



**Andrew Carnegie Distinguished Lecture
on Conflict Presentation with David A. Hamburg**

Wednesday, May 1, 2013

Featuring:

David A. Hamburg

NOEL LATEEF: Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon, Dr. Hamburg, ladies and gentlemen. I'm Noel Lateef, president of the Foreign Policy Association, and I'm delighted to welcome you to this joint program of the United Nations and the Foreign Policy Association. We inaugurate today an annual lecture with far-reaching implications. The Andrew Carnegie Distinguished Lecture on Conflict Prevention, in honor of David Hamburg, is an open invitation for a continuous flow of ideas to promote peace, the sine qua non [phonetic], for economic and social development.

So it is fitting that we convene today in the economic and social council chamber of the United Nations. It is fitting that this lecture is in honor of, and is being inaugurated by, David Hamburg, who has devoted much of his professional life to the quest for peace. It is fitting that many of us are here united in our admiration for a great man, whose vision has brought us to this moment, to this moment of hope. In the words of Jane Holl Lute of the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping, "That we can prevent war from having the last word on the human race."

The pillars upon which this great edifice of peace promotion rests are set out in David and Eric Hamburg's magnificent new book, "Give Peace a Chance." It remains to us to realize the preventive diplomacy agenda. The world's collective conscious cries for new, non-violent ways to resolve differences. War is not the answer. As Mahatma Gandhi put it, "An eye for an eye will make the whole world blind."

Ninety-five years ago the Foreign Policy Association was founded on Armistice Day to promote Woodrow Wilson's vision for a League of Nations. Shortly after the Foreign Policy Association was founded, it sponsored a global essay competition with a \$100,000 prize. The topic: How to End War Forever. Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon has said, "I grew up in war, and saw the United Nations help my country recover and rebuild. That experience was a big part of what led me to pursue a career in public service. As secretary-general, I am determined to see this organization deliver tangible, meaningful results that advance peace, development, and human rights."

The secretary-general took office on January 1, 2007. On June 21, 2011, he was unanimously reelected by the general assembly. It gives me great pleasure to invite the eighth secretary-general of the United Nations, his Excellency Ban Ki-Moon, to address us at this time.

BAN KI-MOON: Thank you. Mr. Noel Lateef, president of the Foreign Policy Association, Dr. David Hamburg, Dr. Eric Hamburg, excellencies, ladies and gentleman. It is a great privilege for me to welcome you all to the inaugural Andrew Carnegie Distinguished Lecture on Conflict Prevention in honor of Dr. David Hamburg. David Hamburg has made the truly important intellectual contributions to the work of the United Nations.

During his 15 years at the head of the Carnegie Corporation, he helped to transform the way the United Nations government endures and - - public look at a range of issues from public health and education, to nuclear nonproliferation, to conflict prevention. His work on conflict prevention has been especially laudimer [phonetic]. But I can preface [phonetic], one of my main priorities was to improve the United Nations' ability to address growing tensions before they become bigger and costlier crisis.

I wanted us to make greater use of the many tools available under Chapter Six of the U.N. Charter to prevent armed conflict. In this interval, one of our major reference points has been the - - 1997 report of the Carnegie Commission on preventing heavily [phonetic] conflict. All the key elements of that report resonate and guide us to this very day.

The focus on all the [phonetic] action, national - - and the critical role of civil society, the building of effective institutions based on the rule of law, are - - to address the full range, socio-economic and political factors for lasting peace to take root, and the acknowledgement that in extreme situations the use of force remains an important tool to prevent event greater atrocities.

The United Nations has come a long way in internalizing and operationalizing these insights with our special envoys, under [phonetic] most of these over-manifestations of our growing, emphasis on preventive diplomacy. These envoys can now call on rapidly deployable expertise on ceasefire negotiations, power-sharing, constitutional design, and trends [phonetic] and other aspects of peace processes.

Our regional offices in West Africa, Central Asia, and Central Africa, act as for the platforms for preventive war. Our electoral [phonetic] assistance is increasingly geared towards preventing election-related violence. We have worked hard to bridge the gap between the political and development arms of the United Nations to more effectively address the traverse [phonetic] of conflict. And we have helped to solidly embed the responsibility to protect in the U.N.'s normative framework.

These efforts have yielded concrete results from Kenya to Chiligastan [phonetic] and Port of Divan [phonetic], we have kept the tensions from escalating. In Kenya, Yemen, and Somalia, we are campaigning difficult transition processes. At the same time, from Syria to Mali [phonetic] to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Central Africa Republic, we are reminded on a daily basis that prevention has its limits and shortcomings.

Our efforts in preventive diplomacy are hampered by - - concerns of the member states and fears of external interference. Preventive action can only succeed when the international community speaks with one voice. Divisions in the Security Council - - approaches - - organizations can undermine the effectiveness of mediators. All - - also remains a challenge. Social media are helping our abilities to take the pulse of a country or a situation.

But we have also been caught unprepared, and we need to improve our ability to engage preventively in fragile countries where we have all the development persons, as we the case in Sri Lanka. Ladies and gentlemen, the United Nations and its member states have much work to do. As we strive to get prevention right, let us continue to be inspired by the contributions of David Hamburg. His work has enabled us to make quantum leaps in our approach to addressing armed conflict.

As the title of his new book puts it, he is helping us all to give peace a chance. Dr. Hamburg, please accept our most sincere thanks for your contribution, and we look forward to your talks tonight. Thank you very much.

[Applause]

NOEL LATEEF: Thank you, Mr. Secretary-General, for those inspiring remarks. I would like to invite Robert Orr, Assistant Secretary-General for Strategic Planning in the Executive Office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to formally introduce Dr. Hamburg.

ROBERT ORR: Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary-General and Mr. Noel Lateef for your welcoming remarks, which already make it clear for anyone that did not know before they came here tonight, David Hamburg is a giant among men. David is the ultimate Renaissance man, a physician, humanitarian, scientist, academic, philosopher, and my favorite, a man of action.

His illustrious career has seen him as the president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the president of the Institute of Medicine, the National Academy of Sciences, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science,

and before that, he was Department Chair of the Department of Psychiatry at Stanford University.

David was awarded the Public Welfare Medal of the National Academy of Sciences in 1998, its most prestigious award, and he has received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian honor that can be bestowed by the President of the United States. His central and pioneering role in shaping how we look at conflict prevention today is doubtless. But what may not be clear to those who don't know him personally is that prevention, for David, is not an abstract concept.

To put it one way, he takes it personally. It is firmly rooted in the personal day-to-day lived experiences of every individual, and this is something that comes across very strongly in the book he will discuss tonight. The wealth of anecdotes and memories in this book quite literally serve as a how-to guide for ordinary people to prevent conflict as we go about our daily lives.

There is one that I especially love, right at the start of the book in chapter one, on "Personal Pathways to Peace." In May 1975, David, who was then in California at Stanford University, got a call that four of his students had been kidnapped in Africa. They had disappeared, literally in the middle of the night, and nobody had any idea what had happened to them.

So, of course, he got on a plane and went to go find them. After several months of negotiating with Congolese rebels, at significant risk to himself, David was able to secure the release of all four of his students. The level of personal commitment that he has to his work and to all the people around him are not a surprise, when you think back on how David began his work in this area.

This even sums up neatly what Dr. David Hamburg is all about: compassion for individuals, understanding others, and building bridges. We have to take prevention personally to make it work. David and Betty have transferred these values to their children, notably their son, Eric Hamburg, the writer, director, and producer who co-authored, "Give Peace a Chance," with his father here today. Thank you, Eric.

The final anecdote I would share with you by way of introduction of David is one that is a little closer to home to us here at the U.N. David helped to set up the advisory committee on the prevention of genocide. There were moments in this process that I thought we might have violence in our midst over our own process to prevent genocide. David, with his characteristic determination and skill, built and chaired an amazing committee that supported Francis Deng, the founding special representative of the secretary-general on genocide prevention and his office.

It is testament to David and to Francis that this concept and this office is not just acceptable to all now, but in fact welcomed and owned by all. So it is a great privilege, David, to know you, and to count you as a friend and a mentor. And it's my personal honor to welcome you to give the inaugural Andrew Carnegie Distinguished Lecture on Conflict Prevention.

[Applause]

DAVID HAMBURG: This is very near to overwhelming. I'm seldom short of speech, but at the moment, it's difficult. I'm deeply grateful to the secretary-general, not only for his generous comments, but for his great leadership of the U.N., and deeply grateful to Bob Orr, whose work I have seen in this building and throughout the world for many years. These are two magnificent people, and illustrate the quality of the U.N.

So here I am among dear friends, who have given me great stimulation, support, and encouragement, as part of a wonderful institution. I touch on personal experiences, as Bob said, that influenced my thinking and action, but many of those personal experiences occurred either right here in this building or in the U.N. activities throughout the world.

There are so many I could mention, but I particularly thank you, Ban Ki-Moon, Bob Orr, Francis Deng, Kofi Anin [phonetic], Boutros Boutros Ghali, Saris Vance [phonetic], Desmond Tutu [phonetic], Sadako Ogahto [phonetic], and many others. I thank Noel Lateef, who was the first person outside the circle, the immanent [phonetic] circle of people concerned with these issues, to recognize the importance.

He actually wrote a brilliant review of the Vance Hamburg Commission, Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, and that review had repercussions throughout the world. So, many of you here are my teachers. I am glad to meet Mr. Billman [phonetic] tonight. I had not known him before, though I had known of him. But anyway, as my teachers you need not take responsibility for my peculiarities.

This book is a synthesis of the author's several decades of research and experience of preventing mass violence, including various kinds of wars and various kinds of mass atrocities. In that sense, it's an unduly ambitious effort to cut right across mass violence and see if there are principles and policies that might be derived, or at least pointed in a certain direction, that would give us stimulation and hope to move ahead of where we are today.

Now, the book is built on what I call pillars, to make possible long-run ways of preventing mass violence, some useful now, some later. This information draws heavily on the United Nations, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Foreign Policy Association, and the European Union, among others, and my personal experiences in East Africa, in South Africa, in Russia and Europe, as well as the United States. I have really had the privilege of sitting at the feet of masters.

A great thing that always moves me about the United Nations is the whole world is here. The whole world is here in this room tonight, and throughout the world. It's a thrilling experience to be involved, even informally, with an organization of such scope, legitimacy, and caliber.

Incidentally, I have to say I've never held a formal paid position with the U.N. The only formal position I had was chairman of the Committee to Advise on Preventing Genocide. That may have given me freedom to be more critical than I should, or to take more stimulating action than I should, but it is very interesting that I was permitted by three secretaries-general to do that. It kind of a permeable membrane between the U.N. and the outside world, and I don't think that's nearly as widely understood as it should be.

Now, one of the pillars of prevention of mass violence, I could just mention them now. I would be happy to discuss, or hear you discuss, any of them afterwards. One is education for human survival. Two is proactive help, including preventive diplomacy, but actually preceding preventive diplomacy, as you'll see in a moment.

Number three is fostering indigenous democracy. Number four is building equitable, and I emphasize equitable, socio-economic development. I also emphasize socio, in other words, not a narrow view of economic development. Number five is promoting and protecting human rights, and number six is restraints on highly lethal weapons, of course weapons of mass destruction, but there's much more in the way of highly lethal weapons covering the world, and the United Nations has just taken an important action on that last week, groundbreaking.

There is great potential for preventing mass violence. If such pillars are built early and applied to the tensions of human adaptation, including inter-group and international differences; there's only time to sketch these now. My emphasis is a kind of specialty. I came, as the secretary-general mentioned or Bob Orr mentioned, out of a background in medicine.

In medicine, we have specialties, more and more specialties as we learn more and more about genetics and endocrinology and the various aspects of the field. Even though I have very broad interests, as you'll see, I do have a specialty, and that is early prevention; not just prevention, but early prevention.

What is distinctive about the early prevention approach to mass violence? First, it emphasizes proactive help to groups or countries in trouble, if possible prior to any killing. Second, since the danger signals are typically evident years before carnage, there is ample warning time to act before blood flows. Three, this approach recommends the formulation and dissemination of specific response options and contingency plans to deal with early warning signals.

What good does it do to have early warning signals if you haven't the foggiest notion how to follow-up and make use of that information? It draws together many tools, strategies, and practices to prevent mass violence drawn from many intellectual, technical, and geographical sources. In other words, our attempt has been, all along, to learn everything we could learn all over the world; not so much to generate creative new ideas, but to learn what is known and what is emerging all over the world.

Of course, the U.N. is the prime vehicle to facilitate that kind of outlook. This approach clarifies how various international organizations, but especially the U.N., can use these tools, strategies, and practices most effectively, and emphasizes the role of the established democracies in organized, collaborative, respectful analysis and action. Now, as the secretary-general mentioned, there are often obstacles to even the most benign and useful help that can be offered.

So one needs point of entry for cooperative help in early-conflict resolution. Let me give, briefly, a few examples. We are especially concerned with inter-group hostility with governmental repression of vulnerable groups subject to prejudicial stereotypes, to rising hate speech, to systematic violation of human rights and inclination to deal with problems by violence.

However, there are many countries, despite what I've just said about obstacles, in the name of sovereignty, or the name of self-protection, there are many countries and sizable groups within almost every country who find such tendencies towards hatred and violence very dangerous and unwelcome. Hatred and violence are not inevitable in human adaptation.

What are some examples of points of entry for proactive help? One is offers of tangible economic development linked with internal conflict resolution mechanisms throughout the development process, helping to build national capacity internally for early, ongoing conflict resolution with international help as may be necessary and acceptable. Avoid any air of superiority. We are all more simply human than otherwise.

Second, cultivate relations with moderate, pragmatic, emerging leaders, democratically inclined to the extent possible. Third, mediation, preferably at an early stage before revenge motives become intense. Fourth, make use of organizations such as UNICEF that exist in many countries with valuable activities, in this case for healthy child-adolescent development, as well as education. The offer of extra support from the international community for such constructive units can be very attractive, especially in light of the almost universal human attraction to the world being of our own children.

The fifth and final example I give, although there could be many others, that there are health units in each region. Maybe this is the doctor in me, but I believe quite strongly, for example, especially the World Health Organization, that can offer immediate help along with a vision of long-term health improvements. Given the virtue of universal yearning for good health, and especially the health of children, there is an opportunity here for health diplomacy. Health can be a bridge to peace crossing adversarial boundaries, for example, in a great smallpox eradication experience.

Now a word about education: I said begin early, early, early prevention, and even preschool. I am concerned with overcoming complacency, ignorance, and prejudice; in other words starting to build the pillars early in life. Modern humanity is a single, interdependent, crowded, worldwide weaponized species

vulnerable to pervasive stress from severe poverty, from harsh disparities, from drastic climate events, and much more.

So we must cooperate in our own self-interests. It's not a matter simply of altruism, though it is that; but it's our own self-interests to face up to the dangers and see what we can do as early as possible, and build the pillars, so to say, from the ground up. This should be crucial in modern education, but I regret to say it is not. It is fairly rare in education at an early level.

Now this is dangerous to omit early prevention and education. It is vital that school and other child-rearing institutions, for example religious institutions, provide a setting in which young people from different backgrounds can overcome the in-group bias and then reach valued, common goals in an atmosphere of collaboration. The same principle applies in the formation of governments to jump ahead, and to international organizations that jump even further ahead.

In other words what I'm really saying is, if you want a bumper sticker, "Mutual Aid for Mutual Benefit." That's a recurrent theme of this book, starting early and going right through to the highest levels. The strengthening of education includes many elements, for example, understanding how democracy actually works, educating girls and women, teaching science and technology for shared--and I emphasize shared prosperity--and practical understanding of non-violent conflict resolution; how do you actually do it.

Now, a quick word about democracy and peace, basic practices in preventing mass violence. Democratic variations, and there are many, share the common themes of seeking fairness, widespread participation, and broad involvement in decisions that are important in the lives of the population, and cooperation with people from different groups. They keep ubiquitous human conflict, and we are a contentious species, keeping ubiquitous human conflict below the threshold of mass violence.

Even with the fundamental advantages democracies possess, they remain imperfect. I need hardly tell you that. You can reflect on recent events. Democracies remain imperfect; require constant vigilance and ongoing adjustments to avoid erosion of democratic values and practices. Freedom of speech, crucial as it is, can tragically be converted to hate speech, or ruthless, unscrupulous election tactics.

Power, special-interest groups can damage the democratic process. Yet there are many more democracies today than the world had only a few decades ago. One remarkable step, and only one, that is largely a product of the 1990s, is the international monitoring of election campaigns. Now, in my view there are three elements. Monitoring is the second element.

But the first one that I think gets inadequate attention is preparation. And in a word, that means the process of compromise, learning to compromise, learning mutual accommodation. Democratic elections are much likelier to work if there is that habit, that skill, that turn-of-mind before the election occurs. Second, honest

voting standards; and third, helping losers to accept results to prevent a violent aftermath to the election induced by losers. Elections are fundamentally valuable, but they can be dangerous, especially at the point of a gun.

Now a word about humane economic growth; what we used to call development. I think "development" is too narrow. Equitable socio-economic development on a worldwide basis offers humanity its best hope for producing conditions favorable to peaceful living and mutual accommodation among rival groups. The essential features of development in my view are knowledge, skills, freedom, and health. They can be achieved by sustained international cooperation. I do mean "sustained," because no country, no matter how large and powerful, is adequate of the task of sustaining the kind of help that will bring about the essential requirements for equitable socio-economic development.

The sustained international cooperation must be both global and regional. It draws upon the unprecedented advances of modern science and technology. There are several fundamental aims for economic development. One is widely-shared prosperity, widely shared. Two is empathy and fairness in human relations. Three is multi-lateral cooperation for an effective trading system. Four is moral commitment to decent human and environmental relations.

Now a word about health and development: International scientific cooperation facilitates biomedical and public health research in low-income countries. It's crucial. For the longest time, until about the past decade, the scientific community paid very little attention to developing countries. That is now, happily, changing for the better. Now in an emerging conflict, as in public health--and I do use a public health intellectual framework throughout much of my work--in emerging conflict as in public health the first rule of success is: prevention is better than cure. The earlier the better; the more durable the better. So let us think about how public health can apply to emerging conflicts.

Now a word about human rights: There is a strong linkage between human rights abuses and the path to war and mass atrocities, and even genocide. The proposals of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict to which the secretary-general so kindly referred, suggests how the international community might take further steps to protect human rights worldwide in the interests of blocking mass violence. What can you actually do?

You can strengthen existing international law to deter human rights abuses. You can stimulate international efforts to develop an early warning system of human rights violations. You can fund efforts to advance the rule [phonetic] of law, democratization, and national human rights institutions. We were particularly interested in the commission to see the growth of effective national human rights institutions in many countries. But even that often requires help and understanding from the international community.

A word about international centers for the prevention of mass violence: You need a focal point associated with great international organizations, and major

democracies. It can provide an extremely valuable reservoir of knowledge and skills, as well as a home base for the mobilization of many different institutions and organizations that could make good use of this information. Such centers of excellence could stimulate worldwide cooperative efforts in the next few decades to greatly reduce the occurrence of mass atrocities. They would stimulate new ideas, new research, new education, and new modes of cooperation among diverse entities that could contribute to prevention.

Now, I should say a further word, besides the very sincere praise I've given the United Nations, something about its accomplishments, its constraints, and its potential. Dag Hammarskjöld was a pioneer in the work of preventing violence early in the U.N.'s history. The Cold War then interfered. After the Cold War, which was a major obstacle to almost any U.N. role, in fact I'm only aware of one really important intervention that was allowed by the superpowers during the Cold War, but we can put that aside.

But following the Cold War, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali deserves much credit for three major studies in the 1990s on the U.N.'s historical core values that could guide its work in the 21st century: the agenda for peace, the agenda for development, and the agenda for democratization. He made a funny remark to me when he was completing the agenda for democratization. He didn't have much time left on his term, and he was committed to doing it.

I offered to help him in any way I could. He said, "No, David. I'm going to do it myself, even if I have to finish it as I'm walking out the door." - - was the first world leader to take up the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict specifically, and that was co-chaired by a remarkable man who often represented the U.N., my colleague the late Cyrus Vance.

I'm happy to say we not only published the so-called Central Report of the commission, but about 20 books on various facets of prevention, and 50 research papers and observational papers so that it constituted a unique resource on this very complex subject, and of course there's a lot more to learn.

The U.N. has a network of well-trained, professional, dedicated staff and representatives in almost every country in the world. Many of them can help in early warning and formulation of conflict resolution without mass violence. There is more to the U.N. than the Security Council and the General Assembly, however important these are.

Early, respectful, cooperative engagement can do much to foster decent, inter-group relations, and diminish the risk of mass violence. A serious defect, to be frank, in the U.N.'s history has been to wait until violence is not only underway, but often far advanced. There has been a neglect of early-conflict resolution and pre-violence cooperative assistance. I also have to be frank in saying that in my judgment a number of member states have often interfered with what the U.N. would otherwise had done at an earlier stage.

Now special representatives or special envoys have been mentioned. They're very important; people like Cyrus Vance and Locter Bahimi [phonetic], and many others. One proven way in which the U.N. can employ the resources of experience diplomats is in the capacity of special representatives of the secretary-general under his guidance. The secretary-general needs an international panel of conflict-resolution experts with extensive experience, intellect, integrity, and distinction that gives them world recognition as suitable envoys for violence prevention missions.

These experts, in turn, need support staff, and I'm happy to say that there has been significant movement in recent years on building support staff for such functions. The support staff, among other things, needs thorough knowledge of particular regions of the world, because you cannot expect the great envoys to know details of the whole world.

Now tools for violence prevention available to the U.N. Security Council. Elizabeth Cousins [phonetic] outlines some resources available to the Security Council preventing violence. She mentions agenda setting, fact-finding missions, diplomatic initiatives, economic sanctions, and peace operations as instruments the council can deploy to prevent outbreak or escalation of mass violence. Studies that examine sanctions, including some that were stimulated by the Carnegie Commission, examine sanctions and their efficacy, and stress the importance of carefully targeting. We have moved in that direction, carefully targeting these instruments on perpetrators to avoid collateral damage or harm to the general population.

I've touched on the role of the U.N. agencies in prevention, and we can discuss that further later if you wish, but I believe the agencies are very important, and I'm afraid the world-at-large does not fully appreciate, or anywhere near fully appreciate, what these agents are doing, have done, and can do even more in the future.

A very important and somewhat controversial set of agencies in or closely related to the U.N. are the World Bank and the United Nations Development Program. They have done valuable work in socio-economic development, despite the narrow interpretation of economic development which has characterized much of their history. In the past decade, in my personal judgment, the World Bank and the U.N.D.P. have become more democratically oriented.

They focus more on people and less on monuments than they used to. They foster cooperation of public and private sectors, and an opportunity now being pursued very wisely by Bob Orr in building fair-market economies. They cooperate more with each other than they used to. They do have major resources. They cover almost the entire world. And they now pay serious attention to preventing deadly conflict beyond previous experience, as reflected in the remarkable World Development Report of 2011.

I realize that some people are doubtful whether this will lead to action, but its statements go beyond any previous World Bank Report in the role of the World Bank in preventing deadly conflict.

Finally, a word about UNITAR, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, a small gem in the crown of the U.N., which conducts excellent training and research all over the world on subjects of great practical importance for the international community, such as climate change. Connie Peck [phonetic] worked there, and has made outstanding contributions to the understanding and practice of preventive diplomacy.

Now, the Mediation Support Unit of the very important U.N. Department of Political Affairs has compiled a great deal of the U.N.'s experience in a variety of conflicts all over the world. It can help high-level mediators. One of the most encouraging developments in preventing daily conflict is the prospect of a worldwide cadre [phonetic] of mediation professionals acting under the auspices of the U.N. and our regional organizations, much as we have created over the past couple of decades in the health field, a cadre of mediation professions. Not necessarily doctors and nurses, but people who can work in the villages of the world to be useful.

Now next-to-last, the most recent U.N. treaty, the Global Arms Sale Treaty, a new development in long struggle. I've been pounding the table for several decades, feeling rather hopeless about the fact that the world is covered wall-to-wall with highly-lethal weapons which are not called weapons of mass destruction, but they really all. If you can kill hundreds, or even thousands of people, in a few hours or a few days, to me, that's a weapon of mass destruction: not nuclear, not chemical, not biological, but bad enough.

Just this month a U.N. treaty was first concluded to regulate global arms sales. The U.N. General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to approve this pioneering treating aimed at regulating the enormous global trade and so-called conventional weapons, for the first time linking sales to the human rights records of the buyers.

Now, I understand that implementation is years away, and there is, at the moment, no specific enforcement mechanism. Yet for the first time, sellers will have to consider how their customers will use the weapons and make that information public. The treaty took seven years to negotiate--more power to the negotiators--and highlights a growing international feeling that the multi-billion dollar weapons trade needs to be held to a moral standard. Not easy, but possible.

Public pressure, I think, will grow and someday this may well be a serious constraint on highly-lethal weapons not ordinarily considered weapons of mass destruction, but as we have seen lately in Boston and elsewhere, capable of horrible damage. They are worldwide and dangerous for everyone. That's a very important part about almost everything I'm discussing. They are dangerous for everyone. It used to be they were dangerous for the U.S. and the Soviet Union. No more; dangerous for everyone.

And that should be a powerful stimulus for cooperation. If self-preservation is not a stimulus for cooperation, I don't know what would be. One important recent window into the U.N.'s work on prevention has been mentioned already. I'm very happy that Francis Deng is here tonight. He was the first major appointment in the Genocide Prevention Unit in the history of the organization.

He built a framework for a cooperation of member states, regional organizations, non-governmental organizations, and important elements of civil society. Deng's unit earned great respect sharing information available to the U.N. from many countries in every part of the world. His functions, in my judgment, were fundamentally educational, helping many leaders and organizations, and concerned citizens to see that genocide is an extreme form of identity conflict in which there are predisposing factors of gross unfairness, and they can be overcome.

After completing his five-year term, he is now the Ambassador from South Sudan to the United States, and has a very worthy successor in Adama Dieng. It is a long and vital enterprise in light of the absence of preventive efforts in most of human history in preventing genocide, as my son and I learned the hard way as we wrote a book a few years ago on the prevention of genocide from an action point of view what could be done.

It was virtually unprecedented because of our nerve in trying to say that there were a lot of things that were being done and could be done, could be extended, to prevent genocide; and based on that a book my son made a documentary on preventing genocide.

So, I'm about to finish. It would be a pleasure to go on for hours if my voice held out, but no way. The U.N., altogether, has the potential to survey the world's experience, to learn everything there is to know about ways of preventing mass violence, to extract the most promising actions, and make them available to groups in distress, nation states, regional organizations, and NGOs.

Over time, the U.N. can develop a comprehensive program of prevention, a set of principles and practices for a long-term prevention of mass violence. Let us hope the creativity of recent years in the U.N. and related organizations, carried out by many of you who are here tonight, that that creativity will lead to better ideas than those I have offered, and more effective actions. Why not? There is so much in human intelligence, ingenuity, and decency. This is truly possible sooner or later; I hope sooner. Thank you very much.

[Applause]