

mondial

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NGOs a key to new democracy



Sir Peter Ustinov

The fact that more than 700 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) attended the recent World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle is not lost on Sir Peter Ustinov.

The actor and international president of the World Federalist Movement says NGOs have become an increasingly important part of the democratic process and will be even more important in the future.

“Conventional elected governments are in crisis at the moment and will be for a long time,” Sir Peter said in an interview with *Mondial*. “They’re in a crisis for one very good reason. Elected governments are mainly based on internal policy and it’s the frontiers now which are under attack owing to globalization of commerce.”

If a newly elected government sweeps to power on the promise of change, he adds, “it becomes apparent that they are compelled by events to pursue a policy awfully similar to the one before.

“It’s leading to a new form of democracy which largely involves non-governmental organizations. They’re not elected but there are thousands of them in existence now and they wouldn’t still be in

This issue, the increasing importance of civil society (non-governmental organizations, or NGOs) is a recurring theme in our coverage of the WTO and the Millennium Forum at the UN. It was the focus of an international conference in Montreal in December (see page 3) and here, international president of the World Federalist Movement Sir Peter Ustinov reflects on why it is all happening.

existence if they weren’t democratically felt. They arise like mushrooms after a thunderstorm because of public demand.”

The creation of the first NGO is a good example, says Sir Peter. “A Swiss civilian misguidedly went for a stroll across a battlefield and suddenly saw with his own eyes the horror of war and was so appalled, he went home and out of the mind of this single man emerged the idea of an international organization of charity called the Red Cross.

“No government at any time would ever have a mandate to found such a thing because it is international, not inward looking.”

The existence of NGOs “is a spontaneous response to public demand. Otherwise they would not exist anymore. They would disappear. But they’re all needed because nobody else looks after that aspect of our communal existence. Governments don’t look after communal existence.”

Sir Peter points to the 1998 Rome conference establishing an International Criminal Court as a good example of how non-governmental organizations play an important role in vital international developments. World Federalists played a key role in co-ordinating NGO efforts at the conference to see the court established.

“The results of that conference were a tremendous surprise to everybody, simply because many people thought the resistance of the Americans to the idea of a world criminal court and also the opposition from France and Britain would sway the balance.” Concessions made at the conference satisfied the French and British, leaving the Americans in the company of China, Iraq and a few others in voting against it.

NGO influence has and will continue to rise, Sir Peter added,

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“Conventional elected governments are in crisis at the moment and will be for a long time.”

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“because there is no effective mechanism for international collaboration within governments and it’s becoming more and more vital that they do collaborate.”

What does that mean for world federalism? “It’s become almost a question of being ready to catch the ball when it comes our way, because it is going in that direction anyway.”

It won’t happen overnight, Sir Peter added, because the mentality of different peoples is shaped by divergent histories and human and physical geographies. “One can’t hurry people because their whole mentality is often formed by distance or intensity of population.

“I think what federalists can do is to feel the wind in the sails and rejoice in the wind in the sails. I don’t think they will have to claim any special prescience but eventually we will get a form of control of this world which is, by its nature, federal.

“In fact, if I was opposed to federalism, I wouldn’t know how to stop it.” The World Federalist Movement often acts as a co-ordinator and “concentrating element” for groups of NGOs in their collaboration with existing governments, Sir Peter said. “It proves that we are not ignored. Very many of our members do not realize the importance of what’s going on.”

Time to raise voice: Lewis

Excerpts from remarks by Stephen Lewis on the occasion of his retirement as deputy executive director of UNICEF in October 1999 in New York.

“...There comes a moment in life when, for whatever reason, you want to move on. That moment has happened to me. I don’t intend to go into some kind of retirement or hermitage, but I do want to enter another phase of life. Amongst other things, I want to write a book, a book which lacerates, vilifies, excoriates and dismembers all the philistines and dinosaurs I’ve had to endure politically, diplomatically and multilaterally over the last 40 years. I want to abuse them, and berate them, and embarrass them and humiliate them beyond the point of no return. I want to rub a potion of

hemlock and salt in their wounds. And then I want to rage against injustice, because for 40 years I have felt this world to be intolerably unfair to the uprooted, disinherited and impoverished, and before they lay me in my grave, I want to document it, chapter and verse....

Think of the Security Council, in particular the permanent members; cast your minds back to Rwanda in April of 1994—a genocide dispassionately observed, followed by a welter of investigations five years later. But investigations don’t bring 800,000 people back to life....

It seems to me that, on all counts, as we wind our way to the end of this squalid millennial finale, we should exercise our voice as no other. It isn’t a matter of getting away with it; it’s a matter of being credible.”



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Conference focuses on NGO role

by Alan Clarke

The timing of the first World Conference on Civil Society December 7-11 in Montreal couldn't have been better.

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan saw the conference as a source of advice and experience in planning the Millennium Assembly scheduled for the year 2000. And the gridlock at the World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting in Seattle served to heighten a sense of urgency at the Montreal gathering of civil society organizations.

The conference theme of "Building Global Governance Partnerships" had four objectives:

- To enhance and broaden cross-national co-operation among civil society organizations to meet the needs of the 21st Century.
- To contribute to an effective and timely implementation of UN summit agreements by developing new actions by civil society to oblige and assist governments to fulfill the promises and commitments made at recent world conferences.
- To share strategies, plans, successes, failures and new opportunities in working with the UN system on issues where civil society and the UN have a common and imperative agenda.
- To develop concrete proposals for year 2000 and beyond, including making a substantial contribution to the Millennium Assembly and NGO Millennium Forum and their preparatory processes.

The 350 conference participants included representatives of international, national, and regional networks of NGOs and other civil society organizations, environment and development activists, humanitarian and human rights organizations, women's movements, professional associations, youth movements, trade unions, family planners, the academic community, UN system, governments, media and business.

WFM Executive Director Bill Pace and WFC President, Senator Lois Wilson were among the conference speakers. Bill Pace spoke of the need for the UN system to open up even more the rules which regulate the participation of NGOs at the UN.

In plenary sessions and dozens of workshops, participants came up with a 'Montreal message' that called on governments to create enabling environments for a vibrant civil society and called for the reassertion of human values over money values and the subordination of trade and finance rules to the principles enshrined in the UN Charter, treaties and agreements.

"We believe that the participation of civil society in planning and decision-making is no longer an option, but an essential part of governance. We call on inter-governmental institutions for global governance, both within and outside the UN system, to operate through transparent decision-making processes, including mechanisms for the participation of civil society."

A background document,

Whose World is it Anyway? Civil Society, the United Nations and the Multilateral Future, edited by Canadian John Foster and Anita Anand of India, and published by the United Nations Association in Canada, provided grist for the conference mill, with discussion points on UN reform, reform of multilateral economic institutions like the WTO, moving NGO collaboration to new levels and democratization of global organizations.

Mr. Foster told participants in plenary session that the obstacles impeding an enabling environment for global governance are considerable. Great amounts of sovereignty are often ceded to the market and to global economic institutions that are distant from regular citizens. Private privilege, property rights and corporate power have been expanded while human rights, the right to be militant, labour rights, economic and environmental security and equity have often been undermined.

Conference chair Cyril Ritchie told participants at the outset that "the world has need of a strong UN, based on incontrovertible principles, run in a rational way, and financed adequately, so that it is not obliged to go through contortions to achieve its goals." At the same time, more than ever before, civil society is "indispensable to the search for rational and realistic solutions to the world's problems." ⁱⁱⁱ

Alan Clarke is a member of the World Federalists of Canada governing Council.

"...participation of civil society in planning and decision-making is no longer an option, but an essential part of governance."

WTO meets non-corporate world in Seattle

by Caspar Davis
and Philip Symons

Passing the Robocop-clad police lines on the way to the corporate glitz, bad food and uniform dark suits of the World Trade Organization ministerial meeting at the Seattle Convention Centre made a stark contrast to the convivial, passionate, and diverse world outside.

As the only official representatives of the World Federalist Movement in Seattle, we spent most of our time at NGO teach-ins held in downtown churches, the WTO's official NGO briefing November 29, and at briefings by the Canadian delegation on the evening of December 1 and 2.

We were not much on the streets but our observations and conversations with protesters indicated that almost all of the violence was instigated by police and that any property damage was perpetrated mostly or entirely by vandals who had nothing to do with the protesters other than using them for cover. On Wednesday morning, we saw two sets of protesters cleaning graffiti off of buildings.

Monday's WTO briefing attracted equal numbers of civil society NGOs and 'industrial NGOs' (lobby groups for various corporate interests). Mike Moore, director-general of the WTO, told participants that the WTO is not a world government; it doesn't overrule national laws and doesn't force countries to employ children or kill turtles. It's a creation of national parliaments, overseen by elected trade ministers. Other panelists expressed a range of views; several suggested the

WTO must address economic equity and the environment as well as efficiency.

In a question period, Maude Barlow, representing the Council of Canadians, said that token participation was not enough. She cited the official Canadian NGO contact list for the media which she said contained only industrial NGOs. (We got a copy of the list later in the week, by which time it listed all accredited Canadian NGOs, including the World Federalists of Canada). Other questioners were divided between people from (generally critical) civil society NGOs and (largely congratulatory) industrial NGOs. A number of important points were raised, including the extent to which WTO patent rules deny essential medicine to the poor.

In a second panel, the Japanese Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs raised the issue of "multi-functionality," the idea that agricultural policy must work to preserve a multitude of values, including food security, biodiversity, environment, landscape, and rural communities, not just economic efficiency. This was a major bone of contention inside the WTO where Japan, the E.U., and many developing nations supported multi-functionality, and the U.S., Canada, and others opposed it doggedly.

Our days at the NGO teach-ins were a kaleidoscope of informed and passionate people from all over the world, expressing their concerns for human rights. They spoke of the right to use and freely share indigenous knowledge, which is increasingly being

corporatized through U.S. patent law and enforced world-wide through the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) agreement. For instance, the East Indian farmers who developed Basmati rice over generations are now liable to pay royalties to a Texas company which made a minor genetic alteration and patented their creation.

Family farmers all over the world are losing their farms because they cannot compete with subsidized crops being dumped by the U.S. and the E.U. Subsidies to small farms have been largely eliminated in Canada and many developing countries and are under attack in the U.S. and E.U. Meanwhile, trade rules, corporate research subsidies and economies of scale conspire to keep the prices of farm commodities below the costs of production.

Long-time consumer advocate Ralph Nader was especially eloquent in warning of the dangers and inequities inherent in GMOs, saying that genetic engineering has far outrun the science that must be its first discipline. Good science is open, peer reviewed and broadly discussed. Corporate science is secretive and proprietary, and it pursues its purposes by political meddling. Its goal is not truth but immediate marketability.

It remains to be seen how the WTO actually responds to what happened in Seattle, but it is clear that it can no longer afford to ignore the vast majority who are not—and do not want to be—part of a corporatized world. ⁱⁱⁱ



Caspar Davis (top) is a member of WFC Council and Philip Symons is co-president of the WFC Victoria branch executive.

"...the NGO teach-ins were a kaleidoscope of informed and passionate people from all over the world, expressing their concerns for human rights."

The world changed in Seattle

by **Urs Thomas
and Fergus Watt**

The dust is still settling following the trade talks and massive public demonstrations in Seattle at the World Trade Organization (WTO) ministerial conference November 30 to December 3.

No one knows where international trade politics will go next or who will be along for the ride. Governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and WTO officials are all still getting their bearings.

Attempts to launch a new round of global trade talks were suspended but discussions have already begun on when to resume and what the agenda will be. The progress of talks in Seattle—for example, on agriculture and on issues of concern to least developed countries—was “locked in” and will be the starting point for new talks.

Negotiations on agriculture and services, mandated in the last round, will proceed in January 2000 in Geneva. But the 19-page draft summation which emerged on the final day of formal negotiations included several areas of significant disagreement.

Trikes, not bikes

Over the years, trade representatives have promoted a “bicycle metaphor”—the notion that the WTO must at all cost move forward at a certain speed or it will fall, that trade must constantly be liberalized more or the system will crumble. In the aftermath of Seattle, what we may have is a tricycle which can move forward

at any speed or even stop, move backwards and change direction easily without falling.

Many explanations were offered for the stalled discussions. Some delegates blamed the non-transparent decision-making procedures that shut out many developing countries from important negotiating sessions. Others pointed to an overloaded and overly ambitious agenda. Still others blamed the major players—the U.S. for failing to provide sufficient leeway in its position on implementation and for strong-arming other members over labour standards, and the European Union (E.U.) for avoiding any commitment to agricultural liberalization.

Teamsters and Turtles

Seattle will be remembered for the massive protests which initially halted and later delayed the official negotiations and, more significantly coloured the world’s perceptions of the negotiations.

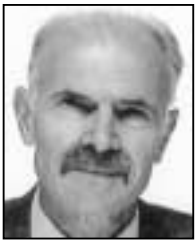
Seattle brought together an unlikely alliance of farmers, students, pacifists, feminists, consumers, human rights advocates, animal rights activists, organized labour and environmentalists. The last two, probably the two biggest groups, seem to have discovered new common ground which may have important implications for future political strategy; for example, it may prompt a re-assessment on bringing social standards into the WTO, which the organization had decided in 1996 to leave to the International Labour Organization.

The massive street demonstrations were poorly reported. Mainstream media overplayed the looting and conflict and under-reported police violence. And, most importantly, they didn’t adequately reflect the tremendous range and complexity of civil society dialogue, teach-ins and workshops on all manner of public interest issues arising from trade liberalization.

NGOs can’t take credit for the failure of official negotiations. They would probably have broken down anyway. However, NGOs as a societal phenomenon of our times come away from this event strengthened. They have proven, more than ever before, that civil society must be reckoned with in trade talks. Public discourse on trade and governance issues will not be left to small enclaves of corporate lobbyists and bureaucrats.

Thoroughly discredited is the idea that a World Trade Organization can continue with strong enforcement powers while international institutions to protect the environment, ensure safety standards and protect rights remain weak. The need for institutional reforms is now widely accepted.

It is unclear how much of the “social and environmental agenda” can be incorporated within the WTO and how much will need to occur through strengthening other international institutions and co-ordination of various parts of the international “system.” Nobody knows how any of



Urs Thomas (top) is a writer on international trade and environment issues and member of WFC Council. Fergus Watt is WFC’s executive director.

NGOs as a societal phenomenon of our times come away from this event strengthened. They have proven that civil society must be reckoned with in trade talks.

Sleepless after Seattle: What next for WTO?

by **Simon Rosenblum**

World Trade Organization (WTO) head Mike Moore recently said of the 1994 round of trade talks that “the Uruguay round was launched in the silence of public apathy.”

Such obviously was not the case surrounding the Seattle “Millennium Round” whose proceedings were disrupted by massive protests and which concluded without any agreement.

The WTO needs to make a “grand bargain” wherein the developing countries get a better trade deal and simultaneously minimal social clauses are integrated into WTO rules.

Democratic deficit is still a WTO issue

Continued from previous page

this will play out. But the debate on these key governance issues has progressed.

The need to overcome the WTO's democratic deficit is an issue that is not going to go away. In the near term, this will probably lead to improved access of NGOs to WTO working documents, dispute settlement proceedings and consultation before decisions are made. World Federalists have given priority to pushing some of these democratization issues, not only NGO access but also, in the longer term, formation of a WTO Parliamentary Assembly. ☐

This, I believe, can only be negotiated as a package. David Runnals, president of the Winnipeg-based International Institute for Sustainable Development, has noted: “Nobody is going to give in to anything unless it's all on the table and you can see what kind of deal you can get.”

Shortly before the launch of the Seattle summit, the chief economist of the World Bank, Joseph Stiglitz, issued an appeal to make the next round of trade talks a “development round.” (Mr. Stiglitz subsequently resigned his World Bank post November 24.)

Parts of the developing world have undoubtedly benefitted from freer trade but others—particularly the poorest of the poor—have not. The first-world promises of ‘trade, not aid’ have gone unfulfilled in many quarters and many developing countries believe they got a raw deal from the Uruguay round.

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan expresses these feelings: “Developing countries have been told time and again that they stand to gain from trade liberalization and that they must open up their economies. They have done so, often at great cost... but time and again, they have found the results disappointing—not because free trade is bad for them, but because they are not getting enough of it.”

According to the UN, developing countries lose about \$700 billion a year as a direct result of protectionist measures that penalize third-world exporters.

Much of this occurs via first-world discriminatory practices in the agricultural, clothing and textile sectors, which are primary sources of income for many of the world's poorest people.

The Europeans must rapidly phase out their agricultural export subsidies, the Japanese need to open up their agricultural markets and the United States must stop its arbitrary and unilateral use of anti-dumping laws which it invokes to protect American producers in such industries as steel.

Everyone has to allow better market access to third world textile and clothing exporters. British interest in establishing zero tariffs for all exports of the 48 poorest countries would be a useful starting point.

At the same time, it is necessary—as President Clinton declared—to put “a human face on the global economy.” Arguments against unfettered free trade have become better known and legitimate.

Reasonable labour and environmental standards—which must be designed so that they are not “protectionism through the back door”—need to be incorporated into WTO rules in order to deal with the trade distortions which occur when nations artificially reduce their domestic labour and environmental standards to get an unnatural and unfair competitive advantage.

The establishment of appropriate WTO social clauses will be by no means easy. For example,



Simon Rosenblum is a member of the WFC Executive Committee.

“The first-world promises of ‘trade, not aid’ have gone unfulfilled in many quarters...”

Continued on opposite page

New World Order**Rural life, quality of life on the line****by Caspar Davis**

One thing we learned in Seattle is that the agricultural issue is one of the most complex and, to me, scary.

I find it much more troubling to have food production than automobile production concentrated in a small handful of companies. Moreover, agriculture is in most countries inseparably connected with the fabric of society.

In the third world, agriculture is largely a subsistence activity. When subsistence farmers are driven off their land to make way for corporate plantations growing specialty export crops (including flowers), those farmers face only three possibilities:

- working for subsistence wages and often in appalling conditions of overexposure to chem-

icals on what used to be their land;

- migrating to barrios in cancerously growing cities; or
- starving.

The choices are similar, if less stark, for Canadian and U.S. farmers driven off their land or coerced to be contractual serfs for agribusinesses, entering into one-sided contracts that force them to invest hundreds of thousands in industrial-style animal-raising facilities or to use the “correct”, usually modified, seed and plenty of the “right” chemicals. These contracts are typically terminable at will by the agribusiness, and without them, farmers cannot sell their produce.

The hammer of debt is offered in a fleecy glove of propaganda about being “modern” and up-to-

date. Led by the hog and chicken industries, agribusiness is abandoning the risks of actual production for a neo-feudalist system in which the farmer assumes the risk while agribusiness reaps the profits.

It is a powerful example of how corporations ‘externalize’ costs and risks while ‘internalizing’ value and profit.

The WTO and its sister organizations, the IMF and the World Bank, further the agribusiness agenda by extending U.S. plant and animal patents worldwide and by “persuading” Canada and many developing countries to do away with the subsidies and import barriers that have enabled their farmers to survive.

Meanwhile, subsidies to agribusiness and biotech companies continue unabated, as does the dumping of their subsidized crops—helping to drive farmers off their land and starving rural communities all over the world.

The WTO says that its overriding objective is to help trade flow smoothly, freely, fairly and predictably. In practice, it has largely achieved freedom and predictability for intra- and inter-corporate trade, but it has done very little to enhance fairness for non-corporate exports from the third world.

Trade has the potential to increase aggregate wealth, although I think the benefits of trade as currently practiced, and especially of foreign investment,

“...agribusiness is abandoning the risks of actual production for a neo-feudalist system...”

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developing countries have a legitimate case against simply transferring all the International Labour Organization’s core labour standards to the WTO and then accompanying them with trade sanctions.

In this regard, it is necessary to comment on China’s welcome but premature entry into the WTO. I say ‘premature’ because, at this time, the massive presence of China—with its widespread use of forced labour and prohibition against independent trade unions—would greatly stack the WTO deck against the adoption of appropriate labour

and environmental social clauses.

The WTO acts by consensus—certainly of its major members—and it is quite disingenuous of the Americans to sponsor China’s entry at this precise moment. Social standards and then WTO membership for China is the only sequence that works.

In the aftermath of Seattle, there is an opportunity to reform the WTO and make it responsive to a broader range of concerns. The challenge in the post-Seattle world is to make trade rules fairer and freer for all. Let the negotiations for a “grand bargain” begin.

See ‘Truly free’ on next page

Millennium Forum for world NGOs

Plans are taking shape for a Millennium Forum of non-governmental organizations in the United Nations General Assembly next May aimed at establishing a worldwide network of organizations to look at what is necessary for an effective UN for the 21st Century.

Bill Pace, executive director of the World Federalist Movement and vice-chair of the Millennium Forum, says the event is "tremendously important."

Mr. Pace points to Secretary-General Kofi Annan's strong call for the forum. "He could have been content seeing the UN convene a Millennium Summit and Assembly for governments and leaders. But Kofi Annan is not

content to merely serve as a head waiter for governments.

"He has called for the bold new ideas which NGOs can be counted on to provide to help reinvigorate and reform the organization."

A mid-December planning meeting reviewed progress in developing forum themes, regional preparatory meetings, procedures for drafting and synthesizing the forum report, and criteria for selecting participants.

A selection process is required to ensure the forum is representative of the world's regions and of different spheres of interest, such as business and labour, all within the 1,400-seat capacity of the UN General Assembly hall next May 22-26.

Themes for the forum include: peace, security and disarmament; eradication of poverty; human rights; sustainable development and environment; democratizing and strengthening the UN and global institutions; facing the challenges of globalization: and achieving equality, justice and diversity.

The UN General Assembly has not yet set specific themes for a Millennium Assembly and Heads of State Summit planned for fall of 2000 but the Secretary-General has committed to providing his recommendations for the consideration of General Assembly members in the early spring. ⁱⁱⁱ

NGOs can be counted on to provide bold new ideas to help reinvigorate and reform the UN.

Truly free trade would benefit most, *Continued from previous page*

are greatly exaggerated by self-serving proponents.

Foreign investment is aggressively fickle and feels no responsibility for the community or workers in which it 'invests.' Moreover, it is, at least in Canada, overwhelmingly acquisitive rather than developmental.

Truly free trade, in a freely competitive (rather than monopolistic) world would benefit most people. WTO trade, in a corporate economic world dominated by a handful of near-monopolies, emphatically benefits the few at the expense of the many.

Corporate insiders and some speculators gain unprecedented wealth, but even in the leading feudal power, the U.S., most people are swimming twice as hard to stay in the same place. Many are sinking right out of the

labour market and, hence, the unemployment statistics. Income gaps are yawning ever wider, both between and within countries.

Moreover, many of those who seem to be benefiting are suffering a quality-of-life deficit even as their incomes increase. Interminable working hours, and lack of family or community contact and free time are leading many to rethink their lives, to trade income for time, and to adopt voluntary simplicity and alternative lifestyles.

The Reagan/Thatcherite 'me-first' revolution has operated under the slogan "a rising tide raises all boats." Unfortunately, the tide that elevates billionaires and their retainers sucks sustenance from ordinary people all over the world.

Many of us 'benefit' from the handy gadgets that are ever more available, although it is questionable whether cell phones, home entertainment centres, or even the internet by which many substitute virtual communities for the real thing, really enrich our lives or whether they actually make us more alienated and more manipulable, even as they help our hours and lives slip away.

The technological potential for enhancing living standards may or may not be valid, but in a system that's geared to subordinate all other values to corporate profit, there isn't a chance that it will actually increase most people's quality of life. And that doesn't even touch on the environmental costs, or the loss of cultural and genetic diversity. ⁱⁱⁱ

U.S. dues payment***UN can keep the car but can't buy gas***

Don Kraus is Executive Director of the Washington-based Campaign for UN Reform.

by Don Kraus

News that the United States Congress had finally broken the legislative logjam holding back payment of its arrears to the United Nations gave the public the understandable perception that the UN's funding problems are over, and we can rejoice that the new millennium is starting off well.

Alas, that is only a small part of the truth. The full story pres-

ents more cause for despair than celebration.

The good news is that the U.S. Congress agreed to pay \$926 million of the approximately \$1.6 billion owed by the U.S. to the UN. Of this amount, approximately \$350 million must be sent to the UN prior to January 1, 2000 if the U.S. is to avoid the loss of its voting privileges. Also good news is that an additional \$300 million was added to the

peacekeeping account to pay for the U.S. share of unbudgeted expenses related to UN involvement in Kosovo, East Timor, and Sierra Leone.

The bad news is that the U.S. agreement to pay was reached through negotiations based on the Helms-Biden compromise which outlined conditions on U.S. involvement with the UN. Payment of the \$926 million depends on UN compliance with 22 unilateral conditions.

Some of the conditions should enhance the efficiency, accountability and transparency of the UN. These include the establishment of an independent office of inspector general for the specialized agencies to conduct and supervise objective audits; "Sunset Provisions" calling for the periodic review, evaluation and affirmation of UN programs as a prerequisite for continued funding; greater access to UN financial data by member nations; and increased focus on merit-based employment and evaluation of personnel.

But many more of the conditions have grave implications:

- The U.S. expects the UN to write-off approximately \$600 million in arrears by setting up a "contested arrearages account." Additionally, no interest or penalties may be charged on what the U.S. owes.
- The U.S. share of the peacekeeping budget will be reduced to 25 per cent from 31

Update**UN funding petition still valid**

The World Federalists of Canada (WFC) and United Nations Association in Canada (UNAC) have collaborated in a small campaign encouraging Canadians to sign a petition on the UN funding crisis. The petition calls on the House of Commons to encourage the government of Canada to:

1. make formal diplomatic representations urging states which withhold their UN dues to pay in full, on time and without conditions; and
2. give high-level consideration to proposals which would establish alternative and reliable revenue sources for the UN with a view to presenting such proposals for consideration at the UN General Assembly.

The response to the call for signatures on these petitions has surpassed expectations. We're very grateful to all those who've collected signatures.

Some have asked whether the petition is still valid in light of the decision in the U.S. to make a payment to the UN.

The petition is still valid and timely, since the U.S. has agreed to pay only part of what it owes and has attached many conditions. (See top item on this page)

The petition will be presented in the House of Commons early in the year 2000 by Vancouver MP Ted McWhinney. Parliamentary rules require an official response from government addressing concerns raised by such petitions.

If you haven't seen or received a copy, contact the WFC (tel: 613-232-0647; web site: www.webnet/~wfcnat) or UNAC (tel: 613-232-5751; web site: www.unac.org).

UN Security Council agrees on progressively lifting

by **Simon Rosenblum**

The negotiations which dragged on for months among United Nations Security Council members concerning a new international weapons inspection team for Iraq has—at least at face value—been resolved.

A December 11-0 vote broke the impasse but—and this is a big ‘but’—three of the council’s five permanent members (Russia, China and France) abstained.

What was agreed to was the creation of a new arms inspection agency called the UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) plus an easing of economic sanctions against Iraq—or more accurately, an enhancement of the current oil-for-food program—in four-month renewable periods, as long as Iraq co-operates with UNMOVIC inspections. Before assessing this breakthrough in the Security Council, some background is necessary.

Since the U.S.—British air strikes in December 1998, Baghdad has maintained that it will not permit international arms inspectors back into Iraq without prior relief from economic sanctions. The present standoff—of American bombs falling daily and no inspectors at work—is an extremely dangerous setback for arms control. In less than a year, there can be little doubt that Iraq has been able to make great strides in their weapons of mass destruction programs.

They have significantly increased their missile capability and most likely will soon be able to assemble a nuclear warhead.

Iraq probably lacks only the enriched uranium or plutonium necessary for building a nuclear bomb and, as David Albright, a former nuclear inspector in Iraq, puts it “Russia is a shopper’s paradise for them” in regards to accessing strategic materials. There also can be little doubt that Saddam Hussein has taken full advantage of the absence of the UN Special Commission [UNSCOM] inspections regime to pursue chemical and biological weapons programs as well. Saddam Hussein and weapons of mass destruction are about as lethal a combination as you can get and yet the international community is currently doing precious little to stop it.

No thanks to the Iraqis, UNSCOM was a great success. Tim Trevan, special advisor to the head of UNSCOM from 1992 to 1995, has characterized the vague recollections of Iraq’s scientists about weapons programs that they had conducted as “the most extraordinary case of collective amnesia I have ever witnessed.” Saddam played an elaborate shell game with UNSCOM to conceal weapons. Yet in spite of this persistent pattern of Iraqi deception and concealment, UNSCOM developed an excellent track record in both locating and closing down Saddam’s weapons of mass destruction programs. Nevertheless, there was more work to be done.

A 1998 Security Council disarmament panel confirmed both that Iraq had not met the requirements for lifting sanctions

and the need for a “reinforced ongoing monitoring and verification regime” which would have to be “if anything, more intrusive than so far practised.”

The job may have been 95 per cent done but what remained was critical. Scott Ritter, another former UNSCOM inspector, claims that before its ouster, UNSCOM was close to the “real thing.”

At the same time, the eight-year-old economic sanctions regime against Iraq has been a notable failure. Broad-based economic sanctions generally hurt the wrong people and don’t usually bring about the desired compliance. In the case of Iraq, Saddam and his cronies have continued to live in luxury while as many as half a million children have died who might have otherwise survived. As UNSCOM’s work progressed, the economic sanctions should have been phased out but this did not happen to any significant degree. And now the sanctions are all that remains while Saddam is enjoying more or less a free ride in rebuilding his weapons of mass destruction programs.

Something is totally out of whack here. Surely the most effective and humane policy would be for the Security Council to insist on a vigorous successor to UNSCOM accompanied by a rapid phasing out of the sanctions. The new inspections regime would have to—and this is crucial—be permanent for as long as Saddam remains in

Saddam Hussein and weapons of mass destruction are about as lethal a combination as you can get and yet the international community is currently doing precious little to stop it.

Continued on opposite page

sanctions in return for new inspections regime

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power. There must be no opportunity for him to threaten the world with weapons of mass destruction.

This brings us to the rift within the UN Security Council on how to deal with Iraq. France, Russia and China—all of whom have vested economic interests—sought relaxation of both sanc-

tions and the mandate of an inspections regime. The hard-line states—the British, Dutch and Americans—sought to resurrect vigorous arms inspections in return for a progressive easing of sanctions.

The U.S. policy of “containment plus regime change” would not, however, likely countenance an end to economic sanctions as

long as Saddam remains in power. Washington sees the need for continuing sanctions both as the principal tool to compel Iraq to comply with its disarmament obligations and as a means to “degrade” Iraq’s capacity for waging war.

So what can we make of the

See “Iraq resolution...” on page 18

Most Americans deplore U.S. tactics, *Continued from page 9* _____

per cent, while its share of the regular budget will be reduced to 22 per cent from 25 per cent, despite the fact UN dues are part of an international treaty obligation which can be changed only by the UN General Assembly. American diplomats are now running around the UN “selling” the deal, saying it’s the best outcome likely from this Congress and the UN should take it or leave it.

- Of the total amount appropriated by Congress for the current U.S. assessment to the UN, \$80 million will be paid in each of the next two calendar years only if the Secretary of State certifies that the United Nations has made no attempts to increase funding for any UN programs without identifying an offsetting decrease elsewhere in the budget. This will prevent the UN from exceeding its 1998-99 two-year budget of \$2.5 billion.

Other conditions set out by the U.S. agreement restrict some uses of UN funds:

- The Congressional bill prohibits action to create a UN standing army, under Article 43 of the Charter, denying the UN military leverage. A standing UN rapid-deployment brigade operating under Security Council authority is considered by many to be the solution to many of the current problems hindering peacekeeping missions.
- U.S. contributions for 1999 may not be used to pay for UN global conferences held after October 1, 1998, such as the Rio Earth Summit and Beijing’s Women’s Conference.
- None of the U.S. contribution to the regular UN budget may be used for other framework treaty-based organizations such as the Framework Convention on Global Climate Change, the International Seabed Authority, the Desertification Convention, and the International Criminal Court.
- The bill restricts U.S. development funds from being given to NGOs that lobby national governments to allow the legalization of abortions.

- The U.S. legislation will place an institutional “gag order” on official UN supplemental funding proposals, prohibiting the UN from discussing alternative sources of funding.

Public opinion polls show that a majority of Americans deplore these bullying tactics and want the UN to run more effectively. Countries like Canada which pay their UN dues on time and in full can have an impact at this critical juncture.

The Campaign for UN Reform is making the following recommendations to governments and international NGOs. It is probable that UN members will have little choice but to allow the U.S. assessment to the UN to be reduced. However, this concession should not be given freely. A tradeoff should be made. In exchange for this decrease, UN member nations, at the insistence of international NGOs, should demand that the U.S. allow for increases of the UN budget to give it the resources that it will need to meet the growing challenges of the 21st Century.

Decade for International Law

What a difference a decade can make

by **Bev DeLong**
and **Fergus Watt**

The United Nations Decade on International Law ended last November 17 with a special plenary session of the UN General Assembly.

World Federalists played a significant role in bringing about the 'Decade.' In the spring of 1989, the World Association for World Federation (now the World Federalist Movement) held an 'experts' meeting and a large NGO forum alongside a meeting of the member states of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). NAM states later supported a resolution in the UN General Assembly. Its passage led to the years 1989–99 being declared the UN Decade for International Law.

The goal of the 'Decade' was to promote the rule of law in the peaceful settlement of disputes and to encourage both the progressive development and the study of international law.

The UN resolution also suggested a 1999 inter-governmental peace conference, marking the centenary of the 1899 Hague peace conference. Some powerful governments were against a UN-sponsored peace conference this year. Undaunted, civil society organizations, with World Federalists in a lead role, organized the Hague Appeal for Peace. Existing campaigns working for the abolition of nuclear weapons, the ban on land mines and the International Criminal Court were energized by the gathering. (See June 1999 *Mondial*.)

The 1899 Hague conference

100 years ago resulted in the Declaration on Asphyxiating and Deleterious Gases—a law without enforcement mechanisms but which led to the signing of the Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions. That first conference also led to the codification of the rules of war on land (the Hague Regulations) and to rules on the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Of the Decade for International Law, Secretary-General Kofi Annan concludes that "genuine and lasting progress" has been made. In a speech to the special plenary session in November, he cited the Rome Statute for an International Criminal Court as the most important example.

"The establishment of the Court will constitute a giant step in the development of an effective system of enforcement of international law and in combating the most heinous crimes known to mankind."

UN plenary session participants were also reminded of the many accomplishments during the decade:

- More than 70 new conventions were signed, including the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the Ottawa Treaty (Convention on Land mines), the Kyoto Protocol, and new conventions on narcotics control, desertification, terrorism and trans-border pollution.
- The International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea was created.
- The role of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, now 100

years old, continues to be important.

- Regional mechanisms to supplement existing global legal frameworks were established, including regional human rights mechanisms under the OAS, Council of Europe and Organization of African Unity.
- Many UN member states have begun to teach international law in their faculties of law and military academies and to teach human rights in schools and universities.
- The UN library now has

audiovisuals, web pages and a database on international law. UN treaties are being made accessible through the Internet. The Netherlands' UN representative told the plenary session that, in 1989, no one would have anticipated the Rome Statute or the effective functioning of the International War Crimes Tribunals in Yugoslavia and Rwanda. Norway's representative suggested the close of the decade was heralding an end to the "era of impunity."

The Norwegian ambassador also expressed concern that 'might' not replace 'right' and encouraged states to act within the terms of the UN Charter by quoting Mr. Annan's comments at the 1999 Hague Appeal for Peace:

"Unless the Security Council is restored to its preeminent position as the sole source of legitimacy on the use of force, we are on a dangerous path to anarchy. But equally important, unless

Secretary-General Kofi Annan concludes that "genuine and lasting progress" has been made.

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*Ratification campaign***Commonwealth declines show of ICC support**

An international lobbying campaign aimed at obtaining support for an International Criminal Court came away empty-handed from a November meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Durban, South Africa.

The Canadian Network for an International Criminal Court (CNICC), a project administered by the World Federalists of Canada, worked with the New York staff of the Coalition for an International Criminal Court to facilitate a dialogue among international NGOs around strategy.

The campaign prepared text for letters to Commonwealth heads of government and other officials, prepared press releases and materials for NGO colleagues at the Commonwealth meeting, and put together briefing kits for distribution at the media centre.

The Canadian government had submitted draft language on the ICC prior to the meeting in Durban, as it had done in 1997 at the last meeting held in Edinburgh, Scotland. At that time, the ICC treaty was still being negotiated and strong support from the Commonwealth helped

build political momentum for the treaty negotiations which concluded successfully nine months later in Rome.

This year, NGOs were hopeful that the Commonwealth would not only offer declaratory support for the establishment of the Court but also administer a program of legal technical co-operation which would assist small Commonwealth states to implement the domestic legislative changes necessary to comply with the ICC treaty.

And what did we get for our efforts? Zip. Zero. Nada. Not a mention. Not a whisper of support for establishment of the ICC.

The CNICC has also been active on other fronts.

The Steering Committee of the CNICC (Amnesty International, Women's Caucus for Gender Justice in the ICC, International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy and World Federalists) issued a press release December 10 welcoming the tabling of legislation in the House of Commons which, once passed by Parliament, will allow Canada to ratify and comply with the requirements of the Rome Statute for an International Criminal Court. Canadian NGOs also look forward to contributing to Parliament's review of the Canadian legislation once it is referred to committee.

The CNICC organized an NGO briefing November 25 at the

Department of Foreign Affairs. Twenty NGO representatives met with members of the Canadian delegation to the UN Preparatory Commission (PrepComm) for the International Criminal Court. Participants at the meeting discussed (1) ratification and implementation of the ICC Statute; (2) review of developments at the July/August PrepComm; and (3) discussion of issues on the agenda for the November/December PrepComm. A similar meeting was held in July, prior to the last PrepComm.

Preparatory Commission meetings are intended to elaborate in more detail than is contained in the Rome Statute (a) the rules of procedure and evidence, and (b) the elements of crimes under the Court's jurisdiction. The U.S. has issued a paper outlining its views on the various elements of crimes. The paper offers a very narrow, conservative definition of most of the crimes. Fortunately, the U.S. views have not found much support at the PrepComms.

Meanwhile, U.S. officials continue their practice of meeting individually with other delegations in an effort to explore other ways to have their concerns regarding the ICC treaty addressed.

Sixty ratifications are required for the Rome Statute for an International Criminal Court to take effect. As of early December, 91 states have signed and six states have ratified the treaty.

— report by CNICC co-ordinator Fergus Watt.

...what did we get for our efforts? Zip. Zero. Nada. Not a mention. Not a whisper of support for establishment of the ICC.

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the Security Council can unite around the aim of confronting massive human rights violations and crimes against humanity on the scale of Kosovo, then we will betray the very ideals that inspired the founding of the UN." ■

Bev DeLong is president of Lawyers for Social Responsibility. Fergus Watt is WFC executive director.

NATO to review nuclear weapons policy

Canadian efforts to bring about a review of NATO arms control policy were to a large degree rewarded in December.

At the December 15 meeting of NATO foreign ministers, a promise was issued to “review Alliance policy options in support of confidence and security-building measures, verification, non-proliferation, and arms control and disarmament, so that a comprehensive and integrated approach” was ensured.

NATO's Cold War-era policy, still in place 10 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, says nuclear weapons are important to deter attacks on member countries. The policy, which has been revised to give nuclear weapons “new missions” such as deterring attack by rogue states or terrorists using chemical or biological weapons, leaves open the possibility that the alliance would be the first to use nuclear weapons in a conflict.

Significantly, NATO members have reiterated their “full support of all efforts towards universal adherence, full implementation and further strengthening of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as the cornerstone of the nuclear non-proliferation regime and the essential foundation for the pursuit of nuclear disarmament. We reaffirm our commitment to efforts aimed at reducing nuclear weapons.”

It is unclear whether “reduction” will be a substitute for “elimination” or positive momentum towards eventual abolition.

At a NATO Summit last April in Washington, a vaguely worded

communiqué left many observers wondering whether NATO would proceed to a meaningful review of nuclear policy. There are predictable differences of opinion among NATO non-nuclear weapons states and the nuclear powers (France, U.S., U.K).

Canada's determination to see the proposed review take place was never in doubt. One day before the NATO meetings began in Brussels, Canada's Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy commented that “it's just absolute insanity that [NATO] would not focus on this matter... There's no question that [Canada is] the one that's driving that issue.” The result of Canada's effort has been movement by NATO in the right direction, albeit diplomatically dressed in ambiguous language.

It is significant that the process is continuing despite setbacks in the ratification of the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) with the negative vote in the US Senate and fresh sabre-rattling by the Russians. (Just after the NATO meetings, Russian officials stated that they are lowering the “threshold” for using nuclear weapons and “extend[ing] the nuclear deterrent to smaller-scale conflicts.”)

By turning thumbs down on the CTBT, the Senate has undermined the Non-Proliferation Treaty which allowed non-nuclear weapons states access to nuclear power (under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency) as long as they committed not to develop nuclear weapons. In return, nuclear

weapons states are obliged to pursue nuclear disarmament in good faith negotiations. The CTBT was expected to be the first move toward nuclear disarmament

Thomas Graham, former head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and now President of the Washington-based Lawyers Alliance for World Security stresses that “if NATO could see its way clear to deciding that it is now time for it to declare that it will not introduce nuclear weapons in future conflicts, that it will adopt a ‘no first-use’ policy, this would be a significant step forward in the cause of further reductions of nuclear weapons and would reduce the political value of nuclear weapons. And it would be a significant step forward in strengthening the viability of the NPT.”

How will citizens, NGOs and others in the international community know whether NATO undertakes a review which is meaningful and not a white-wash?

1. The right officials. Taking account of global political changes is of paramount importance. The NATO review should be carried out by a body (either an existing NATO committee or an ad hoc body) which includes representatives of foreign ministries as well as defence departments.

2. Comprehensive. All of NATO policy on confidence and security-building measures, verification, non-proliferation and

Continued on opposite page

*Canada lacks long-term strategy***Long road to implement Cairo commitments**

The Very Rev. Senator Lois M. Wilson is president of WFC.

The facts of this world seen clearly are seen through tears.

Why tell me then, that there is something wrong with my eyes?

— Margaret Atwood

by Lois Wilson

To speak of the situation of people of the developing world in terms of population explosion, environmental degradation and unsustainable development is, indeed, to see the world through tears. The '92 Rio conference acknowledged that the earth can-

Continued from opposite page

arms control and disarmament must be on the table (i.e., including nuclear weapons).

3. Clarity of process. The expected output and timetable of the review should be clear from the outset. The last such review produced NATO's *Comprehensive Concept for Arms Control and Disarmament*. This entire document needs to be reviewed and updated.

4. Implementation. The result of the review should be incorporated into NATO's overall strategic concept and reflected in the alliance's future activities. And the intention to implement properly should also be clear from the start.

While not essential, it would be useful and productive if NATO's review process also provided scope for input from non-governmental organizations, but don't bet on it!

not support a continually growing population and that economic development must be environmentally sustainable.

The integration of environmental protection and sustainable development is one answer to the negative effects of globalization. The World Federalist Movement is deeply involved in campaigns to ensure that governments implement the 1992 Earth Summit–Agenda 21 action plan, including supranational solutions. By the time you read this, we will know to what extent the environmental impacts of World Trade Organization policies have been taken seriously by the family of nations.

Currently, development is widely spoken of as the wholeness, well-being and health of a given population in all dimensions of its life. One of the benchmarks of the 1994 Cairo Conference on Population and Development was recognition that the well-being of the 'girl child' is the measure of the development of a country. That development hinges on a number of related areas including environment, foreign affairs, trade, aid, and population policies. Yet Canada has no comprehensive population and development policy that addresses all these issues as an integrated whole, let alone approach the issues on a supranational basis.

This year, I participated in the UN-sponsored 'Cairo+5' conference in New York to look at strategies for implementing the commitments on population and

development made in 1994 in Cairo five years earlier.

Embarrassingly, Canada had no announcement to make of a long-term integrated strategy for population, sustainable development, environmental protection and reproductive health, as it had promised in 1994.

When I checked with appropriate Canadian authorities who should have developed such a policy, I was told that "now is not a good time to open such a debate." I think that means 'there is an election coming up and we can't afford to invite debate on controversial issues.'

The disappointment extended far beyond Canada's lack of political will. A small group of conservative religious leaders from developing countries tried to block final agreement on several key aspects of the plan (notably, a long-term strategy on population control) and to roll back the 1994 consensus. In the end the General Assembly affirmed the Cairo consensus, and dissenting countries registered their 'reservations' as is the usual procedure at UN conferences.

But what was deeply troubling was the inability of nations to come together on even one issue—population growth—in order to begin integrating that approach with sustainable development and environmental protection. So it's a long way we have to travel before we have the necessary will to develop supranational integrated solutions for a world 'seen through tears.'

Resolving the sovereignty dilemma

Chances are good that the world will again be faced with the difficult choice between preventing humanitarian disaster and respecting national sovereignty.

Canadian-born, London-based international affairs journalist Gwynne Dyer told *Mondial* in an interview that NATO's invasion of Kosovo has posed some international danger, provided some deterrence to future humanitarian tragedies and pointed to the need for reforming the UN system.

"Over the next five to 10 years, it probably will come up again. And it probably will come up again before we have completed the process of reconciling human rights law with the sovereignty-based UN charter and before we have dealt with the problem of blocking on the security council."

"There is an enormously powerful case for reforming the United Nations veto system but the practical difficulties in the way of it are equally large.

"It will probably happen in several stages. Because you will not persuade the present holders of the veto to let it go, you're going to have to dilute it in practice by giving more members the veto. But then you'll have to move to a qualified veto" such as requiring two vetoes to stop a Security Council resolution.

Japan and Germany have been pressing for permanent seats on the Security Council. "It's not going to be possible to refuse them forever. You cannot bring in the Japanese and the Germans without bringing in the Indians because it's the second largest country on the planet and

excepted from the Security Council only by the accident of dates. They didn't get independence until two years after the Security Council was set up.

"That's up to eight and you may find that you can't quite stop there, that some non-great-power Third World country like Brazil or Nigeria, representative of those continents, has to be allowed in as well and, in a way, there's a case for doing it.

"What you then have to do is go from a one-veto to a two-veto system. But persuading anybody among the present holders, that their sole ability to block action has to be diluted, is still not going to be an easy process."

The other UN reform "which may be easier to tackle—but it's not going to be easy—is dealing with the built-in contradiction between sovereignty-based UN charter law and the conventions against genocide and, indeed, against torture and other things.

"We have a developing body of international law, including the international criminal court and the torture and genocide conventions, which is actually enforceable by courts now, not by military action, and which does seriously trespass on sovereignty.

"When you can arrest a Chilean former dictator head of state and lifetime senator in Britain on an extradition warrant from Spain, without any reference to the Chilean state, and hold him for a year for crimes committed in Chile 20 years ago, you have moved some distance from absolute sovereignty in international legal matters.

"So the real job that needs to be done is the reconciliation, in a logical and lawyerly manner, of the new international law—and older but recently enforced international law on human rights abuses—with the absolute sovereignty of the UN Charter.

"It's by no means an intellectually impossible contortion. You just say 'absolute sovereignty, except in these circumstances.' The political problem of getting that done is a whole other realm."

Mr. Dyer also points to the problems of ignoring or delaying such UN reforms. While the motives of NATO in acting against international law were humanitarian, "we do now open up the risk, which we will now have to deal with, that others with baser motives can emulate our own precedent, claiming that they too are acting out of humanitarian considerations in the face of an intolerable human rights abuse."

The good news is that, as a result of the responses to humanitarian tragedies in Kosovo and East Timor, "you may find there is more deterrence operating on this front already than is widely realized.

"There are things not happening now because those who might have done them with impunity last year will think twice."

On world government

Mr. Dyer points to the United States and Canada to explain his retreat from an earlier conviction that "world government was the only solution to a truly desperate situation."



Gwynne Dyer

"There is an enormously powerful case for reforming the United Nations veto system but the practical difficulties in the way of it are equally large."

Continued on opposite page

Federalism making strides internationally



Allan Blakeney is a past president of WFC and former premier of Saskatchewan.

“World federalism seems more and more the path of the future.”

by **Allan E. Blakeney**

Everybody is talking about federalism these days. It has become the flavour of the month, or perhaps the decade.

It has risen in public consciousness because people are realizing that federalism allows the people of a country to have one central government to deal with matters that affect all the people of the country and regional governments to deal with things that primarily affect people in a particular region. World leaders recognize that if every region that thinks itself special sought to become an independent country, the world would have many hundreds of independent countries and would become all but ungovernable.

Federalism allows people in a region to protect their language

and culture through a regional government but still be part of a larger nation state for national purposes, including relations with other nation states.

World Federalists have been saying for decades that we need a world government to deal with a small number of issues—atmospheric and ocean pollution, international trade in armaments, and the like. Governments in our existing nations would continue to deal with matters of schools, hospital, and highways that affect us all at the national and local level. Perhaps this rather simple message may be beginning to penetrate.

Recently, I attended a conference on federalism at Mont Tremblant, Quebec, where there was a solid discussion on how the world could use federal

methods to keep existing states from breaking up.

The arguments for expanding the idea of federalism to include all the countries of the world are very much the same. This conference attracted world leaders - Prime Minister Chretien, President Zedilla of Mexico, President Clinton of the U.S., Gov. Thompson of Wisconsin, a former president of Switzerland, a South Africa premier and many more.

It is good to see people thinking and talking about federalism. It is still disappointing that the widespread acceptance of federalism as a way to solve problems at the national level does not carry over to acceptance of federalism as a way to solve problems at the world level. World federalism seems more and more the path of the future.

Federalism has limits, says Dyer, *continued from previous page*

“Consider how Americans and Canadians love their federal governments as an example. Trying to do anything like that on a world scale is going to create alienation like you never saw in your life.

“Which is not to say that I disapprove of an extremely strong and far more elaborate UN system than exists today. It’s just that as you contemplate federalism in all its splendour, and it is a brilliant political system—the greatest contribution of the United States to international politics may not be representative democracy but federalism—it is incredibly cumbersome and does lead to enormous amounts of alienation and wasted effort; but above all, alienation.”

“What we have that we can build on without any leaps of imagination or procedure, is the United Nations which is the world’s parliament, operating not by the rules which most parliaments openly operate on but by the rules which most parliaments privately operate on—which is log-rolling the deals between the powerful, and the necessary compromises.

“That’s where everybody is at least morally obliged to be present without incurring the same burden of resentment that you would have if you got to approximately the same shabby compromises under the structure of a formal world federal government.”

The European Union, though

top-heavy with bureaucracy, “sort of works,” said Mr. Dyer, because they are all countries with the same level of income, all within the same region, with a shared history. “I’m in favor of the European Union but semi-federations like that are about the outer limit of what will work and they are useful.”

As for other regionally based federations, “there’s probably a case for it in Africa, because the problem of small ethnic groups across Africa is so bad at the national level already, it wouldn’t get any worse if you went to something bigger. Then you might achieve economies of scale in economic and political matters.” ¹¹¹

Iraq resolution may be unenforceable, *Continued from page 11*

December UN Resolution? At first glance, the general thrust of the resolution seems fine: The powers of the new inspections regime look to be robust enough and the easing of sanctions—by rewarding good behaviour in stages—is not inappropriate. However, a more definite timetable and criteria for the easing of sanctions would have given Iraq some reassurance that compliance with arms inspections would be duly rewarded, assuming of course that Iraq would be prepared to comply. The resolution, while not

perfect, does provide the necessary essentials: closely monitoring Iraq's weapons programs while mitigating the suffering of its people.

By abstaining, Russia, China and France have sent a very clear message to Saddam Hussein that the international community remains greatly divided on how to deal with Iraq. Saddam will exploit those divisions to the maximum and the chances of Iraq complying with the new UN resolution are not good. Chinese UN Ambassador Qin Hua-sun—whose country is clearly

part of the problem—has said that the lack of consensus within the Security Council makes the resolution unenforceable and “will not possibly solve the age-old Iraq issue.”

Sadly—and dangerously—the impasse will likely continue; with an Iraqi dictator unburdened by any kind of meaningful arms inspection and the Iraqi people cruelly short of the basic necessities of life.

Global governance has a long way to go.

Simon Rosenblum is a member of WFC Executive.

Letter to the editor

My copy of the October 1999 issue of *Mondial* just arrived a few days ago. I found the interview with Mark Halle and Scott Vaughan to be particularly informative. I was also initially pleased to see some commentary on the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade's comprehensive June 1999 report, *Canada and the Future of the World Trade Organization: Towards a Millennium Agenda in the Public Interest* which included a companion Citizens' Guide that was also published separately.

Your review of the report (no mention of the Citizens' Guide) by Simon Rosenblum was, however, rather tendentious and, in the end, more than a little unfair and misleading. The report's title was truncated along with its message. Readers would have no way of knowing that the “series

of public consultations” mentioned was unprecedented and in fact by far the largest cross-Canada parliamentary inquiry on trade issues ever conducted. Or that the report includes over 70 pages of direct citations from testimony in 16 highlighted ‘What Canadians are Saying’ sections heading each chapter. Or that the full document can be accessed under Committee business on the Parliament of Canada's Internet site at www.parl.gc.ca

These are minor points, however, compared to the accusation of the Committee “fudging” on the question of the WTO pursuing social dimensions. Three chapters and 35 single-space pages of careful reasoning on the issues of trade-linked social responsibility, environmental sustainability and health, inclusion of labour and human rights standards, are dismissed as “platitudes—but no

real meat.” Readers are not informed of the actual recommendations which, on trade and environment for example, take up a densely-packed page.

Mr. Rosenblum regrets that the Committee “made little attempt to provide answers” to the large question of future governance of the global economy. No reference is made to the report's lengthy final chapters which precisely address the issues of “equitable development and good global governance,” in search of an overarching coherence grounded in urgently needed reforms to the post-Bretton Woods and United Nations systems.

Gerald J. Schmitz,
Research Co-ordinator,
House of Commons
Standing Committee on
Foreign Affairs and
International Trade

Branch News

Montreal—The branch continues to have active and growing Issues Action Groups, which are attracting new members. The excellent information in the briefing papers and the fact that meetings are usually finished within an hour, with letters ready to drop in the mail and a sense of accomplishment, definitely appeals to busy people.

Guelph—Branch members joined the Voice of Women to organize a well-attended riverside vigil for Hiroshima Day. The crowd lit candles and joined in songs of peace. Guelph Issues Action Group (IAG) convener Harold Suderman and Voice of Women representative Joy Warner reported on their insights from The Hague Appeal for Peace. For United Nations Day October 24, the IAG submitted an article which was published in the Guelph *Daily Mercury*.

Winnipeg—Members held a vigil for the UN on October 23 and are intending to make it an annual event. On Remembrance Day, the branch undertook a 'global formation' with 50 national flags and the World Federalist banner at Winnipeg Convention Centre ceremonies. This is becoming a popular recruiting tradition, used also on Earth Day and Peace Walk functions. Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy has been invited to give the 7th annual Robson Lecture on March 19. The branch is raising funds for WFC by selling copies of *Vision of the World—A Short Survey of World Federalist history*, compiled by the World Federalist Movement. Copies at \$10 each plus postage, of which

\$5 goes to WFC. Order by contacting Karl Grupe, tel./fax 204-757-4794.

Vancouver—The Vancouver branch meets every third Thursday of the month at the Unitarian Church. On December 16, members heard from colleagues who went to Seattle for the World Trade Organization meeting. Branch president Leonard Angel led final discussion on Steve Shryban's book *A Citizens Guide to the World Trade Organization*. Some members made connection with Mona Lee of Seattle who led the service at the Unitarian Church December 5 on *A Just World Government—Fantasy or Vision?* She is active with the Millennium People's Assembly Network which is planning a conference in Samoa next year.

Victoria—Victoria's participants at this past spring's HAP Conference held a public meeting on Oct. 21 to relate their experiences at The Hague. Most chose 'Education for peace' as their main interest. A liaison was formed with a teachers' group planning a youth peace conference at the University of Victoria next August.

A workshop on different voting systems—The Voting Game—was held November 23 for a small group of members and others. The workshop, developed by the Victoria branch, was subsequently held for a church group. Both groups enjoyed and learned from the experience. A free kit is available by phoning 250-592-6484.

The annual general meeting will be held April 8 at Pearson College of the Pacific.

Plan to Attend!



The World Federalists of Canada General Members Meeting (GMM) takes place May 5 to 7 in Ottawa.

We are hoping for a record number of members and friends to attend this important event, as we review recent achievements and chart a course for the policy and programs which will carry WFC for the years ahead.

Conference information and registration materials will be sent to all WFC members and supporters by separate mail early in the new year.

Call for Resolutions

The World Federalists of Canada is a democratic non-profit membership organization. WFC's biennial GMM is the sovereign decision-making body for the organization.

Resolutions for consideration at the GMM must be submitted to the WFC national office no later than March 15, 2000.

Resolutions can be submitted by a branch of the organization or by any individual member in good standing. A resolution to the GMM is a "request" to the national organization:

- to take a specific action based on existing WFC policy; or
- adopt or change policy for the World Federalists of Canada.

Are you a World Federalist?

The time is right—the need is now—to join a world-wide movement working toward systems of global governance and international law which address the issues of globalization, democracy and justice. World federalist organizations are not affiliated with any political parties—federalist ideals cross all political boundaries.

Membership in the World Federalists of Canada includes a free subscription to *Mondial*, a quarterly journal of thought and opinion on international issues. A portion of WFC membership dues is remitted annually to the international World Federalist Movement. WFM includes 24 world federalist organizations worldwide. The international president is Sir Peter Ustinov.

Yes, I support the World Federalists of Canada. My membership payment is enclosed.

MEMBERSHIP RATES: Individual—\$35; Limited Income—\$12; Household—\$50; Contributor—\$75.

Name _____

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Make payment to: World Federalists of Canada, 207–145 Spruce St., Ottawa, ON, K1R 6P1.

Please send me a tax receipt (make payment to the World Federalist Foundation).

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E-mail: wfcnat@web.net

