
Conference on Reform of United Nations and other International Institutions

Guías de debate, ponencias e informes

Barcelona, 23 - 24 September 2004

Track 5 del Dialogue "Contributing to the Global Agenda"
Universal Forum of Cultures - Barcelona 2004



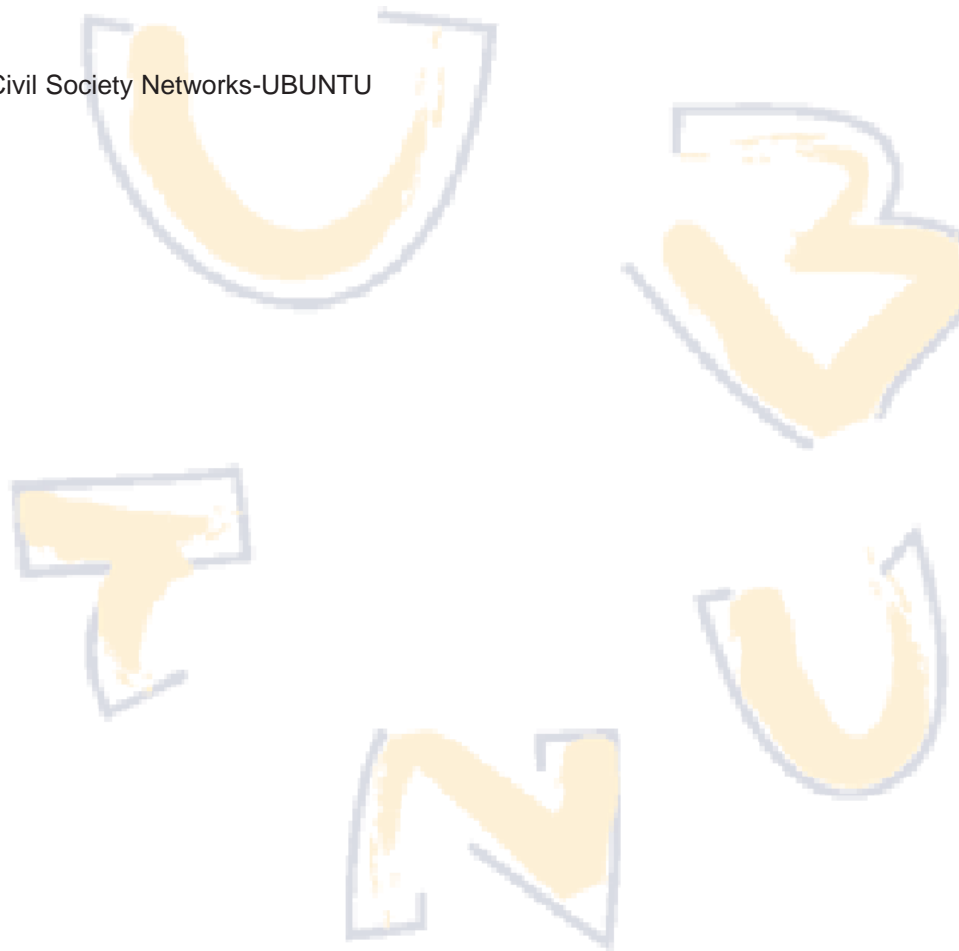
Organised by:



In co-operation with:

Forum 2000, Montreal International Forum, Club de Madrid, International Facilitating Group on Financing for Development, Helsinki Process on Globalisation and Democracy, World Political Forum, Global Progressive Forum and the "World Governance" Programme (Miguel Servet College of Higher European Studies, Paris)

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Legal deposit: B.24685-2005

Edition: April 2005

This publication has been possible thanks to the support and financing of Culture of Peace Foundation, Technical University of Catalonia, Open University of Catalonia, Generalitat de Catalunya, Diputació de Barcelona, Barcelona City Council, **la Fundación FRIDE y el Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación.**

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0. INTRODUCTION

During the Universal Forum of Cultures - Barcelona 2004, a dialogue took place from September 22 to 26 on "Contributing to the Global Agenda". The aim of this meeting was to bring together institutions and individuals with different backgrounds and opinions on the problems and challenges that are currently on the global agenda. On 23 and 24 September, during the dialogue, and as its fifth itinerary, the UBUNTU Forum - in co-operation with other international initiatives working to democratise and improve the system of international institutions - was organising a **conference on Reform of the United Nations and Other International Institutions**.

The UBUNTU Forum - World Forum of Civil Society Networks, established in Barcelona in 2001 in response to an appeal launched by Federico Mayor Zaragoza - was organising the conference as part of its **"World Campaign for In-Depth Reform of the System of International Institutions"**. The campaign objective was to promote such reform in order to help resolve the grave problems that face our world. This campaign, supported by many organisations and individuals from world civil society, has been one of the UBUNTU Forum's main activities since 2002.

Growing awareness of how important it is to have effective, democratic international institutions to contribute to resolving the world's serious problems has led to the emergence of various initiatives aimed at achieving reform of the international system. The UBUNTU Forum has sought to organise this conference jointly with some of these initiatives in order to increase dialogue and co-operation to make this event more plural and diverse. The organisations involved include **Forum 2000, Montreal International Forum, Club de Madrid, International Facilitating Group on Financing for Development, Helsinki Process, World Political Forum, Global Progressive Forum and the "World Governance" Programme (Miguel Servet College of Higher European Studies, Paris)**.

Proposals to reform the United Nations and other international institutions, such as the Bretton Woods Institutions or the World Trade Organisation, are many and varied. The conference sought to provide a forum **for debating existing proposals** for the reform of the system of international institutions, presenting and discussing new alternatives, facilitating interaction between the different governmental and non-governmental actors with interests in this issue, identifying common ground and divergences in their positions and even **exploring the possibility of working towards shared goals** within the current global context. The conference was organised around three themes, each of them dealt with in three sessions.

Each session had *preparatory documents*¹ and a discussion guide. A series of preparatory documents, some of them resulting from debates on reform proposals held in recent years, were selected from among the huge body of literature that exists on the subject to form the starting point and structure for the debates. Needless to say, one of the objectives of the conference was to enrich this starting point through contributions by the speakers and all of the participants in general.

The Ad Hoc Secretariat and the co-organising initiative drew up the corresponding *discussion guides* - a series of questions on the key and most controversial issues relating to the subjects of debate, around which the speakers structured their addresses and the moderators the general debate. These proceedings, which aim to cover the issues generating the greatest interest, the different participants' positions, agreements and disagreements and possible future action, were completed through the work carried out by the team of rapporteurs and, naturally, the texts that some speakers sent or presented at the Conference.

¹ See appendix 1 of this minute book

1. PROGRAMME: Themes, sessions and conference speakers

1.1 Thematic areas and sessions

A) INSTITUTIONAL ARCHITECTURE FOR WORLD DEMOCRACY

- A1) UN General Assembly and World Parliament
- A2) Institutional architecture: UN, UN agencies, BWI, WTO, state sovereignty; reform of foundational documents
- A3) Global democratic governance and multilevel governance: (global, regional, national, sub-national, local) and the participation of other actors (civil society, corporations, local authorities, etc.)

B) INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS FOR WORLD PEACE, SECURITY AND JUSTICE

- B1) Reform of the Security Council
- B2) The role of the General Assembly: peacekeeping forces
- B3) World justice: making the IJC, ICC, etc. universal; making human rights universal

C) INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC WORLD WELFARE

- C1) In-depth reform of the BWI and of its relations with the UN; in-depth reform of World financial and economic policies
- C2) In-depth reform of the WTO and of its relations with the UN; in-depth reform of World trade policies
- C3) From the ECOSOC to an Economic, Social and Environmental Security Council

1.2 Sessions, speakers and rapporteurs

23 SEPTEMBER AFTERNOON

3.30pm-4.30pm: OPENING: Federico Mayor; Asharose Migiro, Tanzanian Minister of Development; Jaume Pagès, Universal Forum of Cultures; Josep Xercavins, UBUNTU Forum Ad Hoc Secretariat

17.00-19.00: BREAKAWAY SESSIONS:

	Thematic area A) Institutional Architecture for World Democracy	Thematic area B) Institutional Reforms for World Peace, Security and Justice	Thematic area C) Institutions for social, environmental and economic world welfare
23/09 17.00-19.00 h	<p>A1) <u>UN General Assembly; World Parliament</u></p> <p>Co-convenor: Helsinki Process</p> <p>Chair: Ngairé Woods, Oxford University</p> <p>Speakers: - Richard Falk, Princeton University - Guido di Marco, former president of Malta and of UN GA - Heidi Hautala, Finnish MP</p> <p>Rapporteur: Ilari Rantakari; Helsinki Process</p>	<p>B1) <u>Security Council Reform</u></p> <p>Co-convenor: Club de Madrid</p> <p>Chair: J. Christer Elfverson, Club de Madrid</p> <p>Speakers: - Mario Soares, former president of Portugal - Antonio J. Vallim Guerreiro, Ministério das Relações Exteriores - Poul N. Rasmussen, Global Progressive Forum/MEP</p> <p>Rapporteur: Nadia Johnson, WEDO</p>	<p>C1) <u>In-depth reform of the BWI and of its relations with the UN; in-depth reform of world financial and economic policies</u></p> <p>Chair: Sara Longwe, FEMNET</p> <p>Speakers: - Jeff Powell, Bretton Woods Project - Ann Pettifor, NEF - Jose Olivio Oliveira, ICFTU</p> <p>Rapporteur: Lorna Gold, CIDSE</p>

24 SEPTEMBER

9.00am-11.00am: BREAKAWAY SESSIONS:

	Thematic area A)	Thematic area B)	Thematic area C)
24/09 9.00-11.00 h	<p>A2) <u>Institutional architecture: UN, UN agencies, BWI, WTO, state sovereignty; reform of foundational documents</u></p> <p>Chair: Jim Garrison, State of the World Forum</p> <p>Speakers: - Ezra Mbogori, MWENGO - Kumi Naidoo, CIVICUS - Antonio Papisca, Università di Padova</p> <p>Rapporteur: Jorge Nieto, Centro Internacional para una Cultura Democrática</p>	<p>B2) <u>The role of the General Assembly: peacekeeping forces</u></p> <p>Chair: Roberto Savio, IPS</p> <p>Speakers: - Mohamed El Fatah Naciri, League of Arab States - Eduardo Greppi, World Political Forum</p> <p>Rapporteur: Patrico Rodé, Pax Romana</p>	<p>C2) <u>In-depth reform of the WTO and of its relations with the UN; in-depth reform of world trade policies</u></p> <p>Chair: Katarina Sehm Patomäki, NIGD</p> <p>Speakers: - Nitin Desai, former UN Under Secretary General - John Foster, North-South Institute</p> <p>Rapporteur: Kristin Dawkins, IATP</p>

11.30-13.30: BREAKAWAY SESSIONS:

24/ 09 11.30-13.30 h	<p>A3) <u>Global democratic governance and multilevel governance: (global, regional, national, sub-national, local) and the participation of other actors (civil society, corporations, local authorities, etc.)</u></p> <p>Co-Convenor: Forum International de Montréal</p> <p>Chair: Nigel Martin, Forum International de Montreal</p> <p>Speakers: - Brigitta Dhal, Cardoso Panel - Candido Grzybowski, IBASE</p> <p>Rapporteur: Muthoni Wanyeki, FEMNET</p>	<p>B3) <u>World justice: making the IJC, ICC, etc. universal; making human rights universal</u></p> <p>Co-Convenor: World Governance Project</p> <p>Chair: Renata Bloem; CONGO</p> <p>Speakers: - Bill Pace, World Federalist Movement - Jonathan O'Donohue, Amnistía Internacional</p> <p>Rapporteur: Kristin Dawkins, IATP</p>	<p>C3) <u>From the ECOSOC to an Economic, Social and Environmental Security Council</u></p> <p>Chair: Alexander Likhotal, Green Cross International</p> <p>Speakers: - Oscar de Rojas, Financing for Development Office - Samir Amin, Forum Tiers Monde - Dennis Pamlin, World Wildlife Fund International</p> <p>Rapporteur: Frank Schroeder, FES</p>
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15.30-17.30: RAPPORTEURS CONCLUSIONS

18.00-19.00: CLOSING SESSION: Federico Mayor; Salil Shetty, UN Millennium Development Goals Campaign; Josep Xercavins, UBUNTU Forum Ad Hoc Secretariat

1.3 List of speakers and rapporteurs

Samir Amin	Forum Tiers Monde
Renata Bloem	CONGO - Confederation of NGO's in consultative with UN
Kristin Dawkins	IATP - Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy
Nitin Desai	UN Former Under-Secretary General
Brigitta Dhal	Cardoso Panel (UN Civil Society relationships)
J. Christer Elfverson	Club de Madrid
Mohamed El Fatal Naori	League of Arab States
Richard Falk	Princeton University
John Foster	North-South Institute
Jim Garrison	State of the World Forum
Lorna Gold	CIDSE - International Cooperation for Development and Solidarity
Edoardo Greppi	World Political Forum
Candido Grzybowski	IBASE
Heidi Hautala	Finnish MP - Helsinki Process
Nadia Johnson	WEDO - Women's Environment and Development Organization
Alexander Likhotal	Green Cross International
Sara Longwe	FEMNET - The African Women's Development and Communications
Guido di Marco	Former President of Malta and UN General Assembly
Nigel Martin	Forum International de Montreal
Federico Mayor	
Ezra Mbogori	MWENGO
Kumi Naidoo	CIVICUS
Jorge Nieto	Centro Internacional Para una Cultura Democrática
José Antonio Ocampo	Secretario General Adjunto de Economía y Asuntos Sociales de NNUU
José Olivio Oliveira	ICFTU - International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
Jonathan O'Donohue	Amnesty International
Bill Pace	World Federalist Movement
Dennis Pamlin	World Wildlife Fund International
Antonio Papisca	Università di Padova
Ann Petifor	NEF - New Economics Foundation
Jeff Powell	Bretton Woods Project
Ilari Rantakari	Helsinki Process
Poul N. Rasmussen	Global Progressive Forum /Eurodiputado
Patricio Rodé	Pax Romana
Oscar de Rojas	UN Financing for Development Office
Roberto Savio	IPS - Inter Press Service
Frank Schroeder	FES - Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
Katarina Sehn Patomäki	NIGD - Network Institute for Global Democratization
Salil Shetty	Director of the UN Millennium Development Goals Campaign
Mario Soares	Former President of Portugal
Antonio J. Vallim Guerreiro	Ministério das Relações Exteriores da Brasil
Muthoni Wanyeki	FEMNET - The African Women's Development and Communications
Ngaire Woods	Oxford University
Josep Xercavins	UBUNTU Forum Ad Hoc Secretariat

2. GENERAL INTERVENTIONS

2.1 "The Reform of United Nations and other international institutions: South Appreciations"

Asharose Migiro; Honourable Minister for Development of United Republic of Tanzania (on behalf of Honourable Jakaya M. Kikwete, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the United Republic of Tanzania and Co-chair of the Helsinki Process on Globalisation and Democracy)

Honourable Chairperson of the Conference, honourable Ministers, distinguished Guests and Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen:

At the outset, allow me in a very special way, to thank the Government and the people of Spain for the warm reception accorded to me and my delegation, since our arrival at this great nation. Let me also record my sincere gratitude and appreciation to the organizers of this conference, for having invited me as one of the main speakers to this extremely important conference.

Chairperson,

I am delighted to be here today to share with you my views on the **"Reform of the United Nations and other International Institutions: Perspectives from the South"**. Coming from the South, I find this topic both relevant and timely, as it appeals for a stronger, responsive, transparent, accountable and democratic United Nations and other international institutions for the betterment of all people in the world, regardless of their geographical location, level of their social-economic development and whether they are rich or poor. After all, we all live on the same planet.

Chairperson,

The current political, economic, technological and institutional changes taking the place all over the world, are to say the least, having significant impact on systems and institutions of governance both at national and international levels. In particular, the end of the cold war signified the beginning of a new era in international relations, in which the political and economic ideologies of the major market economies gained a new ascendancy. Liberalization, deregulation, privatization and monetary considerations as policy prescriptions have come to be considered universal panacea to the various development problems and challenges, particularly those confronting the underdeveloped South.

Admittedly, this new drive has created significant development opportunities in the global economy. As a result and under very difficult conditions, many countries especially those in the South, have taken significant steps to deregulate, liberalize and integrate further into the world economy. However, the high hopes for meaningful change and development out of these post-cold war changes, are yet to be realized. To the contrary, development challenges among the countries of the South, are becoming more complex and overwhelming, and opportunities for growth are becoming increasingly elusive. On the other hand, even those third world countries, which had established a history of fast growth and sound economic fundamentals, are also experiencing severe economic setbacks. This has been partly caused by socio-economic instabilities associated with financial liberalization and inappropriate policy prescriptions that are offered in dealing with the post-cold war globalization challenges.

Chairperson,

For the South, it is of major concern that the reforms, which have led to a greater integration of developing countries into the world economy, have not narrowed the economic gap between rich and poor countries. What is more worrying is the fact that many countries of the South are currently facing worsening internal economic disparities, which in turn, are now generating complex social and political tensions.

At the level of North-South relations, this new trend has had far-reaching implications particularly for developing countries. Almost exclusive emphasis on the role of unfettered markets has displaced key principles that underpinned earlier multilateral discussions and negotiations on economic issues. The role and responsibilities of the international community, the need for non-commercial international transfers and the necessity to give developing countries special and differential treatment no longer orient or inform international policies and action in the face of severe development challenges of the South. Instead, the international agenda is dominated by overwhelming concern on developed countries to gain greater freedom for their foreign investments, capital flows, Third World resources and markets.

Chairperson,

Consequently the countries of the South are increasingly becoming unable to advance an agenda of their own, in promoting their key interests. Against this background, it is imperative that the countries of the South evolve and put in place appropriate policies and strategies that would significantly enhance their capability to face the enormous challenges and exploit the vast opportunities that are located in the new world of globalization. Equally important, they must also review and strengthen their role in multilateral systems and institutions of governance and work out approaches and actions that will enhance their effectiveness on the international scene. Their unity and cohesion remain, therefore, the source of their strength. As such new agenda of the South needs to identify major issues around which all can rally. It is in this context that the work of the *Helsinki Process on Globalization and Democracy* becomes extremely significant, particularly as the Process seeks to address and look for possible solutions to the dilemma of global governance.

An Agenda of the South: Priority Issues towards Reform of International Institutions

Chairperson,

Allow me now, at this juncture to identify principal and priority issues that must make up any new agenda for developing countries, outlining in broad terms what their objectives might be in respect of each of these issues. These, old and new, are as follows.

Governance of the Global Economy

In a world of growing linkages, the governance issue of the global economy and of representative mechanisms for dealing with multilateral political governance assumes a special importance. At present the G7 and G8 groupings, and the institutions over which they exercise almost executive influence, have virtual monopoly in determining policies affecting the entire globe. The South needs to give serious consideration to the development of institutional mechanisms at the highest level, representative of the interests of all countries or groups of countries, to deal with the task of global economic surveillance management and governance.

Monetary and Financial Environment for Development

Chairperson,

Developed countries have begun to distance themselves from the earlier edifice of development co-operation in the area of money and finance. Instead the current emphasis is on market forces and private financial flows. Any agenda of the developing countries ought, however, to emphasize the following:

Official financial flows

- Official development assistance, both bilateral and multilateral, must remain an important means of meeting developing countries' need for external financing;
- The contribution of the multilateral financial institutions towards meeting the capital needs of developing countries must be enhanced;
- Creation of international liquidity to replace the dollar and other national currencies as internationally accepted reserves, and proposals for these to be channelled to developing countries, are policy propositions that deserve renewed attention;

- New revenue raising instruments, urged as a means of resolving a number of environmental problems and a means to curb short-term speculative capital movements, could also help to enhance official capital transfers to developing countries.

External debt and other issues related to the need for finance

- Means to achieve a speedy resolution of the continuing debt burden which hinders growth and development in many developing countries must be sought and effectively promoted, including efforts to improve the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative and its implementation;
- Regional funds to contain financial crises to facilitate resumption of economic growth could provide financial assistance associated with locally and regionally generated development policies and programs.

Private capital flows

Drawing lessons from the financial crisis that affected South East Asia as a result of financial liberalization and the prescriptions insisted and enforced by multilateral financial institutions to the South, a South Agenda must give serious attention to the following:

- Measures and mechanisms to control and moderate short term and speculative international capital flows to reduce vulnerability and instability;
- Calling upon the IMF to revisit its articles of agreement in order to accommodate and empower developing countries to play a bigger role in making decisions that affect the being of their economies.

Reform of the multilateral financial institutions

Chairperson,

In the context of the overwhelming influence of the Bretton Woods institutions on developing countries' policies either through structural adjustment or through prescriptions for crisis management, a range of issues relating to the conduct of the institutions needs to be placed on an Agenda of the South. In particular, serious consideration needs to be given to establishing new policies and mechanisms in these institutions to achieve improvements in:

- The objectivity of their analysis;
- Criteria for lending;
- The relevance and impact of conditions;
- Transparency and accountability of these institutions;
- Voting procedures to end the marginalisation of developing countries in the policy and decision-making processes.

International Trade and Trade-related Issues ***World Trade Organization (WTO) matters***

Chairperson,

In addition to trade, the WTO agenda now covers a wide range of trade-related matters and agreements that circumscribe wide areas of domestic development policy in developing countries. The experience of the Uruguay Round and its aftermath demonstrate the need for developing countries to ensure a mutually reinforcing relationship between trade liberalization and development goals. These matters must be a continuing agenda for the reform of the United Nations and other International Institutions as perspectives from the South. Developing countries will need to develop proposals relating to the implementation of agreements already reached, as well as to the new issues that have subsequently emerged, or to any new negotiating round proposed for the future. In doing so the South must:

- Give consideration to the pace, direction and content of liberalization, taking into account levels of development and the need to build up national capabilities;

- Make concerted efforts to prevent technical, environmental, social, health and other grounds being used to introduce what in effect are measures with a protectionist intent;
- Formulate and present a united policy front in WTO negotiations and with respect to implementation of the Uruguay Round Agreements;
- Develop a common position on whether there should be a new round of WTO negotiations or whether a sector approach is acceptable. In any event, the South must take the initiative and place proposals of its own on the WTO negotiating agenda;
- Suggest improvements in WTO procedures and mechanisms on the basis of which agreements are negotiated and implemented, so that these do not prejudice developing countries' interests.

There are other key issues, which must form part of the South agenda relating to reforms on trade and trade-related matters. These include:

- Food security;
- Rapid and full implementation of the Marrakech Ministerial Decisions concerning least developed and net food-importing countries;
- Special and differential treatment for developing countries;
- Competition policy.

A multilateral investment agreement

Chairperson,

The advanced industrial countries' quest to establish a multilateral regime to liberalize foreign investment and to establish standard rules of treatment has far-reaching implications for developing countries and therefore, ought to be reconsidered in any new South Agenda. In considering whether it is in their interests to participate in possible negotiations, developing countries need to define a set of principles for a policy framework, which correspond to developing countries interests in this matter.

Honourable Chairperson,

The importance of commodity trade in the exports of developing countries as a whole has declined. Nevertheless, the weakness of commodity prices and their terms of trade in recent times have severely affected many developing countries, particularly the poorest of the poor. The commodity issue must therefore remain an important element in any new Agenda of the South in reforming the United Nations and other International Institutions. In particular, the rationale underlying the dismantling of the framework of international commodity agreements must be contested, while giving consideration to schemes of supply management among the producing countries themselves.

Regional and other trading arrangements

The growth of preferential trading arrangements, including mega-blocs, which embrace both developed and developing countries, raises a number of important issues for developing countries. Two of these issues are the discriminatory treatment of developing countries that do not belong to these groups, and the erosion of generalized preferences. Such issues aimed at evolving a new international trading system must be part of an agenda to reform the existing framework.

Reform of the United Nations

Honourable Chairperson,

Changes in the global political scene have equally brought into focus the role and reform of the United Nations system, in particular in relation to the management of the global economy. The South Agenda must include the bolstering of the United Nation's role in placing the development problem in a global perspective, strengthening its contribution to the development field and resisting any retrogression in this area.

In recent years, considerable international attention has been given to social and related aspects of development in contrast to that devoted to "hard core" international economic issues affecting development. But the former cannot be a substitute for addressing the key economic issues. As part of this agenda, the South must try to rectify this situation and continue to encourage initiatives in the United Nations that are intended to bring about a mutually reinforcing relationship between these two dimensions.

Honourable Chairperson, distinguished Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen,
Let me conclude by reiterating that partnerships are crucial to global problem solving. Surely, one could argue that partnerships are the only way to earnestly tackle global problems. In order to work effectively, partnerships have to be based on equality and be goal-oriented. I believe that the best way to reach more effective multilateralism is to develop innovative and genuine partnerships between all stakeholders. It is in this context that the views from the South need to be given more attention. We need to devise better instruments for the governance of globalization and the functioning of the multilateral system. Better governance of globalization must enlarge the space for national policies to stimulate enterprise development, employment creation, poverty reduction and gender equality. It must reinforce social protection and enhance skills and capabilities. It must support action to overcome infirmity, inequality and exclusion.

"A better world is possible let us play our part"
I thank you for your kind attention.

2.2 "UN Millennium Campaign"

Salil Shetty; Director of the UN Millennium Development Goals Campaign

Mr. Mayor and friends

Thank you all for this opportunity,

There can be no two options on whether the current global governance arrangements require a radical rethink. Traditional notions of national sovereignty have been overtaken by changes in technology, defence, financial sector and indeed new doctrines and attitude. Cross-national transmission and movement of money, disease vectors, electronic media, environmental crisis and most importantly ideas and people offers an entirely new global framework. From this perspective, many would argue that the current global governance structure is obsolete, inequitable and on the whole not equal to the task.

The manifestations of this have been described by many including the Secretary General of the UN Kofi Annan as a series of inter-linked crises.

The first is the crisis of security. Much has been said, no doubt, in the last two days in this Conference on this. Of course, Iraq is the most talked about case of a failure of the current global governance structure to prevent a violation of the UN Charter. But this is not the only one. We have an on-going struggle on violation of resolutions of the Security Council in relation to Palestine, not to talk of several other places. As we speak, millions of people of Darfur and the Great Lakes Region in Africa are losing their lives because of this very crisis and our utter inability to deal with it. But too much is made of security at an aggregate or macro level. The greatest insecurities continue to be faced by women and excluded groups and individuals at the individual level, where there is a daily threat to their very existence. The on-going violence and violation of women's rights epitomises this problem. Expanding the Security Council to reflect the new distribution of power in the world will only start to begin addressing the imbalances. The world does face a crisis of security at so many levels.

The second is the crisis of intolerance. Again, the most visible display of this is in relation to Islam with very deep and long-term implications. Let me give you an example of this from my own country India that surfaced in the media just a couple of weeks ago when there was some new census data that was released. The headlines were not that the population growth rate was unacceptably high in all religious groups. Instead, the headline was that the Muslim population was growing at a more rapid pace. To any rational person, this fact would simply indicate that the Muslim population in India suffers from a high concentration of poverty, women's illiteracy and more broadly, social exclusion. Instead, many media houses, themselves controlled by Hindu fundamentalist thinking, preferred to use this to generate more hate towards the already beleaguered minority groups. We can see the same prejudice and intolerance towards indigenous people, racial minorities and women in so many countries and societies in the world. So the world indeed faces a crisis of respect of tolerance and diversity.

The third is the crisis of representative democracy. Again much has been said about this at a local and national level. On the one hand, more countries today are adopting democratic systems of governance based on elections. On the other hand, although there are not many models at scale of a better alternative, it is increasingly evident that citizens across the world have not seen enough benefits from representative democracies. This has led to a growing disillusionment and apathy with governments as an institution and with electoral politics as a means of representation. With the illegal invasion of Iraq, this crisis of confidence in governments to represent public opinion has been worsened as governments in several countries allowed this to happen against the wishes of the majority of their population, even in the leading proponents of the invasion in Europe, North America and Asia. Independent civil society, a free press and the rule of law are essential elements in creating a much more participatory form of democracy and counter-balancing the over-dependence on electoral democracy.

And finally the crisis of poverty and inequality. There is no greater crisis in my view than that of extreme poverty and its related manifestations. Unfortunately, we have all become insensitive to the scale of the problem. As we speak, one of out six people in the world, which is almost a billion people, go hungry every day. It is estimated that 30,000 people, many of them children, die every day because of poverty. I am told that the way to get this in the media is to express it in terms of number of planes crashing simultaneously - 100 plane crashes apparently is the headline grabber. Half a million mothers, no less, died last year alone for no justifiable reason - from child birth, from malnutrition. Does this have to be expressed in terms of deaths from a famine or floods to draw attention? The so-called international community has an appalling record of acting too late. We prefer to deal the consequences than act when we see the early warnings. The case of the current locust attacks in West Africa is a very graphic case in point, not to repeat the Darfur case. Almost 3 m. people died from HIV/AIDS last year. 120 million children are denied the right of a primary education and are out of school, leave alone the much larger numbers who go to completely ineffective schools, notionally enrolled. 1 billion people have no access to sanitation. Most of these are women and girls. Should I say more? The paradox, of course, is that at the same time the world has never seen so much prosperity before. The 1000 richest people in the world are said to have a personal wealth greater than the 600 m. people living in the so-called "least developed countries".

Shamed by the sheer magnitude of this violation of basic human rights and troubled by the potential backlash on global security of such deprivation for the majority of the world's population, in the largest gathering of Heads of State in the history of humankind in September 2000, world leaders committed themselves to the Millennium Declaration. In this sobering document, they rededicated themselves to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to the right to development and to free their fellow citizens from the indignity and suffering that goes with abject poverty. And at the turn of the century and the millennium, they recapitulated the outcomes of the different UN Summits of the nineties and gave themselves 15 years, up to 2015 to meet a set of very minimal but concrete Goals and targets, later christened the 8 Millennium Development Goals.

In doing this, they knew that the world has enough financial resources to address all these problems. Best estimates are that an additional \$100 billion could help achieve all the Goals in all the countries of the world within the next decade. The world spent \$900 on arms alone last year. Not to speak of the money that is lost due to tied aid, agricultural subsidies and corruption.

In the past we could say that we did not have the technology or resources to address these issues of meeting even the basic needs of all human beings. That is simply not the case any more. We know what needs to be done.

The key to the Millennium Compact is that rich countries have to meet their obligations to helping poverty eradication as spelled out rather shoddily in Goal 8 of the MDGs. This means meeting their commitments to the 0.7% of GNI to ODA, big improvement in the quality of aid including untying and simplifying procedures and putting an end to conditionalities, much deeper and quicker reduction of debt - Africa continues to pay out in debt every year, more than it receives. Debt sustainability has to be now redefined in terms of the achievement of the MDGs. And we need a much more level playing field in the trade arena. This includes time-bound elimination of agricultural subsidies that the make poor poorer, policy space for developing countries, reviewing all intellectual property agreements that simply benefit TNCs and hinder food security and the health needs of the poor; indeed, concluding the Doha Round in favour of poor countries is essential for the achievement of the MDGs.

Much as rich country commitment to their side of the bargain is critical, there is no doubt that poor countries can do a great deal more to achieve these basic human rights on their own steam. Having the right policies and plans in place, raising and allocating domestic and external resources for fulfilling the needs of the majority of the population on an inclusive basis, being accountable to our own citizens and stopping corruption don't need too much external help.

The MDGs are far from perfect. They are indeed minimum goals. Countries are being encouraged to go much further at the national level - and many have improved on them particularly in terms of the poverty/hunger goals and on gender. They cannot be seen as techno-fixes, there is no solution outside a full political economy analysis. And they are only meaningful when they build on national planning and decision-making

arrangements. The global and national aggregates are meaningless and misleading. They only make sense when we take these goals down to every community and individual.

But even these minimal and flawed goals mean a lot to the people who are far from realising them. They offer the best hope in the current scenario as they have the commitment of the world leaders at the highest level, in the South and the North. We cannot allow the best to be the enemy of the good.

We need to focus on implementation, enough rhetoric, we need action. But the only way in which governments will actually act is when there is pressure from citizens to hold them to account for their promises.

That is really what we at the Millennium Campaign are focussing on. To support citizen's action to hold their own governments and international institutions to account for achieving the Millennium Goals, as translated into the national and local context. And indeed these Campaigns, which are now starting to gain momentum in about 30 countries of the North and South, each look different, as they should. So the Campaign in the Philippines is focussed on tracking government budgets towards the Millennium Goals. While the Campaign in El Salvador is focussed on local authorities delivering services that really reaches the people in terms of education, water and health. The Ghana campaign wants to change the Poverty Reduction Strategy to make it focused on the rights of poor people. The Italian Campaign is intent on getting the Government to commit itself to the 0.7% target. The Irish Campaign is called Keep Our Word. The Indian campaign is tentatively called *Vaada na Todo* (Don't break your promise). What binds them together is that they see the MDG's within a human rights and justice framework as described in the Millennium Declaration, not as a superficial set of targets but looking at the underlying and structural causes of poverty.

The Spanish *Sin Excusas 2015* campaign is off to an excellent start. The national CSO-led part of the campaign is being directed from CONGDE, the national development NGO platform. Petitions are already going to President Zapatero to implement the 0.7% commitment, regional authorities are starting to engage with public awareness campaigns on the Millennium Goals, Regional Working Groups are already up and running in the Basque country, Andalusia and Catalonia. 10 December might see the launch of the Catalan campaign joining an international *Skip a Million Meals* effort. From now until December 2004, other regions are starting to get involved to launch a much broader mobilisation from January 2005. Please visit *las Puertas del Milenio*, in the Mirador, the 8 arches signifying the Goals. These 8 Arches are going to tour the country starting in Madrid from October in the Plaza Mayor. Please look at the campaign website sinexcusas2015.org for more information. Fernanda, Elena and Blanca are here for those who want to know more.

The interesting thing is that the MDGs are becoming a unifying force bringing CSOs working on different sector and thematic priorities together. It is bringing the service-delivery programme/operational NGOs together with the advocacy and human rights-oriented ones. And more importantly it is bringing new constituencies beyond the development NGOs into the process. Youth, Parliamentarians, local authorities are all joining forces for a combined fight against poverty.

The good news is that already things are beginning to change. For a start many of the poorest countries in the world are already showing that these Goals can be achieved if there is political commitment, even in most adverse circumstances, as faced by Sub Saharan Africa. Malawi, Eritrea and The Gambia are some examples on primary education and Bangladesh, Ghana and Mozambique are all picking up on the health front, not to speak of Thailand, Uganda and Senegal on education.

Many rich countries are starting to face up their responsibilities. Half the EU countries now have a clear deadline to get to 0.7% on aid, including some large economies like Spain and U.K. Overall aid levels have gone up in 2003 after a very long gap. There is some glimmer of hope on the trade negotiations through the July announcements on agricultural subsidies. Cancun was a wake-up call and the subsequent victories by Brazil on their complaints on unfair trade practises in the WTO are also positive signs. And discussions on debt have been reopened in the last G8 and will continue into the next one. But none of this is anywhere close to what we need to achieve the Goals.

Civil society at the national and global levels is getting stronger through initiatives such as the World Social Forum and now the Barcelona Forum. And many excluded groups are beginning to exercise their rights. We have avowedly progressive and pro-poor Governments and parties in power now in many strategically important countries in the world and elections on the cards in a several others.

2005 is a particularly important year and we need a big push. The world needs to bring development back on the agenda, away from the obsession on security and the so-called war on terror. The Heads of State meeting in September 2005 to review progress against the Millennium Declaration is very important. This is preceded by the G8 in the UK which will focus on Africa and the MDGs. At the end of the year, there is likely to be the Ministerial meeting of the WTO in Hong Kong. Recognising this, a very important Coalition of all major NGOs, trade unions, churches etc has come together initially in the UK and now globally. Under the name of the Global Call to Action Against Poverty, this Coalition is planning a series of mass mobilisations on bringing world attention to these issues. Major media houses like BBC and MTV are joining forces with us. At the political level, President Lula supported by a large number of Heads of State has taken the initiative to push hard to create the enabling conditions for the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. This includes new and innovative financing mechanisms and serious reform to many of the key international institutions, particularly the IFIs and WTO.

Many proposals have come from this Conference on reforming the international institutions to help us move forward - many of these are crucial in the fight against poverty and the struggle for justice and human rights.

We are the first generation that can actually end poverty and we are running out of excuses. Thank you and we hope you will join forces with the Campaigns in your own country and at the global level.

2.3 "The UN Reform"

Federico Mayor Zaragoza

Uncommon unanimity has been reached: the United Nations is indispensable and needs to be reformed in depth and urgently such that its functions, attributes, resources and composition - considering not only States and associations of the latter, but also elected members and representatives of 'civil' society - reflect the current state of the world and allow it to successfully meet its challenges.

The UN and other specialised institutions of the system, the international courts, and specific tribunals... all of them provide valuable contributions, but they do not have the support and respect due them, especially from the 'major' Member States. Nonetheless, treaties and agreements of great importance continue to be irreplaceable points of reference on a global level, for instance: the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; the prohibition on production and use of chemical weapons... More recently, a significant series of summits and resolutions passed by the General Assembly have laid out standards for Education (1990), the Environment (1992), Social Development (1995), the Role of Women (1995), the Culture of Peace (1999), the Declaration of the Millennium Development Goals (2000) etc.

Only a few weeks ago, at the 11th meeting of the UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development), President Lula and the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, approved the proposal for a new 'South-South trade geography' as well as a Global Fund Against Hunger and Poverty, which will be submitted to the United Nations the day before the beginning of this year's General Assembly.

These guidelines, protocols, declarations and recommendations are generally not binding for States and everything depends on the States' will to incorporate them into their national legal systems.

Many studies, reports and projects for reforming the United Nations have been successively put forth over the years, on initiative of the UN system itself as well as of various other institutions. I recall those that were sponsored by the then-Secretary-Generals, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in the late eighties and early nineties, respectively, and I consider it particularly enlightening in this respect to read the editorial of this same newspaper from 31 January 1993. The truth is that the United Nations system as a whole gradually deteriorated, endogenous development aid (the promised 0.7% of the GDP) being substituted by loans granted under draconian conditions and, what is much worse, universal ethical principles were substituted by the law of the market. After the major wars of the 20th Century, the United States put forth a new world order based on multilateralism, shared development, justice and peace. Yet at the end of the Cold War in 1989, on the other hand, it inclined towards oligarchy, economic globalisation and the circumstantial use of the United Nations. The US moved from inclusion to exclusion and hegemony. The marginalised and needy do not know who to turn to, because their principal international intermediary is going through a period of severe crisis. The United Nations has been assigned inappropriate humanitarian aid functions. The World Bank ("from reconstruction to development", don't forget!) and the International Monetary Fund impassibly continue to do the opposite of what their own reports state they should do.

To reach the unanimous conviction I referred to at the beginning, it has unfortunately been necessary to reach the current state of chaos and confusion in so many dimensions: social asymmetries and unsustainable economic policies, radicalization, resentment, humiliation, hunger (thousands of deaths from starvation every day!), shameful and ignominious migratory flows, violent acts etc. 'Remedy resolutions' are 'wrenched' out of the Security Council to heal the major wounds of credibility and moral authority originated by the 'preventive war' on Iraq and the detestable management of the military victory, while the essential issue is not being remedied: the Middle East. It is there that the United Nations should act immediately, with the clear and explicit support of the European Union, the United States, Russia and the Arabic countries. The blue helmets should, within a few weeks, be deployed on site to end the spiral of violence. Suicide terrorists and selective assassination will never bring an end to the conflict.

Under these circumstances, it is essential not to become 'distracted' by the all-embracing power of the media. Attempting now, for instance, to call attention to Sudan, after years and years of ignoring so many calls, constitutes a stratagem that would be even more despicable if it were not for the human tragedy involved in any case.

It is likewise important to mention the practical disappearance at the UN of 'memberships', both ideological and group (such as the Non-Aligned Countries, '77+ China', etc.), it being therefore of the essence to go back to the start, such that all peoples count to the appropriate proportions. All dissidence has been silenced: citizens' movements, trade union movements, 'progressive' religious groups... And what about the voice of universities, the scientific community and academia in general? With few exceptions, there is silence. Silence in the face of injustices and the social rupture they cause; silence in the face of cultural uniformity and the progressive indifference of youth; and silence, above all, in the face of the trivialization of universal values...

NGOs assume the highly dignified role of assistance and solidarity that does not usually adopt attitudes of protest. Recently, though, in the face of the 'economic globalization' symbolised by Davos, a powerful, peaceful cry of protest and proposal emerged from Porto Alegre. The worse that could happen is that it too be silenced. And that protests such as that of 15 February 2003 against the war, which united millions of people throughout the world, be 'neutralized' or only demonstrate the power to unite people against something and not for a cause, because in the face of hegemony, the only peaceful solution, and therefore the only admissible one, is popular outcry.

It is essential to know the reality of the present situation, because nothing can change if it is not understood in depth. In whose hands does power really lie? And energy sources? To whom does Africa belong? And the mass media? And the industrial / armaments complex? The world has experienced drastic changes over the past few years in many spheres: population; pandemics; new 'actors' on the international arena, i.e. large private corporations; internal conflicts in which the United Nations - and only the United Nations - should intervene in cases of genocide, mass violation of human rights or the absence of government; information technology, which brings knowledge in real time of the terrible conditions in which so many people live and allows us to sympathise; a confusion of value and price...

Today it is clear - and therein lie some prospects, though tenuous, of change - that the present paths, so dark, cannot be redirected if the present continues to prevail over the future, force over the word, economy over politics and arbitrariness over citizens' voices. Making the other world that many of us wish for possible requires several things: a new social contract (immediately tackling the problems of hunger and AIDS, which kill thousands of human beings every day in their 'silent warfare'); a new environmental contract (with 'alliances' that would allow the technical and specialised human resources of several neighbouring countries to convene in a matter of hours in cases of natural disaster - such as forest fires, plagues, floods, etc. - or man-made disasters, such as cleaning of oil tankers on the high seas); and new cultural and moral contracts as well.

As I said at the beginning, there are many organisms of all types that have chosen the reform of the United Nations as the priority of their activities. The 'network of networks' - UBUNTU, World Forum of Civil Society Networks, which was founded four years ago at the Technical University of Catalonia - has carried out studies and concrete proposals, with the cooperation of several NGOs and personalities, to adapt the international institutions to meet present-day challenges. The objectives are: a) global democratic governance; b) knowledge and observance of human rights throughout the world; c) peace and security based on justice and freedom; and d) sustainable human development.

Let's not fool ourselves: the reform required is not a 'technical' matter. It should be based on the same democratic principles that the lucid founders of the United Nations system rendered in the fantastic preamble to the UNESCO Constitution: Justice, liberty, equality and solidarity. "Intellectual and moral solidarity", they added. Only thus can we transform fear, pain and outrage into personal action, into the daily resolve to strengthen democracy, that is, citizen participation, understanding, dialogue and maintaining an attitude of constant inquiry, with the confidence brought by the capacity to create, invent and innovate that distinguishes the human condition.

Frequently and with the best intentions, many individuals give a hand to those in need. This is very good, but global policies regulated by the United Nations are called for, because what the needy hope for - and deserve - is justice, to count, to be taken into consideration. Only a strong and well-coordinated United Nations system could establish the security of peace throughout the world. The peace of security is silence, fear, suspicion and mistrust. For the security of peace, it is urgent to have the best armies under the blue flag of the United Nations when military action is inevitable. And the most advanced intelligence services to enforce compliance with international regulations through the appropriate punitive mechanisms. Each organism within the system must comply with its original missions. It must lend its ear to the peoples. It must have the best advice in order to anticipate and prevent. This would be a step of extraordinary importance in the history of humankind. And in that of the United States. It would fulfil the dreams of Presidents Wilson and Roosevelt. And more importantly, those of hundreds upon thousands of human beings.

Thematic area A

Institutional architecture for a world democracy

3.1 Introduction to the thematic area

Democratisation of the international institutions is a high priority within the reform process. The international institutions should act in accordance with the different interests and needs of the citizens of the world, and this necessarily involves a fairer redistribution of power between the countries of the north and south, as well as offering more possibilities for citizens to be represented and to participate in the international institutions. The nation-state is not the only actor in the world arena and it is clearly no longer possible to persist with the idea of the state as being an entity that is able to act with absolute sovereignty within its own territory and that has the exclusive privilege of participating in the international institutions. Global civil society, transnational corporations and the different levels of government now have greater influence in the political sphere and must be taken into account in the design of international forums.

In an increasingly interconnected world, it is necessary to redefine the division of functions that characterised the original design of these institutions, ensuring that they are better coordinated and that they share a more integrated vision of the different problems of the planet. This involves introducing certain changes into the foundational charters of the international institutions. In the case of the UN Charter, it means changes that would only affect procedures and none of the original principles, which are still valid and still constitute a basic text of international architecture. Greater and more far-reaching changes - concerning their integration into the UN - would affect the Bretton Woods Institutions and the World Trade Organisation.

The UN must be reinforced to become the central institution in the international system, in particular its more democratic organisations. Effective integration of the multilateral organisations under the UN umbrella seems to be the best way of guaranteeing that their policies foster the interests and needs of everyone and not just those of a minority that has more influence within the system. Again, greater respect for and promotion of human rights must be guaranteed in the policies that are introduced and actions that are undertaken by the system of international institutions.

Despite the agreements that officially designate the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as specialised agencies of the UN, and the setting up of the Chief Executives Board to coordinate UN agencies, programmes, funds and international organisations, the BWI have almost always acted unilaterally with hardly any coordination with the UN. The result has been a lack of coherence between policies decided in these institutions, and with other international policies and regulations that fall within UN jurisdiction. The BWI have become the supervising institutions of world economic governance while ECOSOC, a UN organ that was conceived of with a view to its playing a role in world economic coordination, has clearly been sidelined. Apart from the BWI, the WTO, which was created in 1994 outside the scope of the United Nations, should also be taken into account as a new multilateral global organisation.

A renewed institutional architecture must incorporate an integrated vision of the system of international institutions so as to include all the actors in the system, who could then contribute their political and financial skills in order to work together on policies that would make it possible to resolve the great problems the world is facing and to foster sustainable human development.

3.2 Session and discussion guide A1) UN General Assembly and World Parliament

Some proposals for the discussion

- Improving the functioning of the General Assembly:

- Creation of a general GA committee and specific work groups;
- Increasing its supervisory capacity over UN organisations and programmes;
- Effective control of UN agencies and all multilateral institutions.

- Joint GA and SC working group in order to institutionalise consultations and reports;
- Empowerment to consult the ICJ in cases of doubt as to the constitutionality of SC resolutions;
- Greater participation in decision-making about intervention and the establishment of rapid response forces to prevent conflicts and maintain peace.

- Creating an Inter-parliamentary Assembly (composed of members of parliament, this being an organism that would coordinate the national parliaments) with follow-up functions on matters pertaining to the GA could contribute towards improving democracy in the system.

- **The UN General Assembly should evolve**, with the progressive unification of the other already-existing assemblies and general conferences, until it has a central role in the system, authority to adopt binding resolutions and to exercise effective control over the other organisations, agencies, funds, programmes and institutions of the system.

The creation of an independent Assembly of Representatives (World Parliament) with consultative functions within the UN system, and the holding of World Referendums that would have consultative status, could make a major contribution towards improving the democratic functioning of the system.

- A system of international institutions subject to in-depth reforms should be based on:

- A two-chamber system representing the states and citizens of the world.

- Unification of general assemblies and conferences into a single institution with a central role in the system: UNGA;
- Binding authority: capacity to adopt binding resolutions.

- An Assembly of Representatives - World Parliament: direct representation of the world's population by universal suffrage;
- Participation in the international legislative process;
- Capacity to make recommendations to other organisations in the system;
- Capacity to exercise parliamentary control over other organisations in the system.

Questions to open the discussion

1. What should be our view of the existing proposals for democratising and reinforcing the GA? To which of them should we give priority? What additional proposals should we offer?

2. What should be our view of the proposal of a World Parliament as part of the two-chamber world system? What technical and political problems would be involved? What changes would be involved?

3.3 "Institutional Architecture for World Democracy: The question of the UN General Assembly and the World Parliament"

Heidi Hautala; MP, Chair of KEPA, *Finnish Service Centre for Development Cooperation*

Towards global democracy

- "At the national level, there is democracy but no choice. At the global level, there is choice but no democracy" (George Monbiot 2004)
- Every citizen should have a say at all levels which affect his/her life.

Democratic deficiency of global government

- United Nations the only truly universal global organisation
 - Legitimacy undermined
- The Bretton Woods institutions
 - Economic power (US) dominance
 - Large scale resistance of e.g. IMF structural adjustment programmes
- WTO
 - Undemocratic nature of procedures
 - Large-scale effects in Member States

Presented solutions

- Enhancing participation in preparation of decision-making
- Multi-stakeholder processes
- Increasing direct democracy
 - Referendums
 - "Citizens' veto" e.g. Denmark, Ireland
 - Citizens' initiatives
 - New EU Constitution Art I-47
- Re-nationalisation
- More democratic global institutions
 - What would it be?

Civil society - parliaments

- Common interests:
 - Global decision-making is intergovernmental
 - BOTH excluded from executive power
 - Wider participation increases demands for transparency
 - Parliaments as LINKS with civil society
 - Common representation in delegations to UN conferences now frequent

Comparing CSO/NGOs and parliaments

- CSO/NGOs
 - **Better networks** on international level
 - Often higher level of **expertise**
 - Well organized global coalitions
- Parliaments
 - **Legitimate status** in decision-making
 - **Conventions ratified** in the parliaments
 - International **networks** of the parliamentarians improving

Elements of civic democracy- three pillars of Århus Convention

- Access to information
 - Open institutions - good governance
 - Active information policies
 - Public space (media, internet)
- Participation in decision-making
 - Hearings
 - Referendums, initiatives
- Right to appeal
 - Courts
 - Ombudsmen
 - Committees of Petition

Global governance institutions should...

- Open up for the public
- Become democratically accountable
 - Better parliamentary control in nation states early action and follow up
 - Hearings of NGOs and Civil Society Movements
 - Parliamentary networks proliferating

UN General Assembly

- PROs
 - Every nation has a vote
 - Equitable geographical representation
 - "Moral authority"
- CONs
 - Weak compared to Security Council
 - Decreased power?
 - Unfair for e.g. Chinese and Indian people
 - No weighting of the votes
 - Ineffective

Suggestions for stronger global parliamentarian action

- ILO report: To establish a global group of parliaments for coherence of global economic and social policy and integrated control of the UN, WB, IMF and WTO (IPU?)

- Cardoso panel: global parliamentary public policy committees
 - Could it be linked with MDGs?

Towards World Parliament

- Operating by means of its "moral authority", to:
 - Draw up principles of good global governance
 - Assess the performance of other international bodies + make them accountable
 - Act as a forum for negotiations between governments
- Bicameral parliament - directly (WP) and indirectly elected (GA) assemblies - or
- Combination of partially overlapping functional and territorial systems of governance as a starting point? (NIGD)
 - Regional integration: EU, AU, MERCOSUR...?

3.4 Session and discussion guide A2) Institutional architecture: UN, UN agencies, BWI, WTO, state sovereignty; reforms of foundational documents

Some proposals for the discussion

- Improving the functioning of institutional architecture:

Improving coordination between UN agencies and programmes, and essentially with the BWI and WTO, through ECOSOC. With regard to the BWI (and the WTO where indicated):

- Review of their policies and powers in the original mandate;
- Review of practices and procedures;
- Reforming the voting system to ensure balanced representation of all members: raising basic votes to original levels;
- Greater accountability in procedures and decisions;
- Improving coordination and coherence of policy between other economic, financial and commercial organisations and with Human Rights declarations;
- Renegotiating agreements on relations with the UN.

- Substantive reforms (including the above)

- Effective control and real coordination by ECOSOC of UN agencies and programmes and of all the multilateral institutions with mandates in the relevant fields;
- Reviewing decision-making and selection mechanisms used by the governing bodies;
- Greater accountability;
- Answering to the UNGA through ECOSOC.

- In-depth reforms

- Economic, Social and Environmental Security Council with effective control over the BWI (IMF and WB), the WTO and relevant agencies, funds and programmes that, once they are appropriately reformed, would become specialised technical agencies that are fully integrated into the system.
- All organisations, agencies, funds and programmes to be accountable to the UNGA and the World Parliament through the Council
- Dissolution of all general assemblies and conferences of states.
- Creation of specific assemblies similar to those in the system adopted by the ILO, with the presence of actors from all the relevant sectors in each case.

Questions to open the discussion

1. What should be our view of the existing proposals to improve and reform the functioning of the present-day institutional architecture? Which of them should we prioritise? What additional proposals should we offer?

2. What should be our view of the proposal of in-depth reform of the system of agencies and multilateral institutions that would be fully integrated into the system and under the effective control of an Economic, Social and Environmental Security Council?

3.5 Report on the Debate at Session A2)

Jorge Nieto; Centro Internacional para una Cultura Democrática

In the session on international architecture and proposals for reform for international documents, the programme of speakers was followed and thereafter, the following points were discussed:

1. Over the past few years, the debate on reform has reached an intensely critical tone due to the fact that many of the global problems have not been handled successfully, never mind being resolved by the corresponding institutions. Some hold that this situation is aggravated by the pressure of the progressive formation of a 'widespread critical opinion' in favour of reform, such that the debate on a new institutional architecture on an international level has become one of the most globally pressing issues.
2. This situation of unresolved problems occurs in a context where certain phenomena weaken the system of international institutions:
 - a) A progressive erosion of the nation-state, although there is divergence as to the characterisation of this erosion: some see it as a structural phenomenon that questions the form of the state; others tend to perceive it as a short-term, transitory phenomenon, and they emphasise the importance of the nation-state for the construction of an international order. The discussion of the so-called 'failed states' was on this level. Do they exist? What are the criteria of success or failure? Who decides which states are 'failed states' and which are not?
 - b) The insurgence of civil society on the international scene is a new phenomenon. Nonetheless, this presence has not yet been acknowledged on an institutional level in a world that is made exclusively for nation-states.
 - c) The emergence of a superpower, the USA, unprecedented in the history of humankind over the past 2,000 years, and whose current administration tends to erode international institutions.
3. By the same token, it was established that the current international order arose in the context of a balance between superpowers as a result of the geopolitics of 1945, and that the situation now has also changed.
4. Due to this, the various international institutions decried a series of shortcomings:
 - a) A democratic deficit due to the absence of citizens in the decision-making process on the global and national levels; a form of this deficit is clearly perceived in the choice between democracy with security or security without democracy. In the Middle East, for instance, the latter option tolerates the existence of 'democracies without human rights' and 'liberal oligarchies'.
 - b) A deficit of coherence due to the weak representation of national governments.
 - c) A deficit of political will due to a lack of strong international agreements capable of being put into practice.
5. In this scenario, civil society has three types of replies to the reform of international institutions:
 - a) Non-commitment, as they consider commitment irrelevant.
 - b) Open commitments with institutions, whether for specific interests or in a selfless manner.
 - c) Selective commitments, evaluating their effectiveness in each case.
6. Proposals by civil society must be founded on the concepts of sustainable human development, as well as on the idea of the interdependence and indivisibility of human rights.

7. From this point of view, the reform of the basic documents of the UN should balance two substantive elements of the system: the Security Council and the ECOSOC. Greater weight should be lent to the ECOSOC with relation to and in coordination with the Security Council. In this perspective, the legitimacy of the ECOSOC should increase, its composition and decision-making system being improved. With this aim, these reforms should be carried out based on the principles of transparency, effectiveness, coherence and participation in order to strengthen international law by applying the principle of subsidiary nature.

8. A varied yet precise series of modifications to the UN Charter were suggested. One proposal taken up at the meeting was the need to establish an INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS. An appeal was made to provide the General Assembly with the organisms necessary to make this proposal viable. According to general consensus, this proposal for global action should be complemented by the action of citizens from the different countries as contributors and voters, such that they may exercise the capacity to control the actions of their governments. Likewise, reform efforts should take into account the positive transformations occurring in the sphere of private business.

9. The panel ended the session acknowledging the important role played by the global power of the USA in the reform process. With diverging opinions, the importance of the current electoral process in the US was emphasized. An evaluation of what the role of the USA should be for the world is still pending discussion. Should this country assume a civilising leadership role in the world along the lines of the thousand years of Roman dominion in the Ancient World? Can the world consider an international democratic order with security without the unilateral dominion of the USA? These are topics that UBUNTU should take into consideration for its actions.

3.6 Session and discussion guide A3) Global democratic governance and multi-level governance (global, regional, national, sub-national and local) and participation of other actors (civil society, corporations, local authorities, etc.)

Some proposals for the discussion

- **Relations between regional organisations and global institutions**
 - Fostering a balance between commercial integration and regional political integration;
 - Creating GA study groups and work groups of regional and sub-regional organisations with the aim of defining measures to reinforce their own capacity to foresee emergency situations and to intervene therein.

 - Improved capacity for political representation of these regional organisations in the international institutions.

 - Formalising the capacity for representation of these regional and sub-regional organisations within the international institutions.

- **Participation of non-state actors in the system of international relations**
 - Civil Society, local authorities and other interested groups should continue advancing towards a truly consultative and participative role in the UNGA, the IMF, the WB and the WTO.

 - They should be empowered to seek consultative opinions from the ICJ.

- **Participation of non-state actors in the system of international relations: in-depth reforms**
 - In a scenario in which all general assemblies and conferences of states are dissolved and specific assemblies like those adopted by the ILO are created, the effective participation of the different actors in the specific assemblies should be guaranteed.

- **Relevant recent reports dealing with these issues**
 - Report on the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations: "We the Peoples: Civil Society, the United Nations and Global Governance"; <http://www.un.org/reform/panel.htm>.
 - *The World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization: "A Fair Globalization: Creating opportunities for all"*. ILO. February, 2004.

Questions to open the discussion

1. To what extent should regional organisations have a voice in the management of global affairs? To what extent should the existence of regional and sub-regional institutions be encouraged?

2. What view should we have of the focus and main proposals in the recent report on the relations between the UN and civil society? What view should we have of the proposals for the consultative and participative presence of non-state actors in the system of international relations?

3. What view should we have of the proposal of dissolving all general assemblies and conferences of states except the UNGA and creating in their stead specific assemblies like those in the system adopted by the ILO, with the presence of actors from all the relevant sectors in each case?

3.7 "Democracy, United Nations and Civil Society"

Birgitta Dahl; Former Speaker of Swedish Parliament; Member of the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations- Civil Society Relations

Honourable audience, dear friends,

When the Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, opened the first Security Council debate on terrorism after September 11th he did so by reminding the meeting of the fact, that all the items, that were on the agenda of the United Nations before September 11th are still there and have to be addressed, also if we want to fight terrorism. He was referring of course to the fight against poverty, diseases and famine, underdevelopment and debts, oppression and homelessness, for sustainable development and social welfare of all human beings, as expressed in the Millennium Development Goals adopted by the General Assembly in 2000. Of course he was, and is, right in calling for common action against the evils that are tormenting millions of our fellow-mortals today.

The history of mankind is a history of violence and wars, oppression and unspeakable distress. But mankind has always, all through these sufferings, sustained the dream of peace and freedom, democracy and human rights, economic development and a healthy environment, social welfare and culture. Indefatigably and persistently mankind has struggled to find ways to realize this dream. And we have experienced, in our time, how people with these ideals have been victorious after a long struggle in the former colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America, in Spain, Portugal and Greece, in Germany, in the former Soviet Union, in South Africa, East Timor, and Cape Verde.

Democracy is based on respect between individuals, popular movements, interest groups, and political parties. In a democracy we use the respectful dialogue and the trustworthy compromise as the method to solve conflicts and reach decisions. In a democracy there is a distinct - and different - role for individual citizens, Non-governmental Organisations and political parties. Each of us has a role to play and duties to perform. Democracy does not solely imply freedoms and rights, but also responsibilities to contribute to the common work and goals. NGOs, popular movements which are there to mobilize citizens for particular causes, put an issue on the public agenda, rouse opinion and call for action. Political parties are there to sustain the representative democratic system at all levels - local, regional, national and international. Their role is to find priorities and compromises, reach decisions, based on a holistic and ideological perspective. In most democracies this also calls for cooperation, coalitions, compromises based on a respectful dialogue. In a good democracy this fosters a thinking and performance that is the mere opposite to the fundamentalism and irreconcilableness that is today plaguing so many peoples.

A working democracy is based on three very important principles - working methods:

- Democracy and human rights, universal suffrage, equality between sexes and ethnic, cultural and religious groups.

- Education, adult education, culture.

The individual citizen should be in a lifelong process of learning and development. Culture should be present throughout society. NGOs and political parties, organised as popular movements, should be the core and initiators of this kind of adult education and cultural work.

- Peace and international cooperation.

The pioneers and popular movements, who struggled for independence, democracy and universal suffrage, have always been peace activists, internationalists. Based on their experiences of the atrocities of war and violence they had a vision of a world in peace: "Never more a war". Democracy was conceived as the guarantee for peace. A country ruled by its people would not make use of violence against its own citizens or neighbours. A democratically elected government would not start wars, but seek cooperation with other countries and peaceful solutions to conflicts.

Today most of us live in a multicultural society, composed of citizens with different background and experiences, different culture and religions. We all live in a globalised world, where cooperation is more needed than ever, but the risk for extinction of cultural heritage evident. We need to establish a good balance between national - cultural identity and international cooperation.

I was once - 40 years ago - quite amazed by a statement by Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of independent Ghana, saying "To be a good internationalist you have to start by being a good patriot." To me and my likeminded radical friends, working for internationalism, it first seemed to be "old fashioned" to speak about "patriotism". I was wrong. He was right. A person, a people, who is confident and proud of her identity is also confident, secure, open for cooperation with others. There is no real conflict between national, cultural identity and international cooperation. But if globalisation, international cooperation leads to the weakening and levelling of cultural heritages, there is a risk for popular resistance against international cooperation that can be misused, exploited by charlatans and evil populists fostering xenophobia and racism. I believe that it is important in today's multiplex reality to have a clear identity and to preserve cultural traditions. It is in the active and dedicated meeting between cultures that new and rich development can arise.

In this connection I would also like to quote Amílcar Cabral, leader of the liberation movement in Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, PAIGC:

"The ideological weakness, not to say the total lack of ideology within the national liberation movements depends ultimately on their lack of knowledge of the historical reality they claim to change and represents one of the biggest, if not the biggest, deficiency in our struggle against imperialism."

"Our lack of experience made us believe, that we could fight in the cities with strikes and other actions. But we were wrong and the reality showed us that this was not possible."

Therefore, the struggle of PAIGC and the society in the liberated areas were organised on the basis of the cultural and social heritage of the farmers in the rural areas. But it was not unconditionally. Amílcar Cabral again:

"Another aspect that we consider very important is the religion of our people. We avoid all kinds of hostility against that and against the bonds that our people still has with nature, because of the economic underdevelopment. But we do firmly oppose everything which is contrary to human rights."

On these grounds, Cabral and PAIGC worked for the equal rights of women and for the respectful understanding between religions and ethnic groups.

He was of course right. Revolution, change, can never be imported. The development of each nation must be based on its cultural and social heritage. But cultural traditions can never be used to excuse and legitimise violations of basic human rights. They must always be respected and come first.

The introductory words of the Charter of the United Nations express the eternal dream - vision of mankind:

"We, the peoples of the United Nations,
determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

and for these ends

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods to insure that armed forces shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

to employ the international machinery for the promotion of economic and social advancement of all peoples have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims."

These ideas have not lost their significance - they must be protected and strengthened more than ever in the world and harsh reality of today. They represent the good alternative that does as a matter of fact exist. As expressed recently by an 80-year old survivor of Holocaust: "The best way to fight the evil is to hold up the good!" It is an irrefutable fact, that the world should have been, should be, much more horrible than it is today without the United Nations. But there is no doubt the United Nations needs to be strengthened and reformed.

The United Nations can never be stronger than its members want it and allow it to be - and this support needs to be reinforced.

The United Nations needs to reform its work and organisation. The world has changed since the United Nations was founded by the victorious powers of the Second World War. Today the United Nations has four times as many members (around 200 as compared with around 50) as it had at the outset. The majority of the new members are countries, that sixty years ago were not free and independent. A majority of them are also developing countries or countries in transition, still much more poor than the rich north-western minority.

Today we see new strong actors on the international arena, parallel to national states: regional organisations, economic forces - multinational companies and financial empires, popular and social movements, academia - and the scientific society. New technologies enable instant coordination of action on global level. The United Nations and international cooperation suffers from a democratic deficit, which creates distrust. There is an obvious risk that international cooperation is conceived as a threat to democracy and cultural identity - quite contrary to the close connection between peace, international cooperation and democracy, that was the initial vision.

Today we do have a great number of international agreements and commitments - final documents from global conferences. They are concluded in The Millennium Development Goals in the Millennium Declaration of the General Assembly of 2000. Thus we do have a very good common agenda for peace, poverty eradication and sustainable development. For this to be attained, we require a strong support among citizens, popular movements and democratically elected representatives in the member states.

Civil Society, Popular Movements, NGOs have had an explicit role in the work of the United Nations from the beginning, clearly worded in the Charter of the United Nations. Their role has increased considerably during the last 15 years, particularly in connection with the major global summits and international negotiations. Today there are about 2 000 Civil Society Organizations accredited to the United Nations and around 500 new ones, which call for accreditation every year. So we have seen a real strong development.

On the other hand, this has also caused tensions and problems, not only for financing and the ability to host so many. For instance, at the last summits we had around 30.000 NGO-persons present each time. It is also a fact, that some governments do not like this development and the growing influence of Civil Society. From the South there are many who feel that the North, the rich north, is tormenting Civil Society in a way that is provocative to them. There was a feeling that these problems have to be addressed in a systematic way so as to allow for a higher participation for Civil Society.

The Secretary General Kofi Annan wants to strengthen the role of Civil Society and the popular support for the United Nations. In his report to the General Assembly in September 2002, entitled "Strengthening of the United Nations: an agenda for further change" (A/57/387 and corr.1) he stated, that he would establish a panel of eminent persons to review the relations between the United Nations and Civil Society. The General Assembly, in its Resolution 57/300 of 20 December 2002, concurred with his intention and decided to consider the recom-

recommendations through the respective intergovernmental process. Accordingly, in February 2003, the Secretary General appointed the "Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations - Civil Society Relations" and asked Fernando Enrique Cardoso, former President of Brazil, to chair it. The Panel included twelve members - I was one of them.

The terms of reference are short. They say: "The High-level Panel will undertake an assessment of relations between the UN and Civil Society with the objective of formulating recommendations to the Secretary General for enhancing", I stress this, "enhancing interaction between the organisation and Civil Society, including parliamentarians and the private sector.... The Panel will consult broadly and submit its recommendations to the Secretary General within twelve months." We have done so and we submitted our report in time.

We had our first meeting in June 2003 in New York, where we agreed on the basis of our work. We used the following six months for extensive dialogues with Civil Society and other actors all over the world. They were invited to participate in different forms and we also travelled and met them all over the world. In December 2003 we met in Geneva to agree on the principles in the report. The last days of March 2004 we met in New York agreeing on the report. In June we submitted our Report "*We the Peoples: Civil Society, the UN and Global Governance*".

Many of our proposals are of a kind, which the Secretary General can implement according to the mandate he has and his office. Others need to be part of intergovernmental negotiations and agreements. The intention is, that the Secretary General will present his proposals to the General Assembly this autumn. Hopefully, there will be a quick implementation.

We have, after thorough analysis, agreed to use a fairly limited understanding of "Civil Society". When we say Civil Society, we mainly mean CSOs, NGOs. We also address other constituencies that are needed in the kind of international networks that we want to see in the future. So, we address the role of local councils, national parliaments, the scientific community, the private sector and some others. But with Civil Society we mean the organisations, popular movements, and not the wider perspective.

At our first meeting we were told by the Secretary General to be both bold and pragmatic. We have understood this to be as bold as possible without creating resistance that could block the process. We want a change to take place and we want to start that change with our proposals.

Our recommendations are based upon the principle, that Civil Society, popular movements, NGOs and elected representatives must have a significant role, a real and substantive influence on the work of the United Nations and in international cooperation. Our proposals can be realised in the framework of parliamentary democracy and the rules of international law, defining governments as the negotiating and contracting partners.

We have agreed on some paradigm shifts that we would like to see, as the basis of our proposals. The first one is, that the United Nations should emphasise its role of convening, of leading, of facilitating partnerships, multi-stakeholder partnerships, global policy networks, coalitions of likeminded governments and other actors. We believe that the United Nations should act not only on the notion that all governments, and only governments, should be present at all deliberations. We propose that the United Nations should actively initiate global policy networks with the participation, different on different issues, of governments, of national parliaments, of Civil Society, of NGOs, of academia, of the private sector. The idea is that likeminded partners come together, join their forces, to try to change the world. We believe this is very important.

This method has been used in a number of cases. The first one was in 1979 when the World Health Organisation and UNICEF brought together the stakeholders to address the problem of marketing of breast milk-substitute. It has been used on questions like debt, landmines, the tackling of major diseases like HIV/AIDS, malaria and others. As Minister of Environment 15 years ago, I used this method extensively in the preparations for Rio '92 and for the ban on the use of CFCs. It was by forming informal networks of those countries, ministers, parliaments, CSOs (particularly on the environment) and the academic world, that we were able to achieve much more than it would otherwise have been possible. So I have personally a very good experience of this way of working.

The second shift we want to see is the focus on the national level in implementing global agreements, commitments, in supporting sustainable development, in analysing how this could best be done. In many countries the UN family plays a crucial role for the eradication of poverty and diseases, for sustainable and economic development. Likeminded - responsible groups, organisations, and institutions should go into alliance on the national and local level to find good solutions to problems. By this one could say, that we act both according to the classical approach "Think globally, act locally" and, at the same time, according to the revised principle "Think locally, act globally". This means, that ideas can come from both sides and converge. The way that we are able to improve our commitments should be improved. This calls, of course, for resource allocation and for the strengthening of Civil Society in countries where Civil Society is weak and needs to be better organised. We propose both a fund to assist this process and also what we call Resident Coordinators in 30 to 40 countries, mainly developing countries and countries in transition, where Civil Society needs to be strengthened to be able to participate on an equal level and also to be actors implementing international commitments and the support coming from abroad.

The third shift we would like to see is that the United Nations and its members address the problems of democratic deficit in international cooperation. Traditionally and by constitutions and international law it is the government that represents the country in all international deliberations. This is part of the government's executive power. The very weak parliamentary control, that is the reality in most countries today, gives rightly rise to the feeling of democratic deficit. But there are no constitutional restrictions or rules in international law against strong parliamentary control also in this area. Such a parliamentary control could give democratic legitimacy to international cooperation. It could create popular support to international commitments.

We propose that national parliaments should take on the role to be an active controller, to execute parliamentary control of the government, also when it comes to international affairs and UN-issues. National parliaments should receive all important UN documents at the same time as governments. All standing committees in national parliaments should follow very carefully what is happening in their respective area, also on the global, international scene. Open public debates should be held in parliaments on major issues. We need the parliaments to implement international commitments. International commitments must be followed by action - decisions, legislation in national parliaments. We need the parliament as the national arena making international cooperation and solidarity part of our daily political work.

We also propose that national standing committees should send representatives to Global Public Policy Committees to be held in the United Nations on certain issues that need to be addressed carefully, jointly, and globally. The parliamentary representation in national delegations to the General Assembly and global summits should be strengthened. We propose that the Secretary General should organise public debates and hearings on major issues to which should be invited parliamentarians, local constituencies, Civil Society, the academic world etc. We conclude that there should not be an absolute stop to global conferences, but that there still may be some on major issues.

We propose that the Security Council's work be reformed, particularly in the way that the "Arria Formula" is used systematically, inviting Civil Society to a dialogue with the Security Council. Every delegation of the Security Council, that visits an area in conflict or with problems, should always meet with representatives of Civil Society. We propose that the Security Council should arrange seminars and public hearings on questions of importance from time to time.

We are addressing a number of other issues as well. We propose a totally new system of accreditation of CSOs to the United Nations to be handled by a unit under the General Assembly. With the approval of Member States, the Secretary General should appoint an Under-Secretary-General in charge of a new *Office of Constituency Engagement and Partnerships* (OCEP) comprising

- A Civil Society Unit to absorb the Non-Governmental Liaison Service.
- A Partnership Development Unit to absorb the United Nations Fund for International Partnerships.
- An Elected Representatives Liaison Unit.
- The Global Compact Office.

- The Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.

The Panel suggests the establishment of a special Fund to enhance Southern Civil Society capacity to engage in UN deliberative processes, operations and partnerships.

The Panel urges the Secretary General to use his capacity as chairman of the United Nations system coordination mechanism to encourage all agencies, including the Bretton Woods Institutions, to enhance their engagement with Civil Society and other actors and to cooperate with one another across the system to promote this aim, with periodic progress reviews.

The Panel invites the Member States to encourage, through the forums of the United Nations, an enabling policy environment for Civil Society throughout the world and expanded dialogue and partnership opportunities in development processes. The Secretariat leadership, resident coordinators and governance specialists should use their dialogues with Governments to the similar effect.

The basic idea in our Report is that the United Nations should exercise global leadership in a world where the multilateral system and international cooperation is changing. It is not any longer omni-governmental - only governments meeting with each other, agreeing on the lowest common denominator. We need a multilateral society, which is characterised by coalitions of the willing seeking cooperation around the highest common principle. Coalitions of the promoters of the good alternative that want to join their forces to create a better world - to get things changed quicker than they could otherwise have been achieved.

In such a way we could, in our time, realise the classical vision of the close connection between peace and democracy.

Thank you very much.

Thematic area B

Reforms for peace, security and justice in the world

4.1 Introduction to the thematic area

The present system of international institutions came into being more than 50 years ago, their original design responding to the desire to prevent any more wars like those that occurred in the first half of the 20th century. To a large extent, they reflect the situation at the time and in the domain of peace and security, the victors of the Second World War obtained a privileged position within the institutional design of the United Nations (UN).

The establishment of the UN in order to preserve world peace and the adoption shortly afterwards of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are crucial events in the 20th century. They are one of the great success stories of human history. However, the original design of current international institutions has a number of shortcomings. The restricted number of permanent members of the Security Council and the UN body with binding authority weakens the chances of the UN having greater legitimacy and enforcement capacity, in particular with regard to its role in maintaining world peace and security.

Over time, some of the democratic deficiencies and imbalances of the system have been highlighted by the erosion of the original mandates governing certain organisations. The GA, which was very active in the 1960s and 1970s, when the Security Council (SC) was paralysed due to rivalry between the superpowers, began to play an increasingly minor role after the late 1980s when, with the end of the Cold War, the SC was reactivated.

The war in Iraq and other serious recent events of worldwide concern have revealed the divorce between certain decisions at the level of world politics and the opinion of citizens around the world, as well as the inability of the nation states to find peaceful, collective and enduring solutions to the grave problems affecting all of us.

The international institutions must substantially improve their capacity for conflict prevention and the maintenance of peace. This means that the organisations responsible for the domains of peace and security should collect all viewpoints in a balanced fashion, accept them universally as legitimate, as well as being empowered to implement their decisions.

Global justice should be empowered in order to contribute towards eradicating international impunity, not only with respect to criminal law, but also in the civil, economic, social and environmental spheres. To make all this possible, steps must be taken towards a worldwide juridical framework that would ensure the proper application of the present system of international treaties, reinforce the already-existing international legal institutions, and create the necessary institutions in other spheres with all the appropriate and necessary mechanisms.

4.2 Session and discussion guide B1) Reform of the Security Council

Some proposals for the discussion

- Improving present functioning

- Guaranteeing transparency in decision-making procedures;
- Discouraging the use of the power of veto in all cases except those pertaining to Chapter VII of the UN Charter;
- Implementation of the SC Resolution 1325 calling for the presence of women and their active participation in peace processes and conflict resolution.

- Substantive reforms

- Limiting the right of veto to certain specific issues (Chapter VII of the UN Charter) and introducing the requisite of two simultaneous vetoes to exercise this right;
- Establishing permanent and transparent procedural norms;
- Resolutions to be subject to ICJ review;
- Guaranteeing coherent and effective regional representation.
- The extant Security Council should be reformed so that, duly supervised by the UNGA, it would have a composition representing all the regions of the world. The use of the power of veto should be limited to specific issues and steps should be taken towards its abolition in favour of a system of qualified majorities in issues of major importance.

- In-depth reforms

- Supervision by the UNGA;
- Representative composition by regions;
- Review/abolition of the category of permanent member;
- Abolition of the power of veto;
- Voting by direct majority, with a two-thirds majority in very significant issues (to ensure a regional balance and to prevent the sidelining of less powerful nations and regions).
- In any case, all reforms should be undertaken in order to:
 - Improve the mechanisms of conflict prevention and maintenance of peace;
 - Ensure the effective resolution of endemic conflicts that are responsible for a large part of the world's tension;
 - Real and effective development of mechanisms for conflict prevention, with the participation of regional organisations.

Questions to open the discussion

1. What view should we have of the existing proposals for improving and reforming the functioning of the SC? Which of them should we prioritise? What additional proposals should we offer?

2. Maintain or increase the number of members? Maintain or increase the number of members with the right of veto? Creation of regional seats?

3. What view should we have of the proposal for in-depth reform of the SC?

4.3 "Vision for the reform of United Nations Security Council (UNSC)"

Poul Nyrup Rasmussen; GPF, Former Primer Minister of Denmark

1. A renewed United Nations Security Council (UNSC): this Council could be renamed Human Security Council,

To improve the role of the UN on Security and Peace issues: to tackle "hard threats" (wars, weapons of mass destruction, terrorism...)

2. A renewed United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNESCO), this Council could be renamed Human Development Council

To improve the role of the UN on Development, Social, Environmental and Economic issues to tackle "soft threats" (poverty, hunger, diseases ...)

Why do we propose *two* councils rather than just *one* to oversee both the political and security domain and the economic and social domain?

Because the "relative importance" or the most desirable "weights" of different nations or grouping of nations in the top level governance of the international system may not be the same for the security and the economic spheres.

For both operational reasons (the ability to act) and because of the realities of power, military capability will have to be a determining factor in the governance of the security domain.

The situation is somewhat different, however, when it comes to economic and social matters.

It would be entirely desirable that if a country or a group of countries is ready to spend large amounts of resources on funding global public goods, the weights in the top-level governance council should reflect that effort.

1. A new UN Security Council

1.1 In terms of institutional changes

- The P5 (5 permanent seats) is outdated: We need to enlarge the Security Council to strengthen its legitimacy.

- Joint seat for the EU
- Larger representation on the base of regional integration.

- To abolish the right of veto - idea of double veto or qualified majority.

If every one of the old P-5 retains their veto in its current form, many decisions could, again, simply be blocked by a single country - even if it is not a very large country, and even if it is isolated in international public opinion.

If new permanent members also were to acquire veto power, the chances of paralysis would increase further. If new important countries such as Japan and India are added as permanent members *without* giving them the veto power, while countries that are by any reasonable measure smaller, such as the UK and France, retain their individual veto power, such a new council may be perceived as less legitimate than the old one.

Instead, the reform should be based on moving towards a system of *weighted votes* and *universal participation*, where everyone can be involved, but where the weights in the voting scheme also reflect the actual size, ability to act and importance of the participating nation states.

Instead of individual veto rights, supermajorities would be required for the most important decisions.

- For cross border military interventions, the supermajority required could be 4/5ths of the weighted votes.
- For other matters, the required majority for a binding decision could be 3/5ths
- **To dispose of permanent military force at the sole disposition of the Secretary General**
 - By example: EU - Eurocorps or Rapid Reaction Force
- **It has to be completed by Civil Observers, with mandate to take care of good governance programme, fair elections, good justice administration ...**
- Balance the responsibilities between the UNSC (25% of the world population) and the UNGA.
- Push the UN SG to use more systematically the article 99 of the Charter that gives him the right to hold the UNSC for worrying situations for peace and international security.
- Call for extraordinary urgent sessions of the UNGA (resolution 377(V) - called resolution Acheson or "Uniting for Peace" - proposed by the secretary of state, Dean Acheson).

1.2 In terms of policies

- **Taking into account that the nature of conflicts has changed:** Conflicts are internal to state more than between states. *L'ONU reste mal préparée à déceler et à prévenir ce genre de conflits, mal outillée également pour intervenir dans ce qui est considéré généralement comme affaire intérieure d'un État-membre. Une réflexion sérieuse devrait être engagée sur la manière dont l'ONU, peut-être assistée (en plus des inévitables politiques, diplomates, militaires et juristes) par certains éléments de la société civile (notamment responsables spirituels ou religieux, chefs traditionnels, associations de femmes), pourrait s'adapter à la solution de ce genre de crises;*
- **Real priority on the fight against international terrorism and the main causes of terrorism;**
- **Contrary to the current practise: names of countries, leaders, companies that break moral, ethic, use of corruption, violation of human rights and terrorism financing should be pointed out in UN official reports and transferred in front of competent international jurisdictions.**

2. A new UN Human Development Council

- **UN Human Development Council should replace both the G8 and the UN ECOSOC:**
 - Continuously assessing the state of the world economy and ensuring macro-economic coordination;
 - Providing a long-term strategic framework for sustainable development;
 - Securing consistency between the policy goals and actions of the international economic, social and environmental institutions;
 - Producing common guidelines on the priorities of the global agenda, monitoring their follow-up, and acting as a coordinating body for trade-offs between commerce, employment, and environment;
 - In the case of partial financing of global policies through international taxation, monitoring and surveillance of the use and allocation of funds.
- **Pre-emptive policies instead of pre-emptive wars.**
 - It would fall to this Council, for example, to ensure that all international organisations' policies and programmes are consistent with the Millennium Goals and the Johannesburg and Monterrey declarations.
- **This would include building the WTO and the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWI) into the UN System.**
- **Support for the case of a World Financial Authority.**

4.4 Report on the Debate at Session B1)

Nadia Johnson; WEDO

There were a few overarching contexts throughout the panel members' discussion on Security Council reform:

- Firstly, SC reform is a highly complex matter that must be confronted, but will be extremely difficult to find a solution.
- Secondly, we are contending with selfishness of the greatest powerful nations to hold onto their seats in the Security Council at whatever cost and, after 60 years, the SC continues to be governed by the victors of World War II-seriously outdated.
- Thirdly, since the UN and SC were founded, the nature of conflict has changed and this needs to be addressed through reform.
- Currently the UN does not have the capacity or legitimacy to deal with current situations, such as US pre-emptive regression on Iraq, and the fact that Bush has effectively sidelined the UN; and also currently the SC acts differently regarding one region versus another, specifically when it comes to Africa (one example is Sudan, with current mass killings and displacement, and the SC has failed to take action).
- Finally, this Security Council reform process should not be a narrow one but seen as part of a larger effort to reform the UN, without excluding the Bretton Woods institutions

Then there was reference to Kofi Annan's recent statement about illegal war in Iraq and discussion around whether Article 51 of the UN Charter allowed for pre-emptive war. Panelists agreed it did not. Article 23 was also discussed, which underlines that Security Council members should be elected with due regard to their contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, the UN, and also equitable geographic distribution.

Panelists also noted that the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change is a forum for the Ubuntu Forum and conference participants to give recommendations regarding Security Council reform. Furthermore, General Assembly statements in September by the governments of Brazil, France, Spain, and Chile include proposals that we could build on.

The two main areas of discussion by the panelists regarded Security Council composition and veto powers.

Regarding composition, it was noted that the UN is not the same institution as it was in 1945, and that now there are many more UN member states, and the Security Council must reflect this. Adding more permanent members to the SC representing their regional blocs would give more legitimacy to decisions and better representation to UN member states, and an increase of both permanent and non-permanent members is necessary.

It was noted that early comments from the Threats Panel suggests they will recommend that the number of Security Council members increase from 15 to 24, and that 9 could become semi-permanent/permanent.

The panelists all agreed that the number of Security Council members must increase, but differed in their proposals on how to do so. The first view proposes "regionalization" of SC membership in that the basis for membership be reformed to include one member by regional bloc-including for examples Mercosur, ASEAN, AU, Arab League, EU, etc. The argument was that more regional power would not only benefit countries and regions, but lead to a stronger UN.

This first view was challenged, as it was contended that none of the current 5 permanent members would give up their seat to support regionalization, as it would be necessary (for example, for the UK and France if the EU to have one seat in the Security Council). Also, some blocs are straddling more than one region (for example Eastern European countries who are joining the EU). The second view proposed that other

countries should be added to existing SC member states, and proposals were for Germany, Japan, India, Brazil, and an AU country, namely South Africa.

Regarding veto powers, some of the major difficulties many countries have regarding increase of membership is the veto bloc, and that even to increase veto powers to other countries would not be more democratic. There was unanimous agreement that the right to veto should be abolished.

Regarding proposals, the Threats Panel will give the Secretary-General a series of suggestions related to the Security Council and also rights to defend, and the participants of this conference should use the Threats panel as an opportunity to give proposals.

Among the proposals from this session, which are not necessarily consensus proposals but that this group should consider:

1. The current 5 permanent seats are outdated and the Security Council needs to be enlarged to strengthen legitimacy, either by regionalization or by adding specific member states.
2. We must cancel veto power and develop a new system of majority voting to address power imbalances. Thus instituting a system of weighted votes and universal participation (in the case of regionalization) must be considered.

Mr. Rasmussen also had further proposals that were either met with scepticism or not commented on by other panelists but certainly worthy of noting:

1. Reform must be built from the bottom-up rather than top-down. In addition to more regional representation and power, a civil observant force could be created to monitor for good governance, justice administration, and fair elections.
2. We should push the Secretary-General to use Article 99, which gives him the right to hold SC meetings for worrying situations.
3. A Human Development Council could be created, which would act as a super coordinator, replace the G8 and move its powers within the UN system, guide steps taken to achieve the MDGs, and further strengthen ECOSOC to reinforce its capacity to reintegrate the Bretton Woods institutions. This HDC is different from the Economic and Social Security Council proposal.

It was noted from the audience that while the panelists focused on composition and voting rights, little was mentioned regarding the functions of the Security Council, warranting specific attention in our future discussions on SC reform.

FYI: A side note: the discussion also went a little beyond Security Council or even UN reform and touched on European reforms, particularly by Mario Soares. He suggested a federalized Europe, and that the European constitution is the first step towards this. He favours one European government, one president, one foreign affairs minister, etc. So it would be absurd for the two European countries to hold permanent seats in the SC just because they were victors of a war 60 years ago. He also pleads for a European-wide tax.

4.5. Session and discussion guide B2) The role of the General Assembly; peacekeeping forces

Proposals for the discussion

- Improving current operations

- Increased availability of financial and human resources for peace missions (including the reaching of agreements under article 43 of the Charter) and the re-institution of the activities of the Military Staff Committee (article 47).
- Increased usage of GA Resolution 377: "Uniting for Peace".
- Increased resources in the field of conflict prevention (creation of regional observatories, etc.);
- Revitalisation of the Disarmament Conference.

- Substantive reforms

- Rules to be drawn up for the "Uniting for Peace" resolution and a permanent working group of the GA to be set up on the issues of peace and security.
- A permanent multinational force that the UN can call on directly to be set up.
- Specific accords on co-operation between the UN and regional peace and security agencies

- In-depth reforms

- The SC to be supervised by the GA.
- Permanent UN peacekeeping forces to be set up.
- Collective security system with strong regionalisation.

Questions to open the discussion

1. How do we view the existing proposals on the role that the General Assembly should play on the peace and security issues?
2. How do we view the proposal to set up permanent UN peacekeeping forces?
3. What other initiatives should or could be undertaken in order to ensure that the UN plays an effective part in guaranteeing international peace and security?

4.6 "Some reflections on the UN Reform; the General Assembly and Peace-keeping"

Professor Edoardo Greppi; Professor of International Law and of International Organisation, Faculty of Law, University of Turin; member of the Scientific Committee of the World Political Forum

1. The World Political Forum

The World Political Forum's mission is to promote meetings of politicians, scientists, outstanding religious and cultural personalities from all continents, of different faiths, languages and cultures. The Forum is based on cultural diversity and interdependence.

Its goals are to identify the ways to construct a network of governance bodies capable of finding the critical points and to bridge the gaps within politics and tackling the major topics affecting the international community at the beginning of the Third Millennium.

President Mikhail Gorbachev promoted this initiative together with President Bill Clinton and the President of Brazil Fernando, Henrique Cardoso. Giulio Andreotti, Jaques Attali, Benazir Bhutto, Luigi Guidobono Cavalchini, Emilio Colombo, Andrea Comba, Francesco Cossiga, Ralf Dahrendorf, Jacques Delors, Hans Dietrich Genscher, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Toshiki Kaifu, Jack Matlock, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Keba Mbaye, Oscar L. Scalfaro, Cardinal Achille Silvestrini, Robert Skidelsky, Mario Soares, Hubert Vedrine, Federico Mayor Zaragoza, Milos Zeman are among the Forum's founding members. A Scientific Committee is chaired by Andrei Gratchev and co-chaired by Carlo Ossola.

The need for a forum to seek out new institutional know-how able to identify methods and ways of creating innovative world governance arises from the fact that, with the sudden and uncontrolled growth of globalisation, the old international political bodies sometimes seem unable to face the new problems of the 21st century.

The World Political Forum's activities adopt a cross-disciplinary approach through the interaction of culture, science, economics, politics, sociology, law and religion. The Forum will provide with constructive input on all issues that today concern the international community.

The World Political Forum stands out from other initiatives for being open to representatives of all cultures, for dealing with issues such as equal co-operation on economic, financial, social and cultural problems, and for interacting not only with politicians but also with scientists, writers, researchers and political commentators. It is a meeting place to share cultures and experience, because only the mutual understanding, without ideological or religious prejudice, can lead to common values and prospects.

Here, today, I represent the World Political Forum, as a member of its Scientific Committee. However, I will not present the Forum's official views on the issues of reform of the UN and the other international institutions. The World Political Forum has not yet discussed them in one of its sessions. I will therefore make some reflections on my individual capacity, and the World Political Forum is not to be held responsible for what I'm now going to tell you now.

2. United Nations reform issues: the role of the General Assembly, peace-keeping forces and regional organisations

The debate on the issue of reform has been going on since a long time. The creation of the UN was a response to the great demand of peace and security since World War II. The organisation is the result of the combination of two basic principles: universal equality and oligarchy power. In other words, world peace and security should have been granted by a dualistic institution, composed of a General Assembly - in which States should have been represented on an equality basis - and a Security Council, with a primary competence in the field of security and crisis management - in which a special position would be granted to States

having a major responsibility in international affairs. Those were essentially identified in the States which had won the war and by those which still had a widespread colonial power (such as the United Kingdom, already belonging to the first category, and such as France, who had lost the war, but was on the "right side" and had still a colonial "empire"). The five permanent members were conceived as a sort of "directorship" of world affairs. As we all know, the system didn't work because of the cold war, of the impossibility of keeping the necessary harmony among the directorship members. But it didn't collapse. The Security Council was paralysed by the abuse of the so-called right of veto, but the General Assembly was capable of playing a role. It focused on economic and social issues and, moreover, it concentrated on the adoption of Declarations of principles and on the fundamental transformation of the enlarged international community which was the result of decolonisation.

The emerging "Third World" countries quickly became the majority in the General Assembly. And they became very active in demanding reforms. They wanted to discuss the main political, economic and legal issues of the international community. From the very beginning, they seemed to refuse acceptance of an order with rules they hadn't contributed to form. One essential "leitmotiv" was that of democratisation of the UN, basically through an increase of the powers of the General Assembly and an increment of the Security Council members with parallel elimination of the right of veto or its extension to new countries.

Today, after sixty years, the issue of reform has become essential. The end of the cold war, the reunification of Germany, the progressive integration and enlargement of Europe, the challenge of development, the difficulties of keeping a multilateral institutional approach in a world in which is only one superpower left; the challenges of globalisation: these are elements which have deeply modified the general framework and which therefore complicated the debate.

I'll try to summarise a few elements to contribute in the discussion.

In the Charter, primary responsibility in the field of peace and security was given to the Security Council. Attempts to move the focus from this oligarchic body to the General Assembly failed. The main question was: how can the organisation put in place an effective action in the typical cold war situation of a Security Council paralysed by a veto? According to the Charter, there is no place for a General Assembly competence in the field of actions falling within the scope of Chapter VII. The *Uniting for Peace* Resolution and the creation of the UNEF in 1956 were strongly opposed by the Soviet Union and the Eastern European block. Moreover, no major State or group of States recognised in the international practice the existence of a customary rule in international law.

If this is the situation under the Charter and under customary international law, what about the possibility (or desirability) of a modification of the Charter in order to shift the competence from the Security Council to the General Assembly? In my opinion, the major point remains in the UN Charter principles. Charter provisions can be modified; basic principles still belong to customary international law, and some of them are of a peremptory character. Principles like peace, security and respect for human rights are not - and cannot be - matter of discussion or negotiation. Does democracy belong to these principles? When the General Assembly was envisaged, there is no doubt that (at least some) States had in mind to apply the principle "one State one vote", as a parallel to the one traditionally underlying democracies ("one man one vote"). If this is true, a relevant problem arises. Is it possible to imagine the shifting of competence and power to a General Assembly in which decision making would be based on the participation in an international democratic process of countries which lack democratic legitimacy in their national constitution?

This is clearly true if we enlarge the scope of the discussion to subsidiary bodies. The Commission on Human Rights - a General Assembly subsidiary body - has currently Cuba, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Zimbabwe among its members, and in 2003 it has been chaired by Libya. If international bodies are not composed of States strongly committed to the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, they are lacking of the necessary moral authority.

So, the question is: can we consider scarcely acceptable that the major decision making power is given to an oligarchic Security Council and at the same time increase the role of the General Assembly without solving this problem of a lack of democracy in a broad sense? We can not close our eyes and accept that democracy does not belong to the fundamental heritage of human rights. On the contrary, it belongs to the original "first generation" civil and political rights. And we should always remember that democracy plays

an essential role in conflict prevention, both in an internal and in an international perspective. Moreover, democracy is a crucial issue in peace-building situations.

If there is the will to strengthen the General Assembly by recognising some decision making power, we should imagine that we introduce some kind of weighted voting. A plenary body which can only adopt recommendations could be shaped in strict respect of the principle of sovereign equality of States (art. 2, § 1 of the Charter). If the General Assembly is to be given the power to adopt legally binding acts ("decisions"), it would probably make sense to introduce mechanisms which would grant a different weight to the People's Republic of China and to the Republic of San Marino, to the USA and to Palau, to India and to Seychelles, to Germany and to Vanuatu, to the United Kingdom and to Tonga.

The European Union decision making mechanisms provide us with a useful model. It is a multilateral organisation, whose member States have different size, different population, different political, military and economic "power". Both the European Parliament and the Council of the Union have a representation of peoples and States respecting their different dimensions. Seats in the European Parliament are linked to the population of each State. In the Council, on the other hand, when a qualified majority is required, each government is given a different amount of votes. The Treaty which will be signed next October 29th in Rome introduces an even more sophisticated system, based on a combination of a double qualified majority of States and population. The solution is therefore practical. It works, it respects high democratic standards and the request of a representation based on principles of equity and balanced power.

Along with the cases of the World Trade Organisation and the FAO, the European Union should be represented in the UN as a single subject, provided, of course, that its member States ratify the new "Treaty adopting a Constitution for Europe" (including, in the first place, the provisions on the common foreign policy of the Union and its related legal personality).

Another issue which should be taken into account is that of efficacy. Are we sure that a representative body, composed of 191 States, is the ideal actor to face international crisis and conflicts? One of the reasons which had pushed the founding members towards the creation of a Security Council with a limited membership was that a plenary assembly is generally considered inadequate for an efficient decision making mechanism.

Therefore, competence in the field of peace and security should be left - as it is currently occurring with the Security Council - to a body with a restricted membership, in order to guarantee a quick and efficient response to threats to world order. The General Assembly could be given a global political supervision responsibility, provided with - as I said - respect for genuine democracy.

In addition to this, a useful instrument to the improvement of democratic methods is the involvement of Non-governmental organisations. NGOs are often the true voice of individuals, peoples, and their basic needs. An institutional representation of NGOs appears therefore necessary.

As far as the proposals to set up permanent UN peace-keeping forces are concerned, I strongly support this vision. There is no doubt that the failure in the creation of bodies such as the Military Staff Committee has greatly contributed to the lack of success of the UN.

Last but not least, regional organisations should be given clear responsibility, provided that they comply with that general obligation to respect human rights and accept to introduce democratic mechanisms. There is no doubt that a collective security system based on a strong regionalisation would be much more effective than a universal one. Regional conflicts, peculiar local situations could be much more effectively approached and dealt with through the action of regional organisations. That was also the approach in 1945, and should be re-launched. Chapter VIII of the Charter is still an unexplored world of opportunities.

3. Concluding remarks

One of the key elements of the UN and of the whole of the United Nations system is multilateralism combined with institutionalisation. In particular, in order to guarantee peace and security, the Charter was conceived as an instrument to provide the international community (which is typically an-organic) with an

institutional framework. Negotiations and agreements - and, in general - the law of treaties, were considered an essential but not exhaustive method to approach and solve international problems. Rules should be established among States, but they should be placed in hand of international institutions. These would have the responsibility to manage the rules, to apply them, to improve their effectiveness, to modify them when they become inadequate or obsolete.

The world has changed since the establishment of the UN and of all the main international organisations. But the need for multilateralism and universal institutions is still strong. International order needs a generally shared acceptance of the rule of law. Institutions were more than sixty years ago called to offer the general framework for international co-operation.

There is no alternative to the strengthening of the UN and of all other relevant international organisations. But all mechanisms' changes and "technical" provisions should be based on the full acceptance of basic principles such as respect for human rights, democracy, law and justice.

International institutions are often accused of being inadequate or ineffective. But there is no alternative to multilateralism and institutionalisation. The international community is still heavily influenced by the Westphalian principle of sovereignty. International organisations are the only answer to a system based on the individual attitude of States to act on their own, to take unilateral decisions, to use force in the framework of international relations built around power and equilibrium.

Only through a patient dialogue among nations, through daily negotiations among governments, the international community can hope to achieve world peace and security, world justice, an efficient fight against terrorism and a real development. Only international institutions can grant global governance.

As the great Dag Hammarskjöld used to say, the UN have not been created to grant Paradise to mankind, but to save it from Hell.

4.7 Session and discussion guide B3) World Justice: making the IJC, ICC, etc. universal; making human rights universal

Some proposals for the discussion

Improving present functioning

- Providing greater powers of appeal to the ICJ in the case of constitutionally doubtful SC actions
- Working for the universal ratification of the Treaty of Rome and advancing towards universal recognition of the ICC.
- First steps towards creating international tribunals with specific jurisdictions.

Substantive reforms

- Creating a chamber with the capacity to advise on the constitutionality of actions of UN organisations, including the SC.
- Universal reach of the ICJ.
- Advancing towards the creation of a Council of World Justice, a new international human rights tribunal, a new international tribunal dealing with economic and financial crimes and a new international tribunal for environmental crimes.

In-depth reforms

- Interconnected world legal order covering civil and criminal law, with mechanisms for implementation from local through to worldwide levels.
- Enabling the ICJ to determine the constitutionality of decisions taken by the organisations of the system.
- Full integration of the ICJ into the UN system.
- Effective creation and implementation of specific international tribunals within the UN system.
- Creation and implementation of a World Legal Police Force.

Questions to open the discussion

1. What view should we have of existing proposals for the improvement of and reforms to the present-day ICJ and the ICC? Which of them should we prioritise? What additional proposals should we offer?
2. What view should we have of the proposal for in-depth reform that would lead to an interconnected worldwide legal order covering civil and penal law, with mechanisms for implementation from the local through to worldwide spheres?

Thematic area C

Institutions for social, environmental and economic world welfare

5.1 Introduction to the thematic area

The Bretton Woods Institutions (BWI) are seriously marred by their lack of legitimacy and undemocratic functioning because of their decision-making system that clearly benefits the more powerful industrialised countries to the detriment of the developing countries. This situation has permitted the introduction of policies without consensus and without the support of all member states. Despite agreements formally denoting the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as specialised UN agencies, and despite the establishment of the Chief Executives Board to coordinate international agencies, programmes and organisations, the BWI have almost always acted unilaterally, with practically no coordination with the UN. This has resulted in a lack of coherence between policies decided within these institutions and other international policies and regulations that come under UN jurisdiction.

When the demands of the developing countries finally began to be heard in the GA in the 1960s, the developed countries tended to turn to the BWI for decisions because their decision-making process was much more favourable to their interests. With the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, the neoliberal policies enshrined in the Washington Consensus began to gain ground. The BWI institutions came to supervise world economic governance while ECOSOC, the UN agency that had been designed to play a role in world economic coordination, was clearly sidelined. Besides the BWI, the WTO, established in 1994 as a new multilateral organisation outside of the United Nations system, should be taken into account. These institutions have helped to spread the neoliberal economic policies applied in many parts of the world in recent years. In contrast, the declarations and plans of action resulting from UN summits of the 1990s and the new millennium have not been implemented due to a lack of political will and failure to deliver the resources that are necessary to put them into effect.

The capacity of international institutions for global macroeconomic management should also be increased through financial, economic, trade, social and environmental policies that take into account the interests of all, and most significantly of those who are most vulnerable and excluded from the international system. To resolve the serious problems of poverty and inequality in the world, all of these policies should be approached in an integrated and coordinated fashion that recognises the primacy of human rights. Economic policy should be coherent with social and environmental priorities and human rights, and should be properly integrated into effective and democratic structures of coordination and accountability towards those who are subject to this policy.

All of this requires the implementation of mechanisms for the coordination of world financial, economic, social and environmental policies. One proposal that has received wide-ranging support from a number of sectors is that of reforming ECOSOC (Economic and Social Council) so that it becomes an Economic, Social and Environmental Security Council with effective authority over UN agencies, funds and programmes, the Bretton Woods Institutions and the World Trade Organisation. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank should go back to their original mandates (world monetary and macroeconomic balance - IMF; reconstruction and development - WB), establish a democratic decision-making process and be effectively integrated under UN auspices. The World Trade Organisation should go back to being based in the UN and, along with UNCTAD, design world trade policies that are appropriate for fostering human rights and world social and environmental regulations.

5.2 Session and discussion guide C1) In-depth reform of the BWI and of its relations with the UN; in-depth reform of world financial and economic policies

Some proposals for the discussion

Improving the functioning of the BWI:

- Improving coordination between the UN and the BWI through ECOSOC;
- With regard to the BWI:
 - Reviewing their policies and powers bestowed in the original mandate;
 - Reviewing practices and procedures;
 - Reforming the voting system to ensure a balanced representation of all members: raising basic votes to the original levels;
 - Greater transparency in procedures and decision-making;
 - Improving coordination and coherence of policy with other economic, financial or trade organisations and with Human Rights declarations;
 - Renegotiating agreements on relations with the UN.

Substantive reforms (including the above)

- Effective control and real coordination by ECOSOC of the BWI;
- Reviewing decision-making and selection mechanisms used by the governing bodies;
- Greater accountability;
- Answering to the UNGA through ECOSOC.

In-depth reforms

- The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank should go back to their original mandates (world monetary and macroeconomic balance - IMF; reconstruction and development WB), establish a democratic decision-making process and be effectively integrated within UN auspices.
- These reforms should lead to a definitive solution to the problem of foreign debt, eliminate tax heavens, and set up mechanisms for worldwide financial cooperation and a global taxation system as well as favouring increased levels of Official Development Aid. All these measures should make it possible to co-finance the functioning of international institutions and to set up funds of worldwide contributions for development. Only in this way will it be possible to ensure that the Millennium Development Goals come into effect and to promote truly sustainable human development that will conserve our cultural heritage, and the environmental and cultural diversity of the planet. In this context, the UN must urgently confront the task of establishing a framework for regulating the flow of finance capital around the world.

Questions to open the discussion

1. What view should we have of existing proposals for improvement of and substantive reforms to the functioning of the BWI? Which of them should we prioritise? What additional proposals should we offer?
2. What view should we have of the proposal for in-depth reform of the BWI bringing them back their original mandates and fully integrating them into the system, under the effective control of the UNGA?
3. What view should we have of policies that would enable these in-depth reforms? Which of them should we prioritise? What additional proposals should we offer?

5.3 Report on the Debate at Session C1)

Lorna Gold; CIDSE

International Context

The panel approached these issues from both a historical view point and the view point of reform processes currently under way. In setting the broad context of the debate, the question of the role of industrialised countries, in particular the G7 in perpetuating problems in the global economy was posed.

The proposition was made that the debt of low income countries is a relatively easy problem to solve and could be solved through the use of reserves from the WB and IMF. This proposition was not made to belittle the challenge of debt cancellation - or the importance of it, but to highlight the much greater challenge that exists: that of urgently reforming the international financial system.

The root systemic problem outlined is one of the deep indebtedness of the northern countries, and the US in particular, which is creating ever greater imbalances in the financial system and generating a haemorrhage of financial capital from South to North.

In particular, the reliance on US treasury bonds as the international standard, the over extension of the dollar and the subsequent doubting of value resulting from the devaluation of the dollar, poses a huge destabilising threat globally going forward.

Such policies are legitimised largely through the control of the Bank and the Fund. The proposal based on our need to "reclaim the term structural adjustment" to mean adjustment of northern countries. Structural Adjustment means setting the preconditions for economic development - the emphasis on this respect needs to be transferred from the South to the North.

A key element in stocking up this whole process embedded within the BWI system is the inability of sovereign states to retain control over their own exchange rates and interest rates, and the way that this is fundamentally linked to terms of trade.

John M. Keynes proposed a system of control in 1944 in the form of an **international clearing house, utilising a basket of currencies**, which would act as a kind of central bank on a global level - but his proposal was defeated by the US. This proposal should be put back on the table.

The impact of this dollar dominance on the international system and the neo-liberal policy formulations accompanying it - was amply demonstrated by Jose Olivio Oliviera's paper. He outlined the way that the shift from trade in goods and services - to trade in financial assets as a means of extending corporate reach, has directly impacted on the livelihood security, employment opportunities and conditions of workers throughout the world. Capital liberalisation without any reform to the migration policies and subsequent adjustment in labour markets has resulted in fundamental imbalances and a return to the "*race to the bottom*" not seen since the late 19th century.

Substantive reform proposals

It is against this backdrop that proposals of reform to the BWI have to be made. These proposals can be analysed on three levels of interlinking relationships in which the BWI are engaged:

1. BWI relationship with UN system

Firstly, the inter-relationship between the BWI and the UN system, both in terms of norms and standards, setting and in the coordination of international economic policy. Most discussion is about how to put the

BWI within the UN system, and in particular, how do we bring them under ECOSOC. Problem is that it is a tough haul, which is going to take a long time.

One proposal as a first step is to find ways of making the institutions more accountable to **international norms and standards, including human rights law through building a body legal opinion around human rights frameworks and workers rights**. This was a point also underlined by Jose Olivio Oliviera, who cited the lack of enforceability of international labour norms and standards as a case in point. He drew attention to the four principles underpinning the ILO declaration on workers rights: right to free unions, elimination of forced labour and child labour and the elimination of all kinds of discrimination at work.

Internal consultations in this direction are ongoing within the Bank and Fund in response to civil society pressure. But the first lesson of the past 30 years of reform proposals has demonstrated that external pressure and accountability mechanisms are essential. This is to avoid the very real prospect of mission creep, in which the Bank and Fund can redefine human rights on their own terms - whilst claiming the moral high ground. The Bank and Fund should not be allowed to become the arbiters of human rights. A first step in this direction is the removal of blanket immunity from Bank and Fund staff.

2. Institutional reforms

The second level of reforms regards the nature of institutional operations in Washington. This is the level which is the subject of most intense debate at the moment - but lack of change.

Without going into details, the panel argued for comprehensive changes to the voting structure and quota allocation - so as to reflect the new realities of the 21st century. The existing structures formulated in the post-war era no longer serve the original mandate or the global economy. Proposed changes include restructuring the voting rights, the constituency system, the seats on the ED board, as well as increased transparency in decision-making processes.

A key role here for Europeans was identified as the EU is the most over represented region on the board. As regards how we should view the existing processes, such as Trevor Manuel's roadmap - there was a degree of scepticism. An independent arbitration process is necessary.

3. National level reforms

Finally, the panel addressed the question of national sovereignty and involvement in BWI processes. The need to link what happens at a country level - both in the North and South - with BWI processes was underscored.

The context of inappropriate policy prescriptions enforced through bullying tactics is now regarded - even within the BWI as indefensible. **One concrete proposal is to ensure that any Bank or Fund strategy has to be debated and agreed by national parliaments** and not by joint staff assessments. This could offer a powerful means to give back some degree of national control - if not autonomy - over macro-economic and fiscal policy. An initiative is already underway to gather support for such a proposal in the shape of a global petition of parliamentarians.

In conclusion, the topic the panel addressed certainly requires much further elaboration and discussion. What emerged in terms of challenges to civil society is this: the strongest global player is also profoundly weak. Financially, at least, the US has become dependent on the rest of the world, and is increasingly living off that capital. At the same time, the institutions it controls have also become morally bankrupt. This makes in-depth reform of the system critical. This presents us with a huge challenge, but also an opportunity going forward.

5.4 Session and discussion guide C2) In-depth reform of the WTO and of its relations with the UN; in-depth reform of world trade policies

Some proposals for the discussion

- Improving the functioning of the WTO:

- Improving coordination between the UN and the WTO through UNCTAD and ECOSOC;
- With regard to the WTO:
 - Reviewing practices and procedures to ensure the democratic participation of all its members;
 - Greater transparency of procedures and decision making and, in general, of all its processes;
 - Improved coordination and coherence of policy with other economic, financial and trade organisations and with Human Rights declarations.

- Substantive reforms (including the above)

- Reviewing decision-making mechanisms and democratising negotiation practices;
- Contributing funds to ensure the permanent presence and participation in Geneva of delegations from countries with fewer resources.
- Establishment of an agreement binding the WTO to the UN, obliging it to report on a regular basis to ECOSOC;
- The Consultative Organ for Resolving Differences should, in the last instance, come under ICJ jurisdiction;
- Answering to the UNGA through ECOSOC.

- In-depth reforms

- The World Trade Organisation must go back to being based within the UN and, along with UNCTAD, design world trade policies that are amenable to promoting a truly sustainable human development, conserving both our cultural heritage and the environmental and cultural diversity of the planet and in compliance with human rights and world social and environmental regulations. Only in this way will it be possible to contribute towards fulfilment of the Millennium Development Goals.
- Bringing the WTO back into the UN must also entail a redefinition of the role of world trade and the setting of a clear framework for its effective regulation;
- Trade in raw materials and manufactured goods (presently under regulation by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade - GATT) must not continue to extend freely into Agriculture (Agreement on Agriculture) or Services or essential spheres such as education, health, biodiversity, culture, etc. (GATS and TRIPS);
- It is essential to develop the concept of "global public welfare" and, as part of the process, to redefine the concept of "public service".

Some questions to open the discussion

1. What view should we have of existing proposals for improvement of and substantive reforms to the functioning of the WTO? Which of them should we prioritise? What additional proposals should we offer?
2. What view should we have of the proposal for in-depth reform of the WTO bringing it back to its original mandate and fully integrating it into the UN system, answering to the UNGA through ECOSOC?
3. What view should we have of policies that would enable these in-depth reforms and the redefinitions that they require? Which of them should we prioritise? What additional proposals should we offer?

5.5 Report on the Debate at Session C2)

Eduardo Estévez; CMT

1. Panel

Nitin Desai opened his presentation with one of the issues currently of greatest relevance in matters of international trade: *Is trade beneficial to the reduction of poverty and to economic growth? In other words, is trade a potential driving force for development?*

In the speaker's opinion, the difficult conciliation between trade and development constitutes one of the most serious problems today insofar as politics and world trade governance. The World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the structures of world trade governance in general comprise an incomplete and biased system promoting an agenda clearly liberalizing world trade to the benefit of industrialised countries and to the detriment of the interests of developing countries.

Moreover, in addition to the bias of this liberalizing agenda in favour of the interests of industrialised countries, it is based on double standards: the commercial liberalization that industrialised countries demand of developing countries does not, in most cases, have a counterpart in the liberalisation of northern countries. Beyond a doubt, the trade barriers are much greater for developing countries and duties penalise products in which developing countries have a comparative advantage in the world trade system. In addition, it is incomplete because commercial policies promote the liberalisation of the movement of products, services and capital without mentioning the movement of people.

Over the past few years, the evolution of the world trade system has not shown signs of moving towards a more just system of governance for all parties involved. Quite on the contrary, if the GATT focused above all on the negative rights derived from the principle of non-discrimination, the WTO has tended towards positive rights, such as the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement or the capacity for governments to pass legislation creating obligations and rights for commercial agents. Furthermore, the WTO, above and beyond its mandate in trade policy, creates obligations for national governments that interfere with the mandates of other ministries, going beyond trade relations.

Another aspect unfavourable to developing countries is the technical complexity of trade negotiations at the WTO, which requires delegations in Geneva with significant financial and human resources that many developing countries simply cannot afford. This places them in a weaker position to negotiate.

Among many others, these aspects reveal that the trade system is not neutral. It is the result of political decisions based on a liberalizing agenda and values. Nonetheless, this phenomenon is not inevitable: it was proposed that the system should emphasise convergence between trade and development. To achieve this, greater coordination between the WTO and those agencies of the United Nations having a mandate on issues relating to trade is fundamental. This should allow greater coherence between policies on development aid, debt and trade. Insofar as more concrete measures, it is essential to improve the capacities of developing countries to strengthen their negotiating position in multilateral forums. Last but not least, it is fundamental to evaluate the impact of trade on development, in particular in underdeveloped countries.

John Foster dealt, in the first place, with the fundamental conflicts affecting world trade policies, i.e. the conflicts between public and private actors, where private actors and private corporations are clearly privileged to the detriment of democratically elected state actors. In the second place, he discussed the conflicts among the various world regimes.

World trade legislation often limits - and even sabotages - the full attainment of democratic rights. This conflict reveals the lack of coherence between trade legislation and the human, environmental, labour and social rights accepted in various international agreements. To confront these conflicts, it is necessary to establish mechanisms that can resolve them in a neutral manner. The WTO's mechanism for settling dispu-

tes is not, according to the speaker, an appropriate framework, as it systematically prioritises trade matters because it is a mechanism integrated within the WTO. It is therefore necessary to establish a mechanism outside of the WTO framework, whether it is an extension of the International Court of Justice or a wholly new organism.

Insofar as world trade governance structures, the speaker insisted on the need to integrate the WTO within the framework of the United Nations in order to guarantee that trade policies do not collide with the values of the United Nations Charter and to guarantee that human rights predominate over world trade legislation.

2. Debate

The participants in the debate insisted on the predominance of private actors and transnational corporations in the current world trade system, as well as on the need to move towards a more balanced system taking into account the interests of all parties.

Then a discussion began on the abolition of trade institutions should it be impossible to correct the bias in favour of the most powerful actors. In any case, the widespread feeling among those present was to assert the need for the existence of institutions, and though the urgency of the situation in the world was emphasised, it was concluded that the absence of regulating institutions would most likely lead to a greater abuse of the situation of the weaker actors in the system.

The role of regional trade agreements and bilateral negotiations was discussed as well, emphasising the need for these to always be carried out in a manner promoting democratisation.

Finally, it was remarked that civil society should carry out a key role in advancing towards a multilateral system considering trade as an instrument for development and favouring human rights, as well as international agreements on labour, social and environmental issues in order to advance towards another possible world.

5.6 Session and discussion guide C3) From the ECOSOC to an Economic, Social and Environmental Security Council

Some proposals for the discussion

- Improving the functioning of ECOSOC

- Improving the mechanisms for coordination with the programmes, funds and, in particular, the agencies and also with the BWI and the WTO.
- Creating an executive committee with greatest regional representation;
- Improving working methods.
- Improving infrastructure and funding facilities.

- Substantive reforms to ECOSOC

- Effective control and real coordination of UN agencies and programmes and of all multilateral institutions with mandates in the pertinent fields, which would then answer to the UNGA through ECOSOC.
- Increasing the prerogatives and capacities of the Executive Committee.

- In-depth reforms

- Evolving from ECOSOC to an Economic, Social and Environmental Security Council with effective control of the BWI (IMF and WB), the WTO, along with the relevant UN agencies, funds and programmes, which, once appropriately reformed, would become specialised technical agencies that are fully integrated into the system.
- All organisations, agencies, funds and programmes would answer to the GA and the World Parliament through the Council.

Some questions to open the discussion

1. What view should we have of existing proposals for reinforcing ECOSOC? Which of them should we prioritise? What additional proposals should we offer?

2 What view should we have of the proposal for creating an Economic, Social and Environmental Security Council with effective control over organisations, agencies, funds, programmes and with a central role in the system? What technical and political problems would this raise? What political changes would it entail?

5.7 ¿What future for the United Nations?

Samir Amin; Forum Tiers Monde

It is good form today to say that the UN has gone bankrupt and that it is henceforth the duty of the G7/8 and even of NATO to ensure the 'security' of the international order, and even its 'democratization'! On the contrary, in this document I will demonstrate how the UN is the victim of a plot whose aim is no less than to assassinate it. To demonstrate this, we must take a look at both the UN - in the past as well as its present state of crisis - and the strategic political options taken by the ruling powers in their real perspective, based on the analysis of the challenges of the 21st century;

I. Market / State Conflict and Coincidence in their First Expressions

- The space defining the sphere of reproduction of a society is always multidimensional: it is that of its political management, its economic life and the expression of its cultural identity. The consistency of a society therefore depends on the degree of coincidence of these various spaces - political, economic and cultural. This coincidence operates at times in a relatively large geographical sphere, or on the contrary, is dispersed, being effective only on the level of micro companies in villages, for instance.

The coincidence in question does not exclude the possibility of contradictions and conflicts between the internal logic particular to the different authorities of the social reality considered (political, economic, and cultural). Quite on the contrary, it is the unfurling of these contradictions that reveals the dynamic of history and social transformations.

In any case, the coincidence in question is always relative, in the sense that the societies defined on its basis only rarely unfurl in an absolute or nearly absolute autarchy, but are usually in line with 'society systems'. The spheres of Christianity, Islam, Hinduism or Confucianism, for example, define cultural dimensions (religious and philosophic) common to all societies. By the same token, one can observe the spheres of commercial exchange that associate many societies to one another, which become more or less interdependent due to this exchange. In modern capitalism, this sphere is constituted by the entire planet, lending the economic authority of social reproduction its quality of 'world economy'. Yet in previous periods, there were also vast spaces of exchange, such as those designated by the 'silk routes', for instance.

The nebula constituted by interdependent human societies reveals, in specific of its constituent areas, strong agglomerations lending the societies located in these areas an evident consistence that identifies them. One could then, for the societies in question, speak about a coincidence of 'market' (a disputably simplistic term for designating the economic aspect) / State (sphere of political power management) / society (recognising itself in a cultural identity) aspects.

- Capitalism was first successful in a particular region of the Old World - the small, north-western corner of Europe. It had precedents elsewhere, but it was there that it took its 'definitive' historical form, spreading (or attempting to spread) elsewhere.

Now, the region in question was characterised by a high degree of dispersion of both its conditions of economic reproduction (largely limited to those of the subsistence of the fief) and those of its political management (equally largely limited to the powers of the local lord). The vaster spaces of which the base feudal units were a part continued to have a weak density: the shared 'Christianity' was not accompanied by real political power, exercised by neither its head (the Pope), nor the Emperor (of the Holy Roman Empire) nor Kings; commercial exchange remained limited in its effects (and in any case, the 'long distance' type of exchange - the 'Silk Routes' - predominated in comparison with local commercial exchange). Precisely for this reason, I have qualified this ('feudal') form of society of 'tributary' families in the periods in question as a 'peripheral' form, as opposed to centralised forms characterised by an economy / power (operating in considerably larger areas) coincidence. The precocious coagulation of new capitalist forms in these peripheral areas of the tributary world seems to me not to be purely by chance. i

- At first, during the period of its initial coagulation, the intensification of commercial exchange unfurled in what I call the chaos of the origins of capitalism. The coincidence between spaces of political management and economic reproduction was broken. Juxtaposed to the ancient feudal powers and the limited powers of guilds were the commercial networks that transcended them. The map of Europe of this transitional period from the Middle Ages to modern times took the form of a puzzle of principalities, lordships and free towns, all of them increasingly dependent on the network of merchants that escaped their power. This model contrasts with that of centralised tributary worlds characterised by the submission of the commercial economy to political powers ⁱⁱ, a major handicap to the emergence of fully developed capitalist forms.

The chaos was overcome and the 'market / State' coincidence (economic and political) was reconstructed through the emergence of the modern Nation-State. The United Provinces, above all England and France, invented the Absolute Monarchy of the Ancien Régime which paved the way for the spread that would reach its zenith in the 19th century, producing the 'model' par excellence of the organization of the modern world.

This model has entered a phase of final disintegration that excludes all possibilities of reversal, as we will see later. A return to chaos under conditions that comprise a new challenge: that of going beyond capitalism, which has become obsolete.

- The establishment of the UN occurred precisely during the long phase characterised by 'market / State' coincidence (management of the economy / management of politics). It was its late culmination. The philosophy of this world system was based, in effect, on two principles: the absolute sovereignty of States (considered by nature as 'Nation-States') and polycentrism. They were to constitute the foundation of the United Nations Charter. We will later write up the balance sheet (with positive results - it is far from being negative as is too often and too quickly asserted today) for this world system, though without ignoring the limits and increasing contradictions that have led to its contemporary crisis.

The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) inaugurated the establishment of this system based on the dual recognition of the sovereignty of States and polycentrism. The system was then only specific to the space of Old World Catholicism, whose unity was broken by the explosion of the Reformation. It was generalised throughout Europe by the Treaty of Vienna (1815) and was first made partially universal by the creation of the League of Nations (1920). I say partially universal because the League of Nations did not question the colonial statutes that excluded Asia and Africa. The League of Nations remained an organisation representing a world system reduced to its centres (Europe and Japan), amputated from the United States (which distanced itself after having been the main promoter) and flanked by the peripheral area of 'independent' Latin America. The UN was conceived from the beginning in an authentically universal perspective, which would rapidly become a reality with the regained independence, firstly, of the countries of Asia and the Arabic world, and then of Africa.

Hence it is not surprising that the apogee of the United Nations was precisely during this relatively brief period that, from the early 1960s to 1975-1980, coincided with the so-called 'decades of development', which I will discuss later.

The doubts and the crisis that followed were not those of the UN, but of the world system in which the organisation was inscribed. Because, as one will see later, discord between the different authorities of world management (especially between its economic dimensions - the 'market', in simplistic terms - and its political dimensions) has reappeared, following upon two or three centuries of coincidence, though limited to the central regions of the system. Yet discordance is no longer of a nature analogous to that characterising the chaos of the beginning. The new chaos is that of a system henceforth obsolete.ⁱⁱⁱ It cannot be overcome by the reestablishment of previous forms of coincidence. It requires the revision of all the data of the challenge on its local ('national') level but also on that of the world system (and any possible regional sub-systems).

Just as the solution to these problems on the local ('national') scale cannot be found through a 'return' to practices institutionalised by the capitalism of the previous stage, and likewise, the UN crisis (one of the major dimensions of the crisis of the globalised management system which we are discussing here) cannot be overcome by maintaining the functions that brought the organisation success and glory in the post-war period after the Second World War.

II. Balance Sheet of the Actions of the United Nations (1945-1980)

- The Second World War ended with a double victory, that of democracy over fascism and that of the peoples of Asia and Africa over colonialism. The creation of the UN must thus be understood in the context of this atmosphere.

This double victory commanded the economic, social and political forms of the management of systems both on their national levels and on the international organisation level. It established the three fundamental 'historical social commitments' of the time: the *Welfare State* in the West, a work/capital commitment that allowed the working classes who were victorious over fascism access to a degree of dignity unknown in the previous stages of capitalism, *really existing socialism* and that which I call *the national populisms* in the countries of Asia and Africa that had gained independence.^{iv}

At the same time, it opened the way for a negotiated political management of international relations, likewise promoting the role of the United Nations. It is good form today to say that the bipolarity of the 'cold war' and the powers of veto (of the five, but especially the two superpowers) have 'paralyzed' the UN. Far from this and on the contrary, the bipolarity reinforced by the veto gave the countries on the periphery of the system (Asia, Africa and Latin America) a margin to manoeuvre that they lost later. For a time the imperialist centres were forced to 'adjust' to the demands for respect of the sovereignty of the peoples in question and accept (or collaborate with) their projects for national and social development.

The significance of this positive change can be grasped once one has understood that globalised capitalist expansion has always been, throughout all stages of its spreading and from the start (the centuries of mercantilism, 1500-1800), imperialist by nature. That is, its immanent - and dominating - internal logic has generated a polarisation of power and wealth on the planetary scale without parallel to anything throughout the preceding millennia of history. This permanent dominant tendency of really existing capitalism (which the discourse of 'liberalism' deliberately ignores in order to substitute it with a veritable mythology that the acrobats of simplistic economy attempt to present as reality) was, if not called into question in a radical manner, at least tempered during the period I have labelled as 'Bandung' (1955-1975). The rise - and glory days - of the United Nations coincide with this period, and this is not by chance.

- It is not difficult to draw up the (positive) balance sheet of the period: the highest economic 'growth' rates of all modern times, enormous social progress, both in the centres of the system and countries of really existing socialism and in the great majority of those on the liberated periphery, as well as a blossoming of modern national identities and new pride. No more difficult than it is to identify the limits and contradictions, to which we will later return.

The United Nations accompanied these upheavals and facilitated their realisation. The double principle of national sovereignty and polycentrism constituted an effective means. On the political level, the UN banned the brutal interventions that had been commonly practised by the former imperialisms and which have once again become common practices since NATO invested itself with the responsibility of imposing its order on the Planet. On the level of economic management, the UN imposed the principle of negotiation, the Nation-States remaining free - on their territories - to organise their systems of production and distribution of wealth as they deemed appropriate. Certainly, the 'pessimists' will state that the negotiations in question (among others, for instance, through the UNCTAD) have rarely resulted in anything more than declarations with no real effect. Nonetheless, the States continued to be sovereign - on the internal level - and therefore they had real power of negotiation, of which they made the use that their ruling classes wished.

- Yet it is quite as easy to identify the limitations of this system.

In the first place, observe that the system makes no reference to democracy apart from purely verbal reference. Today peoples have become more demanding in this aspect - though to differing degrees - than they had been in the period of the Welfare State, really existing socialism or national populisms. I certainly consider this evolution positive, even if the democratic demands in question remain the object of manipulations that are at times facile by the imperialist powers. In the spirit of the period, absolute sovereignty was that of the States, considered as exclusive representatives of their people. At the time, the denial of democracy was often justified by the ruling classes on behalf of the requirements of 'building the nation'.

With the reversal of the economic situation, the slowed economic growth has put an end to the repercussions from which large segments of the population (especially the middle class, but also the working class, to the extent to which the social rise of young generations actually functioned) benefited. Suddenly, the "national" discourse lost the legitimacy that allowed it to ignore democratic rights and even fundamental human rights.

In the second place, observe that the concepts of economic and social development themselves were based on the postulates of the paradigm of the time, founded on the market / State coincidence, or more generally speaking, management of the economy / exercise of political power. The concept of economic development was in keeping with a capitalist expansionist logic characterised by 'recouping', which in turn presupposed the 'neutrality of technologies' and the reproduction of hierarchical modes of organisation produced by the historic processes of capitalism. The fact that this model has always involved at least an active regulating role of the State, at times substituting the absent capitalist (or "compradorisé" capitalist, i.e. dependent on foreign capital) class, which here and there - and to differing degrees - has taken on social dimensions, does not lend it the quality of socialist that it has often too hastily been ascribed (which is why I prefer to qualify it as a populist national model).

Furthermore, this form of development was in line with the capitalist globalisation of the time. Yet this alignment was founded on the negotiation of its conditions. The "decades of development" that were the glory of the United Nations actively supported the deployment of these strategies at the time.

It goes without saying that, precisely for this reason - because they were within an ultimately capitalist perspective, both in the logic of internal social relations of the nations concerned and in the logic of globalised expansion - the development projects of the time must have quickly reached their limits. The accumulation of contradictions that their implementation involved necessarily had to lead to the erosion of their efficiency and thus pave the way for the imperialist offensive and the reversal of the economic situation.

- Through its political actions of protection and respect for national sovereignties and support for polycentrism, the United Nations positively contributed to allowing the implementation of these experiments. And the political regimes that assumed the responsibility, though not democratic (or at best, democratic to a very low degree), were not in general as "horrible" as is often asserted today. Modernizers, open to laicisation, promoting the social rise of women (within limits ...), these autocracies were often close to forms of 'enlightened despotism'. The most horrible regimes that existed at the time were for the most part put into place or supported by the imperialist adversary, which did not hesitate to do this whenever it could: Mobutu in Zaire, Suharto in Indonesia and the dictatorships of South America are all testimony to this. The subsequent events of history - including the support of the Taliban in Afghanistan (here, an obscurantist dictatorship succeeded enlightened despotism, too hastily qualified as "communist") - testifies to the decline that followed the erosion of national populisms.

- Criticism today directed at the United Nation's actions in that period does not generally take into account the overall reality of the time. This type of criticism thus remains superficial, placing an emphasis, for instance, on the 'mediocrity' of the "UN bureaucracy". A tranquil comparison between the UN apparatus and that of other national or transnational institutional systems (such as the European Union apparatus, for instance) would invite more qualified conclusions.v

In retrospect, it is more seriously legitimate to place an emphasis on the illusions generated by the success of development at the time. But that which is certainly not legitimate is the use of this 'failure' as an instrument by the neo-liberals. Because what they imposed thereafter was an even more devastating illusion: that the deployment of deregulated capitalism would assure a "better" development. An illusion associated with a dogmatic rhetoric refuted by the entire history of really existing capitalism (development, even in the limited sense of catching up in the system, whenever it occurred, always occurred via strategies accepting the conflict with the dominating logic of expansion of the dominating globalised capital) and cruelly refuted by the events of the past two decades, characterised by stagnation (development was sent through the trap door, substituted by the discourse of inefficient charity - the "struggle against poverty") and by the most scandalous aggravation of social injustices.

It is not at all surprising that under these conditions, democratisation and peace were, like development, sent through the trap door, despite the resounding rhetoric of the representatives of the ruling powers. The debate that should emerge in response to liberal chaos concerns is the necessary democratisation in its relation with social progress. It is replaced by a series of empty discourses designed to dispose of the real problems: the discourse of "good governance" (accompanied by insipid developments concerning the 'struggle against corruption!'), substituted for the analysis of the reality of powers, the promotion of communitarisms under the fallacious pretext of respect for the right to difference, the so-called 'post-modernist' bric-a-brac, the discourse on the supposed civilisation conflicts (which substitutes the real debate concerning the conflict of political cultures, which we will discuss later). It is easy to recognise the trademark indicating the source of this discourse: the US department of propaganda. We know how these discourses are relayed by the World Bank (the ministry of propaganda of the G7, as I call the institution) and imposed upon the United Nations (which admittedly does not put up much of a fight). Insofar as the promised peace, it takes the form of permanent warfare (supposedly against "terrorism"!), repeated aggressions by Washington and its allies ("preventive" wars) and civil wars produced by the disintegration of States and societies subject to the treatment of liberalism!

- The United Nations has been invested with an unprecedented task of supreme importance: ensuring peace, condemning recourse to warfare (and preventing it insofar as possible).

The spirit of the United Nations Charter implies a *polycentric* view of globalisation. This is understood as the forms of globalisation that are based on the *principle of negotiation*, the only guarantee of authentic respect for diversity in all of its dimensions: cultural and linguistic, certainly, but also those that are the historical product of the inequalities of economic development. Polycentrism respects all States, all nations, be they "large" or "small", accepts that each of them, in a way, constitutes a centre in and of itself, and that therefore the interdependence involved in globalisation must be able to handle the legitimate demands of the 'self-centred' viewpoints of all of its partners. Globalisation is thus 'negotiated' and, if not perfectly egalitarian, at least conceived to reduce inequalities and not to favour their growth. Reconciling de facto differences on the one hand, and the universal demands for peace, democracy and development in solidarity on the other, this is the challenge.

Moreover, in the perspective of affirmation of polycentrism, the Charter of Nations has gone quite far, to the point of condemning the very principle of war, which is only accepted in case of legitimate defence, the aggressor being condemned without hesitation. The only legitimate military interventions are those ordered by the UN and conducted under its operational and political command. And these should in any case be measured and provisional.

The balance sheet of the implementation of these principles by the UN until the Gulf War (1991) shows rather positive results. The United Nations lent legitimacy to the wars of liberation against (British, Dutch, French, Belgian, Portuguese) colonialisms and thereby provided positive support to polycentric construction. In comparison with what occurred thereafter, there were few "civil wars" during that period; and if, as has always been the case in history, certain powers have sought to take advantage of this and throw fuel on the fire, the United Nations system did not favour their manoeuvres (as reflected in the case of the War of Biafra). Certainly, the United Nations have perhaps been at times manipulated (this was the case in the War of Korea), or neutralised (in the US war against Vietnam or the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan). In the Palestinian issue, it is true that the United Nations legitimised the creation of Israel in a highly disputable manner (authorising the Zionists not to apply the plan for sharing) but they later attempted to put a brake on the expansionist ambitions of Tel Aviv: the tripartite aggression of 1956 was condemned, and by Resolution 242, it condemned the occupation of Palestinian territory since 1967 as well.

The responsibilities I held at the time in the 1960s and 1970s led me to frequently attend the General Assemblies of the United Nations, held every year in New York in September. It was a major event every time, followed by the highest political figures the world over. That is to say, even if the positions expressed by the different participants did not always allow for a positive compromise to be found, these positions had to be taken into account by everyone.

The UN did not therefore die a natural death; it was assassinated in 1990-1991 by decision of the United States, supported by its allies of the triad, putting an end to its responsibilities in managing polycentrism

and guaranteeing peace. The UN was assassinated by Washington's decision to implement its project - i.e., to extend the Monroe Doctrine throughout the entire Planet.

This project, which I would qualify without hesitation as insane and criminal for its implications, was not born in President Bush Junior's mind. It is a project that the ruling classes of the United States have nourished since 1945.

The project has always assigned a decisive role to its military dimension. It was conceived after Potsdam, based on the nuclear monopoly. Very quickly, the United States implemented a global military strategy, divided the Planet into regions and assigned the responsibility of controlling each of them to a 'US Military Command'. I refer you to my writings on this issue, even before the USSR collapsed, and on the priority position occupied by the Middle East in this global strategic vision.^{vi} The objective was not only to 'surround the USSR' (and China), but also to have the means to make Washington the master, as a last resort, of all regions of the Planet. In other words, to extend throughout the entire Planet the Monroe Doctrine, which effectively gives the United States the exclusive "right" to manage the ensemble of the New World according to what they define as their "national interests".

The project implies that the "sovereignty of national interests of the United States" be placed above all other principles structuring political behaviour considered as "legitimate" means; it develops a systematic mistrust with regard to all supranational law. Certainly, the imperialisms of the past behaved no differently and those who seek to attenuate the responsibilities - and the criminal behaviour - of the United States establishment at present, and to find 'excuses' for them, take up this same argument - that of indisputable historical antecedents.

Yet this is precisely what one would have wanted to see change in history and which has been in progress since 1945. It was because the conflict of imperialisms and the disregard of international law by fascist powers had produced the horrors of the Second World War that the UN was founded on a new principle proclaiming the illegitimate nature of war. The United States, you could say, not only made this principle its own, but was by far the precocious initiator. At the end of the First World War, Wilson advocated restructuring international policy precisely on the basis of principles other than those that, according to the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), gave the sovereignty of the monarchical States and then of the more or less democratic Nations its absolute character, called into question by the disaster to which it has led modern civilisation. Little does it matter that the vicissitudes of domestic US policy postponed the implementation of these principles. F. D. Roosevelt, and even his successor, H. Truman, certainly played a decisive role in the new concept of multilateralism and the condemnation of the war accompanying it, which is the basis of the Charter of the United Nations.

This excellent initiative - backed by the peoples of the entire world at the time - which effectively represented a qualitative leap forward and opened a path for the progress of civilisation, nevertheless never enjoyed the conviction of the ruling classes of the United States. The Washington authorities always felt ill at ease with the UN entente and today brutally proclaim what they had previously found themselves constrained to conceal: that they do not accept the very concept of an international law superior to what they consider to be the demands of defence of their "national interests". I do not believe it is acceptable to find excuses for this return to the vision that the Nazis had developed in their time, demanding the destruction of the League of Nations. The plea in favour of law made with talent and elegance by Villepin at the Security Council is not, in this sense, a "nostalgic look back at the past", rather on the contrary, a reminder of what the future should be. It was the United States that, on that occasion, defended a past that had been proclaimed definitively outdated.

The United States is not solely responsible for this downfall. Europe has generally participated, throwing fuel on the fire in Yugoslavia (through its hasty recognition of the independence of Croatia and Slovenia), then by a re-allegiance with the positions taken by the United States concerning "terrorism" and the waging of war in Afghanistan. It remains to be known whether, after the War in Iraq, Europe will embark upon a revision of its positions. In any case, the return to the principle of polycentrism and the restoration of the role of the United Nations will not be on the agenda as long as Europe accepts the substitution of the UN by NATO (!) as a means of managing globalization.

III. The New Challenge of the “Market / Society” Conflict

Contemporary chaos is not analogous to the chaos that prevailed during the formation of capitalism. By the same token, the responses to the contemporary challenge cannot be similar to those that were given by the construction in the past of the “market / State” coincidence.

In its time, this construction had certainly constituted a real social advance that accompanied the deployment of the superior capitalist mode. Today, capitalism has exhausted its historic role as a progressive force and can offer nothing but its barbarous downfall. The challenge compels us to think of a situation “beyond capitalism” and based on focussing analysis on the conflict between the economy (the “market”, that is, capitalism) and society. This conflict concerns all the dimensions of reality, both national and global. One cannot, therefore, make proposals regarding the role that one would like to have assigned to the United Nations without having first clarified the nature of the challenge confronting humanity.

In order to do so, we will necessarily have to make a digression and examine the two sets of issues concerning: (i) the nature of liberal chaos and the illusions developed in this regard; and (ii) what I call the conflict of political cultures in the face of this chaos.

This digression is indispensable, and without it, the proposals concerning the UN which I will develop in the final section of this paper would make no sense.

Chaos and “Liberal” Illusions

Having already expressed my opinion on these matters in some detail, I will be brief.

- We are confronted today with a single project for the future, implemented through the systematic use of violence (including military violence) by the dominating powers, themselves at the service of the dominating segments of globalised capital.

This project - which is the only possible project of “really existing capitalism” that has reached its current state of natural development according to its immanent internal logic - has nothing to do with the project that the “liberal” discourse describes in terms of the market rule (both “competitive and transparent”), of democracy promoted by the substitution of the “civil society” for the State (“bureaucratic” or even “autocratic”), guarantor of peace (on the sole condition that a stop be put to practices of savage “terrorism” ...). This discourse is empty.

This project is that of the dominating segments of globalised capital (the “transnationals” of the imperialist triad). I have qualified the future that it envisages for the majority of humanity as “apartheid on a global scale”.^{vii} Permanent warfare against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is therefore considered an inevitable necessity of its gradual success. In this perspective, obviously, the United Nations can no longer have a role to play: either they accept becoming one of the docile instruments of those who conduct permanent warfare against the “South”, or they must disappear.

The only questions to be asked here are who will direct the camp of barbarianism and to the benefit of whom?

The answer to this question is already evident from the events: the United States put itself in that position by its unilateral decision. I have moreover proposed an analysis of the situation that governed this option, placing the emphasis simultaneously on the elements of power that are its source (the enormous destructive military capacity of the United States) and on its military vulnerability (limited military combat capacity) and economic vulnerability (a deficit that, should it fail to be 'spontaneously' funded by the entire world, will have to be tapped in the form of an authentic tribute). For all of these reasons, this choice is not only that of the American extreme right wing behind Bush Jr., it is also that of the democrat opposition. The latter would be far better disposed to reformulate the methods of implementation and to make some concessions (to what extent?) in order to associate their allies in the triad (which continue to be subordinated).

The alternative in this context is not of great interest to the peoples of the rest of the world. The "sharing" - of responsibilities and benefits - does not eliminate the barbarous nature of the future it would bring, which remains well and truly apartheid on a worldwide scale.

The project of really existing imperialism does not pave the way to social progress nor to the progress of democracy, nor to the peoples who are the victims (70 % of humanity) nor even to the workers of the triad nations, as the implementation of liberal policies over the course of the past twenty years has amply illustrated. It remains that its success - not very likely - would allow "concessions to be made to consumers" of the triad, if this were necessary. By way of example, let us imagine the petrol shortage. The military control and pillage of productive regions (the Middle East, in the first place) would allow the consumption of this unavoidable source of energy to be reserved exclusively for the countries in the triad, annihilating the possibilities of development for China in particular, and for the South in general.

Despite all of this, does the project stand any chance of pursuing its deployment under the banner of "authentic economic liberalism"? In the present state of things, one cannot ignore that a significant part of public opinion, particularly in Europe, believes in the possibility of such an alternative. Even more numerous are the ruling milieus of the South, which accept to do battle on its terrain, simply considered "realistic". The accession of China to the WTO and the positions taken by third world countries in Cancun (September of 2003), which I have analysed elsewhere, testify to this. **viii** History will take it upon itself to dissipate these illusions, but will it be quite soon or too late?

In the face of the reality of the project of capitalism - really existing imperialism, there is but one true alternative: it involves thinking "beyond capitalism". And it is then in this long-term perspective that it will be necessary to conceive the stages of the transformation sought, both of national plans and those of the organisation of a negotiated globalisation. The United Nations recover an important role, in this perspective.

The conflict between the political cultures of the past / present and those of the future / present

The Washington propaganda machine has placed on the agenda a supposed conflict between "civilisations" (in fact, religions) that has supposedly become inevitable and therefore governs the future. Through the systematic means implemented - promotion of communitarisms under the pretext of respect for differences, an offensive against laicism ("old-fashioned"), praise of religious obscurantisms (placed by postmodernism on an equal level with all other "ideologies"), systematic promotion of nauseous ethnocracies (in former Yugoslavia and elsewhere), even cynical manipulations (support by the CIA of terrorist groups mobilised against adversaries in Afghanistan, Chechnya and Algeria, among other places), deceitful warfare declared against supposed "terrorism" (when such terrorism does not serve Washington's interests) - the United States has managed to put a real face on the conflict. This is an integral part of the barbarous downfall of capitalism and in no way does it constitute an obstacle to the deployment of its project.

The downfall annihilates the fundamental values of universalism and thereby illustrates the senility of the capitalist mode. Because the latter, in previous stages of its development, had been universalist, though this universalism had remained truncated due to the imperialist dimension innate to capitalist globalisation. In counterpoint to this political culture of capitalism, whose past is always present (this culture always occupies dominating positions in contemporary societies), the political culture of the alternative (socialism) is likewise universalist and potentially capable of far surpassing the truncated universalism of capitalism. This culture of the future is not only that of a "theoretical" creative utopia; it is already present in the real conscience of peoples today.

The real ideological / cultural conflict of the 21st century is therefore not the "shock of civilisations" à la Huntington, but the conflict that opposes the political culture of capitalism, drifting in the direction of barbarity, to that of socialism.

The political culture of capitalism had defined rights and developed a concept of law and democracy that is inherent to it. In order to define its contours, it is useful to subject to analysis the manner of thinking prevailing in United States society, because this culture is present there in a form that is least "contaminated" by that of its victims and adversaries. At first the only "rights" recognised were those of individuals (even the acknowledgement of the personality of "corporations" did not come until much later), in fact

“white” males (and excluding women, who are slaves that can be compared to colonised peoples). Hence, the “contract” between individuals prevails over law, reducing the legislative role of the State to a marginal one. A banal “contract” in the United States can contain 200 pages, where elsewhere, in Europe, for instance, where law prevails, two pages would suffice.

These fundamental concepts accompany a political culture based on a rigorous separation of the economic domain of life (managed by private property and the owners' free will, ignoring the social dimensions that are associated with it and by the same token, devaluing the term “equality”) and that of political life. The latter, cramped, is thus reduced only to the practice of “representative democracy”, that is, the formula of the “multi-party system and elections”. It excludes all more advanced forms of democracy, participative by definition.

The concept of “civil society” in its American definition crowns the edifice. Civil society is thus reduced to a nebulae of “apolitical”, non-government organisations, believed to be - above all if they are based on religious “communitarian”, para-religious, ethnic or neighbourly principles, which they most often are -, alongside the private business sector, “closer to the public” (itself conceived as constituted by consumers more than by citizens) and thus more efficient in managing social goods (education and health in particular). The fact that these procedures increase inequalities does not bother it, as the aspiration to equality is not considered an important ethical value.

Since the French Revolution, the political cultures of France and continental Europe, though they fall perfectly within a capitalist structure, are significantly different.

Here, from the beginning, the values of liberty and equality were placed on equal footing, which implies social management of their conflict. The State is thus called upon to regulate the deployment of capitalism according to its objectives. This different approach allows for the possibility - if social struggles assert themselves - of embarking upon a participative democracy that, by its very nature, accentuate the conflict through the logic of accumulation of capital, as the “majority” of citizens can thus oppose the minority of “owners”, only recognised as real active citizens by the excluding logic of capitalism. The approach opens the door to the recognition of positive social rights, ignored by principle in the American model. Because, as you know, these rights entail the active intervention of the legislative and executive branches of the State, as opposed to simply the political and civic liberties that only require the State to abstain from hindering their use. The concept of public administrations assuming the management of collective services (education, health) with a view to ensure the maximum equality takes up a major position in social management. The fact that this formula is in fact more efficient than that implemented in the United States is demonstrated by a comparison of health expenditure (7 % of the GDP in Europe versus 14 % in the United States) and the associated results (much better in Europe). Under these conditions, a different concept of civil society is possible here; one that lends full importance to popular organisations in defence of social rights (such as trade unions and politicised citizen organisations).

The political culture described here paves the way for going beyond the limits of the logic that capitalist expansion imposes. The socialist future already exists as a potential power in the still-capitalist present.

The conflict between the culture of past / present and that of present / future was begun by the offensive made by Washington to impose on the entire Planet its vision, nonetheless limited and retrograde. An objective that is all the more arrogant, given that the English Common Law comprising its legal infrastructure is a primitive form of law, largely outmoded elsewhere, in Europe and numerous countries of the South. This does not mean that the objective has not been declared: the law of the United States should be accepted as a substitute for international law. Moscow's ambition of imposing a reduced vision of socialism in imitation of the Soviet model is largely outmoded here.

In order to measure the reversals registered in this contemporary battle, it suffices to examine the terms of today's dominating language in politics and the media. Terms that have disappeared: State, policy, power, classes and class struggle, social change, alternatives and revolutions, ideologies. They have been replaced by the insipid terms of governance, communities, social partners, poverty, consensus, and changeover.

The attempts of member countries of the OECD to impose a “universal” business law code that would prevail not only over specific national laws in this domain but also over all other local laws, whether social or

political (the so-called AMI project) is part of this offensive. It resembles an attempt to impose the option of 'sharing', reserved for the partners of the imperialist triad. Therefore, it does not constitute a real obstacle to the aggressive deployment of the project by Washington.

The rallying of all of the triad partners behind this retrograde view of law and democracy is not at all mysterious. It can be explained by the desire common to all segments of the dominating imperialist capital of opening new spaces for the increase of profits. Calculated in the short term, true, but with a lack of social resistance capable of making it adjust to its demands, capital never reasons otherwise.

In view of this regression of democracy, the United Nations no longer have specific functions to fulfil. The UN thus loses its essential role, which is, on the one hand, to support democratisation by integrating social rights to the set of rights of individuals and peoples, and on the other hand, to promote an authentic international law system that would be a product of negotiation and commitment to the stages indispensable for the progress of humanity.

The conflict between the "market" (brutal national and globalised capital) and society (in its local and globalised dimensions) finds its full expression here.

The "Market" (capitalism) / Society conflict

The capitalist system in which we live has entered a stage of profound, real transformations whose impact cannot be ignored in the long term and whose foundation is formed by the scientific and technological revolution. In the analysis that I have proposed of these transformations, I emphasised the qualitative novelty of this revolution in comparison to preceding ones, and have reached the conclusion that the implementation of the creative potential of this revolution demands going beyond the social relations innate to capitalism (that is, the domination of capital and its privative appropriation) and the construction of a "cognitive economy", to use the terms put forth by Carlo Verdone. My analysis, like that of Verdone, calls attention to the obsolete nature of this aspect of capitalism.^{ix}

Yet capitalism is still in effect. It is thus employed to "direct" this revolution, to subject it to the demands of its reproduction. Conventional economic analyses of the "economy of growth" (as opposed to the cognitive economy) fall within this strategic framework, which 'postmodernist' discourses attempt to legitimate.

This new contradiction - between the potentially liberating impact of the development of productive capacities and the maintenance through all means of the relations of capitalist social domination - lends the conflict between the logic of capitalist expansion and the affirmation of social interests an unprecedented scope. The strategies employed by the dominant capital reveal themselves, under these conditions, to have a gigantic destructive (barbarous) scope, both in their local effects (in "national" plans) and in their globalised dimensions.

The system of dominating powers is thus employed in order to flee discussion, substituting it with false debates. The emphasis is then placed on phenomena of the economic situation produced by the capitalist management of the crisis ("financing" constitutes a good example), which are presented as "irreversible" structural transformations. But above all, the intention is to limit the debate within the biased alternatives of either "market" or "State"; the option in favour of the 'State' is rejected (and along with it, the nation), which is qualified simultaneously as "old-fashioned" (globalisation abolishes nations!) and powerless (the failure of socialism has demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the State), leaving nothing except for the option of full submission to the so-called market demands, in fact those of the dominating oligopolistic capital of the imperialist triad.

This is an ideological discourse devoid of scientific value. Capitalism has never been reducible, and never will be, to a single "economic" dimension. It does not exist without a political organisation of power - the State. In its global dimension, really existing capitalism has always been synonymous with "markets plus canons". The globalisation that it attempts to manage to its exclusive benefit would thus in principle demand the organisation of a legitimate globalised political power. Yet the conditions that would allow the construction of such a State (benefiting all the more so from a democratic legitimacy!) do not exist. It is precisely because nations exist. This means that there is, beyond the interests of the capital segments dominating the imperialist oligopolies, what can be called "national interests", whose precise content is defi-

ned by historical social commitments of each nation, capable of ensuring the stability of their social and political reproduction (whether in within or outside of more or less democratic practices). Especially since, as products of the history of capitalist deployment, unequal by nature, these nations are far from enjoying comparable economic and political power.

The real alternative choice is thus: accepting that socialisation on all levels, from national to global, be operated by the sole virtues of the "market"; or on the contrary, building (on the long term and by stages) the necessary forms of socialisation through democracy (in the richest and fullest sense of the term). Because peoples aspire simultaneously to social progress, the democratisation of the management of their lives and respect for their national identities. And capitalism is less and less capable of allowing the effective fulfilment of these aspirations, on both the national and global levels.

The capitalist management of this crisis thus quite clearly requires the intervention of a political force capable of imposing its barbarous demands. For want of an impossible global State, the US State will take charge of this responsibility, as it intends and feels that it can. Europe itself, as it does not constitute "one nation - one State", but only a series of associated nations and States, does not have the means with which to contest the US leadership of the imperialist triad. "Sharing" would go no further than substituting NATO (under the direction of Washington) for the United States army; and this does not change things greatly for the rest of the world. In putting this management into practice, the United States (or, if necessary, the triad accepting its leadership) are called to act outside of all reference to law, international, among other types, and conduct themselves as "ruffian States".

The "globalised liberalism" by which the management of the crisis is designated has no future. Either the societies of the entire Planet will accept their submission to the so-called market demands. The future would then bring a world certainly different to that which we have known to date, something worse, infinitely more barbarous (and in this perspective, the UN would no longer make sense). Otherwise - and this seems to me not only desirable, but also more probable - they will eventually impose, through a long transition, the construction of local social systems and a global system progressively integrating the submission of the "market" (and more amply, of the economy, beyond the market - this particular form of managing it) to the demands of socialisation through democracy. The UN would have an important role to play in this perspective.

When I say that these are the only two alternatives, I understand that the idea of a "third option", defined in terms of a market management on local and global scales that would be "liberal" (possibly even tinged with social correctives) is perfectly illusory. The dominating capital cannot allow this.

The illusion that it is not only possible and is viable, but that it would even give chances to individuals and peoples who knew how to play the game intelligently, is nevertheless still very strong. The opinion in Europe, bogged down in the quicksand of its project, seems to believe in this. The Chinese ruling class also believes in it. The former and the latter at times even wage combat - though yet hesitant - along these lines. Giovanni Arrighi and André Gunder Frank, in their recent writings, imagine that China will be able to rise, in this framework, to the summit of world hierarchy. I do not believe this. Through the implementation of the "five monopolies" by which the imperialist triad profits (and the form of law of the globalised value that expresses its efficiency), really existing capitalism prohibits this type of "recouping". In agreement with Lin Chun, I suggest that China cannot "develop" (in the sense of emerging from its peripheral state within globalised capitalism) unless it distances itself from the strategies it is implementing at present.x

Putting the alternative, "socialisation through democratisation", into practice entails meeting urgent demands in order to derail the project underway and especially that of the military control of the Planet by the United States and / or NATO. Then it would entail undertaking the reconstruction of a "Southern Front", which cannot be a *remake* of Bandung in the 1955-1975 period, the reconstruction of the European project, stuck at its foundation, such that it would allow the progress of socialisation through democracy, and the invention in China of an authentic "market socialism" constituting the first stage of a long transition to socialism itself. This project implies, on national levels, that the social struggles of the victims of the system through their politicised and constructed convergence, manage to reconstruct the unity of the workers' front, without omitting the farmers (half of humanity). On these issues, I refer to developments that I have proposed elsewhere.xi

It is within this framework and in this perspective that one should identify the functions that the UN should fulfil in order to manage the proposed alternative "globalisation" in coherence with the requisites of socialisation through democracy. One could then concretely envisage proposals of stages allowing the desired path to be embarked upon.

IV. Proposals for the Rebirth of the UN

The proposals that follow are grouped into four ensembles corresponding to the functions for which it would be desirable that the UN assumed important responsibilities.

Proposals concerning the political functions of the UN

- Restoring to the UN the major responsibility corresponding to it - ensuring the security of peoples (and States), guaranteeing peace, prohibiting aggression under any pretext whatsoever (such as that invoked in the case of the War in Iraq - which incidentally proved to be a lie). This principle should be emphatically proclaimed once again.

In this spirit, it is necessary to condemn without ambiguity the declarations of the United States government, NATO and the G7 by which the powers concerned adjudicated themselves "responsibilities" that are not theirs.

This condemnation should be complemented by the drafting of political plans to resolve issues relative to the future of countries that are the victims of illegitimate interventions by imperialist powers (former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, and Iraq). These plans should explicitly establish the withdrawal of foreign military forces. It would by no means be acceptable that the UN be reintroduced "by the gang" to legitimise the conditions created by the condemned interventions. The UN should be invited only to "facilitate" the withdrawal of the invaders.

- Restoring this major function to the UN could obviously imply certain reforms of its institutional architecture.

But one must be wary here. Certain "criticism" has been made and hasty proposals deduced from there, that are not in keeping with the perspective of reinforcing the role of the UN but rather in line with its domestication by the imperialist triad.

Other criticism, apparently "democratic and realistic", could be considered just as bad. I am particularly referring here to the attacks directed against the right to veto: one can easily imagine that if France had not been one of the beneficiaries, the United States would have managed to "legitimise" its aggression. Possible reforms of the Security Council (its enlargement to include India and Brazil, ensuring a stronger representation of the diverse regions of the world) should be the object of in-depth examination before being put forth. Lending more importance to the General Assembly and improved articulation of resolutions (having or not the force of law according to the hypotheses, to be defined) on the measures required of the Security Council could constitute the axis of this reflection.

- Reinstating this central function of the UN does not imply the return to asserting the "absolute" sovereignty of States, considered the only representatives of their peoples. In the following section, I will discuss proposals aimed at substituting the sovereignty of **peoples** with that of the States only, in the perspective of democratisation of societies.

- Restoring the UN's functions should allow effective progress in the path of a solution for the major crises characteristic of our era and largely produced (or facilitated) by the strategies of "generalisation of chaos" put into practice by certain powers, first and foremost the United States.

In this spirit, the following should be **imposed**:

- (i) The establishment of a UN interposition force between Israel (with its "borders" as per the green line previous to 1967) and Palestine. Israel would not be able to withstand severe economic sanctions such as have been imposed on others.

- (ii) The establishment of UN peacekeeping forces in the regions of former occupied Yugoslavia (Bosnia and Kosovo), as well as in African countries that are the victims of so-called "civil" wars.

These operations could possibly be conceived in close collaboration with the regional organisations concerned (the European Union, Europe in the wider sense, the African Union).

- The UN should actively participate in drafting a "plan for general disarmament". This plan would not be able to be reduced to the implementation of the "Non-Proliferation Treaty", which, in its current forms, reinforces the monopoly of the production of weapons of mass destruction to the benefit of those who have proven to be their most frequent users! Disarmament should begin by that of the Powers and be controlled by the UN, which would substitute the "bipolar" control formerly practised by the two superpowers but now non-existent.

General disarmament should establish the evacuation of all military bases established beyond national borders, and therefore especially those through which the US intends to pursue the implementation of its "military control of the Planet".

- The UN should actively participate in the definition of the framework of possible "humanitarian interventions" and their operational modes.

The need for such interventions is not disputable, given that, unfortunately, in the current state of development of societies, occasions of plunging into savagery (ethnocide, "ethnic" or "religious" cleansing, apartheid) are possible. But these interventions cannot be left to the Imperialist Powers, thereby facilitating manipulation, the use of double standards, etc.

- By the same token, the UN should be invested with the main collective responsibility in defining what constitutes "terrorist" actions. The organisation should likewise determine the conditions of measures designed to eradicate these practices and should oversee the modes of putting these measures into practice. It would not be possible to entrust the waging of a 'war against terrorism' to Powers, and in particular to the United States.

Proposals concerning the rights of peoples and the creation of international law

- The principle guiding these proposals are based on the observation made above that the concept of sovereignty of States should be redefined.

That the general public opinion today considers that all human beings are responsible for what occurs, not only within the borders of the States of which they are citizens, but all over the world, constitutes - in my opinion - an indication of progress of universal awareness. This progress brings back the issue of the old concept (from the Treaty of Westphalia to the Charter of the United Nations) of the absolute and exclusive sovereignty of States.

The contradiction between said sovereignty and the rights of peoples is real. Yet this contradiction cannot be eliminated by the abolition of one of its terms: that of the right of peoples (by maintaining the old concept of sovereignty) or that of sovereignty (which would in fact be to the benefit of interventions and manipulations by imperialist powers).

This contradiction can only be overcome by the real progress of democratisation of all societies. This consists of a process which, it must be admitted, must simply be allowed to follow its pace, that of the progress of the affirmation of the need for democracy. The international organisation must intervene here to sustain this progress, accelerate its translation into real change in the exercise of powers. The UN is the place par excellence where this debate should be unflinchingly pursued.

- There are already charters of rights which are beginning to show signs of progress in the expansion of their definitions. To the first charters, limited to political and civic rights understood in a restricted sense were added the Charters of Collective and Social Rights. These efforts must be unflinchingly pursued, the Charters being far from sufficient in the present state. The right of peoples to development, for example, which was the object of in-depth reflection in "private" circles (the Lelio Basso International Foundation for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples, for instance) or groupings partially under state control (the Non-Aligned Movement, for instance), should be declared an integral part of the universal rights of individuals and peoples. The right of all farmers on the Planet (half of the human population) to have access to land and to

human and viable conditions for its use, which is an integral part of the right to development, has not, to date, even begun to show signs of being recognised.

It is likewise within this universal framework - as represented by the United Nations - that the efforts should be pursued to establish rights whose recognition is only in its infancy, or at least far from being attained to date. The rights asserting in principle and establishing in practice the equality of men and women belong to this family of rights. Those concerning "collective" rights through which "identities" are expressed - cultural, linguistic and religious identities, among others - should likewise be the object of in-depth debate allowing their definition and that of their fields of application. In no case should the recognition of these rights to diversity allow the demand for the "communitarian organisation" of societies (by the same token denying the "right to resemblance" and the rights of the individual outside of the community). In other words, the rights in question would be unable to question the principle of laicism.

Many "realists" lend but little importance to charters of rights that are only valid to the degree to which there are measures taken to ensure their effective execution. These people probably underestimate the importance of law, which can become an effective weapon used to enforce these charters. Action can be sustained through the creation of a system of universal tribunals, which we will discuss below.

- The UN should exercise particular responsibility in the creation of an international business law code.

The increase of all sorts of relations in a globalised economy makes the creation of an international business law code more necessary than ever. Nevertheless, this particular law domain would not be allowed to prevail over the fundamental rights of individuals and peoples nor over their national formulations. The option provided in this sphere by the AMI project is therefore unacceptable.

Moreover, the drafting of this law would not be entrusted to a single partner represented by the set of interests of the dominating capital (the "Club of Transnationals"), as is the case with WTO projects. Especially considering that the partner in question invests itself as legislator, judge and party, as it is the sole master of its business tribunal project. Rarely have the elementary principles of law and justice been trampled with such impertinence! In its absence, allowing, as is in fact the case, the courts of the United States (whose impartiality is more than doubtful) and the (especially primitive) law codes of that country to dominate the practice with regard to regulating business is no less unacceptable.

International business law should be drawn up through transparent debate involving all interested parties, that is, not only the business world, but also the workers concerned (of the businesses in question as well as of entire nations, who are suffering the consequences of the legislation put into effect) and States. There are no premises other than those of the UN (and the ILO, which is one of its expressions) for conducting this debate.

- The UN cannot be invested from one day to another as a "World State" nor a "world government", or even as a supranational authority vested with powers too ample in varied spheres.

Acknowledging this does not rule out that a path be embarked upon that could lead to this in the longer term.

The proposals put forth in this perspective should be the object of our undivided attention, true, but also of our greatest vigilance. Today, there are many proposals being put forth that aim to associate the "civil society" (defined in the Washington manner as described above) with the life of the organisation and some of these proposals attempt to give the representation of the "business world" a major position in this association! In contrast, the workers' world - the majority of human beings as opposed to the minority of millionaires - is always ignored by the advocates of this 'reform' of the UN. The latter have gone as far as intending to reduce the powers, already insignificant, of the ILO. Unfortunately, the administration of this organisation truly seems to be an accomplice of this project for social regression.

Proposals concerning the institution of a "World Parliament", composed of representatives of national parliaments (which do not always exist and are only seldom truly representative of the people), are not necessarily trivial or unrealistic. An evolution moving in this direction could be undertaken, even if it is clear that the democracy that it supposedly supports could not advance on a universal scale more quickly than it could on the scale of the nations concerned.

Proposals concerning the economic management of globalisation

- So-called "deregulated" globalisation, as it is at present, is in fact one form of globalisation among many, which is regulated exclusively and wholly by the dominating globalised capital (the "transnationals") and their political debtors (the G 7). This form, which is neither "inevitable" nor "the only alternative" nor even acceptable, should be substituted by institutionalised forms of regulation on a world-wide scale, supporting and possibly complementing the regional and national forms of regulation that peoples will eventually impose here and there, even granting that there may be contradictions and conflicts between these different levels of the economic management of the modern world.

The task is thus complicated and the progress that could be made in the short term, even if the UN were mobilised in this field, would long remain modest. But it should allow the beginning of evolution favourable to peoples and their workers and should therefore not be disdained.

- Considering their enormously devastating effects, international debts could constitute a solid starting point for opening a debate on the functions of the UN in managing the world economy.

The prevailing discourse attributes the sole responsibility for debt to the borrowing countries, whose behaviour can supposedly not be justified (corruption, facility or irrationality of the political decision-makers, extremist nationalism, etc.). The reality is quite another thing. A significant percentage of loans were in fact the result of systematic policies implemented by the lenders, seeking to place an excess of capital that - due to the profound economic crisis of the past twenty years - could not be used in productive investment, neither in wealthy countries nor in those deemed able to receive their capital. Artificial alternative uses were thus fabricated to prevent the devaluation of excess capital. The explosion of "speculative" capital movements made on a very short term resulted from these policies, such as their placement in the "debt" of the Third World and the former Eastern Block countries. The World Bank in particular, but also many large private banks in the United States, Europe and Japan, as well as transnational share a major responsibility which is never mentioned. "Corruption" is added to these policies, with the double complicity of the lenders (the World Bank, private banks, transnationals) and the authorities of the States concerned in the South and East. A systematic audit of these "debts" is called for as a priority. It would demonstrate that a large part of the debts in question are legally illegitimate.

The weight of paying this debt is absolutely unsustainable, not only for the most impoverished countries of the South, but even for those that are not. We should recall here that when, in the aftermath of the First World War, Germany was condemned to pay reparations amounting to 7% of its exports, liberal economists of the time concluded that this charge was unsustainable and that the productive machine of that country would be unable to "adjust" to it. Today, economists of the same liberal school do not hesitate to propose the "adjustment" of the economies of the Third World to the demands of paying debts that are five or at times ten times heavier. Therefore, in reality, collecting the debt is today a form of pillaging the wealth and work of the peoples of the South (and the East). A particularly lucrative form as it has managed to make the poorest countries of the Planet exporters of capital to the North. Also a particularly brutal form that frees dominating capital from worries and from the vicissitudes of managing the businesses and workforces that they implement. The debts are payable, that is all. It is the duty of the States concerned (and not of the capital of the "lenders") to extract it from its people's labour. The dominating capital is freed of all responsibility and concern.

A "classification" of debts is called for. These can be ranged under one of the three following categories:

Indecent and Immoral Debts:

A good example of these is the loans taken out by the apartheid government of South Africa in its time, loans taken out to purchase weapons in order to put down the revolt of its African peoples.

Dubious Debts:

These consist of loans taken out largely at the suggestion of the financial powers of the North (including the World Bank) and made possible by processes of corruption whose creditors are the actors involved as well as the debtors. The majority of these loans were not invested in the projects that justified their issuance (and this fact was known to the lenders, who were accomplices). In this case, the debts are purely and

simply illegal in the eyes of a justice minimally worthy of the name. In some cases, the loans were indeed invested, but in absurd projects imposed by the lenders (and especially by the World Bank). Here also, it was the Bank's process that was worth carrying out. But this institution is not financially "responsible", having placed itself above the laws and the discourse of liberalism on "risks"!

Finally, Acceptable Debts:

In cases where loans were effectively used to the ends for which they were intended, the acknowledgment of the debt is indisputable.

Not only should indecent and dubious debts be unilaterally repudiated (after an audit), but the payments made in their name should also be reimbursed by the "creditors", after their capitalisation at the same interest rates as the debtors had to pay. It would then see that it is the North, in fact, that is deeply indebted to its victims in the South.

The debt management proposed for the "Heavily Indebted Poor Countries" (HIPC) reveals a completely different logic. The entirety of the debt is considered perfectly "legitimate", with no examination or audit whatsoever. The proposal is based on the sole - and unacceptable - principle of "charity". The intention is to "alleviate" the charges for these "very poor peoples", but at the same time, impose upon them draconian supplementary conditions that definitively place them in a category approaching that of "colonies administered directly by foreigners".

But beyond the proposed audit and the adoption of measures that would allow the accounts to be balanced and in order to prevent analogous situations from being reproduced in the future, it remains necessary to draw up an international debt law code, to date in its infancy, and of authentic courts to dictate the law in this sphere (which would allow going well beyond what one can expect of arbitration commissions).

- Reinstating the full responsibility of the United Nations in the organisation of the world economic system involves the redefinition of the functions of the major institutions that comprise it (the UNCTAD and ILO, among others) or that are external to it (the WTO, IMF and the World Bank).

The principal priority objectives that could be assigned in this sphere could be as follows:

- The resuscitation of the UNCTAD and the identification of its new (or renewed) functions, such as: (i) drawing up a global framework for a "foreign investment code" allowing the regulation of relocation and the protection of the workers of all the partners concerned; (ii) the negotiation of conditions of access to the markets for the different national and regional partners. These proposals call into question the total marginalisation that the UNCTAD has suffered, all of its powers having been transferred to the WTO. This organisation should be thoroughly rethought if we wish to have it escape from the orbit in which it is imprisoned, strictly defined by the Club of Transnationals.
- The resuscitation of the ILO, not in the sense proposed by the current administration of this organisation, but precisely in the opposite sense, that of reinforcing the representation and rights of workers.
- The renegotiation of the world monetary system, of the institutionalisation of regional arrangements guaranteeing the stability of exchange rates, a new IMF (which would have hardly anything to do with the organisation by the same name existing today) with the responsibility of managing the interconnection between the regional systems concerned. In the current state of affairs, the IMF, which is not responsible for relations between the dominating currencies (the dollar, euro, yen, sterling pound, Swiss franc), operates as a colonial, collective (for the Triad) monetary authority in charge of managing the finances of dependent countries by subjecting them, on the one hand and through "structural adjustments", to the demands of the pillaging of their resources to the benefit of floating capital, and on the other hand, to the tributary drain represented by the repayment of debts.
- The construction of a world capital market worthy of this name and designed to orient monetary movement towards productive investment (in both the North and the South) and, as a necessary complement, equipped to discourage so-called "speculative" financial flows (the Tobin Tax could be considered in this context).

This market would call into question the functions of the World Bank (the Ministry of Propaganda of the G7) and of the WTO (the agent executing the will of transnationals).

- In the sphere of the economic management, the UN can certainly do no more than it could in the political management of the world. But it could likewise undertake the construction of a globalised economic government (and policy). And where there is a government, there are finances.

The sphere of managing the natural resources of the world without a doubt constitutes the best entranceway leading to this path.

Access to natural resources is always relevant insofar as the principle of national sovereignty. But this principle has been and often continues to be disdained by events, not only in colonial situations (where national sovereignty disappears), but also through the exercise of power relations that are generally analysed in terms of "geopolitics", or even "geostrategy". This de facto unequal access is the source of immense waste by the societies of the "North" of the planet's resources, and by the impossibility of foreseeing the extension of the forms of consumption concerned to the totality of peoples, who are thus condemned by the imposed form of globalisation to the state of victims of "apartheid on the global scale". Ecologic movements, which are the source of the awareness of the dramatic scope of the problem, have not really managed to make the world system of powers (represented by the Conferences of Rio and Kyoto, which led to the Conference of Johannesburg in August 2002) accept appropriate and efficient forms of democratic global management of access to these resources. The militarization of globalisation should likewise be associated to the objectives of the control of the natural resources of the world by hegemonic power.

The exploitation of the resources in question arises in principle from that of "existing capitalism". The latter is based on the short-term view of financial profitability and the decision-makers in this domain - the transnationals - know no other perspective. We are fully in a domain where the supposed rationality of management according to the market is in fact irrationality from the viewpoint of the interests of peoples considered in the long term. The discourse on "sustainable development" proceeds from an awareness of this contradiction between the market and the interests of humanity, but often does not arrive at concrete and practical consequences.

The alternative of a rational ("sustainable") and democratic (in local plans and in those of the global system) management of natural resources could be discussed on the basis of proposals that have always been hinted at, such as that of a world taxation of income associated with excess and exploitation of these resources and the redistribution of the product of said taxation to the benefit of the peoples concerned, designed to favour the development of disadvantaged countries and regions and to discourage waste.

This could be the manner of creating the embryo of globalised taxation.

The issue embraces a great number of resources - minerals, oil, water, and climate. I suggest initiating debate in two domains, concerning oil and water, respectively.

- Management by the UN of water, a common asset of all peoples:

There is no life without water, which is just as necessary as air. Among the multiple uses of water, we will focus here only on those concerning agriculture - which consumes the largest amount.

The supply of water is distributed by nature among the different rural societies of the planet in an extremely unequal manner. There are regions of the world that receive water for free from the "heavens". In the meantime, in other places - in arid or semi-arid regions - water must be collected from wells or rivers, and distributed via irrigation throughout the entire farmland area. There, water has a production cost that is far from insignificant. Should one respond to this situation of dearth by putting a price on this resource in these cases?

By accepting to strictly follow the reasoning of conventional economy and of commercial alienation that constitutes its pedestal, by accepting to play the game of competitiveness within the framework of unbridled globalisation, one cannot but either accept a systematically lower remuneration of the work of some, or simply stop producing. Liberal globalisation condemns agriculture in vast regions of the planet to extinction.

But peoples, nations and States exist. They occupy spaces on the surface of the planet that are theirs and that do not enjoy identical natural conditions. A realist political economy should take this into account. The conventional economy, feigning ignorance of these dimensions of reality, substitutes them with the theory of an imaginary globalised world, defined at once by the merchandising of all aspects of social life and all conditions relating to human activity, and by its extension to the planetary level. This theory allows it to legitimise the unilateral ambitions of capital without being concerned about social reality. If the liberals, who defend this fundamentalism of capital, were coherent with their own logic, they would arrive at the conclusion that the optimal use of natural resources (in this case, water) requires a massive redistribution of peoples of the world due to the unequal distribution of this resource on the surface of the planet. In this case, water would become the public property of all of humanity.

In the meantime, water is one of the public goods particular to a given peoples or country. If, for these peoples, this good is relatively rare, access to it must be rationalised. The cost of access to its use should be distributed among all inhabitants in one way or another, that is, through the regulation of the market by means of an acceptable system of subsidies and taxation. The formula for this system would be the result of a series of compromises defined by internal social conditions and those governing the way in which the country is integrated in the world economy. Compromises between the farmers and the consumers of foodstuffs; compromises between the demands of a development defined in terms of a project of society and the possible need for exportation that the implementation of this project could require at a given stage of its deployment (in this spirit, one could 'naturally' conceive of subsidising non-competitive exports). This formula cannot be defined in absolute terms once and for all; it remains relative and historically dated.

The response to these problems lies in the sphere of what should be called "the right of peoples and humanity". This right is, with regard to water, nearly inexistent since each country is, in principle, free to use the underground and surface waters within its borders as it sees fit. Agreements governing water management, should they exist, are but the product of private international treaties. The need to advance in this domain towards a real right of peoples and of humanity has already become urgent. The international business law that the interests of capital have imposed and which currently constitutes the exclusive concern of international institutions created to this effect (the WTO in particular) is not a possible substitute for the absence of a right of peoples to manage this public property of humanity. On the contrary, it is quite the opposite.

Proposals concerning the institutionalisation of an international justice system

- There are already a series of international courts of justice, some of which were established even before the creation of the UN; others are the recent product of the denunciation of war crimes and of crimes against humanity.

The archipelago comprised by these international institutions of justice nonetheless remains of quite limited effectiveness, both because of the restrictive definition of their competencies and due to the refusal by certain powers (the United States in the first place) to acknowledge their legitimacy.

A preliminary task is called for: make a thorough inventory of the institutions, propose critical analyses of the shortcomings of the institutions concerned, and identify the areas of legal void which should be gradually filled.

Furthermore, there are so-called 'opinion tribunals', which have no legal status, yet fulfil functions of great utility in alerting public opinion (the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal constitutes a good example). The missions accomplished by these institutions deserve to be pursued, their actions supported and their echo amplified. Nevertheless, this should not constitute an obstacle to conducting campaigns in order to create recognised international tribunals in charge of sentencing law. Obviously, at the same time, by pursuing the action of encoding the rights that the tribunals concerned will be entrusted with enforcing.

As an indispensable complement to the proposals put forth in the preceding paragraphs concerning the responsibilities of the UN, a series of international courts of justice should be conceived and proposed in order to aid implementation. The proposals whose objective is to reinforce the juridical dimensions of action taken by the United Nations concern three sets of courts of justice whose establishment would seem desirable.

- The first group of juridical institutions to be considered concerns the political aspects of managing globalisation.

If the actions and interventions of States beyond their boundaries, whatever their pretexts, are to be subject to the judgement of the United Nations, it is advisable that a relevant court of law of this organisation have a word to legitimise or condemn these interventions. The International Court of Justice in The Hague can hardly do this under the present conditions of definitions of its competencies. The revision of the competencies of this Court in order to expand its powers is called for. One could imagine that the victim State, like the General Assembly of the UN, could have to recourse to the Court, even in the hypothetical case of opposition by the State who was the author of the intervention being questioned.

Otherwise, the imperialist powers (the United States first and foremost) will never be able to be judged for their violations of international law, even if these violations are undisputable.

Some progress has nevertheless been made after actions and interventions by States, thanks to the definition of war crimes and crimes against humanity; some ad hoc international criminal tribunals have been established in this spirit (for the crimes committed in Yugoslavia and in Rwanda) and an agreement was made allowing the establishment of a general criminal court. This progress remains insufficient, as the refusal of certain powers to undersign the agreement renders their accusation in this tribunal impossible. The crimes committed by the United States are hence beyond the reach of any ruling other than one of 'opinion'. This is absolutely unacceptable and considerably reduces the legitimacy of rulings made against other possible criminal States. It is high time that the Ruffian State par excellence - the United States - be forced to confront the judges. All cases should be able to be submitted to the Court (simply at the request of the victim State, among others) and the criminals judged in absentia, if necessary.

- A second group of juridical institutions deserving to be established in order to consolidate the rights of individuals and peoples recognised by the United Nations.

One could take inspiration from the European Court of Justice, to which, within the domains of its competence, the victims - whether individuals or collectives - can submit their cases directly - without necessarily gaining the previous authorisation from the State from which they come. Yet one could - and even should - expand the domains of competence of international justice (to include, among other things, social rights) and to this effect, Chambers other than the Court of Human and Peoples' Rights of the UN could be established.

- A third group of juridical institutions to be established concerns business law.

One could imagine diverse Chambers in the Court of Trade Law of the UN, with specified competencies, one of which would be called criminal chamber and would judge criminal economic acts. The case of Bhopal illustrates the scandalous impunity that transnationals are currently enjoying.

It is likewise in this context that a Chamber of the Court could be established to handle cases litigation concerning foreign debt.

Action plan for implementation of proposals

The proposals put forth here are certainly ambitious and the execution of only part of them will require time. But the future starts now and there is no reason for postponing the launching of an action plan to ensure progress.

I do not believe it useful to appeal to governments to negotiate as of today the 'UN reform'. They will do it themselves if they deem it necessary. But the power relations that prevail today are such that there is little chance that these reforms - if they were pursued - would go in the right direction. On the contrary, there is every reason to fear that they would be in line with the dominant imperialist strategies of the time, which aim to marginalise and domesticate the international organisation even more. One can expect to have to rather make a campaign against the reforms proposed in this spirit rather than supporting them!

I thus believe that another approach must be taken, by first addressing public opinion. In this spirit, I propose the establishment of ad hoc International Commissions (on each topic of the project concerned). These commissions could then supply analyses and proposals to the vast nebula of movements recognisable in the Social, National, Regional and Global Forums. The World Forum of Alternatives, through the channel of its centres for critical reflection constituted by its network of correspondents and members could help to coordinate the enterprise.

Once the commissions' work were sufficiently advanced, they could - and should - become the object of vast campaigns of global scope based on objectives defined precisely by each of them. One would thus contribute to correcting the imbalances that characterise the power relations prevailing in the contemporary world.

Notes

i Samir Amin, *Classe et nation*, ed. Minuit, 1979.

ii Véase el ejemplo del sistema mameluco del mundo islámico tardío en Samir Amin y Ali el Kenz, *Le monde arabe*, L'Harmattan, 2003, pp. 6-12.

iii Título de mi obra, Samir Amin, *Au delà du capitalisme sénile*, PUF, 2001.

iv Samir Amin, *Au delà du capitalisme sénile*, cap. I.

v Entrevista a Samir Amin por Yves Berthelot, *U.N. intellectual history*, UN, Nueva York, abril 2002.

vi Ref. en Samir Amin, *Au delà du capitalisme sénile*, pp. 84-100.

vii Samir Amin, *Alternatives Sud*, vol. VIII, n° 3, 2001; también en S. Amin, *Au delà...*, pp. 105 y ss.

viii Samir Amin, "WTO recipe for world hunger", en *Ahram Weekly*, n° 657, sept. 2003. El Cairo.

ix Samir Amin, *Au delà du...*, capítulo III.

Carlo Verdone, *La question du développement à l'âge du capitalisme cognitif*, web del FTM.

x Giovanni Arrighi (ed.), *The resurgence of East Asia*, Routledge, 2003.

André Gunder Frank, *Re Orient*, U. of California Press, 1998.

Lin Chun, *What is China's comparative advantage?* En prensa. FTM les Indes Savantes.

xi Samir Amin, *Le virus libéral, Le temps des cerises*, 2003, pp. 32-50.

5.8 Report on the Debate at Session C3)

Frank Schroeder; Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

There was strong agreement in the session that there is an increasing importance of the socio-economic dimension of globalization. Given the fact of increasing levels of poverty and inequality, humanitarian crisis and military conflict, participants concluded that there is a need for a new framework to address the attendant challenges. The session identified as a core problem the prevailing global governance paradigm that asserts the primacy of deregulated, market led growth, and facilitates capital accumulation without a fair distribution of the profits derived from production and trade, and ultimately serves the corporate interests of the rich industrialized countries.

In this context of particular concern is the dominance by the developed world (especially the G7), which is reflected in the governance structures of the Bretton Woods Institutions and the WTO which reinforce the neo-liberal development agenda.

Furthermore, participants addressed the concern that the imbalances in the world power structures are increasingly accelerated by the re-definition of the relationship between the role of states over markets, the increasing dominance of economic globalization at the cost of sovereignty of nation states and its citizens and the increasing enforcement of hegemony in the world economy with the instrument of military force. The panel concluded in this context that the current economic model of global governance is not sustainable and needs to be corrected.

In the following discussion the panel discussed the role of the United Nations as an appropriate body to re-correct the global economic and social governance structures and its potential to tackle the attendant challenges. There was agreement on which the UN Charter was conceived as a normative model to ensure that international policies, notably those in the monetary, financial and trade sectors would be coherent, and thereby provide solutions to international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, while promoting respect for human rights for all. However, while the United Nations during the Cold War era played an important role in international cooperation and achieved an increase of its membership as far as economic policies are concerned, the UN never got to play a really coordinating role.

The first reason for this must be sought in the reluctance of the industrial countries to strip the Bretton Woods Institutions of some of their powers and to transfer them to the ECONOMIC and SOCIAL Council of the United Nations. In other words, the failure to invest the UN with coordinating authority, despite a large increase of member states, in particular new independent developing countries, did not really challenge the dominant paradigm of Global Economic Governance, even though the weight of developing countries under the one-country- one-vote system in the UN changed to the advantage of the Global South. Moreover, the participants agreed that the leading industrialized countries succeeded in exercising decisive influence in particular in such Ad-hoc groupings such as the G7, often side-stepping the UN. And this led in particular to a situation, in which even the ability of the UN to provide effective normative leadership even in the non-economic areas, became increasingly limited.

In the following discussion the panel and participants discussed to what extent the establishment of an ECONOMIC and SOCIAL SECURITY COUNCIL within the UN system would be the right proposal to change the current power structures in the world economy. The ESSC is sought to be a coordinating forum at the highest political level for discussion and decisions of the central issues of the global political economy. While it would have an emphasis on the achievement of coherence and consistency among trade financial and monetary policies to support development, it would at the same time give the UN the role of the "Guardian" of fundamental human and social standards.

The reactions and statements of the panel and participants towards this proposal were very mixed. While some participants argued that the implementation of an ESSC would not be feasible due to the a lack of political will on the side of the industrial countries, others even emphasized that this instrument would be in the end again dominated by the richest developed countries. Therefore, the right answer to confront the illegitimacy of the G7 and its agenda setting authority over the world economy should be carried out by the built up of powerful social movements.

On the other hand, other participants argued that the UN is the only institution to serve as a forum for policy alternatives and that the UN Charter (with its normative elements) builds the framework for better coherence and consistency of the international financial and trading systems to ensure that they support the internationally agreed development goals. Thus, the follow-up process to the international conference on Financing for Development could be seen as an important forum to expose the G7 and, consequently, the Bretton Woods Institutions and the WTO to systemic reforms.

In this context, but also in the upcoming Millennium plus 5 major event in 2005, civil society will have the opportunity to call for action and decisions towards a stronger role of the UN on economic policy coordination. Moreover, it was mentioned by panel members that as a long-term vision for making the UN the locus of these key issues could be achieved by making ECOSOC more efficient, effective and politically credible.

Finally, the panel discussed Reform proposals such as streamlining the working methods of ECOSOC and reducing its membership. Moreover, it was proposed to set-up an Executive Committee of ECOSOC, made up of the desired manageable number, which could act as the global governance arm of the Council.

6. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS AND THE LONDON DECLARATION OF THE WORLD CAMPAIGN FOR IN-DEPTH REFORM OF THE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The conference as such does not have conclusive results, such as manifestos or declarations, nor did it intend to do so.

As indicated in the introduction to this document, "*the conference has provided a space for debating existing proposals for reform of the system of international institutions, presenting and discussing new alternatives, facilitating interaction between the different governmental and non-governmental actors with interests in this issue, identifying common ground and divergences in their positions and even exploring the possibility of working towards shared goals within the current global context.*"

We feel that the conception-objective was fully met and that the proceedings ending in this section appropriately reflect the type of result we sought to obtain. We are furthermore convinced that these proceedings will provide a framework for future processes and strategies, some of them converging, of the various initiatives co-organising the conference.

As stated earlier, as a starting point and with the aim of coordinating discussions, a series of *preparatory documents* were provided (see Annex 1 of these Proceedings), some of which were the product of debates on reform proposals held by some of the co-organisers lately. It was also stated earlier that "*one of the objectives of the conference was to enrich this starting point by the contributions of speakers and general participants*". These proceedings are the written reflection of such enrichment.

One of the most important of the preparatory documents, from the viewpoint of the "World Campaign for In-Depth Reform of the System of International Institutions", the so-called *London Declaration*, fruit of the collective document, "PROPOSALS TO REFORM THE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. FUTURE SCENARIOS", which was already discussed at a seminar held in Barcelona in March 2004.

From what it gleaned during the conference, and above all now, in view of the reports by the rapporteurs on the nine sessions of the conference, the Secretariat responsible for running the conference (which is also the UBUNTU Forum and the World Campaign Secretariat) believes that the *London Declaration* contains the majority of proposals on the Reform of International Institutions, which can be considered of widespread consensus now that the conference is over. Hence, the proceedings explicitly include it, not as the conclusion of the conference, but as a referential document for it.

These proceedings cannot but end with the consequent note of thanks to all of those (whether individuals, institutions, organisations, co-organising initiatives, speakers, participants, etc.) who made it possible and who are duly cited in this document.

Barcelona, February 2004

The UBUNTU Forum and the World Campaign Ad Hoc Secretariat
Manuel Manonelles, Lluís Miret, Oscar Sahun, Núria Molina
Josep Xercavins (Coordinator)

6.1 London Declaration: "World Campaign for In-depth Reform of the System of International Institutions"

REFORMS OF THE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS TO MAKE ANOTHER WORLD POSSIBLE

1 April 2004

On the occasion of the presentation in London of the "World Campaign for In-Depth Reform of the System of International Institutions", we call on all the citizens of the world, all its peoples and, particularly, its political leaders, to give their full support to promoting a process of in-depth reform of the system of international institutions in order to establish a framework for fair, democratic global governance that can safeguard present and future generations from war, poverty, injustice, the tendency towards cultural uniformisation and environmental degradation.

Background

The globalisation process increases both the interdependent nature of the problems facing the world and the gap between rich and poor. Markets are more and more global, but the influence of the political institutions necessary to ensure that these operate in a democratic, equitable and efficient way diminishes day by day. Global economic institutions increasingly apply policies that favour the market and the large corporations to the detriment of policies promoting sustainable human development approved at the 1990s and the Millennium UN summits.

The weakening and marginalisation of the system of international institutions over peace and security issues has led to unilateral use of force in recent conflicts (Iraq...). Rather than promoting conflict resolution through processes and rules established by the UN, the interests of the main superpower are imposed through military superiority, sowing the seeds of further violence throughout the world.

The present system of international institutions, established over 50 years ago in what was an important step forward in the history of humanity, suffers from considerable shortcomings leaving it ill-equipped to resolve the grave problems that face the world today. **For this reason, it is necessary to reform the international institutions so that they can, once more, help to build a fairer, more equitable, diverse, sustainable, free and peaceful world and ensure that new policies are implemented to pursue the great objectives of global democracy and the promotion of human rights, peace and security throughout the world, sustainable human development and cultural diversity, as well as the consolidation of a the global rule of law.**

Global democracy and human rights

Democratisation is a key priority in the reform process of international institutions. The international institutions should act in accordance with the different interests and needs and aspirations of all the world's citizens, and this requires a more equitable redistribution of power between the North and South countries, as well as providing increased possibilities for citizens, civil society, different levels of government, etc., to effectively be represented and participate in international institutions and forums. Transparency, public accountability, the decentralisation of power and the principle of subsidiarity should be basic characteristics of this democratisation process. But democratisation not only concerns procedural questions; it also

requires respect for and defence of the fundamental rights of citizens as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its development.

It is necessary for the world's citizens to be directly represented in the international institutions¹ and not only the states members of the United Nations General Assembly. The UN General Assembly should evolve, gradually unifying other general assemblies and conferences, to play a central role in the system with authority to adopt binding resolutions and to exercise effective control over the other bodies, agencies and programmes forming part of the system.

All actors on the world scene should be empowered to effectively participate in the international institutions², and different forms of representation should be provided for each.

Peace and security

The international institutions must substantially improve their capacity to prevent conflicts and keep the peace. To this end, it is essential to work towards a collective system for human security that can achieve gradual demilitarisation and use of legal and arbitration processes, etc., to resolve conflicts. Bodies engaged in peace and security issues should take into account the views of all in a balanced way, and should be empowered to enforce their decisions.

To this end, the present Security Council should be reformed and placed under effective UN General Assembly control, with a composition representative of all the world's regions. The right to use the veto must be restricted to certain issues whilst steps are taken towards its eventual abolition, and votes over the most important issues should be according to a system of qualified majorities.

Such reform should make it possible to effectively resolve all conflicts, to develop effective conflict prevention mechanisms ^¾with the participation of regional organisations^¾ and to establish an effective world peacekeeping force. All this should be accompanied by a global disarmament process ^¾focusing, particularly, on non-conventional weapons, whilst not forgetting all other types^¾ restoring a climate of confidence amongst all the world's countries.

Sustainable human development and cultural diversity

The international institutions' capacity for global macroeconomic management should also be enhanced through financial, economic, trade, social and environmental policies that take the interests of all into account, particularly those of the weakest. In order to resolve the world's grave problems of poverty and inequality, all these policies should be implemented in an integral and coordinated way, and should be subordinate to the primacy of human rights. It is essential to establish a hierarchy in international legislation to promote coherence between economic policies and social rights and environmental issues.

All this requires the implementation of mechanisms to coordinate global financial, economic, social and environmental policies. A proposal currently enjoying broad support from different sectors is that of refor-

¹ In line with a widely-supported proposal, work could move towards creating a **parliamentary assembly**, which could play a role in establishing international law, put forward recommendations and exercise control over the other institutions forming part of the system.

² Following the example of the one of the oldest multilateral institutions -the International Labour Organisation- specific assemblies could be established to guarantee participation by different government levels and actors from civil society, in the broadest sense of the term, within the appropriate institutions.

ming ECOSOC (the Economic and Social Council) to transform it into an Economic, Social and Environmental Security Council with effective authority over UN agencies, funds and programmes, the Bretton Woods Institutions and the World Trade Organisation. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank should return to their original mandates (IMF: world monetary and macroeconomic balance, WB: reconstruction and development), establish democratic decision-making processes and become effectively integrated within the UN system. The World Trade Organisation should be refounded within the UN and, in cooperation with UNCTAD, draft **world trade policies consistent with human rights and world social and environmental standards. At the same time, the UN should, furthermore, take urgent steps to establish a framework to regulate world financial flows.**

Such reform should make it possible to finally resolve the problem of foreign debt, eradicate tax havens, establish world tax cooperation mechanisms and global taxes and promote increases in Official Development Aid provisions. All this should enable the operation of the international institutions to be co-financed, and world cohesion funds for development to be established. Only in this way can we ensure that the Millennium Development Goals are met, and promote true sustainable human development to conserve the planet's environmental and cultural heritage and diversity.

Global rule of law

All these reforms and policies should ineluctably be accompanied by **international strengthening of democratic rule** and measures to prevent impunity at the international level in criminal, civil, economic, social and environmental law. To this end, we should **advance towards ensuring global rule of law**, ensuring compliance with current international treaties, strengthening existing international legal institutions and establishing those necessary in other areas, and providing all these tools with the appropriate and necessary executive mechanisms.

The system of international institutions must also urgently begin taking measures to establish a framework guaranteeing plurality of information in the world.

Finally, we should stress that only if gender equality impregnates all these proposals can we advance towards another possible world.

*This declaration brings together a series of proposals developed over the last two years as part of the **World Campaign for In-Depth Reform of the System of International Institutions**, public presentations of the campaign and consultations within world civil society, as well as contacts with other movements working towards similar aims, such as the Montreal International Forum, the International Facilitating Group on Financing for Development, the Global Progressive Forum, the World Governance Project, etc. This is not intended to be a closed proposal, but a starting-point for debate and the dissemination of proposals to reform the system of international institutions and which enjoys the initial support of:*

Federico Mayor	
Boutros Boutros Ghali	
Javier Pérez de Cuéllar	
Mario Soares	Fundação Mario Soares
Danielle Mitterrand	France Libertés
Rigoberta Menchú	Nobel Peace Prize Laureate
Adolfo Pérez Esquivel	Nobel Peace Prize Laureate
Joseph Rotblat	Nobel Peace Prize Laureate
Susan George	Writer
Gertrude Mongella	Advocacy for Women in Africa
Aminata Traoré	African Social Forum
William Pace	World Federalist Movement
Cândido Grzybowski	IBASE
Roberto Savio	Inter Press Service
Willy Thys	World Confederation of Labour
Mohammed Fayek	Arab Organisation for Human Rights
Edgar Morin	Association pour la Pensée Complexe
Samir Amin	Forum du Tiers Monde
Nadia Johnson	Women's Environment and Development Organisation
Jorge Brovetto	Asociación de Universidades Grupo Montevideo
David Held	LSE
Johan Galtung	Transcend
Jim Garrison	State of the World Forum
Fatma Alloo	Development of Alternatives with Women for a New Era
François Houtard	Centre Tricontinental
John Foster	North-South Institute
Seonghoon Lee	Pax Romana ICMICA
Miquel de Paladella	Global Movement for Children
Simon Burall	One World Trust
Sean O'Siochru	Communication Rights in the Information Society
José Vidal-Beneyto	Collège des Hautes Etudes Européennes Miguel Servet
James E. Hug	Centre of Concern
Alex Wilks	Bretton Woods Project
Jorge Nieto	Centro Internacional para una Cultura Democrática
Lois Barber	EarthAction
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John Trent	University of Ottawa
Anaisabel Prera	Fundación para una Cultura de Paz
Josep Ferrer	Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya
Rocío Valdeavellano	Jubileo
Ferran Requejo	Universitat Pompeu Fabra
Josep Xercavins	Sécretariat Ad Hoc du Forum UBUNTU

Appendix I

Suggested background documents

Documents produced during the World Campaign:

- *Proposals to Reform the System of International Institutions. Future Scenarios*
http://www.reformcampaign.net/documents/doc_escenaris_eng.pdf
- *London Declaration*
http://www.reformcampaign.net/london/declaracio_london.php?lg=eng

a) Institutional Architecture for World Democracy:

- a. Foster, John: "Futures Beyond Threats". Background paper for discussion and debate at the G02 conference. October, 2002, <http://www.fimcivilsociety.org/g02/french/FIMUNdoc0310021.PDF>
- b. Helsinki Process: "Survey of Global Commissions and Processes". Helsinki, 2003, http://www.helsinkiprocess.fi/netcomm/ImgLib/24/89/HC_komissio.pdf
- c. Nayyar, Deepak (ed.): *Governing Globalisation. Issues and Institutions*. Oxford University Press: New York, 2002.
- d. Rasmussen, P.N.: "Bridging divide between the global challenges and global governance. A governance agenda". *Governance Reform Proposals by the Parliamentary Group of the European Socialists*. May, 2003.
- e. Report of the Panel of Eminent Persons on Civil Society and UN Relationships: "We the Peoples: Civil Society, the United Nations and Global Governance"; <http://www.un.org/reform/panel.htm>

b) Institutional Reforms for World Peace, Security and Justice

- a. Commission on Human Security: "Human Security Now - Final Report of the Commission on Human Security". New York, 2003, <http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/FinalReport.pdf>
- b. Razali Ismail, Ambassador: "Paper by the Chairman of the Open-Ended Working Group On The Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters Related to the Security Council". March, 1997, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/reform/raz-497.htm>
- c. Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty: "The Responsibility to Protect". Ottawa, 2001, <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/iciss-ciise/pdf/Commission-Report.pdf>
- d. Schwartzberg, Joseph E: "Revitalizing the United Nations; Reform through Weighted Voting". Institute for Global Policy and World Federalist Movement, 2004.

c) Institutions for Social, Environmental and Economic World Welfare

- a. Adaba, Gemma; Caliari, Aldo; Foster, John; Hanfstaengl, Eva and Schroeder, Frank: "A political agenda for the Reform of Global Governance. A background policy paper". September, 2002, <http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/1003-IFG-on-govern.pdf>
- b. Annan, Kofi: "Existing proposals for innovative sources of finance". United Nations A/AC.257/27/Add.3, September, 2001, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/soecon/ffd/summit00/UNGloTax102001.htm>
- c. Pettifor, Ann: "Resolving international debt crises - the Jubilee Framework for international insolvency". A New Economics Foundation Report. January, 2002, http://www.jubileeplus.org/analysis/reports/jubilee_framework.html
- d. The World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization: "A Fair Globalization: Creating opportunities for all". OIT, February, 2004.

Appendix II — List of invited participants

Adaba, Gemma	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions - ICFTU
Adeleye-Fayemi, Bisi	AWID Association for Women's Rights in Development
Alhdaleff, Giampero	SOLIDAR
Alloo, Fatma	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era DAWN
Amin, Samir	Forum du Tiers Monde
Armadans, Jordi	International Peace Bureau
Arrieta, Jon	UNESCO Etxea
Barber, Lois	EarthAction
Belil, Mireia	Fòrum 2004
Bloem, Renata	CONGO Conf. of NGOs in consultative with UN
Brun, Markus	Swiss Catholic Lenten Fund/CIDSE
Brutus, Dennis	50 years is Enough
Bullard, Nicola	Focus on the Global South
Busdachin, Marino	Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation
Canals, Purificació	IUCN The World Conservation Union
Carreras, Ignasi	Intermon Oxfam (Oxfam International)
Casado, Fernando	MDGs Campaign
Chiriboga, Manuel	Rimisp - Centro Latinoamericano para el Desarrollo Rural
Colomines, Agustí	Centre UNESCO Catalunya
Dahl, Birgitta	Panel of Eminent Persons on Civil Society and UN Relationships
Dawkins, Kristin	Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy
Desai, Nitin	Helsinki Process on Globalisation and Democracy
Diez-Hochleitner, Ricardo	Club de Roma
Dodds, Felix	UNED-UK
Duarte, Carles	Escriptor
Dupas, Gilberto	Instituto d'Estudios Avançados
Elfverson, J. Christer	Club de Madrid
Elias, Victoria	Centre for Environment and Sustainable Development
Estévez, Eduardo	World Confederation of Labour
Évrard, Jean Pol	Caritas Internationalis
Falk, Richard	Princeton University
Fayek, Mohammed	The Arab Organization for Human Rights
Federer, Juan Francisco	Center of War/Peace Studies
Ferrer Llop, Josep	Rector Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya
Foster, John	The North-South Institute
Garcia-Delgado, Vicente	CIVICUS
Garrison, Jim	State of the World Forum
Gateau, Elisabeth	United Cities and Local Governments
Gold, Lorna	Trocaire /CIDSE
Greppi, Eduardo	World Political Forum
Grono, Nick	ICG The International Crisis Group
Grzybowski, Cándido	IBASE Instituto Brasileiro de Análises Sociais e Econômicas
Guerreiro, Antonio	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil
Hanfstaengel, Eva-Maria	Consultant to the UN FfD Office
Hautala, Heidi	MP
Iglesias, Jaume	President de la Coordinadora Catalana de Fundacions
Jhamtani, Hira	Third World Network
Johnson, Nadia	WEDO Women's Environment and Development Organization
Kambala, Olivier	CIPAC Centre International pour la Paix en Afrique Centrale
Lavoie, Mario	FIM Forum International of Montréal
Likhotal, Alexander	Green Cross Internacional
Longwe, Sara	FEMNET The African Women's Development and Communications
Lotti, Flavio	Tavola della Pace
Marco, Guido di	Former President of Malta and of the UN General Assembly
Marin, Gustavo	Fondation Charles Léopold Mayer pour le Progrès de l'Homme
Martí, Fèlix	Linguapax Institute
Martin, Nigel	FIM Forum International de Montréal

Mataró, Àngels	Asociación Naciones Unidas España - Latinoamérica
Mayor, Federico	
Mbogori, Ezra	Reflection and Dev. Centre for NGOs in East. and South. Africa
Migiro, Asharose	Tanzanian Minister for Community Development
Mjenga, Omary	Tanzanian Ministry for Foreign Affairs
Molas, Alba	Coordinadora Catalana de Fundacions
Mpfungwe, Ami	Ambassador of Tanzania
Muliro, Arthur	SID Society for International Development
Murto, Charles	Ambassador of Finland
Mustonen, Juha	Helsinki Process on Globalisation and Democracy
Muthoni Wanyeki, Lynn	Africa Women's Development and Communication Network
Naciri, Mohamed El Fatah	League of Arab States
Naidoo, Kumi	CIVICUS
Nieto, Jorge	Centro Internacional para una Cultura Democrática
Oder, Judith	Interights
O'Donohue, Jonathan	Amnesty International
Oliveira, José Olivio	ICFTU Inter. Confederation of Free Trade Unions
Olivella, Martí	Alliance for a Responsible, Plural and United World
Oliveres, Arcadi	Justice & Peace Europe
O'Siochrú, Sean	
Pace, Bill	World Federalist Movement
Pagès, Jaume	Forum 2004
Paladella, Miquel de	Global Movement for Children
Pamlin, Dennis	World Wildlife Fund
Papisca, Antonio	Università di Padua
Parés, Maria Josep	International Campaign to Ban Landmines
Pettifor, Ann	New Economics Foundation
Pimple, Minar	PDHRE The People's Movement for Human Rights Education
Platz, Daniel	Financing for Development Office, UN
Polet, Yonnec	Global Progressive Forum
Powell, Jeff	Bretton Woods Project
Prera, Anaisabel	Fundación Cultura de Paz
Ramentol, Santiago	Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Rantakari, Ilari	Helsinki Process on Globalisation and Democracy
Rasimelli, Giampiero	EURALAT
Rasmussen, Paul N.	Global Progressive Forum
Requejo, Ferran	Universitat Pompeu Fabra
Ritchie, Cyril	WOCSOC World Civil Society Conference
Rodé, Patricio	Pax Romana ICMICA
Rojas, Oscar De	Financing for Development Office, UN
Sanchís, Norma	International Gender and Trade Network
Santana, Pedro	EURALAT
Sauquet, Michel	Fondation Charles Léopold Mayer pour le Progrès de l'Homme
Savio, Roberto	Inter Press Service
Schroeder, Frank	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
Sehm Patomäki, Katarina	NIGD Network Institute for Global Democratization
Shetty, Salil	MDGs Campaign
Soares, Mario	Fundação Mario Soares & former President of Portugal
Spanjaard, Herman	International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War
Strappazzon, Ángel	MOCASE - Vía Campesina
Strauss, Michael	Earth Media
Swenarchuk, Michelle	Canadian Environmental Law Association
Tandon, Rajesh	PRIA Participatory Research in Asia
Traoré, Aminata	Writer
Vázquez, Monika	UNESCO Etxea
Velásquez, Luz Estela	Coord. Red Latinoamericana de Estudios Ambientales Urbanos
Vidal-Beneyto, José	Colegio de Altos Estudios Europeos Miguel Servet
Vrba, Tomáš	Forum 2000
Whitaker, Chico	Justiça e Paz
Wittkamper, Jonah	Global Youth Action Network
Woods, Ngairé	Oxford University

Appendix III

Conference images



Federico Mayor Zaragoza en un momento de su ponencia sobre la Reforma de Naciones Unidas y de otras Instituciones Internacionales. Junto a él, José Antonio Ocampo y Josep Xercavins.



Salil Shetty, director de la Millenium Development Goal's Campaign, durante la conferencia.



José Antonio Ocampo, Secretario General Adjunto de Economía y Asuntos Sociales de NNUU, durante la conferencia.



Foto general tomada durante la ponencia de Federico Mayor Zaragoza.



Acto de clausura de la conferencia.



Foto de grupo final con todos los participantes de la conferencia.



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