corporation has also, along with other foundations, provided support for projects in the economic, social and intellectual realm, as well as in other areas. Corporation grants have funded major strategic initiatives, and they have also targeted individual United Nations projects designed to respond to specific needs. A number of such efforts are described here.

While the ideas the UN has produced are arguably its most important products, “the UN’s attentive publics, both supportive and skeptical, are probably unaware of the economic and social aspects of the UN’s contribution to world peace and progress,” according to Vartan Gregorian. To bridge this knowledge gap, in 1999 the Corporation funded the United Nations Intellectual History Project (UNIHP). The Corporation’s undertaking of this project at the request of Secretary-General Kofi Annan set an example other supporters apparently felt compelled to follow, among them the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Sweden,

Canada, Norway, Switzerland and the Republic and Canton of Geneva as well as the Ford, Rockefeller, MacArthur, Dag Hammarskjöld and UN foundations.

Based in the Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, this independent research effort, which has received Corporation grants of \$660,000, is producing a collection of oral histories and a series of scholarly books by world-class experts (eight volumes have been released to date) with the goal of building public awareness of the role of the UN as the creator and nurturer of world-changing ideas. Important concepts from the project’s publications are also found in *The Power of UN Ideas: Lessons from the First 60 Years*, which was distributed widely to members of the U.S. Congress and others, and was UNIHP’s contribution to the debate about UN reform surrounding the high-level panel mentioned earlier. The project’s research products and dissemination have catalyzed other such efforts to document UN history—for example, by the United Nations Development Program and UNESCO.

The timing of this scholarship has been crucial, since many of the key participants were still alive at the time of its writing to contribute to the extensive oral history (ten have since died). In 2005, Thomas G. Weiss, Tatiana Carayannis, Louis Emmerij and Richard Jolly published *UN Voices: The Struggle*

for Development and Social Justice, the project's book based on in-depth interviews with 73 people who played major roles in the development of UN ideas. The complete transcripts will be available on CD-ROM in 2007 for distribution to libraries worldwide. Aimed at inspiring new approaches to international collaboration, the ongoing project covers such areas as trade and finance, the role of women and gender, poverty elimination, human rights and responses to international economic crises. According to Secretary-General Kofi Annan, the key objective of the project is to "provide a firmer historical basis for current discussions of the need for a better institutional architecture of the management of global economic relations."

The Corporation also provided a \$250,000 grant for educational outreach and dissemination of the documentary film *Ralph Bunche: An American Odyssey* broadcast on PBS in 2001. Bunche, a scholar-activist involved in civil rights, race relations, international peacekeeping and human rights, helped create the United Nations in 1945 and had a central role in the adoption of the UN Charter. For two decades, he served as under secretary-general for the United Nations, the highest post held by an American. Bunche was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950—the first African-American to receive the honor—for his role as United Nations mediator in the 1949 Rhodes armistices between Israel and its Arab

adversaries. Of particular interest to the Corporation, Bunche was a key member of the research team assembled by Swedish scholar Gunnar Myrdal that produced *An American Dilemma*, the historic study of race in America. In 2004, a Corporation grant of \$40,000 supported the City University of New York's public education and outreach activities commemorating the accomplishments of on the 100th anniversary of Bunche's birth.

Simply bringing people together from the far corners of the world to work toward a common goal has led to many of the UN's less publicized, yet arguably more satisfying accomplishments. For instance, a World Youth Assembly was held at UN headquarters in New York City in 1970 to commemorate the organization's twenty-fifth anniversary. The Assembly aspired to "assess the current situation of the world, to define what young people want...and to propose a strategy aimed at creating new attitudes and finding new patterns for joint youth action." Six hundred delegates attended, and the Corporation provided a grant of \$25,000 for representatives from Commonwealth countries.

The Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 addressed the fact that by almost every indicator of social development, women in all countries tend to fare less well than men. Held in Beijing, the conference received a \$100,000 Corporation grant toward its activities, which

centered on the theme “Action for Equality, Development and Peace.”

In response to a call by Secretary-General Kofi Annan in 2000, the Millennium World Peace Summit of Religious and Spiritual leaders took place at the United Nations, with the Corporation’s \$25,000 grant facilitating attendance of Muslim leaders. The summit’s purpose was to coordinate this leadership to serve as an interfaith ally in the UN’s quest for peace, understanding and international cooperation, forming an International Advisory Council of Religious Leaders to function as a resource for the secretary-general in conflict resolution efforts.

The following year, Kofi Annan invited Vartan Gregorian to be part of an international group of eminent persons participating in a “Dialogue Among Civilizations,” which had been called for in 1998 in an address by Iranian President Mohammed Khatami. Their mission was to consider such issues as identity, diversity and inter-group relations. A \$25,000 grant was provided in support of the meeting, which took place at Seton Hall University.

In 2001, the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights held a World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. The event, which took place in Durban, South Africa, was attended by government leaders and representatives from key human rights organizations, and was led

by Mary Robinson, the High Commissioner for Human Rights who was previously president of the Republic of Ireland. This action-oriented event was designed to focus on practical measures for eradicating racism including prevention, public education and reinforcement of existing protections. Because of the Corporation’s longstanding commitment to human rights and social justice, a \$500,000 grant was provided to support participation of young people in the conference.

Many other major UN projects that have received Corporation support did not directly target conflict reduction. Between 1984 and 1990, for example, the Corporation provided funds totaling \$471,450 to the United States Committee for UNICEF (the United Nations Children’s Fund) toward a wide variety of educational programs designed to increase public awareness about child health and survival in developing countries. In 2004, a \$100,000 grant to the UN Assistance Mission benefited the public library in Kabul, Afghanistan. And in 2005 half of the Corporation’s \$1 million for aid to tsunami victims was distributed through UNICEF, to meet the long-term needs and sustainability of children’s educational needs that will follow initial disaster relief.

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Preamble to the United Nations Charter

We the peoples of the united nations determined:

- To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
- To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and
- To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
- To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

And for these ends:

- To practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and
- To unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and
- To ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and
- To employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

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