

A Letter from our Executive Director, William Pace

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This past year, the World Federalist Movement-Institute for Global Policy (WFM-IGP) celebrated its 65th anniversary. Already at the time of our founding in 1947, the 20th century was establishing itself as the most war-ridden and violent century in all recorded history. Formed in the ashes of the second of two devastating world wars, WFM-IGP has been dedicated to the realization of global peace and justice through the development of democratic institutions and the application and advancement of international law.

This past July, the World Federalist Movement held its 26th Congress meeting at the University of Winnipeg in Manitoba, Canada. This major meeting brought together many of our member organizations and committed activists from around the world. Participants reflected on the enormous strides the movement has taken in recent years, reviewed its fundamental principles, and reaffirmed its vision of supporting the creation of institutions and laws that advance a more peaceful world. Having our President, Lloyd Axworthy, as both leader and host provided great inspiration.

In this edition of WF News, you will hear from many of WFM-IGP's long time leaders and activists, including Lucy Webster, Lucio Levi, Fergus Watt, Rolf Paul Haegler as well as some who have only been members for 20 or so years, and from some of our wonderful international staff who are leading our program-

matic work. WFM-IGP's historically important project on international justice, the Coalition for the International Criminal Court, enters into its 18th year! In July 2002, an idea conceived in history, but surviving as aspiring hope for so many years, finally became a reality thanks to the tireless efforts of civil society organizations and the strategic partnership all but a few of the world's democracies, from the south and north, that bound together under the common goal of ending impunity for the world's most heinous crimes. This past year, the centerpiece of that labor, the International Criminal Court, celebrated its 10th birthday.

You will also hear from our program, the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, that is placing particular emphasis prevention of the RtoP crimes through the rule of law, through the UN Security Council and regional international organizations taking decisive early actions. It took the Universal Declaration of Human Rights many decades to become a norm; we hope RtoP can achieve its normative force much quicker. You will read about our Together for a Better Peace Project, which is one of the only initiatives in the world working on the Peace Building Commission. And there is an excellent article by our WFM Director of Programs Jelena Pia-Comella, who discusses the prevalence of gender based sexual violence, written weeks before the terrible crimes in Delhi.

WFM-IGP's members and partners around the world are an



WFM-IGP Executive Director Bill Pace

Photo credit: www.Coalitionfortheicc.org

important driving force for our work. Their initiatives on UNPA, Millennium Development Goals, human rights, and their work towards the abolition of war are integral to the mission of our movement.

WFM's Councilors will meet next in New York this July, and we anticipate dynamic panels and engaging discussions. We will be holding a seminar focused on youth and individual outreach throughout of meeting. More details are forthcoming and we look forward to meeting with you there.

I cannot think of any other "root-cause, rule of law world peace movement" that has had the perseverance and focus and dedication to achieving the UN Charter's first goal for 65 years. We are at that age, and we all hope and pray, I am sure, that we can 'retire' after a job well done – but emphasizing done, some soon year. Until then, all the best to all our readers and supporters in 2013.

Save the Date: WFM 2013 Annual Council Meeting

The next World Federalist Movement Council meeting will take place 24 through 27 July, 2013 at Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York.

The WFM Council governs the World Federalist Movement between Congresses. They meet each year to discuss and monitor the activities and programs of WFM.

This year's Council meeting will take place at the same site as two historic United States Presidential debates. The suburban campus is host to Long Island's largest private college that hosts hundreds of cultural events annually. The World Federalists look forward to engaging with its members and programmatic staff and holding dynamic discussions and public events.



Join the World Federalist Movement– Institute for Global Policy **as an Individual Member!**

The World Federalist Movement– Institute for Global Policy's Individual Membership (IMO) program invites individual supporters to join the WFM–IGP Secretariat as a member. We welcome your membership in our efforts advance the global promise of peace and towards building a safer and more just world.

Advantages of membership include:

- A link to an active global network of organizations, scholars and activists.
- Information on efforts toward global democracy, human rights, sustainable development, peace and conflict resolution around the world.
- Our semiannual newsletter, action updates, and other informational mailings.
- The opportunity to work with key leaders and organizations within WFM-IGP on joint projects.
- Invitations to WFM events including the quadrennial Congress and annual Council meetings.

To join WFM-IGP as an Individual Member, please contact us at info@wfm-igp.org.

Violence Against Women: Global Phenomenon or Global Pandemic?

By Jelena Pica-Comella

November 25th marks the international day to eliminate violence against women. To this regard, a series of awareness raising activities were conducted by the United Nations, governments, media and civil society. Amid these activities, the remarks by the Executive Director of UNWomen, Michelle Bachelet were particularly poignant. She stated that “in some countries, up to 7 in 10 women will be beaten, raped, abused or mutilated in their lifetimes... Today violence against women is increasingly recognized for what it is: a threat to democracy, a barrier to lasting peace, a burden on national economies, and an appalling human rights violation.”

7 in 10 women is too high a proportion, a threat to democracy and a barrier to lasting peace is too endemic to call this just an issue, a crisis or a global phenomenon. If the root causes are not addressed, whether in

terms of “condoned cultural” behavior leading to domestic violence or leaving crimes of sexual violence as a weapon of war unprosecuted, violence against women will continue to spread and scourge generations. It is therefore a pandemic: an epidemic of global proportion.

Yes - a pandemic. Who would have thought of such a term to describe violence against women? Indeed, when one hears pandemic one instantly refers to HIV-AIDS or the Avian Flu. However, both pandemics were not always referred as such, for HIV-AIDS to be described as a pandemic, it took a very aggressive and progressive awareness-raising campaign in the 90s accompanied by strong and bold political will from the international community. These very same awareness raising efforts and political will are now needed to tackle violence against women.

There have in fact been impor-

tant initiatives to raise awareness of violence against women, to cite few: Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820, the Secretary General’s UNiTe campaign and the 16 days of activism against gender-based and sexual violence. But all these initiatives need a louder, stronger and better coordinated voice - a voice that calls violence against women for what it is – a pandemic spreading and affecting both men and women and their respective communities. A pandemic in need of a clear and strategic set of policies for its prevention, treatment and care.

This year’s session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women (March 4-15, 2013) will focus on the elimination and prevention of violence against women and girls. This is a unique opportunity for our movement to mobilize and join efforts with other groups in putting forward new initiatives to combat this pandemic!



From left to right: Brigid Inder, Jelena Pica-Comella, Alix Vuillemin-Grendel
Photo credit:
www.coalitionfortheicc.org

“If the root causes are not addressed... violence against women will continue to spread and scourge generations.”

Democratic World Federalists

The Democratic World Federalists, a WFM Associated Organization (AO) based in Northern California is delighted to announce that they are initiating a PUBLIC EDUCATION CAMPAIGN with the launch of their new website www.dwfed.org. The elements of the campaign include:

- A Dynamic Website designed to reach old and young alike: telling their story, blogging, and reporting the latest news of World Federalist activities around the globe
- Multimedia - Videos, You Tube, slideshows
- Social Media -Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn
- On-Line Courses for academia and the public
- Conference Presentations
- Public Speaking
- Networking Parties & Discussion groups
- Tabling at fairs and festivals
- Newsletters & Special Reports
- Brochures
- Outreach to peace, environmental, women's and other groups

Phase 1 of the website is nearly complete. Please visit them at www.dwfed.org.

Prosecuting Sexual and Gender- Based Crimes: a Priority for the New ICC Prosecutor

Excerpt from CICC interview with ICC Prosecutor

By the Coalition for the International Criminal Court



ICC Prosecutor

Fatou Bensouda

Photo credit: Coalition for the ICC

“...I will guarantee that the primacy given to the gender related crimes will stand and will even be furthered.”

The following interview with Ms. Fatou Bensouda was conducted in May 2012, prior to her swearing in as prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) on 15 June 2012. Ms. Bensouda served as deputy prosecutor at the ICC for nearly eight years, beginning in September 2004. Prior to joining the ICC, Ms. Bensouda served as a senior legal advisor and head of the legal advisory unit of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), where she had previously worked as a legal adviser. Ms. Bensouda has also held a number of high-level positions in the public and private sectors in The Gambia.

With almost 8 years under your belt at the OTP, you have gained experience in building evidence of gender crimes. What will you do as Prosecutor to ensure some of the roadblocks to successfully prosecuting gender crimes are removed during your tenure?

Bensouda: Prosecuting gender related crimes have been an integral part of the Rome Statute system since its inception. Article 54 of the Statute specifically provides that the Prosecutor shall “take into account the nature of the crime, in particular where it involves sexual violence, gender violence or violence against children”. Moreover the Article 42(9) of the Statute requires the Prosecutor to appoint advisers with legal expertise on sexual and gender related crimes. Following these requirements, the OTP established the Gender

and Children Unit, comprised of advisors with legal and psycho-social expertise to deal specifically with these issues. Additionally, the OTP has reflected the primacy of gender related crimes by integrating them into the overwhelming majority of our cases.

Under the new Prosecution, I will guarantee that the primacy given to the gender related crimes will stand and will even be furthered. We will in particular continue to strengthen our cooperation with local gender groups in situation countries that provide sometimes the only form of support available for gender crimes victims, who often are excluded and shunned from their communities. The process of prosecuting gender related crimes has to be handled very delicately to ensure the well being of the victims. In order to ensure clarity, transparency and predictability of our work about the matter, the OTP is preparing a gender policy which is on the brink of being finalized. We will also continue to periodically and consistently revisit our policies and practices regarding sexual and gender related crimes, making sure they are effective and improving them if needed. The Office will also continue to provide gender-related training to its staff, from investigators to prosecutors.

One thing we have to understand, however, is that gender related crimes are very sensitive issues in certain domestic

contexts. As it can be a challenge to gather evidence of these crimes in certain contexts, we will continue to look for innovative methods for the collection of evidence in a way that would ensure the prosecution of criminals and protection of victims.

Please visit the Coalition’s website to access the full interview: http://www.coalitionfortheicc.org/documents/Fatou_Bensouda_Full_Interview_eng.pdf



A Burgeoning Development Paradigm: The “New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States”

By Justine Brouillaud

Nearly a third of the world's poor are currently living in fragile and conflict-affected states and this number increases drastically each year. Recent studies suggest that as early as 2014, fragile states' share of this population will exceed 50 percent. To date, not one of them has completed a single Millennium Development goal. As the international community increasingly recognizes the failures of traditional approaches to development in these fragile and conflict-affected areas, a new model is emerging to address these states' unique concerns.

The International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, IDPS

Primarily led by the g7+, a grouping of 19 conflict-affected and fragile states, and hosted by the OECD, the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, IDPS, was formed out of the Accra High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in 2008. Acting as a forum allowing fragile states to voice their concerns and experiences on an equal footing as international development partners, the Dialogue has resulted in the development of five key peacebuilding and statebuilding objectives, as well as an action plan for engagement in fragile states: the “New Deal.”

More than 40 countries and non-governmental organizations are now a part of the Dialogue, including the g7+, and members of the OECD-DAC International Network on Conflict and Fragility (INCAF). Throughout the process, partners are able to share their experiences and lessons-learned in delivering aid and assistance in the peacebuilding/statebuilding context, and have honed these experiences into a set of key, implementable goals to further

peacebuilding and statebuilding in fragile states. Most importantly, the IDPS provides a venue to build political support and impetus to drive change in the traditional development model, and to build critical trust between fragile countries, development partners and civil society actors.

Two co-chairs represent the fragile states and development partners within the IDPS, currently, Denmark and Timor-Leste. (Previous co-Chairs included the DRC, the Netherlands, and the UK.) Finally, a Steering Group provides guidance and oversight to the Dialogue process, and the IDPS Secretariat, housed in the OECD, collaborates closely with the g7+, INCAF and civil society secretariats to coordinate the overall Dialogue process.

The “PSGs” and the “New Deal”

Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals

One of the IDPS' concrete products, to date include its five agreed Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs), that form the foundation of the process' new approach to development in fragile and conflict-affected states:

- 1) **Legitimate Politics** – Foster inclusive political settlements and conflict resolution;
- 2) **Security** – Establish and strengthen people's security;
- 3) **Justice** – Address injustices and increase people's access to justice;
- 4) **Economic Foundations** – Generate employment and improve livelihoods;
- 5) **Revenues & Services** – Manage revenue and build capacity for accountable and fair service delivery.

A New Deal for Engagement in

Fragile States

Endorsed by IDPS members at the 4th High Level Forum in 2011, held in Busan, the “New Deal” represents the Dialogue's effort to create pathways to implement its peacebuilding and statebuilding goals. Emphasizing a ‘country-led’ and ‘country-owned’ process it aims to re-imagine the approach to building peace and prosperity in fragile contexts. With its self-nominated fragile pilot countries, including: Afghanistan, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, South Sudan and Timor Leste, partnered with self-nominating donors in each country, the New Deal will be put to the test throughout 2012 – 2015.

Assisting in the implementation process, are three working groups operating within the IDPS:

- 1) A working group on New Deal implementation, co-chaired by Afghanistan and Australia;
- 2) A working group to develop indicators for the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals, co-chaired by the Democratic Republic of Congo and the UN Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) (the first of which are expected to be released in early 2013);
- 3) A strategic team dedicated to promoting the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals, led by Denmark and Timor-Leste.

Challenges and Prospects

The IDPS and its ‘New Deal’ have stirred a complex debate within the development and peacebuilding communities. As the conditions of the world's poor continue to shift into the conflict and fragility spectrum, development policy must respond accordingly. While the



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by the G7+ and the IDPS in general, strikes at the heart of the traditional relationship between donors and the countries that receive their aid.

The IDPS' approach has attempted to level the playing field between donors and governments in an effort to reach consensus on development choices in fragile contexts. Too often, countries in transition have ultimately suffered from a lack of dialogue with donors, and funds have been wasted on programs and projects that could not flourish in the face of larger problems of stability, political will, etc. The New Deal proposes an ambitious approach that features "country ownership and leadership," focusing on building the capacity to handle long-term, sustainable engagements that hopefully build resilience in the countries on its agenda. In this sense, the IDPS has given oft-stigmatized 'fragile states' the opportunity to engage with an expanding set of actors, quite successfully repositioning the conversation about development as a path toward peace and resilience. A long-term focus has also brought new depth to the discussion. Yet, whether this arrangement can succeed, remains to be seen.

Broadly, the New Deal seems to offer a somewhat confused vision for implementation, offering language on 'legitimate politics' and 'national ownership', yet more pointedly looking at how donors should change their approach: importantly shifting the debate from development, to aid. In this sense, the complex challenges of peacebuilding and statebuilding are lost to the question of how to achieve greater efficiency and results of aid to fragile countries. A similar criticism points to the PSGs' emphasis on the structural sources of fragility, facilitating a 'way out' for countries navigating the path to fulfilling the PSGs. Finally, as a key document in the evolving field of peacebuilding and statebuilding, the New Deal and the broader PSGs fail to acknowledge gender dynamics as a key driver in conflict and fragility.

Despite these faults, the IDPS' work has created valuable opportunities in the development discourse, and has provided a platform to generate momentum for these burgeoning ideas. If used as the platform to shape implementable development plans, based on context-specific realities, the New Deal may well serve as the path toward peaceful, sustainable development for

fragile and conflict-affected societies.

Looking Ahead

As a platform for knowledge exchange and a forum for partnership between a variety of important actors in the peacebuilding and statebuilding field, the IDPS' expertise and unique perspective can be shared with the wider international development effort. Key in this effort is the IDPS' opportunity to engage in the ongoing UN Post-2015 process, for which 'Conflict and Fragility' has been identified as a major theme.

Finally, as the IDPS enters a new phase looking for answers in its seven pilot countries where the New Deal is being implemented, the Dialogue and its membership need to continue to foster the international community's support. In this effort and looking ahead, the involvement of civil society is critical to ensure the well-rounded and well-informed development of this important debate.



New Governance Needed for a New Year (Originally published in Global Brief Magazine)

By Dr. Lloyd Axworthy

I write this under a certain cloud of apprehension. Ancient Mayan prophecies predict the end of the world on December 21st, 2012, which just happens to be my birthday. So in addition to preparing for another ring on the tree of life, I labor under the prediction that the aging process may not matter a hill of beans, it may just be a collective *poof*.

However, if the Mayans prove wrong and December 22nd dawns another day (likely at well below freezing here in Winnipeg), my sense of relief will be tinged with an ongoing feeling of dread and remorse. For there is a major and consequential shift taking place in the world I know, and the principles I believe in. Namely, the demise of a period of time, where the world appeared to be working toward a system of cooperation and collaboration.

When was that period you may well ask? Last week, I attended the 15th anniversary of the Land Mines Treaty in Ottawa. There, I had the chance to talk to many had been involved in making the treaty happen, and one common theme arose out of our conversation: It was how in that period of the late 1990s, it was indeed possible for governments, NGOs and international organizations to work together to advance the principle of human security. This collaboration then became the standard for collegial behavior between nations and people to build up institutions and standards that offer protection from threats and risks that cross borders.

passports,” as Kofi Annan described them.

Today, there is not the same motivation or commitment to multilateral problem solving. As a result, we are regressing to a world system that is becoming fractured and divided without a common cause to uphold, or stand on. Consider recent evidence: The Doha talks on climate change collapse without any serious movement towards an agreement to limit carbon emissions. At the same time, to limit global warming to 2 degrees Celsius there will have to be drastic cuts to greenhouse gas emissions on a global scale. This understanding exists as new information reveals that 1200 new coal plants are planned around the world, the majority in India and China.

Then there is the Eurozone financial morass. Once the model of interstate cooperation, and integrated, cross border policy and practice, the EU has become a sorry example of failure and bickering.

For those of us who took pride in peacekeeping, the sorry sight of UN peacekeepers being pushed aside in the Democratic Republic of the Congo as civilians are killed or raped, or the tragic case of the Haitian cholera epidemic being traced to peacekeepers is an embarrassment. This is especially true of the effort of UN officialdom to downplay its consequences.

This is only surpassed by the futility of the UN membership, especially the P-5 to mount any form of pro-

tection for civilians in Syria, causing the institution to have lost any credibility as the keeper of peace and security.

All of this simply adds up to a deepening crisis of international institutions to play the role of governance in a world of quarreling, quibbling nation states, sticking their heads in the sand when it comes to acting in a global interest. Why? Possible answers are the failure of leadership in the institutions, or the institutions themselves are becoming too unwieldy vis-à-vis the tens of thousands who populate the large UN conferences. Or is it that in difficult economic times, leaders have to hunker down on domestic issues and don't have the time or inclination to focus on broader global issues that don't have immediate political payoff. Daniel Rodgers in his recent book "The Age of Fracture" simply asserts that the consensus - the common acceptance of certain values and commitments has "disaggregated" to use his word and there isn't much that we believe in together.

Whatever the reason, it is having disastrous effects, both domestically and globally. There is a real loss of direction and purpose, which results in an unwillingness to work much beyond our own immediate narrowly conceived national interests. This folly is symbolized by the refusal of the US Senate to ratify a treaty on disabilities that mirrored practices already in domestic law.

In this one sense maybe the Mayan prophecy is right.



WFM President,

Dr. Lloyd Axworthy

Photo credit: The Gazette

The sense of one world, of belonging to a community of shared interests is breaking down. Meanwhile, as the earth warms, natural disasters increase in severity, the public purse is strained to meet these catastrophes, and worst of all millions of innocent people die because of the failure to find common cause on prevention and solutions.

Too pessimistic? Maybe.

Ultimately, I want to issue an invitation to those who might be reading this blog. Let me know whether or not you agree that there is a crisis in our international governance. If you do tend to agree, or partially accept the argument, then offer your own suggestions on how to rehabilitate the concept of a collaborative system that can both incorporate the myriad of competing pressures and override this self-serving trend. Let's get a conversation going on how to find a consensus to restrain violence, control emissions, exchange ideas and design better functioning international architecture.

Strengthening the Rule of Law is Essential to Implement the Responsibility to Protect

By Sapna Chhatpar Considine, Megan Schmidt, Rachel Shapiro, and Amelia Wolf

**“the rule of law is key to the implementation of R2P and hence, to the prevention of atrocities.”
(Patricia O’Brien)**

In September 2012, Member States participated in a high-level meeting at the United Nations on strengthening the “rule of law”. This agenda seeks to ensure that governments- as well as all individuals and institutions- adhere and are held accountable to laws that are equally and fairly enforced and consistent with international human rights norms and standards. As such, the rule of law has long been considered a tool for the prevention of crimes under the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP, R2P) – a norm that aims to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing.

The Responsibility to Protect is founded on the idea that a state’s sovereignty entails the responsibility to protect its population from mass atrocities. This notion, supported by all governments and heads of state in 2005 when they endorsed RtoP at the World Summit, represented an important shift in the international order as world leaders agreed that sovereignty would not be used as a shield to massacre populations.

Strengthening the rule of law reinforces this principle of responsible sovereignty by requiring states to provide fundamental rights to populations. In the context of the Responsibility to Protect, a strong rule of law would mean that populations are protected under domestic law from RtoP crimes, and that anyone who threatens or com-

mits these violations would be rapidly investigated and held to account by strong national, regional and international judicial institutions. With mechanisms in place to ensure that perpetrators cannot commit these acts with impunity, the state will deter future mass atrocities more effectively.

Additional measures to prevent the commission of and impunity for RtoP crimes may include ensuring that domestic laws respect diversity and protect the human rights of all individuals without discrimination; promoting the peaceful resolution of disputes; and providing access to legal, security and judicial services for vulnerable groups including women, children and minorities who are disproportionately affected by atrocity crimes.

States can further enhance the rule of law by strengthening international mechanisms and institutions, including by supporting commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions that seek to uncover facts related to alleged crimes. Cooperating with international and hybrid criminal tribunals, including by ratifying the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, can help ensure accountability for mass atrocity crimes committed.

Yet as history shows, States do not always have the capacity or the political will to effectively promote the rule of law at the state-level or commit to their obligations under the Responsibility to Protect. States and regional and international organizations can, independently or in coalitions, call on governments to strengthen their rule of law and provide incentives to increase a state’s political will to

do so. When States lack the resources to strengthen the rule of law in their country or fulfill their obligations to protect their populations, they can collaborate bilaterally, multilaterally, regionally, or with international institutions. International assistance to a government to support the rule of law, and thereby prevent atrocity crimes, may include providing financial support to strengthen legal, judicial and security sector institutions; training police personnel to enforce international human rights standards; and implementing peacekeeping operations to maintain stability, prevent the escalation of conflict and promote the peaceful resolution of disputes. Throughout all of these efforts, as Member States and the United Nations work to assist one another in strengthening the rule of law, they are working to support the Responsibility to Protect framework.

The International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (ICRtoP) is a global network of NGOs working to advance RtoP at all levels. ICRtoP members will continue to support ongoing efforts to strengthen the rule of law in their countries and regions, and encourage world leaders to commit to enhancing their abilities to protect their populations from RtoP crimes. As UN Under-Secretary-General for Legal Affairs Patricia O’Brien said during a 27 June 2012 roundtable discussion on RtoP, “the rule of law is key to the implementation of R2P and hence, to the prevention of atrocities.”



ICRtoP Steering Committee

Photo Credit: ICRtoP

U.S. Senator and UNPA Supporter Benjamin Cardin Wins Re-Election

By Tony Fleming

The first sitting U.S. parliamentarian to endorse the establishment of a UN Parliamentary Assembly easily secured re-election in the U.S. elections last month.

Senator Benjamin Cardin of Maryland has served in the U.S. legislature since 1987, first in the lower chamber and then, from 2007, in the upper chamber. His re-election in November was to a second six-year term in the U.S. Senate. He won his seat again by a better than 2:1 margin. He endorsed the establishment of a UNPA in October 2011.

Mr. Cardin has a long-standing interest in foreign affairs, democratization and human rights. He serves on the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee and is co-chair of the U.S. Helsinki Commission. This latter role also engaged him in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. He served as Vice President of the Assembly until last year. His engagement and leadership in the intergovernmental parliamentary body encouraged the Campaign to approach him as a likely supporter of a UNPA.

Mr. Cardin's endorsement of a UNPA came after a committed outreach effort by the Campaign's U.S. coordinator, Mr. Tony Fleming, who also happens to be a constituent of the Senator.

Mr. Fleming met with the Senator's legislative staff on

Capitol Hill in Washington, DC, then with his staff at the Helsinki Commission. Over the course of several conversations, Mr. Fleming shared the Campaign's goals and discussed the costs, timing, logistics, representation and accountability of the proposed Assembly. In addition to meetings with legislative staff, he met with officials at the U.S. State Department to introduce the Campaign and to gather their perspective on the proposed assembly. At two of these meetings, the Secretary-General of the international Campaign, Mr. Andreas Bummel from Germany, participated as well.

During the annual meeting of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly in summer 2011, Senator Cardin met with several other OSCE PA members at a sidebar convention about the UNPA proposal. Canadian Senator Consiglio Di Nino and Swedish parliamentarian Åsa Lindestam had each previously endorsed the Campaign and encouraged Senator Cardin's support. At the meeting, they largely agreed on the objectives of establishing a UNPA in the future and on the need for a very specific plan of action with steps for the short, medium and long term if the project was to succeed.

The Co-Chair of the UNPA Campaign, the European parliamentarian Jo Leinen, expressed his encouragement to the Senator in a letter on other human rights efforts. In response, Senator Cardin concluded from the discussions so

far that "...to the extent that the establishment of a UNPA would bring more transparency, oversight and effective governance to the Secretariat and other structures of the United Nations, I would support its establishment."

A number of former U.S. officials have recently added their support, including former Senator Adlai Stevenson and former Representative Paul Findley of California. Mr. Cardin is the first sitting U.S. parliamentarian to endorse the proposal of a UN Parliamentary Assembly, and his broad respect across the U.S. political spectrum encourages Campaign supporters in the United States.

Internationally, more than 800 sitting members of parliament and over 300 former elected representatives are on record as supporters of a UNPA.



At an OSCE meeting in Belgrade, from left to right: Consiglio Di Nino (Canada), Ben Cardin (U.S.), Åsa Lindestam (Sweden), Shai Hermesh (Israel)"

Photo credit: Mr. Michel Marcotte, Interim Association Secretary, Canadian Delegation to the OSCE PA

Switzerland's Long March to the United Nations

By Rolf Paul Haegler

Switzerland's late membership in the United Nations

Ten years ago Switzerland was admitted by acclamation as member of the United Nations only 2002. But why did Switzerland abstain from joining the United Nations for 57 long years after their foundation?

The universality of the world organization as condition for the Swiss participation

Max Huber, a Swiss lawyer and diplomat who served from 1925 to 1927 as President of the Permanent Court of International Justice, wrote in 1918 that neutral states could become members of an international association of states aiming to secure peace only if this union had a common basis. In other words, Switzerland, as a permanent neutral state, could only become a member of the League of Nations, if this League included all world states. The universality of the world organization was a preliminary condition for Switzerland's membership. Such was also the case for the United Nations Organization. A neutral state is a state which maintains the universality of its relations with all of the others, including all adversaries in wartime. This situation has to be ruled by a special law, the law of neutrality. So neutrality is a consequence of universality. For that reason, it is understandable that a neutral state can only join a universal organization securing peace.

The precedent of the League of Nations

The project of a League of Nations caused great enthusiasm in Switzerland. This enthusiasm was followed by a bitter disappointment for a great part of the German speaking Swiss. The League of Nations appeared to them as a tool for maintaining Germany and Austria under the yoke of the victors of the First World War. "What happened to President Wilsons 14 Points in relation to Germany and Austria", asked the National Councillor Müller-Berne, a Member of Parliament. Socialists also fiercely

fought the League of Nations, which they considered a bulwark against the Russian revolution. A socialist Councillor Schneider, called it the "capitalist International". Membership in the League of Nations was submitted to the vote of the people and of the cantons and accepted on May 16, 1920 with a small majority after a very sharp campaign and Switzerland joined officially the League on November 15, the same year.

A declaration of war, condition to participate at the founding conference of the UN

Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin meeting at the Yalta conference, February 4 to 11, 1945, decided to summon a conference for the creation of the United Nations Organization and to invite to this conference nations which had "declared war on the common enemy by 1st March, 1945". The "common enemy" was the Alliance of the Axis powers, especially of Germany and Japan. By March 1, 1945, the powers fighting against Germany had reached the Swiss border only in the West, but even France was not totally liberated at that date. Switzerland was almost completely encircled by Nazi Germany and Mussolini's "Italian Social Republic" or "Republic of Salò". It is absolutely clear that Switzerland could never declare war against the so-called "common enemy", not only because this would have been contrary to its traditional permanent neutrality, but also because it would have been almost suicidal to attack its neighbor Germany, which could become powerful once again after some years.

The UN and Switzerland's neighbors after the war; the "enemy states" clauses

At the Conference of Potsdam, from July 17 to August 2, 1945, the United States of America, Great Britain and the Soviet Union invited the neutrals to join the UN, but they expressly ex-

cluded Spain. It was of course out of the question to accept the vanquished countries in the organization. On the contrary, these were the object of special conditions in the articles 53, 77 and 107 of the UN Charter, the so-called enemy states clauses. According to art.53, paragraph 2, of the UN Charter, the "term enemy state...applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter." Out of Switzerland's five neighbors, only France was a UN member. Germany and Italy were enemy states, Austria was occupied by the victors and could not join the UN, as it was suspected to become Nazi once again, and Liechtenstein, due to its small size, was admitted in the organization only 1990. Switzerland's situation was completely different from that of Sweden and neighboring UN members such as the Soviet Union, a super-power, Norway, Denmark and Poland, with only 2 enemy states in its neighborhood, namely Germany and Finland. Under such circumstances, Sweden could join the UN 1946, but not Switzerland.

The obligatory non-military sanctions of the UN and Swiss neutrality

The main problem to Switzerland's neutrality regarding the consequences of its membership in the UN was related to the application of article 41 of the UN Charter. According to this article, the "Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed" against an aggressor state. These measures may especially "include complete or partial interruption of economic relations". They are obligatory for all members of the UN. Such an obligation seemed to be incompatible with Switzerland's neutrality. In particular, a state that remained outside of the UN could consider that Switzerland would have to apply the law of neutrality regardless of its obligations as member of the United Nations.



As we have seen, immediately after the Second World War, many states bordering Switzerland as well as from elsewhere in the world remained outside of the international organization. As a member of the League of Nations, Switzerland had previously come in a very difficult situation when the League decided to take measures against Italy after its aggression on Abyssinia.

Switzerland as observer in the United Nations

The UN took over the seat of the League of Nations in Geneva. Although Switzerland was not a member of the UN, it had a very close relationship with the organization. It was accepted as an observer at the United Nations and became a member of almost all of the specialized UN organizations. In comparison to the numerous countries which were not admitted to the UN, Switzerland seemed almost in a privileged situation and wondered therefore if it was necessary to become a full member of the UN.

The UN on the way to universality

Already a few years after the end of the Second World War, the United Nations evolved on the way to universality. It is true that some problems remained or had newly arisen. The most important was the fact that the Chinese seat at the UN was occupied by the Taiwanese government until 1971. Only then did the People's Republic of China become represented at the UN. At that time, had Switzerland been a member of the UN, it could also have been placed in an awkward position due to the debates at the United Nations on the colonial policy of some pow-

ers, especially of its neighbor France. Finally, the universality of the UN was not guaranteed in the middle of the twentieth century, because it was not sure that the states which gained their independence in the process of decolonization would accept to become members of an organization created by the former colonial powers. Nevertheless, it soon became obvious that no state openly rejected the principles of the UN Charter. The situation derived from the Second World War had completely changed. The former enemy states either became the allies of the free world or of the communist bloc. Consequently, the enemy states clauses could not be applied to any country. Almost all of the states which had been maintained outside of the organization, including Italy and Austria, joined it in 1955, and Japan in 1956. The absence of the two German states had no consequence any more long before their admission to the UN in 1973.

The start of the debate on the Swiss UN membership

With the evolution of the United Nations, Switzerland's absence from the UN turned out to be an anomaly. But the main Swiss political forces repeated that years ago it had been undeniably established that it was impossible for Switzerland to become a member of the UN, due to its neutrality. They refused to verify if this declaration was still true. In fact, the Swiss people had completely forgotten that this conclusion was due to the special situation at the end of the Second World War and thought that this was an almost eternal truth. Proof thereof is that when the government in 1969 finally presented to the Parliament its first report on Switzerland's relations to the UN, it didn't even mention that a declaration of war against Germany was required in 1945 as a condition for participating in the foundation of the organization. The discussion on the membership in the United Nations started once

again only in 1965, when a member of the National Council, Hubacher, raised the question at Parliament. All of the other states whose neutrality was similar to that of Switzerland, like Sweden, were members of the UN. This was the proof that there was no neutrality problem. Nevertheless, the idea caused a fierce opposition, because it was considered as dangerous for Switzerland's neutrality, due to the obligatory non-military sanctions which UN members compelled to apply against an aggressor if so decided by the Security Council. The importance of this obligation was greatly exaggerated.

The refusal to join the UN: Neutrality or anti-communism?

Certainly the fear to lose the neutrality which had protected Switzerland from terrifying wars for centuries was real and understandable. But this fear should have been dispelled by an objective study of the case. The opponents to the country's membership in the UN considered that the Swiss neutrality was very different from that of other neutrals. This was true compared to the neutralism of many former colonies that was determined by the refusal to be allied with one of the power groups in the conflict between the free world and communism. But the difference with the neutrality of European countries like Sweden was difficult to admit. The truth is that the reference to neutrality served also, perhaps to a certain extent unconsciously, as an expression of anti-communism. To an important part of the Swiss public opinion, the United Nations Organization was an instrument in the hands of the communists and their allied countries of the so-called Third World. This attitude was expressed even several times by members of the Parliament. One of them said that "the UN is not only not popular for the majority of the Swiss citizens, but it is considered as an utterly partisan forum open to politically most extreme ideas, from which it

is better that our country, at present, keeps itself distant".

The deadlock of Switzerland's policy

More and more, its non-participation became a handicap for the Swiss diplomacy. The country had to renounce certain rights in the world organization which other sovereign countries could exert. But even the safeguard of neutrality was not better guaranteed than in case of an adhesion. When the Security Council imposed sanctions against Rhodesia in 1966 and 1968, Switzerland applied them partially. The Federal Council, Switzerland's Executive, admitted "that Switzerland cannot ignore the policy of a world organization approved by all the great powers. Consequently, it has taken autonomous measures...in order to avoid that the efficiency of the sanctions are compromised by Switzerland's attitude.

Indeed, neutrality shall not lead to favor the state which is the object of the sanctions". Logically, the fact that Switzerland applied the UN sanctions in an autonomous manner could have been considered as a clearer violation of the neutrality than if the country would have done so due to its obligation as a UN member. In the following years, Switzerland applied ever more strictly the UN decisions. Eventually, when Iraq attacked Kuwait in 1990, Switzerland applied the UN sanctions without any restriction. Even the association of the most violent opponents to the UN, the "Action for an independent and neutral Switzerland", approved this policy. Such facts were the proof that Switzerland had put itself in an absurd situation.

The first campaign to join the United Nations

By the end of the seventies, the government and the majority of the Members of Parliament had understood that Switzerland had to join the United Nations. As it had been the case for the acces-

sion to the League of Nations, membership at the United Nations first had to be proposed by the government to the Parliament. If both Chambers of the Parliament accepted the proposal, it obligatorily had to be submitted to the vote of the population and the cantons. To be adopted, the project had to be approved by the majority of them both.

The government therefore proposed Switzerland's accession to the United Nations to the Parliament and both Chambers accepted the project. Thereafter, it was submitted to the approval of the people and the cantons. An extremely emotional campaign took place. For the reasons exposed before, the opposition to the UN was enormous. Under such circumstances, the proposal for UN membership had no chance to succeed. The vote took place on March 16, 1986. The proposal was rejected by 75% of the voters and by all cantons without exception. Many people thought that the country would never enter the world organization. In the following years, the opponents still remained very strong, because they continued to think that neutrality was endangered by the UN membership. Perhaps the refusal to join the organization was felt by some persons as a sign of national identity. As teenagers like to express their independence by a strange behavior, these persons had the impression that Switzerland underlines its independence by remaining almost alone outside the UN.

The end of the cold war and its consequences

Soon the international situation changed completely. With the end of the cold war and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the communist danger disappeared, so that the main emotional obstacle to join the UN was removed. The United Nations was now really almost universal. Even the smallest countries had entered the organization, as Switzerland's neighbor Liechtenstein in 1990. Many people became aware that the

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country was in a strange situation without any valid reason. This evolution was still very slow. The government feared to be once more defeated if it took the initiative to propose anew to join the UN.

The successful second campaign to join the United Nations

More than 13 years passed without a serious change. Finally, a committee of leading figures from different political parties under the direction of a socialist Member of Parliament, Mr. Remo Gysin, decided in 1998 to launch a popular initiative to join the United Nations. It was necessary to collect at least 100,000 valid signatures from Swiss citizens entitled to vote in favor of the project. 124,000 valid signatures were sent to the government on March 6, 2000, according to the required time limit. The government and the majority in both Chambers of

the Parliament supported the project. Then the popular initiative was submitted to the vote of the people and the cantons. The following campaign was once more extremely difficult. The opponents fought with a great energy against the UN. The vote took place on March 3, 2002. With 1,489,110 “yes” against 1,237,629 “no”, and a short majority of the cantons, the initiative was accepted. Switzerland was accepted to the United Nations on September 10, 2002.

The ideal value of Switzerland's membership in the United Nations: Universality and democratization

This was an important event not only for the country, but also for the United Nations. At the date of the Swiss accession, the newly independent East Timor had also asked to join the UN and it was certain that it would be accepted, as this happened some days later.

All the other sovereign states recognized by the international community were already members of the United Nations. The organization had finally become the first organization aiming to secure peace, which reached universality in History. That was essential for the organization. This circumstance was also very satisfactory for Switzerland. As mentioned it at the beginning of this article, it had been said in 1918 that Switzerland could first enter an international organization as the UN only when this organization would unite all states. This was now the case. Consequently, Switzerland had joined the United Nations Organization in accordance with its own principles.

The World federalists and Switzerland's membership in the United Nations

The Swiss world federalists have always fought in favor of Switzer-

land's membership in the UN. As they prepared the founding meeting of the Swiss member organization of the World Federalist Movement, in November 1959, they obtained that Dr. Max Habicht, who had chaired the founding congress of our Movement 1947 in Montreux, speak of the Swiss UN-membership before the members of the Swiss section of the World Federation of UN Associations (WFUNA) in Zurich. We continued our struggle in the sixties and seventies and the Swiss observer at the UN in New York thanked us for our engagement. Some members of our small organization collected more than 3.000 signatures in favor of the popular initiative which succeeded to bring the country in the UN.

European Federalists' Addresses to Political Parties Congresses

By Mana Livardjani



UEF Congress team with
Wilfried Martens, EPP President

Photo credit: UEF

The European Parliament elections 2014 are around the corner. In Europe, all political parties are preparing their manifesto, political platform and other campaign programmes.

Believing that the only way out of the crisis is an economic governance, a fiscal and banking union, a European Plan for Sustainable Development,

as well as a true democratic European federation, the Union of European Federalists made its voice heard at the main European political parties' Congresses.

During the debates or at the stands hosted by the UEF, our latest publication *On Governing Europe* and the online campaign *Federalist Outing* were successfully presented and led to many exchanges of ideas with hundreds of politicians and parties' members.

At the Party of European Socialists (PES) Congress in Brussels, the UEF team addressed George Papandreou, former Prime Minister of Greece, Massimo D'Alema, former Prime Minister of Italy and Martin Schulz, President of the European Parliament.

At the European People's Party (EPP) Congress in Bucharest, European Federalists, led by UEF President Andrew Duff, had the opportunity to present the ideas and proposals for the

future of Europe to the biggest European political group. The UEF stand was visited by Wilfried Martens, EPP President, Michael Barnier, European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services, Johannes Hahn, European Commissioner for Regional Policy amongst other well-known European politicians.

In November, UEF continued to raise visibility of federalists' demands. At the European Liberals' Congress in Dublin, the fringe debate “On Governing Europe” was hosted by Andrew Duff, whereas the team representing the organisation in Athens to the European Green Party managed to reach out to Monica Frassoni, Co-Chair of the EGP, and many members of the European Parliament who visited the UEF stand.

“My Big Fat United Planet” A New Book by Debbie Metke By Debbie Metke

From being kidnapped by five pimps to connecting the dots to a unified world, my new book will be trying to fill a niche.

It took me awhile before I became an activist for world federation. After teaching bands and choirs on a Sioux Indian reservation, I realized I wanted to do more to help the world. Years later, I attended a lecture in San Francisco and saw a brochure about world government. It immediately made sense and was always hovering as an idea in my subconscious.

Still, it took another decade before I saw a small ad in my city’s newspaper that simply said, “World Peace Through World Law”. I called the number, joined the group, and was sent out to Washington D.C. for a conference, where I was humbled

by the esteemed activists present and energized to join in the mission.

I ended up working on the staff at the World Federalist office, but felt we often tried to perfect our policies rather than broadcast our message. Thus began my effort to try to reach out to those who may not be politically astute, but who see suffering in their lives and never give a thought about what is trickling down from the world level. I wrote many letters to the editor about the need for better global governance that were published around my country, as well as other countries in the world.

People are now concerned about what is happening globally, most especially with climate change. However, from every lecture I hear (including 350.org’s Bill

McKibben who is currently touring and amassing environmental activists) there is a vital piece missing – the link that we World Federalists provide – coordinated, enforceable and sustained governance among all nations.

With the economic downturn, I was laid off from my job and, while searching for another, decided I would write my version of what average citizens would need for hope, vision, and motivation. I had an idea! I am widely known for my nefarious solo backpacking trips around the world and the adventures which have ensued. Many asked that I write a book describing my fun, exciting or heartwarming stories. This would be my hook to introduce them to what is more important – our World Federalist message, connecting the dots to show what is wrong, what is in place,

what is proposed, and what is still needed to save our planet, while entertaining them at the same time with tales of the wonderful humanity I encountered in all nations I visited from Pakistan to Peru. And the “pimp” story? – Well, our world could use more safety too.

I see great potential for WFM and am most interested in using this book and the Internet to simplify and humanize our message and disburse it as far and wide as possible around the world. If others among you are interested in joining in this effort with me, I’d love to hear from you. My Big Fat United Planet will probably be available later this spring.

Soft Power and Human Rights Come First By Lucy Law Webster

“The UN was created to help human beings; not governments.” This statement by one of the thousands of Syrians who fled his home to go to Turkey, where the refugee camps were already full, asserts a reality that needs continued reaffirmation.

The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine has been endorsed by the UN, but is not always implemented. Nonetheless, there are signs of growing awareness of the idea (proclaimed boldly by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan) that the rights of people are more important than the rights of States.

Malala Yousafzai in Afghanistan has sparked a whole movement to demand proper schooling for girls. Her ideas and her courage are supported by many peoples in her country and worldwide. This is an impressive action against oppression.

Prospects for social and economic development in many parts of Africa are being underpinned by new efforts to build peace and to reduce or avoid violence. The careful intervention of ECOWAS troops into northern Mali provides a means to train troops and continue negotiations to oust the extreme,

violent Islamist regime that seized control when a coup against the government laid a basis of chaos. There is new recognition in many parts of the world that assertive action for civility is more valuable than the most powerful armed forces. The armed forces of the government in Syria cannot win in the end when people defect and seek to avoid oppression. Nor can new forces of domination in Egypt withstand the demands of the people for greater democracy.

The UN General Assembly has taken action to enhance the international status of

Palestine. With overwhelming votes it was possible for the GA to bypass the inaction of the Security Council and to overcome some of the injustice of the status quo within Palestine and Israel. Although Hamas will not recognize Israel, Israel will continue to exist and the extent to which it will thrive will be proportionate to its ability to live with its neighbors.

The United Nations cannot build anything like a perfect world, but it does encourage standards of equity and justice that women and men and nations and people aspire to attain.

Politics and Economics in the Globalization Era By Lucio Levi

The most significant aspect of globalization is essentially political. It lies in the tension between the development of those forces of production that are unifying the world and the structures of the nation-states, which should, but cannot, govern the globalization process because of their dimension. Globalization is not merely a quantitative increase in social relationships and exchanges at the world level, but also a qualitative change rooted in the scientific revolution in material production. Alongside the national societies and markets it also creates a global civil society and a global market. It is a process which escapes from the states' control and in fact subjects state structures to so much strain that they are forced to adapt their own practices to these changing dimensions of economic and social relations.

As a result a vast movement of ideas has taken place, not only in economic thinking, but also in policymaking. After the accession to power of Margaret Thatcher (1979) and Ronald Reagan (1981) it took the form of "market fundamentalism", an expression popularized by George Soros. Its basic tenet is that the free play of market forces promotes the universal spread of wealth, freedom and peace. According to this ideology, markets are capable of regulating themselves and therefore do not need any public regulation. Any

interference in market mechanisms is rejected. Therefore, the globalization era would mark the withering of the state and politics.

The main proponents of market fundamentalism did not confine themselves to abstaining from any intervention in market mechanisms. They also initiated active deregulation, thus abdicating their responsibility to regulate the market and civil society. The consequence was the triumph of the economic and social potentates, the spread of organized crime, violence and international terrorism. Financial oligarchies can in effect pass judgement on national governments through the rating agencies. These have the power to "vote" against governments via capital transfers abroad or speculative attacks on interest rates. Citizens may vote and choose their government, but those elected too often obey the dictates of private interest groups not accountable to the people. The new ruling class – consisting of 1% of the population, as "Occupy Wall Street" repeats tirelessly – has deprived the people of the power to decide its own destiny. The powerlessness of democratic institutions is rooted in the weakness of national governments and parliaments with regard to the global decision-making power of financial oligarchies. Faced with this dilemma it is no exaggeration

to say that the survival of democracy is at risk.

The victory of global capitalism has been so overwhelming that social democratic parties have now abandoned their aspiration to tame and transform capitalism. They have absorbed their adversaries' vision of the world and ended up by inserting themselves actively into the prevailing trend, as shown by the Blair's and Brown's British Labour Party.

The culture of the primacy of economics over politics is now so pervasive that it has contaminated even the civil society movements. These – like multinational corporations and banks – now belong to the category of non-state actors and, at least in part, share the same culture. They even interpret the progressive erosion of state sovereignty brought about by globalization as being 'a withering of the state', reviving a phrase associated with the old dream of replacing state power with local communitarian bonds. But this cultural concept, though perhaps superficially attractive, does not provide any answer to the need for a new world political order.

In today's society, our relationship with the world is, both theoretically and practically, governed by the economy. Our mainstream behaviour models are shaped by the markets. The big firms see us as consumers

and use seductive advertising as a means of getting hold of our money. Information is hostage to powerful mass media which disseminate biased interpretations of social reality. Our time is confiscated by information and communication technologies which pull the wires of our lives.

Only one science thrives: economics, rightly called the sad science because its basic postulate is egoism – in other words, the pursuit of private interest. Politics, law and philosophy seem unable to offer any useful criteria to understand and control the world around us. We hold law to be the framework within which the relationships between human beings can be regulated, politics to be the activity which enables humankind to make the choices which determine our destiny, and philosophy to offer us an insight into the meaning of life, nature and history; yet despite all this, the power to govern human communities has now shifted from politics to economics, and from the national to the international level. The old maps provided by traditional political thinking – liberalism, democracy, socialism etc. – are now obsolete. They have become useless while the new ones are, at the moment, still far from being able to devise a coherent design.

If it is true that sovereign states are no longer the ex-

clusive actors in international relations, it is also the case that they represent a milestone in the development of civilization. Only political institutions can assert the supremacy of the common good over private interests. The way out of the crisis of the nation-state therefore lies in the reorganization of the state through the establishment, at the same time, of supranational and local levels of government according to the federal institutional formula, which would enable us to rethink and question the traditional model of the unitary state.

The current financial and economic crisis has unquestionably revealed the flaws in the present system: the lack of coercive rules to combat the abuses committed by the speculators and the inability of governments to take effective action. Yet economic order implies both rules and a government to enforce them, i.e. a political order. It is worth recollecting that more than two centuries ago Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, emphasized that the orderly working of market mechanisms is not simply the result of the spontaneous weave of social relations but that it requires public goods provided by the state, such as national defence, law and order, money and public works. In the contemporary world, this list has been extended with the inclusion of

for example income redistribution and antitrust policies.

Economic forces alone cannot generate the social cohesion necessary to make the market work. Only politics can shape a market order that ensures obedience to the law within the framework of the political community. The European Communities not only established a free trade area, but also an imposing institutional edifice specifically designed to regulate and lead economic integration. Today the only effective response to the need of a new world order can only come from politics and, more precisely, from the return of the primacy of politics over markets. The first step in this direction must be a European Constitution written by the European Parliament, not by national governments.

The Post-2015 Development agenda – Sausages Anyone? By Fergus Watt

There's a grain of truth in the old saying that, "Laws are like sausages. It's better not to see them being made."

Around the world there's a great deal of discussion currently taking place regarding the form and content of a renewed set of "development goals," to replace the Millennium Development Goals, adopted in 2000 to shape the international community's development programming for the 2000 – 2015 period.

At the historic United Nations Millennium Summit in 2000, the world's leaders made a commitment to eradicate extreme poverty and improve the health and welfare of the world's poorest people within 15 years. This commitment was set forth in the "UN Millennium Declaration" adopted at the time of the Summit.

The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are:

- 1) eradicating extreme poverty and hunger;
- 2) achieving universal primary education;
- 3) promoting gender equality and empowering women;
- 4) reducing child mortality rates;
- 5) improving maternal health;
- 6) combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases;
- 7) ensuring environmental sustainability; and

- 8) developing a global partnership for development.

It was a murky bit of sausage-making that led to these eight goals (and their accompanying 48 detailed indicators and benchmarks) that have served since 2000 as a widely used implementation framework for much of the international community's development programming. The eight MDGs were "adapted" from the much longer Millennium Declaration -- the official document that governments had adopted.

Various accounts suggest a process at the time of the Millennium Summit that included Kofi Annan as well as officials from the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the club of mostly western developed states, who are also the major aid donors) and the World Bank.

According to Yale University Professor Thomas Pogge, who is a leading figure in a network called ASAP (Academics Stand Against Poverty), the process by which the MDGs were articulated is unclear. "The goals, what led from the Millennium Declaration to the MDGS is a process that is wholly unknown. The goals were substantially changed and, in particular, diluted in the process."

Nevertheless, the MDGs were supported by major donor governments, multi-

lateral agencies and NGOs. While there is criticism of the specific content of the MDGs, there can be little doubt that they have become central to international development programming, providing much needed structure and coherence to processes that involve a multitude of actors.

Globally, overseas development assistance (ODA) amounts to approximately \$120 billion annually.

However, as Prof. Pogge points out, "We have to stop thinking about the poverty reduction project as being promoted by development aid only. Development aid is a very small niche in the international institutional architecture, and what happens there cannot possibly make up for the enormous headwind that is generated by the rest of the institutional order against the poor."

Briefly, some of the elements of that "international institutional architecture" that make more difficult the task of effective poverty reduction include:

- The terms of international trade. In addition to protectionism on the part of developed country governments that limits the capacity of developing countries to expand export markets, international rules developed by the World Trade Organization and other regional trade structures inhibit the expansion and diversification of developed country econo-

mies. A “development round” of WTO negotiations that might have addressed some of these inequities has been deadlocked for nearly a decade.

- The regulation of international finance. The work of organizations like the International Monetary Fund affects the conditions and levels of international development finance. Developing countries have long advocated changes in the rules that provide developed western governments with voting majorities in these crucial international rule-setting bodies, to little avail.

- Tax avoidance, corruption and transfer pricing, within multinational private enterprises that lead to massive outflows of funds from developing countries, mostly to a growing number of offshore tax havens and low-tax jurisdictions.

The debate surrounding the post-2015 development agenda is unlikely to address all of these structural obstacles thrown up by the present framework of global governance. But it does offer an opportunity to hit the reset button on an important global policy and programming agenda, with the potential to improve the lives of hundreds of millions of the world’s citizens.

So it’s not surprising that the global conversation has ramped up tremendously in recent months. At present there are multiple overlapping processes, each with

impacts nationally and internationally.

The two main UN processes include: (1) a high-level expert panel created by the Secretary-General to examine “the post-2015 development agenda,” further to a mandate from the 2010 MDG review conference; and (2) a General Assembly Working Group, looking at “sustainable development goals” as mandated at this summer’s “Rio + 20” UN Conference on Sustainable Development. These two UN processes are expected to be “harmonized” (another serving of sausages?) by September 2013.

Supporting these processes is a considerable amount of work by a myriad of UN agencies. An interagency task team prepared a widely referenced report, “Realizing the World We Want for All.” At present, the UN Development Group of agencies is conducting 90 national and regional consultations. These include 11 consults organized thematically on: inequalities, population, health, education, growth and employment, conflict/violence/disasters, governance, environmental sustainability, food security/nutrition, water, and energy.

Beyond these UN-based processes there is a myriad of studies, meetings, campaigns sponsored by NGOs, think tanks, academic networks, etc. Two reliable sources of information tracking the post-2015 debates

are websites at Beyond2015.org and worldwewant2015.org.

WFM- Canada recently provided a policy submission to the London meetings of the UN Secretary-General’s High-Level Panel. WFM-IGP Councillor Karen Hamilton was also one of the civil society speakers at the London meeting.

The WFM- Canada submission recommended that the Panel support the idea of a “rights-based Social Protection Floor.” The Social Protection Floor (SPF) proposal has been championed in a recent report of the UN’s International Labor Organization. It is based on the idea that everyone should enjoy at least basic income security sufficient to live, guaranteed through transfers in cash or in kind, such as pensions for the elderly and persons with disabilities, child benefits, income support benefits and/or employment guarantees and services for the unemployed and working poor. The combination of in-cash and in-kind transfers should ensure that everyone has access to essential goods and services, including essential health services, food security, primary education, housing, water and sanitation and others defined according to national priorities.

Implementing the SPF will be a complex effort. Although the general objectives are to be agreed multilaterally, the specific targets

would be determined according to national priorities and fiscal constraints. There would be a progressive phasing-in process, building on already existing programs whenever possible. But the literature on the efficacy of these sorts of cash-transfers to the poor is encouraging.

Articulating the SPF goal in the language of human rights makes it more likely that these measures will actually be implemented. And it also contributes to a useful re-framing of the discourse, from a focus on northern-driven poverty alleviation measures, to human rights, empowerment of the poor and to collective responsibilities of world citizenship.”

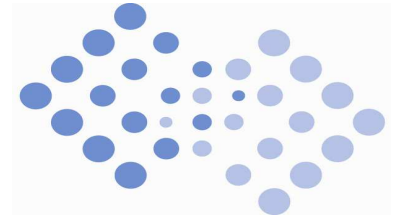
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Donor Spotlight: Global partners

The World Federalist Movement-Institute for Global Policy (WFM-IGP) works in partnership with governments, individuals, and other institutions from around the globe in its mission of advancing human security, international justice, the prevention of armed conflict, and the protection of civilians through the development of democratic institutions. The Government of the Netherlands has been a longtime partner of WFM-IGP's efforts around the world since 2001, providing major support for the Coalition for the International Criminal Court and the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect programs. The Netherlands' leadership has been crucial in supporting the engagement of civil society in the Rome Statute system and the Responsibility to Protect norm—two of the most powerful tools for peace currently available. This important partnership has enabled WFM-IGP to secure stronger access to justice, strengthen cooperation with the ICC, further international justice in more than 150 countries, strengthen the normative consensus for the Responsibility to Protect, and mobilize civil society to push for action to save lives in RtoP country-specific situations.

Thanks to the Netherlands and other partners, the global community is continuing to move closer to a world in which all people have access to core human rights and the rule of law. WFM-IGP is deeply appreciative of the generous support provided by the Netherlands and all of the many partners from around the world. If you would like more information about how you can support WFM-IGP efforts, please contact Mr. Danny Rees by phone at +1.646.465.8527, via email at rees@wfm-igp.org, or visit the WFM-IGP website at www.wfm-igp.org/site/donate.



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