

**ARCHIVE OF DAVID A. HAMBURG'S WORK IN PREVENTING DEADLY
CONFLICT AND GENOCIDE, 1996-2011**

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INTRODUCTION

David A. Hamburg, DeWitt Wallace Distinguished Scholar at Weill Cornell Medical College, has had a long history of leadership in the research, medical and psychiatric fields. Among other roles, he has served as Professor and Chairman of Psychiatry at Stanford University (1961-1976), President of the Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences (1975-1980), Professor of Health Policy at Harvard University (1980-1983) and President then Chairman of the Board of the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences (1984-1986). He was President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York from 1982 until 1997, after which he joined the Department of Psychiatry at Cornell (1998-present).

Hamburg has devoted the most recent part of his career on the prevention of deadly conflict, mass violence and genocide, particularly through his pioneering work as co-chairman of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, as chairman of the Advisory Committee to the Secretary-General on Prevention of Genocide at the United Nations, as chairman of a parallel committee to the Secretary General of the European Union, and through his work with numerous world leaders, renowned scholars, non-governmental and academic institutions. He accomplished much of this work during his time at Cornell. Dr. Hamburg has generously donated an extensive archive documenting his work in conflict prevention between 1996 and 2011 to the Oskar Diethelm Library.

The electronic and hard copy archive donated to the Oskar Diethelm Library contain Hamburg's correspondence, meeting materials, written notes and other materials accumulated between 1996 and 2011 in the following four categories:

- 1. United Nations (1996-2011)**
- 2. European Union (2002-2011)**
- 3. Scholars and World Leaders (1996-2011)**
- 4. Written work (1996-2010)**

The electronic archive contains all of the materials donated to Cornell. The hard copy archive primarily includes original correspondence with world leaders, key meeting materials, written notes and books/reports. The following finder's guide provides a summary of the documents, participants, major efforts and accomplishments covered in each of the four categories. Referenced documents and folders are highlighted in bold. A table of contents is included on pages 20-21. Please note that an archive of Hamburg's work during his presidency of the Carnegie Corporation is available at Columbia University and that Hamburg maintains many additional materials in personal storage in Washington, D.C.

ABBREVIATIONS

(Found throughout the archive of materials)

AC/ACSGPG: United Nations Advisory Committee to the Secretary General on the Prevention of Genocide

BBG: Boutros Boutros-Ghali

CCNY: Carnegie Corporation of New York

CCPDC: Carnegie Commission for Preventing Deadly Conflict

DAH: David A. Hamburg

DPA: United Nations Department of Political Affairs

EB: Emily Benedetto, Project Manager to David A. Hamburg, 2006-2011

EGM: Elva G. Murphy, Executive Assistant to David A. Hamburg, 2003-2006

EU: European Union

EUISS: European Union Institute for Security Studies

HBP: World Health Organization's Health as a Bridge for Peace initiative

KA: Kofi Annan

LMN: Linda M. Newman, Research Associate to David A. Hamburg, 2004-2010

LTLT: Hamburg's publication, *Learning to Live Together: Preventing Hatred and Violence in Child and Adolescent Development*

NA: "Never Again," the original/working title of Hamburg's recent book on Preventing Genocide

NB: Abbreviation for *nota bene*, a Latin expression meaning "note well"

NMKF: Hamburg's publication, *No More Killing Fields: Preventing Deadly Conflict*

OSAPG: United Nations Office of the Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide

OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

JHL: Jane Holl Lute, former executive director, Carnegie Commission for Preventing Deadly Conflict

PAC: Preventing Armed Conflict

PDC: Preventing Deadly Conflict

PG: Preventing Genocide

PMA: Preventing Mass Atrocities

PMV: Preventing Mass Violence

SA/SAPG: United Nations Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide

SG: Secretary-General

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNDPA/DPA: United Nations Department of Political Affairs

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNITAR: United Nations Institute for Training and Research

UPEACE: University for Peace

WHO: World Health Organization

1. THE UNITED NATIONS

Hamburg has played a key advisory role at the United Nations in multiple departments, most notably in the Executive Offices of three Secretaries-General. Examples of his work at the UN include: facilitating linkages between the global scientific community and the UN (1996-2001); establishing an international policy framework and network on “Health as a Bridge for Peace” based out of the World Health Organization (1997-2006); serving as advisor to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (1997-2001); serving on the Board of Trustees for the UN Institute for Training and Research (1998-2009); and, on Kofi Annan’s request, creating a strong network of advisers to launch the University for Peace (UPEACE) (2000-2001). Through his leadership as advisor to Secretaries-General Kofi Annan and Ban Ki-moon (1997-2010), Hamburg facilitated the appointment of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide (2004-present); the establishment of the Advisory Committee to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide which he chaired (2005-2010); and the strengthening of the Office of the Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide (2006-present).

The United Nations folder of the archive contains materials from 1996-2011 in the following eight categories:

- A. Secretary-General Kofi Annan and his Core Staff (1997-2007)**
- B. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and his Core Staff (2006-2010)**
- C. Secretary-General Boutros-Boutros Ghali (post tenure)**
- D. Special Adviser Juan Mendez (2004-2008)**
- E. Special Adviser Francis Deng (2007-2011)**
- F. Advisory Committee to the SG on Prevention of Genocide (2005-2011)**
- G. Related United Nations Initiatives (1996-2006)**
- H. Research and Reports on the UN and Preventing Deadly Conflict**

Significant initiatives, meetings, individuals and highlights covered in each category of the United Nations materials are detailed below.

A. Secretary-General Kofi Annan and his Core Staff (1997-2007)

Original correspondence between Hamburg and Secretary-General Annan is available in the hard copy archive and grouped by year, along with key reports and notes. The Annan files span from 1997 through 2006. Core staff members grouped into the Kofi Annan file include (in alphabetical order): Mark Malloch Brown, Deputy Secretary-General; Michael Doyle, Special Adviser to the Secretary-General; Ibrahim Gambari, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs; Angela Kane, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs; Tapio Kanninen, Chief of Policy Planning at the Department of Political Affairs; Edward Mortimer, Director of Communications in the Executive Office; Gillian Sorensen, Assistant Secretary-General for External Relations; Maurice Strong, Executive Coordinator for UN Reform; John Ruggie, Assistant Secretary-General for Strategic Planning; and Danilo Türk, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs. Hamburg worked with these individuals in different capacities to implement the prevention agenda at the UN.

Hamburg's work with Kofi Annan and his staff with respect to prevention of deadly conflict and other mass violence can be outlined by several major landmarks (with corresponding documents in the archive). The Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (CCPDC) was completed in 1997, and on **6/25/1997**, Hamburg and CCPDC's Executive Director, Jane Holl, co-wrote a letter to Annan outlining key findings of the Commission and emphasizing that "Prevention is a compelling substantive theme for UN Reform." Kofi Annan responded positively to the CCPDC's charge, and the Final Report of the Commission was presented at the United Nations by Kofi Annan on **2/05/1998**. Subsequently, Hamburg gave a presentation at a Security Council Retreat which gave special attention to the prevention of deadly conflict as outlined by the CCPDC (**6/04-6/05, 1999**).

Hamburg played a key role in the drafting, launching and implementation of Annan's landmark report on the Prevention of Armed Conflict (PAC Report) (**6/07/2001**) and the related call by the Secretary-General for responses by UN Departments and Agencies (**5/15/2002**). On **10/29/2001**, Hamburg sent Annan a section of his book, *No More Killing Fields*, which described the background and significance of the PAC Report. Hamburg also had involvement in subsequent reports to PAC: Implementing the Millennium Declaration (**9/06/2001**); the General Assembly Resolution on the Prevention of Armed Conflict (**7/03/2003**); the Interim Report on the Prevention of Armed Conflict (**9/12/2003**); the Report of the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (**2004**); and the Progress Report of the Prevention of Armed Conflict (**7/18/2006**). Related correspondence with core staff is filed with the reports.

In 2001, Hamburg was invited to be part of a Strategic Planning Meeting with the Secretary-General and a panel of experts and advisers to help identify and shape the priorities of Annan's second term as Secretary-General. The meeting took place from **1/11-1/12, 2002** (the 2001 Strategic Planning invitation from Michael Doyle is grouped with these meeting materials). Conflict prevention was identified as a priority.

Between 2001 and 2004, Hamburg played a leadership role in organizing a "core group" of individuals focused on the implementation of the recommendations outlined by the Secretary-General's PAC Report. Also included as part of the Kofi Annan folder, the core group consisted of: Ragnar Angeby, Melanie Greenberg, Jane Holl, Tom Leney, and Connie Peck. Hamburg's memo to this group on **4/04/2002** and his related memo to Annan on **7/12/2002** provide a useful picture of the suggestions of that group and the important steps being taken at the UN as a whole to accomplish the prevention mission.

Staff members of the Executive Office and the Department of Political Affairs, listed in the first paragraph of this section, were closely involved in the logistics of implementation, particularly through the vehicle of the Interdepartmental Resource Group (also referred to as the "InterAgency Resource Group") on Conflict Prevention, chaired by Danilo Turk and working primarily in 2004 (see materials dated **3/29/2004** and **10/21/2004**) and the Chief Executive Board High-Level Committee on Programmes. Danilo Turk and Tapio Kanninen were key players in these groups, and the archive contains numerous items of correspondence and written documents by them. Hamburg continually reported on the progress of these groups to the Secretary-General, most notably in his letter/memo dated **7/12/2002**. This memo gives a comprehensive overview of the work being done and Hamburg's suggestions regarding the implementation of

the prevention mission. Hamburg's notes and assembled documents in the 2003 folder, **DAH Implementation Docs & Notes** provides a glimpse of the meetings, efforts, and considerations that Hamburg was engrossed in at that time with respect to the implementation of prevention at the UN.

The particularly significant outcome of Hamburg's work with Annan and these key individuals was the 2004 establishment of the OSAPG, initially headed by Juan Mendez, and the 2006 creation of Advisory Committee to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide, chaired by Hamburg. Correspondence with Kofi Annan dated **3/04/2004**, **3/16/2004** and **4/22/2004** indicate the progress being made toward the appointment of a Special Adviser. Annan's remarks to the Human Rights Commission in the press release dated **7/04/2004** affirms his commitment to the prevention of armed conflict, to developing an early warning system on genocide, and to taking swift and decisive action based on these indicators. Moreover, he announces his creation of the post, Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide.

Correspondence between **7/22/2004** and **12/30/2004** and Hamburg's **7/2005** notes indicate the appointment of Juan Mendez as Special Adviser and Hamburg's advice regarding the position. On **7/07/2005**, Hamburg recommended the appointment of an Advisory Committee, which was then discussed in correspondence and achieved in early 2006 (see Annan's invitation letters to the proposed members on **2/14/2006**). Hamburg's efforts with the Special Adviser and Advisory Committee are outlined more fully in sections 1D-1F.

Hamburg and Annan maintain a close friendship to the present day.

B. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and His Core Staff (2006-2010)

Original correspondence between Hamburg and Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon is available in the hard copy archive and grouped by year, along with key reports and notes. The Ban files span from 2006 through 2010. Core staff members grouped into the Ban Ki-moon file include (in alphabetical order): Jan Eliasson, former General Assembly President and Special Envoy on Darfur; Vijay Nambiar, Chef de Cabinet to the Secretary-General; Robert Orr, Assistant Secretary-General for Policy Coordination and Strategic Planning; B. Lynn Pascoe, Under-Secretary General for Political Affairs (replacing Ibrahim Gambari); and Kim Won-soo, Deputy Chef de Cabinet to the Secretary-General.

At the time of Ban's appointment, Hamburg was chairman of the Advisory Committee to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide and Juan Mendez was Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide. However, the OSAPG did not yet have a full-time Special Adviser or a permanent staff. Hamburg, Mendez and the Advisory Committee met and worked with high-level UN staff members between 2006 and 2009 to make the OSAPG more robust.

When Ban took office as the new Secretary-General in December of 2006, he vowed to make genocide prevention a priority of his tenure (see press dated **1/2007** as well as **4/09/2007**). Hamburg met with the Secretary-General on **1/19/2007** and his notes indicate that they discussed Hamburg's personal history in conflict prevention beginning with the Cuban Missile Crisis; the

existing assets for genocide prevention at the UN including the Advisory Committee, the DPA and the OHCHR; and the priorities for fuller implementation of the genocide prevention agenda, most notably through the appointment of a full-time Special Adviser on genocide prevention.

Following the meeting, Hamburg worked with Juan Mendez and his committee to develop a list of potential candidates for this role, which was submitted to the Secretary-General in **2/2007**. Upon the appointment of B. Lynn Pascoe as Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Hamburg took the opportunity to write a substantive letter on **3/09/2007** describing his own background in conflict prevention and proposal for future meeting and collaboration. Francis Deng was appointed as the first full-time Special Adviser in May of 2007 (see press release dated **5/29/2007**). Correspondence and notes related to Francis Deng as Special Adviser can be found in sections 1E-1F.

The theme of Hamburg's work with Ban, his core staff, the Special Adviser and the Advisory Committee during the period between 2007 and 2009 is the overall strengthening of the OSAPG. In early 2007 there was much discussion on the title of the OSAPG (see Hamburg letter to Vijay Nambiar dated **2/05/2007**). In 5/2007, Francis Deng was appointed as Special Adviser, and Hamburg and Deng met with the Chef de Cabinet and Deputy Chef de Cabinet on 6/27/2007 to discuss the activities of the OSAPG, in particular the implementation of the "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) principle through the appointment of a Special Adviser on R2P appointed as part of Deng's unit (see Hamburg's correspondence with Deng dated **6/28/2007**). A meeting of the Advisory Committee was planned for the fall. A report of that meeting was submitted to the Secretary-General and his senior staff on **10/31/2007**, in which the question of R2P was discussed further.

On **8/21/2008**, Hamburg submitted a letter to the Secretary-General indicating his intention to resign as Chairman of the Advisory Committee to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide. The letter also makes suggestions for future duration, composition and chairmanship of the committee. Subsequent correspondence with Ban and his staff relates to Hamburg's last meeting as Chairman of the Advisory Committee on **10/27/2008**, whose report was submitted to the SG on **2/02/2009**. Hamburg's letter to Ban dated **6/03/2009** provides a useful overview of the achievements and strengthening of the OSAPG with Deng as Special Adviser, and reiterates Hamburg's proposals for the next phase of the Advisory Committee. In the **8/21** and **6/03, 2009** letters, Hamburg proposes that Desmond Tutu or Amartya Sen would be excellent candidates to replace him as chairman of the Advisory Committee.

C. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali (post tenure)

Original correspondence between Hamburg and Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is available in the hard copy archive and grouped by year. The Boutros-Ghali correspondence spans from 2001-2008, taking place after Boutros-Ghali's tenure as Secretary-General (1992-1996). The correspondence includes Boutros-Ghali's request to publish Hamburg's text, "The Foundation for a Renewed United Nations" (**9/21/2001**); discussion of September 11th (Ibid); plans to meet in Paris (**2/26/2003**) and discussion of Hamburg's work in prevention (Ibid). The hard copy file also contains letters between 2003 and 2008 (missing from the electronic archive), containing requests from Boutros-Ghali for Hamburg's assistance in establishing his foundation.

Correspondence and materials presenting Hamburg's relationship with Boutros-Ghali during his tenure as Secretary-General are not included in this archive, but an excerpt from Hamburg's book, *No More Killing Fields* describes their work together as follows:

In my first conversation with Boutros Boutros-Ghali a short while after he became Secretary-General, we discussed the prevention approach. He was exceedingly thoughtful and stimulating. When Cyrus Vance and I organized the Commission, Boutros Ghali was helpful in many ways. We in turn tried to be helpful to him, particularly in his leadership in preparing three key documents: An Agenda for Peace; An Agenda for Development; and An Agenda for Democratization. All these pointed in the direction of prevention, bringing the UN back to the basic orientation formulated by Franklin Roosevelt and others at its inception.

Note: the excerpt from which this quote is taken was sent by Hamburg to Kofi Annan on **10/29/2001** and described the significance of Annan's 2001 Report on the Prevention of Armed Conflict.

D. Special Adviser Juan Mendez (2004-2008)

Juan Mendez, human rights attorney and former Argentinian political prisoner, was appointed as the first Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide in 2004. Relevant correspondence and meeting materials span from 2004-2006. Following the appointment of the second Special Adviser in 2006, Juan Mendez continued to serve as a member of the Advisory Committee to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide, and correspondence with Mendez continues through 2008. Staff members to Mendez while he was Special Adviser include Suzanne Ndedi-Penda, Andres Salazar and Ekkehard Strauss.

Archived documents indicate the following landmarks and highlights with respect to Juan Mendez' leadership as Special Adviser. Mendez was appointed as Special Adviser in 2004 (**7/12** and **7/13, 2004**) and Mendez announced his appointment to the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), where he had just begun as president (**7/02-7/14, 2004**). The archive indicates that there was continual discussion about the part-time nature of Mendez' leadership as Special Adviser during his ICTJ presidency (see **7/2005 DAH notes for Annan re Mendez**). On **8/05/04** an informal brainstorming session was held to assist Mendez in "thinking through his initial strategy, methodology and overall approach" (see related meeting materials).

In August, 2005, Hamburg and Mendez discussed possible candidates to serve on the Advisory Committee (see correspondence dated **8/15/2005**, **12/20/2005** and **1/10/2006**). Mendez and Hamburg sent an initial memo to this committee on **3/08/2006** and began planning for the first meeting of the AC on **6/19-6/20, 2006** (materials and correspondence in Advisory Committee folder). The committee met again in September, 2006 (materials in Advisory Committee folder) and a meeting with Civil Society representatives was held on **12/14/2006** to discuss how "interested NGOs" could "best support the office of the SASPG." On **11/15/2006**, Andres Salazar reported to Dr. Hamburg on Mendez' advocacy with the Security Council.

The primary theme of correspondence with Mendez in 2007 is the effort to appoint a full-time Special Adviser, culminating in the appointment of Francis Deng in May (see correspondence dated **5/29/2007**). Mendez continued to serve on the Advisory Committee following Deng's appointment.

E. Special Adviser Francis Deng (2007-2011)

Relevant correspondence and meeting materials with and regarding distinguished scholar Francis Deng, the second Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide, spans from 2007-2011, beginning with Deng's appointment (**5/29/2007**), through the strengthening of the OSAPG and Hamburg's resignation as chairman of the AC (see materials for AC meeting of **10/29/2008**). Correspondence between Hamburg and Deng has been frequent and extensive, and has continued to the present day.

Messages between **5/30/2007** and **7/16/2007** consist mainly of introductions, orientation and meeting plans, as Deng had not yet relocated to New York from Washington, D.C. Deng and Hamburg met with the Secretary-General's core staff on 6/27/2007 and there was some discussion on the inclusion of the R2P mandate in the OSAPG's activities (see correspondence dated **6/28/2007** and **7/04/2007**, and a message from Special Adviser Ed Luck on **5/16/2008** about the R2P model). On **7/17/2007**, Deng and Hamburg began discussing staff and budget for the Office as well as a meeting of the Advisory Committee in early September. Immediately subsequent messages relate to the planning and follow-up of the meeting.

In early 2008, Hamburg suggested potential staff members for the OSAPG (**1/19, 3/07, 3/13, 4/25, and 5/01, 2008**) and invited Deng to participate in his documentary on prevention. On **5/07/2008**, Deng wrote to the Advisory Committee to explain his approach to the mandate. The letter also cites his "hope to invited members of UN agencies, departments and programs ... to join us in forming an on-going consultative body that would meet periodically." UN departments and agencies weighed in on Deng's activities at the 6/05 and 10/27, 2008 meeting, and recommendations were compiled for Hamburg in the 2008 document titled **Recommendations to SAPG by UN Departments and Agencies**. Note that meeting materials from the June 2008 meeting with UN Departments and Agencies are included with Advisory Committee materials.

Deng's approach to his mandate and various initiatives are outlined in several messages where an attachment is indicated, as well as the written work in the folder titled **Deng Papers**. Hamburg was helpful in the writing of several of these documents. Overall, the correspondence between Hamburg and Deng indicate a close advisory relationship and a continued strengthening of Deng's office and his mandate, in many cases as a result of Hamburg's advocacy with Ban and his senior staff. That theme has continued from Hamburg's resignation from the chairmanship in late 2008 to the present day.

F. Advisory Committee to the SG on Prevention of Genocide (2005-2011)

Dr. Hamburg was appointed as Chairman of the Advisory Committee to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide in early 2006. Members of the committee included: Monica Andersson, Senior Adviser, Department for International Law, Human Rights and Treaty Law, Swedish Foreign Ministry; Romeo Dallaire, Canadian Senator and former Force Commander of the UN Mission for Rwanda; Gareth Evans, President, International Crisis Group and former Foreign Minister for Australia; Zakari Ibrahim, former Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria; Juan Mendez, President, International Crisis Group; Sadako Ogata, President,

Japan International Cooperation Agency and former UN High Commissioner for Refugees; and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and former Chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa. Relevant correspondence, meeting materials and notes span from 2005 to 2010 and are grouped according to “landmarks” of the group, particularly Advisory Committee meetings.

The folder is divided into nine subsections:

1. **2005 - Fall 2006: Appointment and First Meeting of the Advisory Committee**
2. **Fall - Winter 2006: October Meeting of the Advisory Committee**
3. **Fall 2006 - Spring 2007: Pre-Deng Appointment**
4. **Spring - Summer 2007: Appointment of Francis Deng**
5. **Spring - Fall 2007: September 2007 Meeting of the Advisory Committee**
6. **Winter 2007 - Early 2008: Consolidation of OSAPG**
7. **Spring 2008 - Early 2009: October 2008 Advisory Committee Meeting**
8. **June 2008 Meeting with UN Departments and Agencies**
9. **2009-2010: Misc Correspondence and DAH Resignation**

Each folder contains correspondence with committee members pertaining to the landmark of the folder as well as unrelated correspondence from that time period.

Of particular interest is Hamburg’s correspondence with Desmond Tutu. The two have maintained a close personal relationship from the time of Dr. Hamburg’s presidency of Carnegie Corporation up to the present day. The correspondence with Tutu grouped into the Advisory Committee folder is on a range of topics not limited to the United Nations. Some of the original letters are in the hard copy archive.

Hamburg’s memos to committee members provide a sense of each landmark and the progress being made with the establishment of the OSAPG. The memos dated **3/29/2006**, **5/17/2006**, **6/01/2006**, and **8/17/2006** relate to the establishment of the committee and the first meeting. Memos dated **9/25/2006**, **10/23/2006** and **12/26/2006** relate to the second meeting of the Committee and the submission of the group’s main report to the Secretary-General that included recommendations for the role of the Special Adviser and the Advisory Committee at the UN. That report is in the Fall-Winter 2006 folder entitled **Meeting Materials**.

Memos dated **12/26/2006**, **1/16/2007**, **1/23/2007**, **2/26/2007**, **3/02/2007**, **3/13/2007**, and **4/09/2007** report on Hamburg’s meetings with the Secretary-General and his key staff and the progress being made in fulfilling the recommendations of the Advisory Committee report prior to the appointment of Francis Deng. Hamburg’s memos dated **5/29/2007**, **5/30/2007** and **8/15/2007** announce the appointment of Francis Deng. Memos dated **7/03/2007**, **10/02/2007**, **10/15/2007**, and **10/31/2007** relate to the planning and follow-up activities for the meeting of the Advisory Committee in September 2007. Meeting materials are included in the **Spring-Fall 2007** folder.

Memos dated **5/27/2008**, **8/20/2008**, **10/20/2008**, **11/14/2008**, **1/14/2009**, and **2/02/2009** concern the meeting of the Advisory Committee in October, 2008 and its follow-up. The final

memo provides a copy of the AC report (grouped into the **Meeting Materials and Report** folder). The announcement of Hamburg's resignation is noted in the report.

Hamburg's final memo to the committee is dated **6/04/2010** and reports on the Secretary-General's determinations regarding the future of the OSAPG and the Advisory Committee. He attaches a letter from the Secretary-General on this subject. Hamburg writes,

....One of the decisions states that "The Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide (SAPG) and the Special Adviser (SASG) who works on implementing the Responsibility to Protect will complete their work to establish a Joint Office on the Prevention of Genocide and the Promotion of the Responsibility to Protect."

The Secretary-General also decided that "The Advisory Committee on the Prevention of Genocide will be given a new mandate, title, and composition to reflect the broader concerns of the Joint Office. Its role will be one of advocacy and awareness-raising worldwide." The two Special Advisers have been directed by the Secretary-General to carry out pertinent consultations and make recommendations for the recomposition of the Committee. Francis Deng remains in close contact with me and I believe that both Special Advisers will maintain close consultations with us on plans for the new Advisory Committee...

Though no longer chairman, Hamburg's advisory relationship with Francis Deng and key UN staff has continued to the present day.

G. Related United Nations Initiatives (1996-2006)

Hamburg had involvement in several activities in addition to the establishment of the OSAPG and the Advisory Committee. Archived documents in the UN folder also include: the **Ambassador's Group for Prevention**, which involved a group of Ambassadors with special interest in prevention of genocide, headed by Peter Maurer of Switzerland; the **Department of Economic and Social Affairs**, where Hamburg worked closely with Gay Rosenblum-Kumar in participating in an Experts Group on Conflict Prevention; the **Scientific Community**, in which he forged a relationship between key scientific advisors and UN leadership; the **UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Advisory Group**, where he worked closely with UN High Commissioner Sadako Ogata; **UN Institute for Training and Research**, where Hamburg served on the Advisory Board for several years and worked particularly closely with Connie Peck; **UPEACE**, which he helped to launch; and most notably the **World Health Organization Health as a Bridge to Peace** initiative, including Hamburg's direct correspondence with Gro Harlem Brundtland, Director General of the WHO. Some original correspondence with key ambassadors, Sadako Ogata and Gro Harlem Brundtland and her husband Arne Olav is included in the hard copy archive.

H. Research and Reports on the UN and Preventing Deadly Conflict

This folder contains a sampling of research materials and written work pertinent to conflict prevention in the UN context. Of particular interest is an annotated copy of the **1948 Genocide Convention**; Dr. Hamburg's **Case for an International Center for Genocide Prevention** and the two papers by **Tapio Kanninen**, who worked very diligently to implement the objectives of the PAC report. The 2009 report by **William Zartman** was commissioned specifically by the OSAPG to analyze identity conflicts leading to genocide, and the paper by Hamburg's student,

Allie Sharma, was completed in her capacity as a resident at Cornell with a special interest in genocide prevention. Additional writings by Dr. Hamburg are included in the larger **DAH Written Work** section.

2. THE EUROPEAN UNION

Hamburg's activities in the European Union in recent years also pivoted around the prevention of deadly conflict and genocide, and the archive includes materials from 2003-2010. Parallel to his Advisory Committee at the UN, Dr. Hamburg also chaired an advisory committee to the Secretary General of the Council of the European Union, Javier Solana, in order to establish an international center on the prevention of genocide based out of the EU. By 2008, plans were underway to establish the center in Hungary. Between 2007 and 2010, Hamburg also became involved with the European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), both as an advisor and as an active participant in meetings and conferences.

The European Union section of the archive spans from 2003 to 2010 and includes materials in the following five categories:

- A. Secretary General Javier Solana and Core Staff (2005-2010)**
- B. Steering Committee on Preventing Genocide (2005-2011)**
- C. Establishment of International Center in Hungary (2008-2010)**
- D. Related EU Initiatives (2003-2010)**
- E. EU Key Documents (2007-2010)**

Significant initiatives, meetings, individuals and highlights covered in each category of the European Union materials are detailed below.

A. Secretary General Javier Solana and Core Staff (2005-2010)

Original correspondence between Hamburg and Secretary General Solana is available in the hard copy archive and grouped by year. The Solana files span from 2005 through 2010. The primary staff member grouped into the Javier Solana file is his Chief of Staff, Enrique Mora, with whom Hamburg worked closely to implement the prevention agenda in the EU.

Hamburg's work with Javier Solana and Enrique Mora with respect to prevention of deadly conflict and other mass violence is marked by several key landmarks (with corresponding documents in the archive). The primary theme of their work together (and Hamburg's other work in the EU) is the intention to establish an EU Center for the Prevention of Genocide. Hamburg met Solana in 2005, where they discussed the CCPDC and the prevention of genocide (see letters dated **2/25** and **3/23, 2005**). Hamburg facilitated a connection between Solana and President Jimmy Carter in establishing the "steering committee regarding the feasibility of the EU Center for Genocide Prevention," in which key staff from the Carter Center participated (see letters dated **6/30/2005**, **5/18/2006** and **6/23/2006**). In the early stages of their interaction, a proposal for the creation of the Center was submitted (see Steering Committee folder, 2006) and Hamburg, Mora and Solana discussed the possibility of Sweden as a host country for the Center. The majority of messages in 2006 reflect this intention, with Sweden looking less certain in

December, 2006 and early 2007. In his message of **3/06/2007**, Hamburg expressed interest in Germany, Spain or Ireland as potential host countries.

In July of 2007, Hamburg participated in a meeting of the EUISS in Paris in which Solana played a key role and the prevention of genocide was discussed. Following that meeting, Hamburg's relationship with the EUISS continued and he was in regular contact with Solana and Mora regarding EUISS meetings and the potential there for implementing the prevention agenda (see messages dated **10/22/2007**, **11/14/2007** and several messages in 2008 identified as re: EUISS).

On **2/27/2008**, Mora indicated to Hamburg that Hungary was interest in acting as host country for the Center. Hamburg began contact with representatives from the Hungarian government in March and the contacts continued through 2010. Dr. Hamburg regularly reported on his contacts with the Hungarian government to Solana and Mora (see letters dated **3/19/2008**, **4/21/2008**, **5/21** & **5/23 2008**, **11/03/2008**, **12/19/2009** and additional letters marked "re: Hungary"). Materials related to the establishment of the Center in Hungary are included in the folder, "**Establishment of Center in Hungary, 2008-2010.**" 2009 messages between Hamburg an Mora/Solana primarily concern Hungary, particularly a meeting in Budapest, meetings of the EUISS and the inclusion of Solana in Hamburg's documentary on the prevention of genocide.

2010 correspondence with Solana and Mora concern the completion of Solana's term and his future positions at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. and the newly established Aspen Institute in Spain. Hamburg and Solana continue their friendship to the present day. Further correspondence concerning Hungary is included in the related folders.

B. Steering Committee on Preventing Genocide (2005-2011)

In early 2006, Dr. Hamburg was appointed as Chairman of a Steering Committee reporting to the Secretary General to discuss the feasibility of creating an International Center on the Prevention of Genocide. According to the group's 2006 proposal,

Members of the Steering Committee include Ragnar Ängeby of the Folke Bernadotte Academy, Raymond Georis of the Madariaga European Foundation, Enrique Mora as Personal Representative of Javier Solana, and John Stremmlau of the Carter Center. Beatrix A. Hamburg of the Social Medicine and Public Policy Program at Cornell University was a constant collaborator throughout this initiative. At its third and final meeting in Atlanta on 11-12 July 2006, the Committee benefited from the supportive presence of President Jimmy Carter, and from the insightful contribution of Gareth Evans, President and Chief Executive of the International Crisis Group.

Relevant correspondence, meeting materials and notes span from 2005 to 2011 and are grouped by year.

In 2005, the group formed, and correspondence pertained to establishment of connections with Javier Solana, Jimmy Carter, and outside members such as Gareth Evans. The first Steering Committee meeting was planned for January of 2006 (see 2006 folder entitled, **January 2006, First Meeting of the Steering Committee**). The second committee meeting was in April and the third meeting was in July, hosted at the Carter Center. Materials pertaining to the third

meeting are particularly interesting because of the involvement and endorsement of Jimmy Carter.

A key document, the **Proposal for the Creation of an International Centre for Prevention of Genocide and Crimes against Humanity** (saved in the EU Key Documents folder as well as in the Steering Committee 2006 folder) was completed in August of 2006, and much of the correspondence during the summer pertains to this proposal. Hamburg's message of **9/05/2006** discusses Sweden in depth as a potential host country for the Center, particularly due to the strong interest of Jan Eliasson, then president of the UN General Assembly and Foreign Minister of Sweden (note that Hamburg also had interactions with Eliasson in the UN context as well as an ongoing friendship). Other messages in the fall and winter indicate that Eliasson lost the Swedish reelection as Foreign Minister, which impacted Sweden's feasibility as a host country for the Center.

Correspondence between 2007 and 2011, following the submission of the proposal to the Secretary General, concern follow-up activities to establish the Center in the EU. Raymond Georis and Ragnar Angeby were in regular contact about progress being made in their institutions, the Madariaga Foundation and the Folke Bernadotte Academy, respectively. Hamburg kept in close touch about his progress at the United Nations and intermittent contacts with Javier Solana and other EU officials. For example, in late 2007 Dr. Hamburg met with Danilo Turk, former UN contact, who had just assumed the presidency of Slovenia, and the group briefly considered Slovenia as a host country for the Center. In the summer of 2008, it became clear that Hungary was a serious contender.

Although a formal committee no longer exists (particularly since Solana's resignation), Hamburg retains ties to former members and is in regular contact about progress being made in establishing the International Center on Prevention of Genocide in the EU.

C. Establishment of Center in Hungary (2008-2010)

Hamburg's correspondence with representatives from the Hungarian government spanned between 2008 and 2010. His official contacts regarding the establishment of the Center included: Daniel Ambrus, Political Analyst, Directorate General Communication, European Commission, Brussels; Gabriel Brodi, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Hungary to the UN; Istvan Lakatos, Ambassador at Large for Human Rights, Hungarian Foreign Ministry; Viktor Polgar, Consul General of Hungary; and Gyorgy Tatar, Head of Unit, Horizontal Security Affairs, Conflict Prevention and Human Rights Task Force, Council of the EU. Of these contacts, Hamburg worked most closely with Istvan Lakatos.

Preparations for the establishment of the International Centre on Prevention of Genocide in Hungary began with Hamburg's correspondence with Daniel Ambrus and Gyorgy Tatar. In the early correspondence between **3/14/2008** and June, 2008, it is indicated that Hamburg had met Ambrus and Tatar at an EUISS meeting in Paris and that Ambrus and Tatar had additional meetings with representatives from the steering committee (including Ragnar Angeby and contacts at the Madariaga Foundation) as well as with Enrique Mora regarding the Center. In his message of **3/14/2008** Ambrus indicated that the Hungarian government was "interested to

explore the feasibility of the center,” were “investigating the possibilities,” and that Ambrus would be preparing a report for the Hungarian Prime Minister’s consideration. Hamburg and Ambrus were then in close contact, and on **6/02/2008** Hamburg shared insight on how a Center could be established, including leadership with a close relationship and knowledge of the EU and UN systems and prioritization of appointments and “pillars of prevention” that would be covered.

In his message of **7/28/2008**, Ambrus wrote, “Following the request of the Cabinet of the Prime Minister the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Hungary has agreed to assign the Head of the Human Rights Department, Mr. István Lakatos to coordinate the efforts on looking into the feasibility of setting up the Center” and that a brainstorming meeting would be held on September 3rd in Hungary. Substantive correspondence with Lakatos begins in September of 2008, particularly in their correspondence between **9/08/2008** and **9/11/2008**. Lakatos sent a concept note regarding the center to Hamburg on **10/08/2008** and Hamburg made key suggestions in his message of **10/10/2008** about adding a section on “illustrative tools” for preventing genocide. Lakatos visited New York in November and Hamburg connected him with contacts at the UN as well as informing him of key initiatives and departments, in the interest of “EU-UN collaboration in this field” (see message of **10/23/2008**).

On June 25-26, 2009, Hamburg participated in the Second Human Rights Forum at the Foreign Ministry in Hungary, in which the International Center was a key agenda item (see materials in the 2009 **Second Human Rights Forum** folder). Messages between February and July of 2009 involve preparation and follow-up for this meeting. In July and August of 2009, Hamburg and Lakatos corresponded about a potential relationship between the U.S. Government and the Hungarian Center, most notably through a series of hearings at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee proposed by Hamburg to the Committee Chairs, Senators John Kerry and Richard Lugar (this proposal is included in the **DAH Written Work: Lectures and Key Documents** folder, entitled, **PMV as an Organizing Principle of American Foreign Policy**).

On **3/12/2010**, Lakatos sent Hamburg an invitation to the official launching ceremony of the Budapest Foundation for the International Prevention of Genocide and Mass Atrocities, where the Deed of Foundation would be signed. Later that month, the launch ceremony was postponed due to “technical problems.” On **9/09/2010**, Lakatos wrote again to announce the launch ceremony “on 18 October within the framework of the Third Budapest Human Rights Forum.”

Important documents on the establishment of the EU Center are included in the Key EU documents folder.

D. Related EU Initiatives (2003-2010)

Hamburg’s EU activities have primarily concerned the establishment of the Center. In conjunction with his work to promote the prevention of mass violence and establish the Center, Hamburg attended relevant conferences in Sweden in 2003 and 2004 and participated extensively in meetings of the European Union Institute for Security Studies between 2007 and 2010. Hamburg served as a panelist on preventing genocide at several meetings of the EUISS, as

well as serving as a key advisor to EUISS president, Alvaro de Vasconcelos. Related correspondence and meeting materials for Hamburg's trips to Sweden and his work with the EUISS are included in this folder.

E. EU Key PG Documents (2007-2010)

This folder contains a sampling of research materials and written work pertinent to conflict prevention in the EU context. Of particular interest are the key documents on the **Establishment of the Hungarian Centre**; Dr. Hamburg's **2008 Illustrative Tools for Preventing Mass Violence** and the paper Hamburg coauthored with Alexander George on **The Promise of the European Union for the Prevention of Genocide**. Two governmental papers are also included: the **2006 EU Council Document on Prevention** and the **EU Programme for Prevention of Violent Conflicts**.

3. SCHOLARS AND WORLD LEADERS ON PDC (1996-2011)

Dr. Hamburg's wide-reaching leadership and scholarly activities positioned him well to form professional and personal relationships with international leaders in government, academia and the field of human rights. His close relationship with Desmond Tutu is well-documented in the Advisory Committee folder of the United Nations section. Hamburg's correspondence and working relationship with the following individuals are included in this section:

- A. 1996-2005 Condoleezza Rice & George W. Bush**
- B. 2001-2010 Hillary R. Clinton**
- C. 2002-2009 Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter**
- D. 2004 Graham Allison**
- E. 2005-2006 FW De Klerk**
- F. 2005-2011 John Packer and Max Van der Stoel**
- G. 2008-2009 Barack Obama**
- H. 2009 Office of War Crimes Issues**

Correspondence and related materials are grouped chronologically in both the electronic and hard copy archive. Highlights are given below.

Hamburg's relationship with **Condoleezza Rice** began in the 1990s at Stanford University, where Rice served as Provost and Professor of Political Science. Their relationship continued after she was appointed National Security Advisor then Secretary of State in the Bush Administration. A highlight of the correspondence in this archive are the documents dated **11/09** and **12/18, 2001**, when Hamburg worked with Senators Nunn and Lugar, former Secretary William Perry and others to propose a "Bush-Putin Initiative against Catastrophic Terrorism." The group met with Rice in late 2001 to urge the Bush Administration to adopt important protections against future nuclear, biological and other terrorism in the future.

Hamburg has had a long friendship with **Hillary R. Clinton** since he worked with her on an advisory committee on education before her husband became President. During Bill Clinton's

Presidency they worked together on education issues and he encouraged her to pursue more international activities. They have been in frequent contact since her appointment as Secretary of State. The extensive correspondence as part of this archive is compiled in one document, **1/02/2001 – 9/10/2010**, which is sequenced with the most recent correspondence first. Hard copies are also available.

Interesting highlights include letters of **8/28, 11/16 and 12/09, 2009** in which Hamburg advises Clinton regarding the USAID. Hamburg's letter of 8/28 includes an adaptation of his book chapter on development and the prevention of mass violence (saved separately in the overall Clinton folder) and his letter of 11/16 recommends Sadako Ogata as an excellent contact person for improving the USAID. Clinton's letter to Hamburg of 12/09 thanks him for his assistance and indicates her plans to contact Mrs. Ogata. Hamburg's letter to Clinton of **11/18/2008** encourages her to take the position of Secretary State and describes their interactions together while she was First Lady. On **1/24/2002**, Clinton sent Hamburg a handwritten letter expressing her regrets for missing Cyrus Vance's funeral and remarking that, "he was lucky to have such a friend and colleague as you." Hamburg's friendship and correspondence with Clinton continue through the present day.

Hamburg and his wife Beatrix worked with **Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter** as advisors during Carter's Presidency. During the Carter Administration, David Hamburg worked with Carter in his capacity as president of the Institute of Medicine, as an advisor on key public health issues. Later, the Carnegie Corporation of New York under Hamburg's presidency provided funding to the Carter Center. Carter served on the Carnegie Commission on Science, Technology and Government which led to a task force on development cooperation co-chaired by Carter and Boutros-Boutros Ghali. Hamburg served on the Carter Center's Advisory Board through 2009. Their correspondence indicates a relationship of mutual respect and support. The extensive correspondence as part of this archive is compiled in one document, **3/20/2002 to 11/05/2009**, which is sequenced with the most recent correspondence first. Hard copies are also available.

Of particular interest in Carter's most recent letter to Hamburg on **11/05/2009**, in reference to Hamburg's impending resignation from the Carter Center Board, in which Carter writes, "I look forward to seeing you again at our November meeting. As always, it will be an occasion for recollections of the way our lives have been intertwined over the past 30 years. There is little doubt that The Carter Center and I have been the greatest beneficiaries." Their correspondence of October, 2002 pertains to Carter's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize, and Carter writes to Hamburg, "your constant inspiration and motivation, your guidance, counsel, and service are crucial to our progress and the many people we help around the world. We all share the honor of the Nobel Peace Prize." Their friendship and correspondence continue to the present day.

Hamburg's work with **Graham Allison**, scholar and leader in political science and government, began during Hamburg's presidency of Carnegie and has covered many domains including nuclear non-proliferation and preventing deadly conflict. Hamburg also served on the Advisory Board of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, for which Graham Allison is the director.

During his presidency of Carnegie, Hamburg worked with **Frederik Willem de Klerk** and Desmond Tutu in efforts to end apartheid and later served as adviser to de Klerk in his founding of the Global Leadership Foundation (this more recent correspondence is part of the archive).

International Scholar and Diplomacy expert **John Packer** was a key advisor to Hamburg in establishing both the UN and EU initiatives. In 2006, Packer invited Hamburg to be part of a discussion on “Operational Conflict Prevention” initiated by OSCE High Commissioner **Max Van der Stoel** and Jan Eliasson (see letter dated **8/16/2006**) and part of Van der Stoel’s work to “Enhance Diplomatic Means of Preventing Violent Conflict” (see **2005 Overview of Van der Stoel Initiative**). Most recently, Hamburg and Packer had meaningful correspondence on **4/29/2011** regarding the passing of Van der Stoel.

Hamburg’s contacts with **Barack Obama** were facilitated in many ways by Newton Minow, with whom Hamburg has had a close friendship and working relationship. Minow was a mentor to Obama in the early part of his career and remained in contact as an informal advisor following his inauguration. Highlights include a letter to Obama on **5/20/2009**, in which Hamburg commends Obama for his remarks at the “Holocaust Days of Remembrance Ceremony” and encourages him to take further steps on the question raised in his speech, “How do we ensure that ‘never again’ isn’t an empty slogan, or merely an aspiration, but also a call to action?” Hamburg was invited by Obama to a meeting “on lessons learned from the swine flu experience in 1976-77” due to Hamburg’s efforts work with the Carter Administration during that time period. His letter to Obama on **7/06/2009** reflects on the meeting and expresses hope that “my work on prevention of genocide will be helpful to you and the Secretary of State.” Hamburg’s message to Minow of **7/07/2009** provides further information about the meeting with Obama and offer to ‘take Minow up on his offer’ to prepare a draft speech for Obama on the prevention of genocide. That draft is dated **11/11/2009** and was submitted by Minow to Obama’s chief speechwriter. Most recently, Hamburg attended meetings at the White House in connection with Obama’s determination to establish an Atrocities Prevention Board in August, 2011 (see relevant [NY Times Article](#)).

In 2009, Hamburg made contact with the State Department’s **Office of War Crimes Issues**. Members of the office reached out to Hamburg in connection with the Second Human Right’s Forum in Budapest and expressed interest in orienting their work towards prevention of genocide. Letters reflect the initiation of a relationship that has continued to the present day.

Note that this section is not exhaustive. Hamburg has corresponded and had close advisory relationships with many leaders and scholars, beyond what is included in this archive. For example, Hamburg was a direct advisor to Senator John Kerry during his 2008 Presidential campaign – relevant files are stored in Washington, D.C.

4. WRITTEN WORK

The hard copy archive that Hamburg generously donated to the Diethelm Library includes the **Final Report of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict** and Hamburg's recent books on prevention of deadly conflict and violence: **No More Killing Fields: Preventing Deadly Conflict** (2002); **Learning to Live Together: Preventing Hatred and Violence in Child and Adolescent Development** (2004); and **Preventing Genocide: Practical Steps toward Early Detection and Effective Action** (2010). Additionally, there is an annotated script of Hamburg's documentary based on his most recent book.

The electronic archive includes written work in the following categories: **2007-2010 Documentary on Preventing Genocide; 2008 Press; 2008-2010 PMV Overview Material; 2009-2010 Autobiographical Statements re: Work on PMV; and Lectures and Key Documents.** The latter file includes a major proposal submitted to the co-chairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, John Kerry and Richard Lugar to establish a series of hearings on **"Preventing Mass Violence as an Organizing Principle of American Foreign Policy."**

5. CONCLUSION/PERSONAL NOTE

It has been an honor for me to work with these materials and organize them into a cogent narrative of historic significance. Moreover, my nearly five years of service in the office of David Hamburg allowed me to play an indirect role in his ongoing service to humanity. I will always be extremely grateful to Dr. Hamburg, to his very special family, to Dr. Barchas, to the Oskar Diethelm Library, and to Cornell for this opportunity.

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