

mondial

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Activism matters

Environment still not a priority



Maurice Strong

It will soon be 10 years since the memorable UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro. At that meeting, governments, spurred on by a growing NGO movement, negotiated the now famous "Agenda 21," an ambitious blueprint for moving toward sustainable development in the 21st century. The UN has begun preparations for a "Rio + 10" follow-up conference to assess progress.

In June, Mondial caught up with Maurice Strong, the man who chaired the 1992 Rio conference. He is now UN Under-Secretary General for Reform, spearheading Kofi Annan's administrative reforms, Senior Advisor to the President of the World Bank, Chairman of the Board of the Earth Council and President and Rector of the University for Peace. The Earth Council and the University for Peace are both based in Costa Rica. Maurice Strong's new book is entitled "Where on Earth are we Going?" (Alfred A. Knopf, 2000) which he describes as "sort of autobiographical."

by Fergus Watt

Ten years after a major UN conference in Rio de Janeiro, the environment is still not a priority for the world, says Maurice

Strong. "The poor are concerned with their next meal; the rich with their next deal. And for many in the middle, environment is important but not important enough."

Reflecting on the progress that has been made since Rio, Mr. Strong suggests it's not sufficient for publics to be concerned. Activism matters. Organizations can make a difference when they're effective. And he is still positive about the good that can come from large international gatherings such as Rio.

Agenda 21 has led to some progress, more than many realize, says Mr. Strong. "People forget that Agenda 21 was a negotiated document. It has a political validity for governments. More progress implementing the Rio Agenda has proved possible at the local level. There have been over 3,000 city and regional Agenda 21s implemented around the world. These things add up.

"At the national level, there has been some slippage but also some progress. The changes that are necessary are not easy. They are very fundamental."

Most governing bodies have not

fully embraced sustainable development, Mr. Strong admits.

"When I want to speak to government, I meet with the Finance Minister, not the Environment Minister."

"I don't know what it's going to take for humanity to do better. Probably nature will force the changes necessary. But if we leave it to nature, if change is a product of necessity, then the circumstances will be cruel... disasters and the like. We are now the agents of our own future. We impact life support systems which have taken millennia to evolve. What we do today produces our children's future.

"There's all sorts of possibilities for progress in changing the systems of taxes, incentives and penalties which are available to governments. At present, these levers are used to prop up all sorts of environmentally unsustainable activity."

But first, government priorities have to change. And to transform priorities, "people need to believe these things are important before government will act.

"Do you know which American

"I don't know what it's going to take for humanity to do better. Probably nature will force the changes necessary. But if we leave it to nature... then the circumstances will be cruel..."

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*UN Reform***End veto, says NGO forum**

Some 1,350 representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from across the globe are calling on the United Nations member governments to take steps toward the abolition of Security Council members' veto power and to absorb world lending and trade groups.

The Millennium Forum May 22 to 26 commemorated the turn of the century and discussed how the UN should operate in the next century. In its final declaration, delegates made many recommendations for improving the UN's effectiveness. One called on the UN first to limit veto use by the council's five permanent member states—Britain, China, France, Russia and the United States—to issues related to peace and security. The UN should eventually abolish the veto, the declaration said.

The NGOs also called for the establishment of an open-ended Conflict Prevention Committee at the General Assembly to assist the Security Council in conflict prevention.

Many NGO delegates expressed concern that ongoing globalization, driven by new electronic technologies, is fueling economic, political and cultural domination by the economically and militarily strong over the weak. "The present globalization process is not inevitable, but one resulting from decisions taken by human beings," the declaration said, "It can and must be redirected to become a democratic process in which the people are at the centre as participants and beneficiaries."

In his remarks to the Forum, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said "I believe the overarching challenge of our times is to make globalization mean more than bigger markets. To make a success of this great upheaval, we must learn how to govern better, and above all, how to govern better together. We must learn to govern with the voice of the peoples, with a view to meeting the needs of peoples. If there is a lesson to be learned from recent experience, it is that while globalization has produced winners and losers, the solution is not confrontation. It is not to make winners of the losers and losers of the winners. It is to ensure that nobody sinks."

To transform globalization into a more democratic process, participants proposed in the declaration to integrate the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization more closely into the UN system, and to reform and democratize all levels of decision-making within those institutions.

The declaration and action plan will serve as a basis for common action by NGOs around the world which participated in the Forum and its preparatory processes. Specific recommendations will be discussed by heads of state who will gather at the Millennium Summit, taking place this September at UN headquarters.

WFC contributed to the Forum by administering a grant from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) which enabled third world delegates to travel to the meeting.



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Articles entitled, "Environment still not a priority," "Rocky road ahead for ICC?," "Parliamentary Assembly for the WTO?," "China in WTO will bring changes," "No nukes? - in your dreams," "War of a different kind in Kosovo," and "What we can do about climate change" are the responsibility of WFF and are denoted by M concluding the article. Material is not copyrighted. Submissions are welcome. Il nous fera plaisir de publier les articles présentés en français.

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Mondial's editorial working group:

Leonard Angel, Donna Lindenberg,
Simon Rosenblum, Fergus Watt.

Address: Suite 207
145 Spruce Street
Ottawa, ON K1R 6P1

E-mail: wfcnat@web.net

Web site: <http://www.web.net/~wfcnat>

Rocky road ahead for ICC?



Madam Louise Arbour

The road to an effective International Criminal Court (ICC) has hardly been smooth, with the United States still intent on weakening its power even before it comes into existence. (See separate item on page 8.)

But Supreme Court Justice Madam Louise Arbour sees more bumps along the way even when the ICC is established, and she points to a provision of the Rome Statute itself as “extremely troubling” on the question of who can assert jurisdiction over a case.

Madam Arbour received the World Federalists of Canada Peace Award at a general members meeting in Ottawa June 2. She responded later in an interview to questions on the ICC.

UN ad hoc tribunals such as those for Rwanda and Yugoslavia can assert jurisdiction over particular cases, Madam Arbour said, even if a national government is asserting its own jurisdiction. “The ad hoc tribunals have primacy over any national court but with the ICC, it’s the reverse. In my opinion, that is an extremely troubling feature of the treaty. It’s right in the treaty.

“If an ICC prosecutor wants to launch an investigation and prosecution against anyone for genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes, the initiative of the prosecutor can be defeated by a state saying, ‘Never mind, we’ll do it ourselves.’ The implications of that are extremely serious.”

To assert jurisdiction, the ICC will have to show that the state in question is not genuinely ready, willing and able to prose-

cute, Madam Arbour said.

“What this will do is permit the court to take over in Third World efforts because it will not be that hard to demonstrate that a state is not genuinely able to prosecute.

“For instance, after the genocide in Rwanda, the entire legal profession had been completely wiped out. In a case like that, it’s not that hard to say ‘You don’t have a legally trained judge to take the case, you don’t have a legally trained lawyer. We’ll do it.’

Opposition to court

“Where it’s going to be a little more problematic is when you have at least the appearance of a functioning legal system but one that is intensely politicized or one that is totally in the hands of the government.

“If we (in the ad hoc tribunals) had been under that kind of regime, my suspicion is that in all the cases that were within our jurisdiction, both for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda, we would have had opposition from the local governments who would have asserted their entitlement to do it themselves.

“Croatia, Serbia, probably even Bosnia and Herzegovina, would have said ‘No, we don’t need you. We have courts, we have judges, we’ll do it.’

“And what, of course, that can lead to are totally sham prosecutions where, in order to escape international attention, the local governments would take over a case and five years later, the accused will be acquitted.

“That will mean that if the ICC

prosecutor wants to take over, the first thing that will have to be litigated is the good faith of a government, and that can just cripple the institution, for two reasons. One, it would be a massively complex piece of litigation, and secondly, it will be intensely political.

“I am very concerned that the ICC would have to defer to these somewhat suspicious national prosecutions, or will have to be very aggressive and could be embroiled for years in pre-trial jurisdictional questions.

“On the other hand, it’s also the provision that should put to rest a lot of the concern that the United States is voicing (about protecting American citizens from ICC jurisdiction) because all they would be required to do is launch their own domestic, credible investigations and prosecutions. Then the prosecutor and the ICC would have to back down unless they can show that this is not a genuine effort.”

Madam Arbour suggested the court might be able to assert jurisdiction over national governments if a matter was referred by the UN Security Council. “It’s possible that this would have the same legal structure as the tribunals and could overrule the state’s primacy.”

In fact, said Madam Arbour, “it’s likely that a lot of the serious business of the ICC in the early years will, and should, come from the Security Council, because it’s a very powerful source of reference. Now it has,

“... ad hoc tribunals have primacy over any national court but with the ICC, it’s the reverse. In my opinion, that is an extremely troubling feature...”

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Canadians take justice system for granted

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as we all know, it's own limitations as to what politically it will be interested in doing."

Once the court is established, she said, "there are going to be enormous expectations that the ICC will be everywhere and, frankly, I think that's a very tall order."

Funding issue is significant

Madam Arbour said also that "funding is going to be of quite critical significance. Whether the court is going to be funded per project or at the initiative of the prosecutor will either politicize or de-politicize the action of the prosecutor." (Editor's Note: The Rome Statute provides only general provisions for funding the court. Choices among the alternatives in the Statute (funding from UN budget; funding by states; or a combination of these) will be decided at the November/December session of the ICC Preparatory Commission.)

Madam Arbour also pointed to a prohibition on UN agencies accepting donated staff from individual countries as potentially problematic for the ICC. It raises a "serious issue about the staffing, particularly the professional staffing, of these institutions against the competition for very scarce resources. These types of administrative issues were very large in the history of the ad hoc tribunals and may or may not be an issue with the ICC."

In her speech to WFC members, Madam Arbour said that

"building up the legitimacy of international criminal justice is absolutely key to any effort to establish peace where conflict and human rights abuses have had the upper hand.

"We take the legitimacy of criminal justice for granted in Canada, but, unfortunately, there are many people elsewhere who have never before been exposed to a justice system in which they can have confidence, because their own domestic system lacks integrity and is open to political interference or corruption....

"Fifty years ago, the preamble to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* inextricably linked justice and peace. Today,

we postulate that enforcement of the former guarantees stability of the latter, and that lasting peace requires accountability for war criminals.

"A retreat from the promises of... international criminal justice would be a cynical encouragement to those who, until recently, had every reason to believe that they were unanswerable for their crimes—as there existed no authority higher than their own—and a betrayal of those who obey the law and seek its protection."

The complete text of Madam Arbour's remarks is available from the WFC national office.



Where There's a Will ...

Recently, the World Federalist Foundation received notice of a bequest from a member's estate. He had made a donation every year. Into the future, his bequest, which will be deposited in our reserve funds, will sustain his financial support of world federalist work.

As was said in our new booklet, *Six Ways to Give to the World Federalists of Canada*, you can bequeath a sum of money, life insurance policy, RRSP or RRIF assets and publicly traded securities to the World Federalist Foundation. Alternatively, you can bequeath all (or a percentage) of your estate after debts, taxes, expenses and other bequests are paid.

In addition to general bequests that are used to advance the organization's overall program, you can establish a memorial fund. For a bequest of \$ 10,000 or more, the World Federalist Foundation will name a restricted fund in your memory or that of a loved one.

Bequests are easily arranged through your lawyer.

If you want further information to help in your estate planning, please call the national office at (613) 232-0647.

Parliamentary Assembly for the WTO?



Fergus Watt is executive director of the World Federalists of Canada.

by Fergus Watt

At the World Federalists of Canada national conference, June 2 to 4 on Parliament Hill, one of the panel presentations reviewed recent developments concerning the proposed Parliamentary Assembly for the World Trade Organization (WTO PA).

Speakers included myself as WFC Executive Director; Senator Lois Wilson; and Gerald Schmitz, Senior Analyst with the Parliamentary Research Branch. (Erika Mann, a member of the European Parliament, was forced to cancel. In introductory remarks a statement submitted to the conference by Ms. Mann was read.)

The following summarizes the main points emerging from the presentations and discussion which followed.

The proposal for an assembly of parliamentarians attached to the WTO was framed within a context of the desirability of a number of reforms which increase the WTO's accountability. These include enhancing NGO roles at the WTO, and "coherence issues," i.e. bringing the WTO into closer relationship with other international organizations.

Canadian support

The proposal for a WTO PA has been supported by the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade. In Seattle, Committee Chair Bill Graham participated in a meeting of 150 parliamentarians from 30 countries. That meeting supported

creation of a "Standing Body of WTO Parliamentarians" by February 2001.

The official Canadian government position, released in November, was broadly positive about an active parliamentary role, though not more explicit than that.

Subsequently, Canadian Trade Minister Pierre Pettigrew has said "I have no problem with this idea. Such a body would not only bring public concerns to the WTO; it would also help publics to understand the work of the WTO." Canada's Trade Ambassador Sergio Marchi has also been supportive of the idea, while noting reservations expressed by representatives of many developing country governments.

View from Europe and Beyond

Some of the European statements as well as from inter-parliamentary bodies, have been more explicit in backing the idea of a WTO parliamentary body. For example, the EU's Trade Commissioner Pascal Lamy told the European Parliament on January 25, 2000, "I would like to reiterate my conviction that members of parliament must be more closely involved in the deliberations taking place within the WTO in order to strengthen the democratic control of this work. Since December, I have put forward more precise ideas on this matter. A way of strengthening this contact in the immediate future would be to hold an annual meeting of mem-

bers of parliament from the Member States of the WTO. At a later stage, we could envisage the setting up of a consultative parliamentary assembly at the WTO, as has been suggested by parliamentarians from the WTO member states present at Seattle."

WTO Director-General Mike Moore has publicly welcomed the initiative of parliamentarians gathered in Seattle. He has written articles on a WTO PA in the January 2000 issue of *The Europeans*, the newsletter of the Parliamentary Assembly of the 41-nation Council of Europe (a body devoted to human rights and democratic principles) and in the April 2000 issue of *The Parliamentarian*, the journal of Commonwealth parliaments. In March, he told a Committee of the European Parliament, "Our agreements must be agreed by governments and ratified by parliaments. We all need to be more accountable."

A meeting of the world's largest parliamentary association, the Geneva-based Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), took place recently in Bangkok, Thailand on the occasion of the tenth UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD X). In a final declaration adopted on February 11, the IPU stated, "We call on parliaments and their members to become more closely involved in the international negotiating process on trade, finance and development issues. As members of parliament, we

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"We call on parliaments and their members to become more closely involved in the international negotiating process on trade, finance and development issues."

—International
Parliamentary
Union

Parliament for the WTO, or UN?

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speak for constituencies that cut across the divide of rich and poor, capital and labour, the public and private sector, and corporate and small-scale enterprise. We express concerns that encompass many single issues championed by various lobbies and pressure groups.”

A parliamentary assembly is on the agenda at this September’s meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. This is significant in light of the north-south composition of the Commonwealth. At the WTO, southern governments have largely opposed broader linkages of trade matters, especially to environment and rights issues. How will Commonwealth parliamentarians assess the desirability of a forum such as a WTO PA which would necessarily address these linkages?

Difficulties to overcome

Many of these international statements gloss over the difficult issues to be addressed in establishing a credible WTO PA. The issues include:

- **How would a WTO PA be perceived** by NGOs and world public opinion? Who really speaks for “civil society?” How would a WTO PA, as a consultative body, prove itself as a forum that is truly independent of the WTO and more than an occasional junket for parliamentarians.
- **Representation.** How should a WTO parliamentary body be established so that it truly

represents all citizens of member states and is not dominated by delegates from powerful rich countries. Will powerful states be prepared to accept a developing country majority?

- **Functions and powers.** Should a WTO PA remain a consultative body, as the Seattle meeting suggests? Even as a deliberative body, what relationship would it have to other organs of the international system? How would it relate back to national parliaments?
- **Who pays?** How will all this be financed?

A few delegates at the WFC conference session went beyond these difficulties to question the desirability of a WTO PA. “If you were to start from scratch and set up a system of global governance,” said one delegate, “you wouldn’t make the trade rules body strong, with enforceable powers, and the rest of the system weak. But that’s what we’re up against with the present WTO. Why would we want to

legitimize this distorted and unjust system of governance by building on a parliamentary assembly.”

Some other delegates expressed the view that the UN is the body which should be strengthened with the addition of a Parliamentary Assembly.

A possible next step

The meeting also included discussion of further practical work on a WTO PA which could be undertaken in Canada. Perhaps Canada could host a preparatory meeting, in advance of the inaugural meeting of parliamentarians (possibly as early as February 2001) which was discussed in Seattle.

Canada’s middle power role and reputation as a supporter of multilateral institutions suggests this country might take a lead, in collaboration with European efforts and engaged NGOs, in convening a meeting of key actors from north and south to address legal and political questions. 

“If you were to start from scratch and set up a system of global governance, you wouldn’t make the trade rules body strong, with enforceable powers, and the rest of the system weak.”

UN funding petition presented

On May 2, Vancouver MP Ted McWhinney presented the petition on the UN funding crisis in the House of Commons, with more than 2,100 signatures. It calls on Parliament to request that the Government of Canada: 1. make diplomatic representations urging states to pay their UN dues in full and on time; and 2. consider proposals which would establish alternative revenue sources for the UN. The government has not yet responded to Mr. McWhinney. A letter on the same topic from WFC President, Senator Lois Wilson, and Geoffrey Pearson, president of the UN Association in Canada, was sent to Foreign Affairs Minister Axworthy in August 1999. The reply, received eight months later, quoted a dated and fairly conservative international experts study (the Volcker-Ogata Report) and recited the department’s well-worn line that any option for funding the UN other than state contributions is not feasible at this time.

China in WTO will bring changes



Donna Lindenberg is a member of *Mondial's* editorial working group.

by Donna Lindenberg

As the World Trade Organization moves inexorably toward welcoming China to the club, opinion continues to be sharply divided on whether the largest population block on earth should be admitted and on what terms.

When it is admitted—and that now seems likely—the WTO and international trade politics will undergo fundamental changes.

China has been seeking entry into the GATT and then the WTO since 1986 but was required to seek bilateral agreements with important trading partners first. As of last year, it had done so with a dozen countries, including Japan and Australia.

But China's campaign for entry took a giant leap forward last November when it concluded a bilateral trade agreement that contains the American terms of China's entry to the WTO and opens Chinese markets to American exporters.

More recently, agreements have also been reached with the European Union (May 19) and Costa Rica (June 23). Chinese officials were at the WTO in Geneva during July for a series of informal discussions where a draft accession protocol and the report of a WTO 'working party' on Chinese accession were already on the table. The draft protocol lays out the terms under which China would be admitted. Discussion of China's entry by the full WTO membership is slated for late September. If the membership approves the terms of China's entry, China must then ratify the protocol. WTO officials are suggesting optimisti-

cally that China might be in by the end of this year.

Without doubt, China's entry to the WTO has been an American project; the world's only superpower and most consumptive nation is wooing a fifth of the world's population as a new market. And that's how the Clinton administration sold it to Congress, suggesting that it gave up nothing in the bilateral agreement last November beyond what is already in normal trading relations status, while gaining many concessions from the Chinese.

Moreover, the administration asserts that its agreement together with the enforceability of WTO rules will make China more accountable to fulfill its commitments on human rights, labour and the environment.

Other proponents of China's entry to the WTO say that isolation is not the answer; that bringing the world's most populous nation into an important multilateral forum such as the WTO will move it in the direction of democracy and human rights, even if the pace is glacial. They also suggest that many other countries who are already members of the WTO repress labour and human rights as much as China. Why single out China?

Not everyone is convinced. For starters, China will have to agree to amend some 170 laws to comply with WTO rules and, with a poorly developed legal infrastructure and weak rule of law, its ability to comply in a meaningful way is seriously in doubt.

Amnesty International's Jennifer Wade is less charitable. The WFC member is coordinator of


Amnesty's China portfolio in Vancouver and says "China must laugh terribly at the naiveté" of the outside world. "I wish I could see another side but I just see it as disastrous for the majority of Chinese and wonderful for a wealthy small minority."

It's a "total myth" that more open trade will bring reform. "China feels that as one-fifth of the world's population, it will control things its own way. It always has, it always will...."

Increased international trade will only make the ruling party hierarchy richer and make the lot of working people worse, says Ms. Wade. "China's labour force in prisons is as big as Spain's total labour force. That's no money paid to these people."

Internationally, those promoting reforms to the WTO, such as tying environmental, labour and human rights more closely to trade agreements, see China's entry as shifting the balance of power in the opposite direction. Like India (with the world's second largest population) and other less developed nations, China characterizes issues which are not purely trade-related as another form of protectionism.

China's linking up with other southern countries is likely to create a new power dynamic at the WTO on a range of issues, including food safety, technical barriers to trade, rules of origin and trade-related investment.

As John Sweeney, president of the AFL-CIO, suggests, bringing China into the WTO "is less likely to reform China, as its advocates claim, than it is to further deform the WTO." 

China in the WTO "is less likely to reform China, as its advocates claim, than it is to further deform the WTO."

***— John Sweeney,
AFL-CIO***

U.S. pressure on ICC pays off

Canadians tracking the development of an International Criminal Court (ICC) were treated to their fair share of drama this spring. At the UN, a controversial U.S. proposal which opens the door to limits on the court's effectiveness and jurisdiction was approved at the fifth session of the Preparatory Commission for an ICC held June 13 to 30 in New York.

Closer to home, legislation implementing the Rome Statute for an ICC was passed into law—at the last minute—by Canada's Parliament. Passage of Bill C-19, the *Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes Act*, occurred just one day prior to the Senate's summer recess. This paved the way for Canada to become the 14th state to ratify the Rome Statute July 7. The treaty comes into force after 60 states have ratified.

Canadian officials are justifiably proud that this country is the first to "implement" the treaty, meaning that Canada not only agrees to be bound by the treaty's terms, through ratification, but also incorporates the necessary changes in domestic law. Bill C-19 enables future Canadian cooperation with the Court and incorporates into Canadian law the definitions of crimes in the Rome Statute.

Parliament's consideration of Bill C-19 was held up earlier in the spring by members of the Canadian Alliance Party who intervened to make numerous speeches in the House of Commons, thereby delaying consideration of the Bill by the Standing

Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade (SCFAIT).

The Canadian Network for an ICC worked with the Clerk of the SCFAIT to provide names of NGO witnesses before the committee. WFC Council member Bruce Broomhall provided testimony on behalf of WFC.

By the time Bill C-19 reached the Senate, there was little time for detailed consideration of it. Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy was the only witness to make a presentation to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate. He used the occasion to announce the appointment of well-known human rights lawyer Irwin Cotler, Member of Parliament for Mount Royal, as his special advisor for the International Criminal Court (ICC).

Axworthy also announced that an ICC Implementation Manual had been launched in New York at an NGO-sponsored reception during the ICC PrepCom. The manual sets forth requirements for compliance with the Rome Statute and is designed to assist states, particularly developing countries, in ratifying and implementing the ICC treaty.

Meanwhile, in New York, the fifth session of the PrepCom was the scheduled end of a two-year process developing draft texts refining the Court's Rules of Procedure and Evidence and further defining the crimes within the Court's jurisdiction. While this may seem like a routine exercise in making practical arrangements for the establishment and coming into operation of the

Court, the PrepCom featured some highly charged discussion on proposals which may have the effect of seriously weakening and undermining the ICC.

The U.S. proposal would alter Article 98(2) of the Rome Statute which provides that the Court cannot request the surrender of a person if compliance by the requested state would mean that it acted contrary to an international agreement by which it is bound.

NGOs at the PrepCom were unanimous in the view that a rule modifying or clarifying Article 98 was unnecessary. However, some states (including Canada) were inclined to give ground to U.S. insistence for such a rule to expand Article 98 to encompass not only agreements between states, but also agreements between the ICC and States. It does this by creating an obligation on the part of the Court to act in conformity with a relevant international agreement.

That "relevant international agreement" is a supplemental document scheduled to be negotiated this November and December during discussions on the ICC's "Relationship Agreement" with the United Nations. The U.S. would like in that agreement provisions to allow the means for non-parties to the treaty to prevent the Court from asserting jurisdiction over their nationals.

Canada's Philippe Kirsch, who chaired negotiations at the 1998

Continued on opposite page

“Civil society concerns need to be addressed”

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President has had the best record on environmental issues? Richard Nixon. He created the EPA (Environmental Protection Agency). He passed the *Clean Water Act* and the *Clean Air Act*. He did these things not because he was an environmentalist but because there was a constituency out there.”

Mr. Strong is sympathetic to the anti-globalization sentiments reflected in protests in Seattle and more recently in Washington. “There is a legitimate concern that technocratic decisions being made in specialized agencies are beyond the reach of individuals. They have no say. So

Continued from opposite page

Rome Treaty conference, also chairs the PrepCom. Throughout the PrepCom, Canada and other like-minded states have sought to keep the U.S. “constructively engaged” in the discussions, while at the same time seeking to maintain the integrity of the Rome Statute. This is a strategy with some merit as it avoids alienating the world’s only superpower and further inflaming their opposition to the Court. However, the very real danger is that keeping the Americans “engaged,” at a time when there is pressure to obtain consensus on final PrepCom reports, (as well as other diplomatic pressures) runs the risk of leading like-minded states to be too accommodating. —FW

you’ve got to bring these interests into the process. Civil society are actors. Their concerns need to be addressed.

Change in NGOs

“But NGOs have changed, and must continue to change. Look at the environmental sector. There are NGOs with larger budgets than the UN Environment Program. NGOs are real players now. So they are challenged to do more than just respond to governments. At the Earth Council, we’re teaming up with IUCN (International Union for the Conservation of Nature) to hold the Earth Forum this October in Amman, Jordan. That’s an example of an effort to set a progressive agenda.”

The recent negotiation of the Biosafety Protocol (see April *Mondial*) caught Mr. Strong’s attention. But he’s uncertain as to how the relationship between the Protocol (which aims to regulate movement of genetically modified organisms [GMOs]) and the World Trade Organization will actually evolve. “It’s another example of legal ambiguity being the price you pay to get an agreement. But it’s also an example of a deeper problem with the international system itself.

“Narrowly mandated organizations can’t deal with issues (like regulating GMOs) which are systemic. You can’t manage systemic issues with institutions that are not systemic. Kofi Annan has designed an issue management system, bringing together heads of international agencies, and other actors, to try

and bring about some coordination. But progress is slow.”

Maurice Strong is a passionate defender of the United Nations, laying much of the blame for its failures at the feet of member governments. “Look at the reform issue. Kofi Annan brought in the most sweeping package of reforms in the UN’s history. Those administrative reforms, which are within the Secretary-General’s authority to implement, have all been implemented. But, of those which he could only recommend to governments, none have been implemented. The UN is a convenient scapegoat for the failures of governments.”

Notwithstanding the UN’s present problems, Mr. Strong has a high regard for Kofi Annan. “He is the best Secretary-General the UN has had, and when I say that I do not exclude consideration of Dag Hammarskjöld. The UN would be a lot worse off without Kofi Annan.

“Objectively, there is more need for the UN than at any time since it was created in the aftermath of World War II. Why? Because there are a growing number of issues which affect the future of people everywhere and cannot be managed by individual state governments.

“Is the UN reformable? Of course it is reformable. Governments created it. They can reform it. They’re the shareholders. I’m a great believer in necessity forcing change. The question is, can we wait long enough.”

■

No nukes? — in your dreams

by **Simon Rosenblum**

“A significant step forward in humanity’s pursuit of a more peaceful world” is what UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan called the outcome of the recent nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) review conference.

In all, 187 countries—including all nuclear weapons states—made an “unequivocal undertaking” to achieve “the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals.”

Sounds promising, to be sure, assuming ways will be found to credibly verify a zero nuclear weapons regime. “But not necessarily in this lifetime”, as a *Toronto Star* editorial cynically concluded.

So, what’s the problem? For starters, the NPT pledge remains vague about the (purely voluntary) means of achieving such an objective. But that is only half the problem—and the lesser half at that. The cruel reality is that the nuclear weapons states haven’t the slightest intention of moving in this direction.

The New Agenda Coalition (Brazil, Egypt, Ireland, Mexico, New Zealand, South Africa and Sweden) played a vital role in winning the new language—previously the NPT simply called for the “eventual” elimination of nuclear weapons.

But what about the rest of the New Agenda Coalition’s nuclear weapons agenda? Their demands included no-first-use pledges, legally binding assurances that non-nuclear states will not be attacked with nuclear weapons, taking nuclear weapons off their

alert status, separating nuclear warheads from their delivery systems and a new international conference on nuclear disarmament.

Is the world any further ahead on these decisive measures? In a word, no.

Washington, and more recently, Moscow have military doctrines that keep the barriers to using nuclear weapons dangerously low (more on the nuclear first-use issue below). The U.S. Congress won’t even ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and now Washington wants to build ballistic missile defences—in spite of compelling evidence that such a system will not work—that will not only gut the ABM treaty but also in all likelihood will trigger a new arms race. Or at the least will jeopardize the possibility of further nuclear arms reductions.

Just in case you were expecting some significant nuclear disarmament to occur as a down payment on the commitment to abolition, try this on for size: The *New York Times* recently published a document the Americans presented to the Russians which said that “both the United States of America and the Russian Federation now possess and, as before, will possess under the terms of any possible future arms reduction agreements, large, diversified, viable arsenals of strategic offensive weapons.... These strategic offensive forces give each side the certain ability to carry out an annihilating counterattack on the other side.”

And it does not get any better.

In fact, much worse. Bruce Blair, a prominent nuclear weapons analyst, has recently written in the *New York Times* that he had studied strategic policy and operations and had exclusive contacts with officials who are knowledgeable in these areas. “I have been able to develop current estimates, and they lead inexorably to a conclusion that our leaders are clinging to outdated planning that helps keep an unnecessarily large number of American and Russian missiles pointed at one another on hair-trigger alert.”

But let us return to the nuclear no-first-use issue which is supposedly being reassessed in a NATO review to be concluded this year—thanks largely to Canadian insistence. Following the NPT conference, Canada’s Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy remarked “for some of the people (in NATO) who are dragging their feet a little bit at the review, this gives us a chance to say ‘better pull up your socks and get working on it.’”

The unfortunate and hard reality is, however, that support for Mr. Axworthy’s no-first-use initiative—for which he deserves enormous credit for his commitment and perseverance—has actually decreased within NATO circles. Not even the Germans seem to be very interested now.

Bringing down his gavel to conclude the NPT review, conference chair, Abdallah Balli of Algeria, said “today is a great day for the causes of nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament.” Reassuring words? Maybe, but progress? No. ☹



Simon Rosenblum is a member of the WFC Executive Committee.

Washington wants to build ballistic missile defences—in spite of compelling evidence that such a system will not work—that will not only gut the ABM treaty but also in all likelihood will trigger a new arms race

War of a different kind in Kosovo

by **Simon Rosenblum**

Writing about the Balkan wars in the first half of the 1990s, former American ambassador to Yugoslavia, Warren Zimmermann, in his fine book *Origins of a Catastrophe*, summed up the frustration felt by many:

“Those who practice diplomacy need constantly to be reminded of the human damage their efforts, or lack of them, can cause. For three years of the Bosnian war, the Western countries had attempted to rebuff the Serbian aggressors, bloated by their use of force, without making them fear that force would in turn be used against them. Western diplomacy was reduced to a kind of cynical theatre, a pretense of useful activity, a way of disguising a lack of will. Diplomacy without force became an unloaded weapon, impotent and ridiculous.”

Michael Ignatieff, a widely published and respected Canadian writer, brings us a different set of Balkan issues in his most recent book, *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond*. In Kosovo, NATO found the wherewithal not only to threaten force but also to actually employ it. But it did so in a quite unusual way: almost employing military force with impunity as it bombed Serbia without putting its own forces at any significant risk. Ignatieff calls this “virtual war” in reference to not only military issues but political and legal ones as well.

Not one to pull his punches, Ignatieff is a strong advocate of humanitarian military interven-

tions in situations of genocide and other major crimes against humanity, and he believes that Milosevic’s actions in Kosovo clearly qualified as such.

Ignatieff might well have devoted more attention to making his case, for it is not totally obvious that the ethnic cleansing going on in Kosovo before

“America and its NATO allies fought a virtual war because they were neither ready nor willing to fight a real one.”

NATO’s military intervention was on such a scale. Milosevic, of course, is no innocent when it comes to ethnic cleansing and it may well be that a major initiative of this type—code named Operation Horseshoe—was indeed in its early phases. So some form of military action to prevent such an eventuality was clearly warranted.

However, the war that NATO waged may not only have been disproportionate to the Serbian war crimes being committed before the bombing began, but also problematic both in regard to intensifying the ethnic cleansing itself and also as a prototype of humanitarian military interventions.


Ignatieff, wise in his knowledge of history and ideas, is not insensitive to these concerns. Neither side, he reveals, thought the war would play out the way it did. NATO leaders thought that the threat of force, or at most a quick

demonstration of force via bombing, would bring about Milosevic’s capitulation, while Milosevic believed NATO would prove to be as vacillating as it was in Bosnia. Obviously, both sides were wrong and this leads us—and Ignatieff—to a consideration of what type of war NATO should have waged.

Without developing his argument fully, he maintains: “America and its NATO allies fought a virtual war because they were neither ready nor willing to fight a real one.”

A real one, as he puts it, would have meant that NATO would have had to be able to put its forces in harm’s way. Obviously, this meant some form of ground intervention, and Ignatieff is not unaware of the difficulty of doing so, both politically and militarily. In regard to the latter, he interestingly observes that “the US/NATO was still not able to put together a rapid reaction force capable of deploying to the border of Kosovo, quickly enough to dissuade Milosevic from attempting to expel the Albanian (the Kosovars) population, and to repel him if he tried.”

So instead we got a war which was quite inappropriate to its needs, and without the virtue needed to fulfill its billing as a humanitarian military intervention. Ignatieff does not say so directly but that is where his analysis is headed. A solid contribution from a journalist of the highest order.

Michael Ignatieff, *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond*, (Viking) 

Bank rules at odds with Covenant

by Lois Wilson

Much work is going into bringing Canadian legislation into conformity with the International Criminal Court. But there are other areas in Canadian life that need to conform to our international obligations. One is banking.

Addressing the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce recently, I emphasized that banks must go far beyond merely making a profit. Barriers to socially and economically disadvantaged groups exist in banking services. These barriers must be addressed by the banks, so that current practice is brought into conformity with the international rule of law as expressed in the Covenant on Social, Cultural, and Economic rights, which Canada has ratified. Some of these barriers include:

- requiring three pieces of identification documents such as passport, photo, driver's license to open an account or cash a cheque. Many poor people have none of these.
- removing bank branches from low income areas.
- 5–10 day waiting periods while cheque is cleared. There is nothing in legislation that suggests beneficiaries must forfeit a significant portion of their benefits to a cheque-cashing outlet, or that they need tolerate a bank placing a hold on their cheques.
- troubles cashing even government cheques (pension; welfare; GST) unless a person has an account at that bank.

Yet three per cent of Canadians do not have a bank account; eight per cent live in households with annual incomes of \$25,000 or less.

- the only option for economically disadvantaged groups may be to go to cheque cashing outlets that gouge them with excessively high fees. Money Mart, which opened in 1983 with 16 outlets, today has more than 175 outlets (up from just 130 in 1997).
- Something known as 'gross debt service to income ratio' which disqualifies the applicant from low interest mortgages if they are paying more than 33 per cent of their income toward rent. It is often used in a draconian way to disqualify all social assistance recipients. Thus, many households which could actually save money by moving into ownership, are denied access to the most affordable and appropriate housing available to them. Single mothers hanging on to their home after a separation from a spouse are often forced to pay exorbitant rates to private lenders simply because banks will not consider their applications for mortgages. This practice of the banks disqualifies the vast majority of single mothers and other women from access to the lowest interest mortgages, even where they have been paying significantly more than 33 per cent of their income toward rent and have never missed a payment. Many low

income households are currently paying more than half of income toward housing costs; more in Ontario where rent controls were lifted.

The just-released report of the Canadian *Human Rights Act* Review Panel recommends that 'social condition' be added to prohibited grounds for discrimination listed in the Act. This would bring it into conformity with the UN International Treaty on Social, Cultural and Economic Rights to which Canada is a signatory. By 'social condition' is meant those living in poverty, but also those stereotyped because of belonging to a socially identifiable group. Hopefully, legislation will soon amend the Act to bring it into conformity with Canada's international obligations.



Lois Wilson is WFC's president and serves as Canada's Peace Envoy to Sudan at the request of Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy.

Lois Wilson co-convenes parliamentary human rights committee

Senator Lois Wilson, WFC's president, and Irwin Cotler, former McGill University law professor and newly elected member of the House of Commons, have co-convened a Canadian Parliamentary Committee on Human Rights. Their first priority was Bill C-19, the Canadian legislation implementing the Rome Statute for an International Criminal Court. Next, the committee will work on Canadian ratification of the American Convention on Human Rights, a treaty which has been developed through the framework of the Organization of American States.

Bits and Peaces

Tobin Tax highlights Social Summit

Some ideas have a life of their own. At the "Copenhagen + 5," five-year review of the World Conference on Social Development held in Geneva from June 26-30, the largest and most widely supported demonstration was one led by the French-based NGO Association for the Taxation of Financial Transfers for the Aid of all Citizens (ATAC). Along with many other groups, they led a demonstration of about 2,000 individuals calling for a global levy on financial transfers to be applied toward human needs. The so-called "Tobin Tax" has long been supported by the Federalists as a possible source of income to fund the UN, sustainable development, and poverty alleviation.

According to Simon Burall, a U.K. federalist from the One World Trust, "There was broad support for a currency transaction tax among all of the NGOs I spoke to. Government delegations also nearly all seemed to be behind the idea of a study—though there would be much less consensus about actual implementation." The U.S. remained implacably opposed to any mention of the word *tax*. Compromise language referred to carrying out an analysis of "the advantages and disadvantages and other implications of developing new and innovative sources of funding, both public and private, for

dedication to social development and poverty eradication."

According to most NGO accounts, the summit was a disappointment. Only 20 heads of state attended, compared to 117 five years ago. In his speech to activists, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan conceded that many people are being hurt in a globalizing world. "I would say not from globalization itself but from the failure to manage its adverse effects," he said.

The summit's final declaration argues that part of the blame rests with Western governments who have cut aid to developing countries and not resolved debt crises. For information, contact: <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev>.

WFM leads efforts for NGO voice at United Nations

In anticipation of the Millennium session of the UN General Assembly, the international World Federalist Movement (WFM) is leading a global effort to expand the participation rights of NGOs at the UN.

A draft UN resolution is being distributed for endorsement to governments as well as NGOs and coalitions working within the UN system. The resolution is distributed under the auspices of INTGLIM, the International NGO Task Group on Legal and Institutional Matters, a worldwide NGO network which grew out of the 1992 World Conference on Environment and Development.

If adopted, the resolution would extend to the General Assembly (plus its main committees and subsidiary bodies) the consultative arrangements cur-

rently provided to NGOs monitoring the UN Economic and Social Council. These arrangements include the right for accredited NGOs to attend UNGA open meetings, receive documentation, and be able to make available their reports and written documents. It does not call for extending other consultative rights such as speaking rights or the right to have written statements translated and circulated, as it was thought these privileges are too controversial, costly, and time-consuming.

To review text of the Resolution, the INTGLIM memorandum, and a legislative history of UN rules applicable to NGOs, check out the international world federalist web site at www.worldfederalist.org.

Canada's Aid Drops to 12th

On June 15, the organization Reality of Aid issued its first "Reality Check," analyzing the latest aid statistics for 1999 from the development assistance committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a grouping of leading industrialized nations. Reality Check points out that while Canadian aid increased by US \$30 million in 1999, our country's aid ratio to GNP continued to fall, from 0.29% to 0.28%. Among 21 donors, Canada dropped to 12th position in 1999 from 11th the previous year. Overall, aid increased from US \$52.1 billion to US \$54.6 billion, but the increase is more than accounted for by a very large increase in Japanese aid.

Flora MacDonald to lead World Feds

About 100 people took part in the national meeting of the World Federalists of Canada June 2 to 4 in Ottawa. Most conference events took place on Parliament Hill, in the Aboriginal Peoples Committee Room. The event was hosted by WFC President, Senator Lois Wilson. *Democratizing Global Governance in the 21st Century* was the theme.

Some of the highlights of the weekend are summarized below. More detailed reports of most parts of the conference are available from the WFC national office. CPAC (Cable Public Affairs Channel) televised the conference and will be broadcasting some of the proceedings at various times through the summer. To find out when the conference will be televised, check local cable listings or the CPAC web site (www.cpac.ca).

General Members Meeting

The WFC General Members Meeting on Saturday June 3 elected a new governing Council for the organization. Former federal cabinet minister Flora MacDonald was elected to succeed Lois Wilson as President of the World Federalists, effective January 1, 2001. Karen Hamilton continues as Chair of Council and Elizabeth Snell continues as Chair of the WFC Executive Committee.

In addition to program reports and other business items, the meeting considered a number of policy resolutions which had been submitted by WFC members or branches. Operative pro-

visions of the nine resolutions passed by the meeting include:

1. calling for a UN study on ways to improve conflict prevention and peaceful settlement of disputes;
2. calling for WFC and WFM educational activities in support of the UN year and decade for a culture of peace;
3. reforms to NATO leading to a strengthened role for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and renouncing recourse to nuclear weapons;
4. objecting to any Canadian involvement in the U.S. Ballistic Missile Defense program;
5. contributing to non-governmental efforts to strengthen the institutional capacities of United Nations peace operations;
6. studying ways to enable rapid action and response by WFC to emerging political issues;
7. re-emphasizing world federalism as a global organizational structure upon which can be nurtured a culture of peace and justice;
8. continuing WFC program work in support of the Hague Appeal for Peace *Agenda for Peace and Justice for the 21st Century*; and
9. calling for WFC participation in environmental/ecosystem governance coalitions.



Award banquet

The highlight of the weekend was the award banquet Friday, June 2 at the National Press Club. The Honourable Madam Justice Louise Arbour received the WFC World Peace Award. Madam Arbour is a Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada and was formerly Chief Prosecutor for the UN International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and Former Yugoslavia. In her remarks she spoke about "The Evolution of an International Criminal Jurisdiction." (The text of her speech is available from the WFC office. See also page 3 for an interview with Madam Arbour.)

Program Panels

Economic globalization was central to the two panel presentations at the conference. On Friday, June 2, a panel discussed "The Proposed Parliamentary Assembly for the World Trade Organization" (See page 5). The

Who are these people and what are they doing?

They're WFC conference participants, taking part in a strategic planning exercise.

Continued on opposite page

Branch News

Vancouver—The April meeting discussed “Globalization and National Passions—exploring the transition from total sovereignty to an integrated world.” In May, the meeting focused on the changing role of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Meetings continue in August, third Thursday of the month, Unitarian Church. Call Duncan Graham (263-1476) for more information.

Winnipeg—Former Manitoba Premier Howard Pawley will give

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Continued from opposite page

following afternoon, another panel of speakers discussed “Trade, Global Governance and Reform of the World Trade Organization.”

Inter-Faith

On Sunday, June 4, a one-hour interfaith service featured prayers and readings from nine faith traditions on the theme of peace and world unity. Representatives from the Hindu, Buddhist, Aboriginal (Algonquin), Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Unitarian, and Baha’i faiths, plus a reading by John Patterson entitled “They Bombed the Target” were part of the service.

Strategic Plan Update

The current WFC Strategic Plan expires this year. The national meeting offered a unique opportunity to consult the national membership on key elements of a renewed Strategic Plan for the 2000 - 2003 period.

this year’s Robson Lecture, September 10. WFC members staffed a table at Winnipeg Earth Day festivities April 22. World Federalists also joined the annual Peace Walk in June and displayed a global formation of flags in Memorial Park. Branch meetings are held the third Sunday of the month at the Howard Johnson Hotel (corner of Ellice and Century). Call Karl Grupe (204) 757-4794 for more information.

Ottawa—The national conference in Ottawa led to a resumption of branch activities. A meeting was held July 10 at St. Paul’s University. The next meeting is also at St. Paul’s, September 19.

Montreal—Thirty people attended a recent potluck dinner. Branch members present elected a new executive. Lawyer Bill Hartzog is the new branch president. Carol Greene continues as

secretary. Other members of the executive include John Lehnert and Inez Pugliese. Forty-five people turned out in May to hear MP Marlene Jennings lead a discussion of the *Canada Well-Being Measurement Act*, a Bill before Parliament which would institute a new measurement of economic and social progress, taking into account sustainable development and quality of life factors.

Victoria—At the Branch Annual Meeting, held April 8 at the Faculty Lounge of Pearson College, Fred Knelman was the guest speaker. His address was entitled “The globalization of threat and the threat of globalization.” The meeting elected Philip Symons and Dimitri Alpatoff as co-presidents. Branch members participated in the Earth Walk, April 22. Branch meetings were also held May 12 and June 16.

Victoria Branch Challenge

To bolster financial support for the national office, WFC’s Victoria Branch is challenging world federalists in Montreal, Toronto, Guelph, Windsor, Winnipeg and Vancouver. Victoria Branch will match every dollar contributed by local world federalist organizations across the country up to a maximum of \$1,700.

Toronto Branch has already responded, contributing \$300.

At the World Peace Award banquet in Ottawa, Rev. Karen Hamilton, chair of the World Federalists of Canada Council, announced October 28 as the deadline for responses. On October 28, she will announce the results of the Victoria Branch Challenge at Toronto’s Arts & Letters Club, the venue for our second national fund-raiser in 2000. (See item on back page)

Three Years After Kyoto:

What We Can Do About Climate Change

**Banquet And Silent Auction
Saturday, October 28, 2000
Arts & Letters Club
14 Elm Street, Toronto**

Following on the success of the World Peace Award banquet honouring Madam Justice Louise Arbour, plans are underway for the next world federalist national fund-raising event, a banquet and silent auction on the theme of climate change.

The October 28 banquet and silent auction will be held at Toronto's historic Arts & Letters Club, conveniently located just north of the Toronto Eaton Centre. The wood-panelled Great Hall, where the meeting will take place, is an impressive yet intimate space, adorned with baronial fireplace and heraldic crests.

Keynote speaker will be Elizabeth Dowdeswell, a Toronto management consultant who used to serve as executive director of the United Nations Environment Program. She will speak on climate change and what we can do to spur action on Canada's Kyoto Protocol targets for reductions in greenhouse gas emissions.

Also confirmed as speakers are:

MP Charles Caccia, chair of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Environment and Sustainable Development; Rabbi Gunther Plaut, a member of the World Federalists of Canada Advisory Board; and Rev. Karen Hamilton, chair of the World Federalists of Canada Council.


After the banquet, there will be a silent auction of the work of three Ontario artists inspired by the environment around them. Printmaker Gerard Brender à Brandis, painter and writer Kelley Aitken and watercolourist Joanne Vegso have already selected pieces for showing and sale or are in the process of creating special artwork for us.

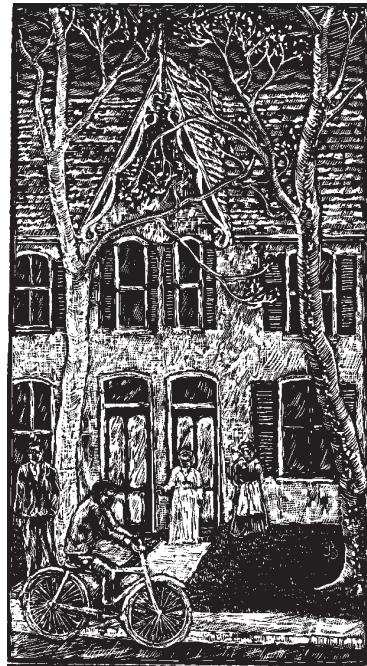
The evening will conclude with an announcement on the results of the Victoria Branch Challenge, Victoria Branch's initiative to interest Canada's other local world federalist organizations in greater support of our national office function.

For world federalists living outside the Toronto area, the end of October can be a beautiful time in Toronto—often Indian summer temperatures prevail (unless, of course, the climate change puts an end to it). Consider coupling

this special event with vacation or business.

Come join us on the last Saturday evening in October—four days after United Nations Day—for a stimulating presentation on an extremely important issue for world federalists and everyone. And enjoy a four-course banquet, an auction of collectable artwork and the good company of friends.

For registration information, please contact Paul Dilse at (416) 921-5324 or paul.dilse@sympati-co.ca. 



Engraving by Gerard Brender à Brandis

mondial

145 Spruce Street, Ottawa,
ON, K1R 6P1

Phone: 613-232-0647

Fax: 613-563-0017

E-mail: wfcnat@web.net

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