

**SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE**  
PRESS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE

**PRESS CLIPPINGS**

**Enclosed are clippings of the latest local and international press on the Special Court and related issues obtained by the Press and Public Affairs Office as of:**

Wednesday, April 07, 2004

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Salone Times

Tuesday April 6, 2004

## **Salone Lawyer To Assist David Crane**

*Sierra Leone-born Allieu Iscandari resident in California USA has been appointed Deputy Prosecutor to the Sierra Leone Special Court.*

Mr. Iscandari is a California-based legal luminary and outstanding fighter for the legal well-being of Sierra Leoneans in the Diaspora.

Upon his appointment, Mr. Iscandari who owns a flourishing legal practice in California through which he fights all kinds of legal problems, including Immigration matters for Sierra Leoneans, will be temporarily leaving a thriving legal practice, incurring a significant pay cut, to be able to serve his country.

Speaking to the DAILY NEWS ENQUIRER, Mr. Iscandari disclosed that he was answering the call to patriotic duty. He said it was a real sacrifice for him to leave his flourishing practice for Freetown to take up the position, adding that he had no regrets because he viewed that he was fulfilling a patriot's duty.

Mr. Iscandari attended the Prince of Wales, Schlenker and St. Edwards secondary schools in Sierra Leone before coming to the United States where he studied law receiving a Juris Doctor Degree. People travel from all parts of America to seek legal assistance from him in California.

The News  
Wednesday April 7, 2004

# Issa Sesay, Moris Kallon Absent From Trial

The treason trial of Lance Corporal Daniel Sandy and 15 others resumed yesterday afternoon before Justice A.B. Rashid at the high court No. 1.

The trial itself, which has delayed for over five months due to Special Court's failure to allow RUF's Issa Sesay and Moris Kallon to testify, was also adjourned yesterday until after the Easter festivities. One of the major causes of yesterday's adjournment was attributed to the unavoidable absence of six jurors.

The Director of Public Prosecutions, Brima

Kebbie craved the indulgence of the court for an adjournment, which was granted by Justice Rashid.

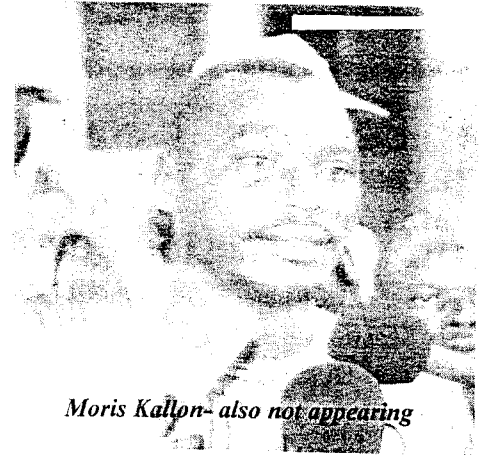
The director however told the court that he had earlier informed members of the 12-man jury to be present so that the matter could proceed.

The learned DPP did not state anything about the absent witnesses.

However, only four (4) of the jurors were present.



*Issa Sesay - denied by Special Court*



*Moris Kallon- also not appearing*

Source: [News & Business](#) > [News](#) > **News, Most Recent 90 Days (English, Full Text)** ;  
Terms: **wwould the world allow another genocide?** ([Edit Search](#))

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*Financial Times (London, England) April 7, 2004 Wednesday*

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Financial Times (London, England)

**April 7, 2004 Wednesday**  
London Edition 2

**SECTION:** LEADER; Pg. 16

**LENGTH:** 479 words

**HEADLINE:** Rwanda's lessons: International reflexes are still too slow

**BODY:**

The best summary of why the international community failed to act adequately or in time to stop the **genocide** in Rwanda 10 years ago came the other day from Lieutenant-General Romeo Dallaire, the Canadian who commanded UN peacekeepers in the country at the time. He put it in three blunt words: "Rwandans don't count."

The brutal truth is that a small country with no strategic resources in the middle of Africa was not judged important enough for western governments to risk troops' lives or the political cost of intervention if it went wrong. Although hardly anyone could have predicted the speed and scale of the slaughter, all the warning signs were there. It was not an intelligence failure but a political failure.

Today is the UN-designated "day of reflection" marking the start of Rwanda's 1994 bloodbath. In three months, by most estimates, about 800,000 people, mainly from the minority Tutsi caste, were hacked, bludgeoned or shot to death in a deliberate and organised campaign of extermination.

An ill-defined duty to prevent **genocide** has been laid down by UN treaty since 1948. But the UN had trouble recognising the **genocide** for what it was. Peacekeepers were in Rwanda monitoring a peace deal. The Security Council decided against reinforcing them, and instead reduced them to a few hundred. Kofi Annan, then head of UN peacekeeping, has expressed his "bitter regret" at what happened.

All the main international operators players bear some blame. The US was reluctant to back another UN operation after its fiasco in Somalia. Belgium, having sown the seeds of the disaster during its colonial mandate, instigated UN withdrawal. France continued supporting Rwanda's leaders. This compromised the humanitarian operation mounted by French troops before the belated arrival of fresh UN forces.

Some salutary lessons have certainly been learnt. The tragedy sensitised opinion to the case for humanitarian intervention. Protection of civilians has become a part of UN peacekeeping missions. The Rwandan experience has also influenced the re-modelling of the African Union, with its plans for standby forces and a statute that includes the right to intervene against **genocide** and war crimes.

Last year, fear of **genocide** pricked the European Union into sending a French-led emergency force into eastern Congo while the UN prepared for a larger peacekeeping operation. But several more countries harbour the potential for genocidal war. The most immediate test is Sudan's Darfur conflict, which a senior UN official has denounced as "an organised attempt to do away with a group of people".

The appointment of a special UN adviser on **genocide** would be a step forward. But it is not yet clear that international priorities and response mechanisms have changed sufficiently to prevent further such atrocities taking place - provoking the **world's** horror, but only after the event.

**LOAD-DATE:** April 6, 2004

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April 7, 2004

JUSTICE

## Iraqis Meet With War Crimes Trial Experts

By MARLISE SIMONS

THE HAGUE, April 2 — Ten Iraqi judges and prosecutors preparing to try Saddam Hussein and members of his government have quietly met here with veterans of international war crimes tribunals to draw on their experience of judging atrocities in the Balkans, Sierra Leone and Rwanda, according to the Iraqis and other participants.

Interviews with court officials based here and with Iraqi participants in the meetings, held late last month, outline some of the Iraqis' deepest concerns and their state of readiness.

The Iraqis said trials were not likely to start until early next year and emphasized that Mr. Hussein would not be the first to be tried.

The Iraqis were led by Salem Chalabi, the coordinator of the tribunal for Iraqi war crimes, who is a nephew of Ahmad Chalabi, the leader of the Iraqi National Congress.

Salem Chalabi said the discussions included the need for security for staff and witnesses, modern court equipment, careful handling of evidence, and an effective defense for the accused, among many other issues.

i

The Iraqis also focused on the drawn-out trial of the grandstanding former Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, the first deposed head of state to be tried before an international court.

Because Mr. Milosevic defends himself, he is able to hold the floor for long periods as he cross-examines witnesses. He often makes statements disguised as questions and uses the court as a political podium from which to encourage nationalist Serbs.

"There was a discussion what effect a Saddam trial could have on the Arab street," one participant said.

The Iraqis are determined to keep Mr. Hussein on a far tighter leash, participants in the meetings said.

Mr. Chalabi said that under Iraqi law, no one, not even Mr. Hussein, could defend

himself unless he is a lawyer.

In Amsterdam, the Iraqis met with members of the international courts dealing with Rwanda, the former Yugoslavia, East Timor and Sierra Leone. In The Hague, they visited the new International Criminal Court, which Washington opposes, and the Yugoslav tribunal.

"It was all extremely useful," said Mr. Chalabi, who has practiced law in a London firm.

"Seeing the software and the monitors recording testimony in the courtrooms was an extremely powerful message for our judges," he said of the Yugoslav tribunal. "It showed them how Iraq is lagging behind."

The meetings, which lasted three days, also underlined the complexities and contradictions of finding international help to organize the Iraqi tribunal, when the process so far has been mainly controlled by the United States.

"Iraqis feel quite strongly that they want the international input to be broad-based, not just American," said Neil Kritz, a director of the United States Institute of Peace in Washington. "We want to ensure that happens." But it was his federally financed group that organized and paid for the trip, and he accompanied the Iraqis.

In contrast to the United Nations, which has been cautious about being drawn into a process in which it has no say, Washington has been deeply involved in creating the tribunal, helping to draft statutes and providing staff, funds and expertise.

But the United States has not held or encouraged the kind of open, international meetings that accompanied the creation of other tribunals. "It's all happening behind closed doors," said Richard Dicker, a director of Human Rights Watch. "It's almost clandestine."

Meanwhile, some governments in Europe, including Britain, where there is no death penalty, have said they will have problems cooperating in trials that could lead to capital punishment.

Further, Mr. Chalabi said that unlike other international tribunals, judges will not be from a variety of nations. "We will have only Iraqi judges; that's a big political issue in Iraq," he said, speaking by telephone after returning to Baghdad. "The judges will get special training to meet international standards."

The American involvement will intensify shortly. A small team from the Justice Department has already gone to Iraq. Investigators and prosecutors will follow this month to establish the tribunal, work out procedural rules, organize evidence and charges against Mr. Hussein and his aides, administration officials said.

Mr. Chalabi cited two main reasons Mr. Hussein will not be tried first: wrinkles need to be ironed out before the tribunal "gets put under the scrutiny of a trial like Saddam's" and

as many as 12 charges may be brought against him, for which evidence must be ready for trial.

United States officials have repeatedly cited the Sierra Leone court as a model for future war crimes prosecutions, rather than the costly and large Rwandan and Yugoslav tribunals created by the United Nations a decade ago. Its budget is controlled by the United States and other donor countries; it has a three-year mandate; and it aims to try only the 15 to 20 defendants deemed most responsible for atrocities during the latter part of Sierra Leone civil war.

But the Iraqis may not be satisfied with a small number of trials. "The U.S. government was suggesting trying the 20 top cases, and Iraqis are talking of hundreds, even thousands," Mr. Chalabi said. "I rather think it will be closer to 200 people, a good portion of which can be dealt with through plea-bargaining."

A primary concern will be security. At the time of their creation, the Yugoslav and Rwandan conflicts were continuing, so the tribunals were set up outside the country. But the Iraqi tribunal will remain in Iraq, and continuing violence may hamper its operation.

In the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda, for example, numerous witnesses were threatened and refused to appear before the tribunals. At times, defense lawyers have leaked the names of some witnesses who testified secretly or under assumed names.

The unstable and polarized climate in Iraq may also cause deeper problems. Antonio Cassese, the first president of the Yugoslav tribunal, said he feared that the climate for a fair trial may not yet exist. But both Iraqi and American officials have said early trials inside Iraq must be a part of the transition and stabilization process.

Defense is another serious concern. The Yugoslav and Rwandan tribunals have seen their work affected by poorly trained and sometimes corrupt defense lawyers whose practices included slowing the proceedings in order to bill the United Nations for more work or splitting their fees with defendants.

Like the courts of Rwanda and Yugoslavia, Iraq's will face vast amounts of evidence, stretching over many years. Iraqis were told that the way evidence was stored was crucial. The Yugoslav tribunal had to reorganize its databases and catalogs three times as new evidence and new technology became available.

"Criminal trials and justice after armed conflict have now almost become a given," said Sam Muller, a senior official at the newly created International Criminal Court in The Hague who attended the talks. "The practice of it is much more difficult than is often believed."



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*The Christian Science Monitor, April 7, 2004*

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**April 7, 2004, Wednesday**

**SECTION: WORLD;** Pg. 10

**LENGTH:** 932 words

**HEADLINE:** Would the **world** allow another **genocide**?

**BYLINE:** By Abraham McLaughlin Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

**DATELINE:** KIGALI, RWANDA

**BODY:**

As quickly as Rwanda began its descent into **genocide** 10 years ago, the **world** community began its retreat from any serious effort to help stop the frenzy that killed nearly 1 million people in just 100 days.

Now, amid somber commemorations of those events, one question looms large: If a similar atrocity exploded now, would the international community again "pass by on the other side" while hundreds of thousands were killed?

Many observers say it probably would. Places like Rwanda are still far removed from the center of **world** events. With no oil and no terrorist cells, its strategic value to the **world** is small.

Nonetheless there are subtle signs that the **world** is more prepared to act on reports of mass killing.

"**Genocide** prevention is being taken more seriously by governments. There is, at least, much greater awareness," says James Smith, head of the Aegis Trust, which is orchestrating commemoration events in Rwanda this week. But, he adds, "I'm skeptical of the idea that another **genocide** would be prevented by the international community."

There are, for instance, new anti-**genocide** structures: The UN and US now have officials devoted exclusively to the prevention of mass killings. New forums for crimes against humanity have emerged with the establishment of the International Criminal Court in The Hague last year, Belgian courts has tested the limits of "universal justice" in human rights cases, and the ongoing Yugoslav and Rwanda war-crimes tribunals. UN chief Kofi Annan is expected to announce Wednesday a new early-warning system to help prevent **genocide**.

More fundamental, resistance to keeping troops overseas has lessened drastically in a decade. Back in April 1994, when Rwanda's **genocide** started, Americans had just watched the bodies of marines being dragged through Somalia's streets after their Blackhawk helicopters were downed. It was one reason the US refused to condone a robust UN humanitarian mission to stop Rwanda's **genocide**.

Today American troops are deployed across the globe, and despite challenges in Iraq, the troops don't appear to be headed home soon. Recent French and American troop deployments in Ivory Coast, Liberia, and Haiti are further examples of a new willingness to deploy. "The stomach for war is much stronger," observes Anne Morris, country director for the international aid group, CARE, in Rwanda.

There's also a growing desire by Africans to intervene in their continent's conflicts. The new African Union plans to create a rapid-reaction force to help end wars. Through NEPAD, another Africa-wide organization, nations are undergoing "peer review" - criticism by their neighbors. It hints at a growing consensus to challenge the long-sacred concept of state sovereignty, which has traditionally been a key argument against interventions.

But many are skeptical that the global response would be different today. "If it all happened again, it would all happen again," says Gerald Caplan, the Canadian author of "Rwanda: The Preventable **Genocide**."

Indeed, there are plenty of signs of continued global indifference.

A small but symbolic one is the guest list for Wednesday's commemoration ceremonies in Kigali. The UN's Mr. Annan won't attend. Neither will a top American official such as Secretary of State Colin Powell. Rather, the US is sending its mid-level ambassador for war crimes, Pierre-Richard Prosper. Also on the guest list, Sudanese President Omar el-Bashir, who is, says one UN official, presiding over ethnic cleansing in western Sudan.

Rwandan President Paul Kagame testily raised another issue earlier this week as he accused the **world** of a "deliberate and convenient" failure to help stop **genocide**. "Do the powerful nations have a hidden agenda?" he pondered. "I would hate to believe this agenda is dictated by racist considerations or the color of the skin."

Whether the agenda is based on racism or other factors, many observers agree that black Africa has had little geostrategic cachet. But with up to 25 percent of US oil expected to be flowing from Africa within 10 years, that's starting to change.

Meanwhile, Rwanda's experience with **genocide** has, at least, given observers a better understanding of how such mass killings can begin. One of the central lessons: "**Genocide** never happens in exactly the same way," says Mr. Smith of Aegis.

While the **world** was braced to prevent a resurgence of concentration camps aimed at exterminating Jews, it wasn't ready for other methods of mass killings that have emerged instead.

Yet there are common warning signs, say experts. One is government training of militias. In 1994, Rwanda's notorious Interahamwe gangs were trained and armed by the government.

Today in Uganda, President Yoweri Museveni has recently been arming civilian militias to combat the rebel Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). Some Ugandan religious leaders have raised alarms about potential ethnic cleansing of the Acholi people, who live in LRA areas and sometimes support them.

For more than a year in Sudan, the government has reportedly been arming Arab militias in their fight against rebel African tribes. The militias have been systematically robbing and raping civilians, according to a recent Human Rights Watch report.

The UN's top official in Sudan recently charged the militias with "ethnic cleansing." Will such strong words have an impact? "It's possible it will result in a more robust response," says John Prendergast of the International Crisis Group in Washington, "But so far it's rhetorical."

<http://www.pambazuka.org/>

## 7. WHY DOES GENOCIDE 'HAPPEN'?

### **Rotimi Sankore**

The genocide in Rwanda in April 1994 must not distract from the fact that genocide is a global phenomenon that knows no racial or geographical boundaries. In its modern form, genocide was perfected by the fascist Nazi regime led by Adolph Hitler in Germany from 1933 to 1945. The Khmer Rouge also demonstrated in the killing fields of Cambodia from 1975 to 1979 that genocide could be carried out as efficiently in a different social and political context.

In more recent times the world watched live on satellite television in the 1990's while genocide was perpetuated in the heart of Europe as Serbia, Croatia and Kosovo became household names for the grimmest reasons known to history. Going back even further, the transatlantic slave trade has been described as genocidal, though the mass murder of millions of Africans over 400 years was more a by product of plunder, exploitation and repression rather than the specific goal of slave dealers and the states that backed the slave trade.

But why does genocide happen? Why do human beings, the so-called most civilised and intelligent of the species that inhabit the planet, turn to mass murder?

In answering this question, the most important point to make is that genocide does not just happen. It is prepared for, consciously executed and is based on reasonably identifiable social, political and economic conditions. What differs is the extent to which these conditions apply or exist, and the degree of preparation by the perpetrators.

The second most important point to make is that genocide is not 'triggered' by a single event that pushes the perpetrators over the brink. On the contrary, the so-called 'trigger events' are excuses for setting in motion the logical end to a process prepared for well in advance.

Only when the world appreciates the fact of these processes can we collectively identify the signs or beginnings of what is likely to end in genocide and douse the fire before it becomes an all-consuming flame.

In the case of Rwanda, it is a popularly held myth that the shooting down of the plane carrying the then Head of State Juvenal Habyarimana and the Burundian President Cyprien Ntayamira on 6th April 1994 triggered the genocide that followed over the next 12 weeks and left well over 700,000 dead (nearly 10% of the country's population of over 8 million). Nothing can be further from the truth.

Before the shooting down of the airplane by yet unidentified persons, the social and political conditions had been prepared by various factors. One key factor was the dictatorship established following the seizure of power by General Juvenal Habyarimana in 1973.

Habyarimana ruled in the name of the "majority" and imposed a dictatorship on the entire country. In addition, the official discrimination against the Tutsi minority was so much that within two decades, half a million had fled the country.

The government estimated Tutsis at 9% of the population and restricted them to 9% of jobs and educational opportunities. (Many of the exiles later joined the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front, RPF). In order to consolidate the hold on power, Tutsi's were painted as the enemy within (and without), and anyone that did not treat them as such was a sympathiser of the enemy, deemed to be "no better than them" and likely to face the same fate.

This is a classic manoeuvre used by a variety of regimes throughout history to divide society, promote a climate of fear and insecurity, encourage racism, xenophobia or ethnic hatred and mobilise their supporters to systematically suppress and eradicate the so called enemy. The Nazis in Germany used this strategy to near perfection over the period of their rule.

Official discrimination on its own is not enough to involve a significant percentage of the population in mass murder. Hate speech (using crude or sophisticated propaganda) must be deployed on a mass scale, and organised armed bodies of men infused into society to provide the 'back bone' and direction for mass murder. Where the prerequisite social conditions do not exist, or hate speech does not achieve the desired effect of involving significant numbers of everyday citizens in mass murder, it still facilitates their acquiescence to genocide carried out by smaller organised units of killers.

But even hate speech must have a clearly identifiable target to lead to genocide. This means that the 'targets' must be isolated and identified as systematically as possible. This is achieved by obvious means such as clearly marked or distinct clothing, less obvious means such as identity cards, or crude social stereotyping using race, ethnicity, language or physical appearance etc.

In the case of Rwanda, this had already been pre-facilitated by the Belgian colonialists through the issuance of identity cards based on ethnicity and the classic colonial strategy of creating an artificial elite through which colonial powers rule in countries where colonialists are vastly outnumbered.

During colonial rule, the artificial classification and imposition of a minority elite created the basis for long lasting resentment seized upon after independence by Hutu extremists to build a power base. Similar creation of artificial borders, cynical divisions of ethnic nationalities, imposition of artificial elites and so forth by colonial powers have provided the basis for many conflicts in Africa.

Simply put, genocide has become the method through which organised groups within society, whether based on ideology, race, nationality, ethnicity, religion or language, consciously pursue a strategy of achieving or consolidating power, through manipulating economic, social or political conditions and insecurities to unite significant sections of society behind them and against a real or artificially created enemy whose extermination or repression is promoted as vital to the "survival of the species."

The main tools are hate speech, use of mass propaganda to spread lies, insecurity and create myths promoting a climate of simultaneous fear and dehumanisation of the intended targets; and the organisation of armed bodies of men in preparation for, or to actually direct, instigate or carry out violence and mass murder. All of these factors and those mentioned earlier are clearly identifiable and if left unchallenged build up to make genocide almost inevitable.

But how can genocide be tackled?

General education and enlightenment, an understanding of social, political and economic issues and of individual and mass psychology will all help to make people less susceptible to manipulation of their fears and insecurities.

However, while sharp economic, social and political inequalities remain a characteristic of human society there will always be a possibility that people will be open to manipulation by those that see such cynical manipulation as their path to power and the trappings that go with it. Interventions by United Nations forces or others may stop specific cases of genocide from playing out, but this cannot be a permanent solution.

In Africa, the legacy of colonialism, serious economic problems, deepening inequalities and ongoing conflicts mean that there is a possibility that an increasing number of incumbent governments or powerful groups could promote religious, racial, ethnic or social differences and conflict as a way of acquiring or consolidating their hold on power rather than addressing the root causes of desperation. History shows that once set in motion conflicts are difficult to stop. How civil society and pro democratic forces tackle the issues is crucial to the future of Africa.

Overall, there is no doubt that the central challenge facing humanity today on all continents is to resolve the inequalities and injustices on which genocide can be built.

\* Sankore is on the editorial board of Pambazuka and is Coordinator of CREDO for Freedom of Expression and Associated Rights which focuses on rights issues in Africa.

\* NOTE FOR EDITORS: Please note that this editorial was commissioned from the author for Pambazuka News. If you would like to use this article for your publication, please do so with the following credit: "This article first appeared in Pambazuka News, an electronic newsletter for social justice in Africa, [www.pambazuka.org](http://www.pambazuka.org)". Editors are also encouraged to make a donation.

*Further details:* <http://www.pambazuka.org/index.php?id=21207>



## **United Nations Vital to US Interests, Negroponte Says**

**United States Department of State** (Washington, DC)

DOCUMENT

April 5, 2004

Posted to the web April 6, 2004

Washington, DC

The United Nations has a vital role to play in Iraq -- both before and after July 1, says U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations John Negroponte, adding that U.N. involvement in countering terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) are also high priorities for the United States.

In prepared testimony before the House Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State, and the Judiciary April 1, Negroponte said the United Nations "engages in activities affecting every area of U.S. national interests around the globe." Effective U.S. leadership in the United Nations enables us "to leverage our influence and resources" and maximize "U.N. capabilities in coordinating international action and strengthening international peace and security", he noted.

Negroponte also cited the many other serious issues facing the United Nations as a whole and the Security Council specifically on the eve of the 59th General Assembly, including:

- support for establishment of a self-sufficient constitutional government in Afghanistan;
- furtherance of the Middle East roadmap to peace;
- deployment of a multinational peacekeeping force in Haiti to be followed by a U.N. stabilization force;
- ongoing peacekeeping efforts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo;
- support for the fight against HIV/AIDS; and
- encouragement for member states to strengthen their laws to prevent trafficking in persons as well as enforcement of the laws and protection of victims.

*Following is the text of Negroponte's remarks as prepared for delivery:*

Statement for the Record by Ambassador John D. Negroponte, U.S. Representative to the United Nations, Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State, and the Judiciary, Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, April 1, 2004

Mr. Chairman, it is an honor to testify before your subcommittee. As I emphasized during my testimony two years ago, I believe that it is essential to have close cooperation and an open dialogue with Congress. I therefore look forward to a frank and open discussion with you as I try to complement the statement of Assistant Secretary of State Kim Holmes by offering you my New York perspective on U.S. objectives and budgetary requirements at the United Nations.

I ask that my full statement be submitted for the record.

During these last two years much has changed in our world, but not the U.S. vision of global stability, universal democracy and expanding prosperity that guides our work at the U.N.... We are mindful that as the world's largest international organization, the U.N. engages in activities affecting every area of U.S. national interests around the globe.

At the moment, the highest U.S. policy priorities involving the U.N. are transferring sovereignty to the Iraqi people and preparing for Iraqi elections, strengthening the U.N.'s support for global efforts against terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and using the U.N. to successfully address threats to international peace and security posed by potentially failing states.

In meeting these and other priorities, effective U.S. leadership and participation in the U.N. enables us to leverage our influence and resources, and to exploit U.N. capabilities in coordinating international action, strengthening international peace and security, promoting economic and social development and good governance, and establishing technical and normative standards.

As the largest contributor to the U.N., the U.S. also must and does take the lead on reforms designed to maximize U.N. efficiency in the use of resources and ensure the effectiveness of its programs. Good stewardship of U.S. taxpayer contributions provides recipients around the world with the best value for each dollar given while results-based budgeting and program prioritization direct expenditures away from obsolete or low priority activities.

On the eve of the 59th General Assembly, a number of serious issues face the United Nations as a whole and the Security Council specifically. They are both country specific and thematic. Let me list a number of them for you:

-- supporting the establishment of democracy in Iraq, including transferring sovereign authority back to the people of Iraq, preparing for the election of the transitional government and assisting with the drafting of a permanent constitution;

- implementing the Bonn Agreement and supporting the new constitution in Afghanistan as that country continues to make progress on its journey towards peace and stability;
- encouraging both sides to take the necessary steps to achieve President Bush's vision of a two-state solution articulated in the Middle East Roadmap;
- using the deployment of a Multinational Interim Force, to be followed by a U.N. stabilization force within three months, to bring a measure of calm and stability to Haiti;
- supporting ongoing peacekeeping efforts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire and the DRC [Democratic Republic of Congo] and anticipating possible missions in Burundi and Sudan;
- encouraging the international tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone to complete their work successfully;
- enhancing the ability of the United Nations to promote security and stability around the world through a revitalized counterterrorism committee;
- promoting an end to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- supporting the fight against AIDS;
- promoting the participation of women in the political process in all countries;
- supporting the passage of a total ban on human cloning;
- promoting economic growth and development through the spirit of partnership established in Monterrey two years ago;
- encouraging member states to strengthen their laws to prevent trafficking in persons as well as enforcement of the law and protection of victims; [and]
- initiating the temporary relocation and subsequent rebuilding of the U.S. Mission over the next several years and assisting the United Nations to begin its own renewal effort through the Capital Master Plan.

#### Peacekeeping

At this moment there are 13 peacekeeping missions around the world with a 14th scheduled to begin in Cote d'Ivoire on April 4. Three peacekeeping missions were closed during the 2002-2003 period (UNMOP, UNMIBH and UNIKOM). Several others (UNAMSIL, UNMISSET, UNIFIL, UNMIK) have been "right-sized" during this period, contributing to savings resulting from the closure of missions. We remain committed to the reforms put forth in the Brahimi report and are working with member states and the U.N. to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of peacekeeping operations worldwide.

Africa dominates the peacekeeping agenda. From Sierra Leone to Liberia to Cote d'Ivoire to the Congo, the Security Council has authorized blue helmet operations. Each presents its own challenges and opportunities. And Africa may witness other peacekeeping operations in the near term. For example, we anticipate a Security Council vote authorizing a peacekeeping mission in Burundi sometime in April.

The peace talks between the government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) continue under the leadership of Kenya and the Intergovernmental Agency on Development (IGAD). The United Nations is engaged in contingency planning for a monitoring mission in the hope that the parties conclude a Comprehensive Peace Agreement. We have consistently informed the U.N. that it should plan for a lean and mobile monitoring mission that would track compliance by the parties. Given the length of the conflict, it is likely that the mission would last the full six years as foreseen in the Machakos Protocols, signed in July 2002 by the parties.

#### International Tribunals

The United States is a leading supporter of efforts to bring to justice those alleged to have committed grave violations of the laws of armed conflict and international humanitarian law.

Currently, three courts are in session: the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and the Special Court for Sierra Leone. In 2003, in the interest of efficiency and the implementation of completion strategies for both Tribunals, the position of a single Chief Prosecutor for both Tribunals was changed: the ICTR acquired its own Chief Prosecutor. We continue to work on implementing the completion strategy to reach a successful conclusion to the trial phase by the end of 2008 for the ICTY and ICTR. It is U.S. policy that the most serious offenders will be tried at the ICTY and the ICTR while the others will be tried in local jurisdictions. The Special Court for Sierra Leone has operated effectively and has contributed to the goal of holding accountable those who are guilty of committing wartime atrocities. Unfortunately, its voluntary funding mechanism, because of the failure of other countries to contribute, is falling short of its goal for 2005 and the Secretary-General has proposed that the final tranche of funding come from United Nations assessed contributions.

The International Criminal Court [ICC] has begun operations. The U.S. regards the Court as gravely flawed in the areas of accountability, due process, relationship to the Security Council and U.N. Charter, and jurisdiction. The risk of politicization is great. It does not recognize the principle that there shall be no double jeopardy except with respect to its own decisions. Therefore, we continue to try to conclude bilateral agreements that provide protection for our nationals from the jurisdiction of the ICC. We also intend that the Security Council renew its request (binding on the ICC), made in each of the last two years, that the ICC not commence any investigation or proceeding with respect to nationals of States that are not parties to the Rome Statute who participate in U.N.-authorized or established operations.