

Excerpts from the BBC interview with the Secretary-General  
New York, 15 September 2004

*[Sudan: Powell described it as "genocide", do you agree?*

*Isn't it important to call it what it is?*

*Factors that would lead to deciding that it is genocide.*

*How long will it be before you are in a position to make that designation?*

*Are you, in your own mind, providing the moral lead on this,  
that you would like to provide?*

*Reaction vs. prevention: "You are reacting."*

*Convention on Genocide says states must do something to prevent.*

*Was Stalin right in saying the Pope had no divisions: would you like a few more  
divisions so you could deploy at will in these situations? (standing army)*

*SG work: Frustrations in work.*

*The way politicians perceive problems vs. how SG considers them.*

*Got better in your job the last 8 years?*

*Learned that you can't get things done when you want it?*

*War on terror: Diversion of attention from more important global issues.*

*Is the world a safer place than it was 3 years ago?*

*Maybe American is a safer place?]*

Elections in Iraq:

Q: You mentioned Iraq. There's a plan to have elections in January. I was just reading the comments from you Envoy in Iraq, and it sounds like it's going to be extremely difficult to hold elections.

SG: Absolutely. There's a lot that needs to be done. We have helped the Iraqis set up a legal framework for elections. Despite the security situation, I took a calculated risk and sent in two teams: one led by [Lakhdar] Brahimi, that helped them set up the interim government, and another one led by Carina Perelli, who is the head of our electoral division. And we helped them set up the legal framework for election political parties law, an independent electoral commission. And we've had some of their officers trained in Mexico and ready to go.

And there are quite a lot of things the Iraqis have to do themselves. We will advise and assist them. They will be running the elections not us. We will be giving advice and assistance and I hope they will be able to do everything they have to do, but of course security will be a factor.

Q: But do you honestly expect elections in January? It sounds impossible.

SG: Not if the security .... You cannot have credible elections if the security conditions continue as they are now.

Q: And so you're saying there's a good chance there will not be elections in January?

SG: Well the judgement - the main judgement - will have to be done. The judgement will have to be made by the Iraqi government which is going to run the elections. We will be supporting them. Obviously there may come a time when we have to make our own independent assessment.

*[War on terror: Two basic approaches – military action and addressing the causes of terror. Where do you stand?  
Causes of terror.*

*Middle East, Kashmir: Many resolutions never enforced; double standards at UN.*

*Middle East: Would it just be easier to say the Roadmap is finished?*

*Relations with US President: What would you remember of the 4 years of Bush.  
Do you get on well?  
Republican Party's hostility towards the UN and vice-versa.  
BBG was bitter of the way US treated the UN. Is that what would happen with you? Afterwards, you would say it was hopeless?  
If you take the recent attack in the UN office in Iraq, it seems that the people of Iraq associated you, they were charging death to America. They think you're one and the same.  
You're complicit in some ways.]*

Legality of the Iraqi war:

Q: Are you bothered that the US is becoming an unrestrainable, unilateral superpower?

SG: Well, I think over the last year, we've all gone through lots of painful lessons. I'm talking about since the war in Iraq. I think there has been lessons for the US and there has been lessons for the UN and other Member States. And I think in the end everybody is concluding that it is best to work together with allies and through the UN to deal with some of these issues. And I hope we do not see another Iraq-type operation for a long time.

Q: Done without UN approval - or without clearer UN approval?

SG: Without UN approval and a much broader support from the international community.

Q: I wanted to ask you that - do you think that the resolution that was passed on Iraq before the war did actually give legal authority to do what was done?

SG: Well, I'm one of those who believe that there should have been a second resolution because the Security Council indicated that if Iraq did not comply there will be consequences. But then it was up to the Security Council to approve or determine what those consequences should be.

Q: So you don't think there was legal authority for the war?

SG: I have stated clearly that it was not in conformity with the Security Council - with the UN Charter.

Q: It was illegal?

SG: Yes, if you wish.

Q: It was illegal?

SG: Yes, I have indicated it is not in conformity with the UN Charter, from our point of view, and from the Charter point of view it was illegal.

*[UN Reform: Didn't really happen, did it?*

*When you came in, you were talking about the bureaucracy, the bloated, too much, overpaid, underworked, people duplicating each other. Hopeless case?*

*You're a cautious man.*

*Do you ever say something and then afterwards say I wish I never said that?*

*Oil-for-Food: How big is this?*

*Question was whether there were kick-backs?*

*Kojo-connection*

*Were you concerned when he joined the company?*

*Plan after serving term: Going back to Ghana?*

*What do you want to do there?*

*What sort of farming?*

*Are you going to get your hands dirty?*

*Implementation of ICJ decision on Bakassi Peninsula.]*