Charter or to secure the broader aspirations of a decent, peaceable global world. In some cases, it has inhibited the realisation of these ideals and aspirations. It has had its seventy years as the primary political body on the international system. It is time to move on and establish new, more promising frameworks, projects an**i**nstitutions.

Count One

The UN has become a sclerotic, demoralised bureaucracy where political idealism and visionary thinking go to die in a sea of commit@ees the repository of avargarde political ideas, it has now becdmetha retirement village for a suprannuated political class and a place where the moral capital of thousands of bright, young interns is absorbed, digested and discarded.

Count Two

The UN has clothed war with a legitimacy that has made extreme violence more palatableand more acceptable to voters in large, powerful, likear democratic states.

Count Three

The UN Security Council is partly responsible for the rise of arightst state in which antiterrorist surveillancend legislation has chipped away at the very humanitarian ideals the UN was supposed to instantime. Security Council has passed resolutions demanding that states enact such legislation. The Council itself, not content with this, has placed individual antiterrorist lists (depriving them of freedom of movement and property) without offering these individuals any right to natural justice.

Count Four

The UN has established a network of war crimes tribunals in which a small group of individuals are selected on ad hocand arbitrary basis to stand trial for activities that have their causes in deep structural problems in the global political economy, and which have been a feature of-making since

Thucydides. This has led to resentment, **his**b and a systemic and transparent inequality of punishment a singleWestern leader or soldier has stood trial for crimes against humanity in an international court since the UN was founded. The UN's International Criminal Court is the judicial wing of NATO.

Count Five

The UN has presided over a world in which poverty, premature and often violent death, and unacceptable levels of preventable child mortality is to with fantastic accumulations of hyperwealth. For the past thirty years at least