

mondial

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Care needed on East Timor

by Donna Lindenberg

Canada supports an international inquiry into atrocities that occurred last year in East Timor, but Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy says Indonesia must first be given the opportunity and the help to prosecute such crimes itself.

Indonesia is a “very fragile, fledgling democracy,” says Mr. Axworthy. “Let’s be careful that we don’t give too many reasons for the opposition — the military and others — to whip up emotions and threaten to undermine the democracy that’s there.”

In an interview with *Mondial* in Victoria, Mr. Axworthy spoke on a broad range of international issues, from United Nations reform and funding to the changing concepts of human security and humanitarian intervention.

On Indonesia, Mr. Axworthy said “because East Timor was so much on the screen, many people lost sight that there was a huge issue coming behind it, which was the democratization of Indonesia.

“This is one of the biggest and potentially most influential countries in the world... highly fragmented, highly divided in ethnic terms and in geographic terms.



Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy talks with *Mondial*.

“...because East Timor was so much on the screen, many people lost sight that there was a huge issue coming behind it, the democratization of Indonesia.”

“If you can get an established democracy working in Indonesia, what a huge step forward it will be for the entire world, certainly for the region.”

In its transition to civil rule, the new president is “taking on the military,” and says he is going to investigate these crimes.

“And so we don’t walk away and say, ‘that’s nice.’ We say, ‘Okay, what is it you want to do, and how are you going to do it,’ and support him in doing it. ‘We’ll give you resources... we’ll provide lawyers. We’ll do what you need to be done.’”

Mr. Axworthy added that the

international community should do “everything in its power to make sure that it is a transparent, honest instrument that really does the proper job.”

As for international prosecutions of crimes in East Timor, he cited the principle behind the International Criminal Court which is being created. “It’s a court of last resort and if national jurisdictions take on the prosecution of war criminals, then the court isn’t needed. It simply is a backup. So let’s see what the Indonesians have in mind.”

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Many reasons to attend GMM

Every two years there is a General Members Meeting open to all members of the World Federalists of Canada. It is an opportunity for members to have direct input to World Federalist policy and programs and to debate global issues with other members from across the country. This year it will be held in the Senate of Canada's Parliament Buildings, June 2 to 4.

There is enough happening to guarantee an interesting three days. And there are several reasons why this national meeting will be unusually important.

The World Federalists of Canada is entering an exciting new phase of development. Firstly, with the advent of the internet, we have at last got the communication tools we have needed for so long. These technologies have enabled regular dialogue and exchange among WFC members and officers allowing us to function much more like a truly national organization than was possible in the past. And last June, we launched our most successful quarterly journal *Mondial*.

Secondly, we have a Development Officer, Paul Dilse, working for us part time to help us expand the organization.

And thirdly, the idea of 'world federalism' is starting to receive attention beyond the confines of our organization. These exciting developments and our increased relevance to today's global issues also brings challenges: we must prepare for success and increased demands on our national office if we are to avoid being swamped!

Three years ago, a 1997-2000 Strategic Plan for WFC was

drawn up which set goals and charted a course for the organization's development. It's remarkable, looking back, to see how much has changed and how much this organization has achieved. Many of our goals have been achieved; it's time to renew our strategic plan for the years ahead. There is a wide range of issues requiring attention of the only NGO in Canada that is preparing foundations for a world federation. In this period of accelerating change, three years is a long time, and it is imperative that we set our compass wisely. This will be an important task for the GMM and we welcome input from our members.

There will be debates on interesting topics, and some fine speakers. For visitors coming from farther afield, there will be opportunities for sightseeing, and much to see.

We are fortunate to have our outstanding president, Senator Lois Wilson, host our meetings in Canada's Parliament Buildings. This is all the more important considering that Friday's panel session on a WTO Parliamentary Assembly will discuss the role of parliamentarians in helping democratize global governance.

The Peace Award Banquet will indeed be a cause for celebration: we can look forward to a good time on both evenings when you will discover (if you haven't by now!) that World Federalists are great people to spend time with.

Please note that the original date set for early May had to be changed to June 2 to 4, in order that Louise Arbour could accept our Peace Award in person.

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Toward more effective UN Peace Operations

by **Peter Langille**

Peter Langille teaches Canadian foreign policy and international conflict management at the University of Western Ontario. In 1994-95, he worked on the Canadian government's *Study to Enhance United Nations Rapid Deployment Capabilities*.

Modernizing and empowering the UN has been a tough uphill struggle with few quick fixes or instant solutions.

But there may be some renewed progress in providing the UN with the capacity to prevent and manage armed conflict — a UN standing force.

The international community was unprepared to deal with the complex conflicts of the last decade. Governments actually set records for being slow and unresponsive; the result was many avoidable tragedies. The UN is frequently assigned tasks but member states withhold the resources and mechanisms necessary to fulfill them.

A few years ago, the UN didn't even have a basic foundation for planning, deploying, managing and supporting diverse peace operations. Now it does. And something quite new is in the works: a rudimentary UN foundation for the prevention of deadly conflict.

Five years ago, Canada, Denmark and The Netherlands, in co-operation with the UN Secretariat, mobilized an international coalition of friends — some 30 countries — to provide the UN with some new ideas and options for peacekeeping, rapid deployment and, if necessary, a UN standing emergency capability.

There has been notable progress. For one, there is now a far more substantive UN Standby Arrangement System (a list of personnel and resources that governments have offered to provide on a conditional basis). Wide

participation is evident; 88 countries have confirmed their willingness to provide standby resources, including 147,500 personnel, many at a high level of readiness.

Next year, a permanent UN rapid deployment mission headquarters should be ready to manage the early stages of field operations. That will enable the prompt co-ordination and control of diverse missions agreed to by the Security Council. By conventional standards, it is a very small 'stop-gap' measure but one that is critical to avoiding delays and early problems.

Even more significant is the recent development of a multinational standby high-readiness brigade designed specifically for UN peacekeeping. This initiative, led by Denmark, succeeded in attracting 13 participants (including Canada) as well as other regular troop contributors and encouragement from states like Argentina, Jordan, Poland, Romania, and Spain.

What is so promising about this brigade? First, it is more cost-effective to pool resources in co-operative arrangements, particularly when they are designed specifically for the UN.

Second, there are indications that coalitions in other regions are thinking of adopting a similar model. So, the idea is attractive and is spreading.


Third, it should provide the UN Standby Arrangement System with a 'jump start' capability to deal with the first phases of an emerging or spreading conflict — access to a pre-established,

versatile force. Response times (from initial notification to actual deployment) will be within 15 to 30 days, rather than the 1990s average of three to six months.

These are very useful reforms but the existing arrangements have a few inherent limitations. Both the high-readiness brigade and the UN Standby Arrangement System depend upon national approval and appropriately-trained national units — conditions that have frequently stymied and slowed responses.

Moreover, as currently stipulated, these arrangements are for Chapter VI (UN Charter) peacekeeping operations, constraining their use in fast-breaking crises that necessitate humanitarian intervention or that require a Chapter VII mandate permitting the use of force. It is noteworthy that over the past year, all new UN missions have included Chapter VII mandates.

In 1995, when Canada proposed a Rapid Reaction Capacity for the UN, the idea was resisted by the big powers and fell off the map far too quickly. High-readiness brigades were all that could be salvaged. Further progress now will likely depend on far wider educational efforts directed not only at governments but also at global civil society.

The wider community — you and I — share responsibility to demonstrate how related efforts might be expanded and accelerated. It is time to consider how additional high-readiness brigades and dedicated UN standing elements might be introduced as a complement to current arrangements. 

... something quite new is in the works: a rudimentary UN foundation for the prevention of deadly conflict.

Montreal biosafety accord a difficult challenge

by Urs P. Thomas and
Donna Lindenberg

GENEVA—The conclusion of the negotiations on the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety in Montreal in January turned out to be one of the most difficult challenges so far to global cooperation and diplomacy in the field of the environment. What was agreed to has far-reaching implications for international trade in genetically modified organisms (GMOs).

Most importantly, it incorporates the precautionary principle as a factor which may limit GMO movements internationally. The Montreal agreement followed an exceptionally difficult series of negotiations over 3½ years structured around five coalition groups and three issues that were difficult to resolve:

- the question of which products should be subject to AIA (Advanced Informed Agreement) procedures, and how the procedures should be implemented;
- the scope of the Protocol (which kinds of products it

should cover); and

- the relationship of the Protocol with the World Trade Organization (WTO).

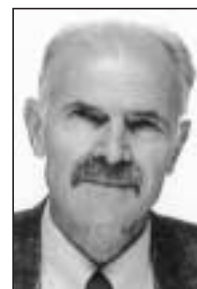
The WTO has a mandate to set up and adjudicate international rules governing trade in GMOs, which are covered by intellectual property rights, and it tends to deal with scientific uncertainty around GMOs using quantitative risk assessment methods. In contrast, the UN Convention on Biological Diversity, under which the Cartagena Protocol was negotiated, gives a far greater prevalence to the precautionary principle.

The relationship between the Protocol and the WTO was not really decided in the Montreal agreement. The Miami Group—USA, Canada, Australia, Argentina, Uruguay and Chile—sought protection for its commercial rights under other international agreements, in particular, WTO accords. That would have represented a major impediment for governments to apply the precautionary principle. The preamble to the Protocol contains a mas-

terful lack of clarity on the issue, emphasizing that it “shall not be interpreted as implying a change in the rights and obligations of a Party under any existing international agreement” (i.e. WTO). But the Protocol also says such rights are “not intended to subordinate this Protocol to other international agreements.”

Under the Protocol, AIA procedures will be introduced for seed, live fish and other GMOs that are released into nature. In these cases, the exporter must provide detailed information to each importing country in advance of the first shipment, and the importer must authorize the shipment. As far as the scope is concerned, the Protocol applies to food crops and seed but not to pharmaceuticals derived using GMOs. It should be noted that the medical/pharmaceutical uses represent the largest application of genetic engineering. The labeling issue will require more negotiations. It should also be stressed that the Protocol does not cover products “derived” from GMO crops such as tomato paste, chocolate or margarine, a very important negotiating success for the Miami group.

The resulting agreement may have been influenced by market forces currently turning against GMO exporters who have claimed for years that separate distribution channels for specifically labeled GMO and non-GMO crops would be impossible. When the EU instituted a *de facto* moratorium against GMOs in the summer of 1999, such labeling suddenly became feasible at negligible costs to the consumer.



Urs Thomas is a Geneva-based writer on international trade and environment issues and a member of WFC Council.



Donna Lindenberg is on *Mondial's* editorial working group.

Double Canadian Standards in Africa

A recent UN report, prepared under the direction of Canada's UN Ambassador Robert Fowler, says widespread sanctions-busting has allowed diamonds to continue playing “a uniquely important role” for the Angolan rebels; allowing them to both purchase weapons and buy favours from African governments. But just a few weeks before, Foreign Affairs Minister Axworthy decided not to take action concerning the activities of Talisman Energy in Sudan even though the Harker Report confirmed that Talisman practices were exacerbating the conflict there. With pressure from Ottawa, Talisman might have been persuaded to agree to a useful code of corporate conduct developed for this very purpose by Canadian NGOs. Ottawa definitely dropped the ball on this and prejudiced the integrity of its own human security agenda.

The resulting agreement may have been influenced by market forces currently turning against GMO exporters.

Sudan and the International Community



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

by Senator Lois Wilson

The Canadian media and public have fixed their attention in Sudan almost exclusively on Talisman Energy and not given the same attention to current peace strategies in the war-torn country.

Canada vigorously supports two tracks for peace in Sudan. Track one is the formal process of negotiations between the warring parties — the government of Sudan and the Southern People's Liberation Army (SPLA) — at present being brokered by Special Envoy Daniel Mboya and his Secretariat acting on behalf of a regional African initiative called Intergovernmental Authority on Development. (IGAD). Currently, Western countries including Canada fund the IGAD secretariat through CIDA, and support its work diplomatically through the International Partners Forum (IPF) where I represent Canada.

A 1994 Declaration of Principles, agreed to by both warring parties, constitutes the basis for the resolution of the conflict in Sudan, and it is on the basis of these principles that the current peace negotiations are being conducted. Two negotiation sessions have taken place, one hopeful, and the other ending in disarray. A third was scheduled for April. Shuttle diplomacy has been occurring in between.

Two of the main obstacles are the separation of religion and the state (which the strongly Islamic-orientated government does not accept), and the right to self-determination of the south if unity of the country fails. Agreement on the geographic borders

of the south is being disputed.

The government has been vigorously insisting that the IGAD process be confined strictly to addressing the conflict between the north and the south as defined by the 1956 borders. Further, it insists that discussion of issues affecting the marginalized territories must take place away from the IGAD table. Such exclusion would, in my view, fracture the peace forum and possibly provoke the SPLA to move directly to interim arrangements for its own people.

There is a broad acknowledgment that it is not possible to end the war in Sudan through a series of piecemeal initiatives. But the line taken by the government toward IGAD as a narrow geographically-defined peace forum forces the international community to do some hard thinking. In an attempt to redefine the context and the comprehensive mandate of a peace process, Canada has given notice that it is putting Sudan on the April agenda of the UN Security Council. Such an intervention would likely call for a peace settlement within the framework of IGAD. It would welcome the mediation efforts of Libya and Egypt and encourage them to continue these efforts on the basis of the Declaration of Principles in co-operation with IGAD.

The Security Council might usefully invite the Secretary-General of the UN to consult on steps to be taken to strengthen UN-IGAD collaboration in the peace process. It might also urge the establishment of an informal

working group of the Security Council to look at possible instruments for independent human rights monitoring in Sudan, including the south. This would move debate about Sudan into an international context.

Canada's track one is to support peace initiatives by Sudanese civil society — mainly the churches and women. Through the Dutch Embassy, Sudanese women (with support from CIDA) sponsored an International Peace Conference in early April in the Netherlands to enable dialogue between Sudanese women — African or Arab, south or north, Christian, Muslim or animist. In May 1999, a Sudanese women's delegation attended the Hague Appeal for Peace at which they issued their own peace appeal.

The justice and reconciliation efforts of the churches in Sudan supported by Canadians are building bridges between hitherto warring tribes and have been a making significant contribution to peace. Track one and two processes are being linked and, along with actions taken by the Security Council and a resolution on Sudan at the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, will hopefully move the peace process along a little further.

Canada's policy of constructive engagement requires a Canadian presence in Khartoum and monitoring in the south; a small presence will be established soon. This does not signal a pro-Khartoum bent but rather a listening post that will assist Canada in formulating a responsible foreign policy.

... it is not possible to end the war in Sudan through a series of piecemeal initiatives.

Does the WTO need a Parliamentary Assembly?

by Fergus Watt

In the aftermath of the failed Seattle Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization (WTO), prospects for a new round of global trade talks seem dim indeed. Most analysts suggest the earliest that talks on a new round might get underway would be well into 2001 and after a new U.S. president is installed in the White House.

In the meantime, governments, NGOs and others have been addressing what needs to be done to reform the WTO and to resolve the strong differences that emerged at the Seattle meeting. The following summarizes some of the broad contours of these discussions, with special focus on the idea of a WTO Parliamentary Assembly.

WTO decision-making

The WTO has a large membership (135 member countries) and makes decisions by consensus. In the past, a few large developed states have been able to work out deals among themselves and then sell them to the rest of the world. In Seattle, developing countries served warning that they can no longer be excluded from the process in this way. Some have offered the idea that the WTO needs some sort of representative executive body.

Canada's Trade Minister Pierre Pettigrew offered his support, although he drew an unfortunate comparison to the UN Security Council (Please, Pierre, no vetoes!). WTO Director General Mike Moore contends the WTO must tread lightly regarding any

reform around membership and representation. "There are a number of smaller countries fearing that reform based on a constituency (e.g. trade-weighted) basis or a committee would leave them out."

Other developing country concerns

Many developing countries lack the capacity to implement WTO rules. For some, even translation of documents is problematic and time-consuming. They are also calling for dramatically increased market access for the least-developed countries.

Coherence issues

What place should the WTO have in the multilateral system? Trade rules affect regulation of international finance, environmental protection, international development strategies, product safety standards, labour standards and other rights. What proper relationship should evolve between the WTO and other international agencies and treaty regimes? Are there mechanisms which might allow a reformed multilateral framework of global governance to function in a more co-ordinated manner? Do the means exist to forge a shared political vision? Some more conservative WTO watchers circumscribe the 'coherence debate' and focus only on the WTO's relationship with the Bretton Woods institutions (IMF and World Bank). Others say that involving other parts of the system, including UN agencies like the ILO, UNDP or UNEP, is unavoidable.

Democratic accountability

In a recent speech to a committee of the British House of Commons, Mr. Moore said "Many people feel that decisions which are having a fundamental impact upon their lives are being devised behind closed doors.... If the WTO is to succeed, it must reinforce its democratic credentials."

Accordingly, there have in recent months been a flurry of proposals which would enhance the openness and transparency of the WTO, such as allowing wider and earlier access to WTO documents; opening dispute settlement proceedings to public observation and consideration of amicus (third party) briefs. Further openness would be achieved by expanding NGO rights to observe and participate in WTO proceedings.

Of particular interest to World Federalists have been recent high level calls for some sort of parliamentary body attached to the WTO. Consider the following:

- EU Trade Commissioner Pascal Lamy said recently (at the Davos Economic Forum) that he envisaged the establishment of a consultative parliamentary assembly at the WTO, "in order to strengthen the democratic control of [WTO] work."
- Canada's Trade Minister Pierre Pettigrew said recently that, "The idea has also been mentioned of a parliamentary assembly for the WTO and I have no problems with this idea.... In Canada, Bill Graham has mentioned this in his re-



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

What proper relationship should evolve between the WTO and other international agencies and treaty regimes?

A survey of post-Seattle talk and developments

“We need to involve parliamentarians in a more focused, orderly and organized way....”

— WTO Director General
Mike Moore

port from the Foreign Affairs Committee.... This assembly would not only take ideas from civil society but the communication would work the other way too, helping to explain the WTO to the world's people.”

- And, from the man at the top, WTO Director General Moore, these rather more circumspect reflections: “We need to involve parliamentarians in a more focused, orderly and organized way.... How to ensure that people feel ownership in a real sense is the challenge of those who cherish the democratic principle and have a vision of a world managed by rules, not force, agreements, not power. How the representatives of the people face this challenge will be a key factor in providing a more peaceful, stable world. To do this, the international institutions must be more open and accountable....”

Last year, World Federalists of Canada recommended to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade (SCFAIT) that Canada support creation of a parliamentary assembly for the WTO. The Committee agreed, although its recommendation used a weaker formulation: “giving consideration to the establishment of a Standing Conference of WTO parliamentarians, composed of representative delegations from member-country parliaments.”

The rationale for a WTO parliamentary chamber is fairly clear. The WTO is presently made up of representatives of

governments who ultimately represent institutional interests within a nation-state system. A parliamentary assembly would provide a counterbalancing voice for the world's citizens. Whereas NGOs usually represent specialized interests, parliamentarians, on the other hand, having been democratically elected, are more legitimate voices for the common interest.

Trade and governance debates often boil down to a need for compromise, for reconciling competing public policy objectives. In any mature political community, the most appropriate and important institution for enabling citizens to be represented and forging political compromise is a parliament. The European Parliament offers an example of how a parliamentary assembly, beginning as a consultative body composed of parliamentarians drawn from national parliaments, can evolve to become an elected body with more legislative powers.

So what are we to make of the sudden and surprising high level endorsements of a WTO Parliamentary Assembly? Is the beginning of the democratization of the WTO at hand? Don't bet on it. More likely, one suspects, it is the hope among trade ministers and WTO officials that parliamentarians can be rallied to the cause of “selling” the WTO. This could occur through governments mandating ever more public consultations by national parliamentary committees, or more extensive parliamentary associations or conferences which may meet internationally on occasion

but do not take on any meaningful deliberative function.

However, it is nevertheless a very positive sign that the debate has been “well joined.” As organizations like the WTO draw power away from national parliaments, it is entirely appropriate that parliamentarians be centrally involved in development of new forums for the participation of citizen representatives in global economic governance.

In order to avoid being derided by a skeptical NGO community, which has already demonstrated its capacity to block negotiations, a WTO Parliamentary Assembly will need to be constituted in such a way that it is taken seriously, by member governments and the public. Although it would necessarily be a consultative chamber, it must be seen to be broadly representative of the world's people and must have a mandate which allows for serious and sustained debate. Even in its initial phase, such a consultative parliamentary chamber would help in:

- recommending new treaties and laws;
- enabling new forms of international co-operation, including relationships with other parts of the international system; and
- facilitating technical support for national parliaments struggling to implement existing WTO agreements.

Most importantly, a WTO parliamentary assembly would provide an important forum for the WTO's critics and supporters.

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Foreign Minister Axworthy talks with *Mondial*

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Against this backdrop, Mr. Axworthy also defends the responsibility of the international community to “intervene in a national system in order to protect human rights.

“We have got to redefine what we mean by security itself, not to the exclusion of the more traditional concept of national security, defence and so on, but it has to be tempered and balanced by individual risk problems...

“We are focussing most specifically on the area of conflict and civilians because they are now not only the victims but the objects of conflict.

“We assert that there is a much stronger precedent in the UN Charter and conventions on genocide, human rights and torture to say that nation states, their rulers and even the warlords inside them, cannot hide behind the fence of absolutist sovereignty.”

While the UN Charter does set out the nation state as sovereign in Article 2.7, Mr. Axworthy said it also talks about the United Nations’ responsibility to protect the rights of people. “The fact that that part of the charter hasn’t been given the same emphasis as Article 2.7 is something that I think needs to be changed.

“There is a tension between the traditional sovereignty argument and the emerging international system of humanitarian laws — on land mines, on small arms, on protection of children, torture, and genocide — and neither one can necessarily supercede the other because I think we still

increasingly need nation states to carry out international norms.”

On UN Reform

The tension between sovereignty and humanitarian intervention, nowhere more evident than in the Kosovo conflict last year, points for many people to the need for reform at the United Nations. Mr. Axworthy agrees but cautions against expanding the number of permanent members on the Security Council and, as a consequence, the number of vetoes.

“You can expand the Security Council itself and maybe find categories where some countries serve for longer periods — maybe a country like Japan gets a 10-year term — but it should not be given the veto.” Mr. Axworthy points to a case where the mandate for UN peacekeeping forces in Macedonia needed to be extended by the Security Council. “China vetoed it because Macedonia was taking aid from Taiwan.... Now if you ever wanted to see an act of collective insanity, there it was. China exercised its veto contrary to the broad interests of collective security and humanitarian concerns simply to serve its own peculiar national priority.”

Mr. Axworthy suggested “the fact that some of us run for election to the Security Council means that we’re more accountable” than the permanent members. But reform should also look at expanding the role of the General Assembly, he added, possibly with an assembly of elected

parliamentarians. “I would certainly like to see that happen.”

“There are other changes going on now that feed into this — the increasing influence of the international NGO community as a political force and the increasing need to have better parliamentary representation — all of these factors could lead to a more dynamic General Assembly.”

Currently, “you’ve got the diplomats and the permanent representatives who’ve become, in some cases, too permanent, and they’ve got their own culture and their own habits and their own ways of doing things, and they aren’t that accountable. A parliamentary involvement would make a big difference....”

Asked about a parliamentary assembly for the World Trade Organization to increase its accountability, Mr. Axworthy reacted positively, pointing to an upcoming June meeting of the Organization of American States. In preparatory talks with foreign ministers in South America, he said they are “wanting to talk about the Seattle aftermath, because they see it not just in its limited or strict trade/investment terms, but in terms of what it means to the international governance issue... how you make it open and transparent and inclusive, as opposed to exclusive.”

On humanitarian intervention

The international community must set “thresholds, markers, tests for humanitarian interventions. It’s not something that

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“We have got to redefine what we mean by security itself...”

'...Greater need for preventive diplomacy'

Continued from opposite page _____

should be used lightly or often. But it needs to be there to make sure the rule of law is enforced when it's challenged in an absolutely egregious fashion," Mr. Axworthy said.

"It also puts a big onus on the UN and other international bodies and regional organizations to substantially increase their capacity for preventive diplomacy, for conflict prevention, for anticipating conflicts, and for resolving or forestalling them so that you are much more effective in pre-empting these problems before they reach a point where there's outright genocide."

Using the Kosovo conflict as an example, Mr. Axworthy said "while we were all busy in Bosnia, everybody kept saying 'Boy, the next trouble spot is Kosovo'... and the international community, while we were there, could have gone to work a little faster and earlier to intervene in Kosovo — not militarily, but in a civil capacity."

The international community could have put pressure on Serbian President Milosevic to set up an independent media, support a broader NGO capacity, or create a human rights commission or an ombudsman system to address the apartheid system created in Kosovo," said Mr. Axworthy, "but we never did. We just let him do what he wanted to do. And that's my point. You need a much more complete toolbox if you are going to deal with humanitarian matters."

Another tool which Canada and a few other countries have

been suggesting is a standing rapid reaction UN force to get to trouble spots in weeks rather than months to avert humanitarian disaster. "We have pressed this all along," said Mr. Axworthy, "but we also have been offset by UN politics in some other countries. For example, we say we're prepared to offer military experts to set up the system. But they say 'we won't accept that. You give us the money and we'll go hire other people' while Canadian military experts are available."

On UN funding

The refusal of the United States to fully pay its assessed UN dues is "craziness," Mr. Axworthy said. "That's insanity, and it's far and away one of the areas of strongest words between us. I think I used the word 'dead-beat' in one of my speeches."

What's to be done about it? "I think we just keep coming at them and keep threatening that they're going to lose their vote in the General Assembly.

"We have to fight out this question that member states must pay their assessed contributions," before considering alternative sources of funding for the UN, Mr. Axworthy said. "The U.S. is not alone. Lots of other countries haven't paid their bills either.... Frankly, it's a little galling when a country like China, which is a permanent member of the Security Council, pays less in dues than Canada. They have a veto; we don't. We contribute to peacekeeping; they don't. They veto peacekeeping; we don't....

"Maybe the Americans have a point, that maybe their assessments are a little bit too high compared to the richest of some countries, and that there are countries who are under-assessed. That can be worked out. But they shouldn't be doing it unilaterally."

In the meantime, Mr. Axworthy said "it's having quite a negative effect on peacekeeping" which has, with some recent exceptions, been voluntary in nature, with individual countries paying for it. "A lot of countries are getting tired of it, including ours, and saying 'this is not the way to do it. If you're going to have peacekeeping, it's got to be on an assessment basis, every country contributes to it'." **□□**

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

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Both sides of these still very polarized debates are far too frequently talking past each other. There is much room for compromise on the many important issues of global governance and international trade which must be reconciled in the years ahead. A bona fide WTO parliamentary assembly would help.

Editor's Note: A panel discussion on the proposed WTO parliamentary assembly, featuring SCFAIT Chair Bill Graham, will form an important part of the World Federalist national conference June 2 to 4 in Ottawa.

"...You need a much more complete toolbox if you are going to deal with humanitarian matters."

Russian remilitarization raises concerns

by **Simon Rosenblum**

In early January, then-Acting President Vladimir Putin put his strong mark on Russian military policy.

In what is already known as the "Putin doctrine," Russia revamped its national security policy by dangerously lowering the threshold for using nuclear weapons. The new document — the 21-page Concept on National Security — says nuclear weapons can now be used "in the case of the need to repulse an armed aggression if all other means of resolving the crisis situation are exhausted or have been ineffective."

This is a radical departure in nuclear doctrine from the no-first-use pledge made by Mikhail Gorbachev. Russia abandoned this no-first-use pledge in 1993, and in 1997 a national security document had substituted a vague formulation that called for the use of nuclear weapons "in case of a threat to the existence of the Russian Federation as a sovereign state." The new formulation "to repel armed aggression" is a much more elastic definition allowing a significantly easier recourse to the use of nuclear weapons.

This easing of the restraint to resort to a nuclear option clearly broadens the circumstances in which Russia might actually use nuclear weapons. The nuclear threat has been extended to smaller-scale conflicts. For example, it is now not inconceivable that Russia, frustrated by its inability to seal its frontier with Georgia, might use tactical

nuclear weapons. With its conventional forces in disarray, combined with a heavy emphasis on the use of force to quell "internal" unrest, trouble lies ahead.

The renewed Russian preoccupation with keeping its vast federation of 89 regions intact suggests that Moscow might be willing to take extreme measures to remedy its declining ability to control those regions now that its economic power over them has


"The 'us-against-the-world' mindset currently prevailing in Russia is most troublesome. Russia is feeling weak and threatened. Paranoia is running high...."

largely disappeared. Putin's doctrine is in stark contrast to President Yeltsin's early declaration that the regions should "take as much autonomy as they can swallow." It is no wonder that Georgia's President Eduard Shevardnadze is becoming increasingly nervous.

The brutal campaign being waged by the Russians in Chechnya is a vivid illustration of Russian militarism at work. Russian generals — in a highly disproportionate response — have presided over frequent mass executions, torture and rape. The atrocities committed by the Russian military have been well-documented by human rights agencies. Human Rights Watch,

for example, has reported: "We are uncovering a pattern of summary executions throughout Grozny." Putin's pledge, to observe human rights and to respect legal and democratic norms, is still waiting to be fulfilled.

In Russia's March 26 presidential election, Vladimir Putin — a veteran KGB spy — received an overwhelming mandate. What can we expect from a Putin presidency? George Soros, who follows Russian affairs closely, predicts that a Putin presidency will be "authoritarian and nationalist." The 'us-against-the-world' mindset currently prevailing in Russia is most troublesome. Russia is feeling weak and threatened. Paranoia is running high. Western policies have played a part in creating such a mood but they are largely a result of domestic problems.

The consequences of a renewed Russian militarism may be significant, not only regionally but to international security as well. Russia may no longer be a superpower but it retains a vast nuclear arsenal. The recent change in Russian nuclear weapons doctrine would be bad enough, but it is doubly so when combined with a major deterioration in Russia's early warning systems. The dangers of intentional or accidental nuclear war have increased as a result of these developments, and we must view them — as Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy suggested — with "some serious apprehensions." 



Simon Rosenblum is a member of the WFC Executive Committee.

Millennium Forum a milestone for NGOs

Another milestone in the growth of the global civil society movement is about to unfold at the United Nations.

From May 22 to 26, one year after NGOs organized the largest-ever international peace conference at The Hague, NGOs from around the world will participate in the Millennium Forum.

The Forum will focus on the theme of *The United Nations in the 21st Century*. Sub-themes include: (1) Peace, Security and Disarmament; (2) Poverty Eradication; (3) Human Rights; (4) Sustainable Development and Environment; (5) Facing the Challenge of Globalization, Achieving Equity, Justice and Diversity; and (6) Strengthening and Democratizing the United Nations and International Institutions. Bill Pace, Executive Director of the World Federalist Movement based at the United Nations, is co-convenor of the last sub-theme.

About 1,400 civil society representatives are expected to attend the Forum. This figure represents the capacity of the United Nations General Assembly facilities. Indeed, one of the strengths of this conference, which distinguishes the Millennium Forum from the successful NGO parallel events built around UN Conferences in the 1990s, is its representative character. Participants will be representative of civil society geographically, thematically (i.e., an equal number of participants for each of the six sub-themes), and by gender.

Guest speakers will include

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, Deputy Secretary-General Louise Frechette, High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson, and Nelson Mandela. Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy has been invited to address the Forum.

The Forum is part of preparations for the UN's Millennium Assembly and Millennium Summit in September. The mandate for the Forum arises from an invitation from Secretary-General Annan, first in his 1997 UN Reform proposals and on numerous other occasions. His suggestions were eventually endorsed in a resolution from the General Assembly.


Although governments called for the Millennium Forum, they have been collectively unwilling to pay for it. The Forum's lack of financial resources puts in some doubt the ability of Forum organizers to bring together the desired civil society experts. A last-minute fund-raising drive is in full swing.

The main product to emerge from the Forum will be a report which will be transmitted through the Secretary-General to governments. This Forum Report will also serve as a benchmark for UN reform efforts by NGOs worldwide.

A major task of the world community in the 21st century will be to strengthen and augment institutions capable of implementing and enforcing international standards.

How will these political changes come about?

The great revolutionary transformations marking the milestones of humanity's political progress have never been promoted by the established powers. These powers try to rule the new course of events with old assumptions, ideologies and instruments of power. Revolutionary change, which creates new institutions and higher forms of political coexistence, is more likely come about due to the impact of new social forces.

As humanity enters a new millennium, the UN's member states appear paralyzed and collectively unable and unwilling to act on behalf of a more effective United Nations in the 21st Century. Perhaps the NGO Millennium Forum will contribute to the changes which we know must be made. 

— by Fergus Watt, Executive Director of WFC.

... great revolutionary transformations marking the milestones of humanity's political progress have never been promoted by the established powers.

WFM Recognized

The Yearbook of International Co-operation on Environment and Development 1999/2000 from The Fridtjof Nansen Institute, in its section on Non-Governmental Organizations, has included the World Federalist Movement as one of the "23 most important Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) involved in international co-operation on environment and development."

Deja-vu all over again on ICC

by Fergus Watt

Tell me if you've heard this one before. The government of the United States of America wants an International Criminal Court (ICC)... only if it can shield U.S. nationals from the court and use its veto at the UN Security Council to control the court's jurisdiction.

Delegates to the ICC Preparatory Commission (PrepCom) meeting, March 13 to 31 at the United Nations, had more than the usual quota of corridor gossip following U.S. diplomatic efforts in national capitals worldwide to introduce a proposal which would change an article and introduce a supplemental document to the Rome Statute. The U.S. proposal was not introduced at the UN except in a footnote to a commission co-ordinator's report which announced that it would be tabled at the last scheduled PrepCom meeting in June, 2000.

The U.S. proposal is complicated, and to the lay reader is an awkward combination of convoluted legalese and bad grammar. So we won't spell it out here. (Its complicated nature explains why it was introduced in national capitals, rather than at the PrepCom, where it would be more likely to find stiff opposition.)

NGOs have criticized the proposal because:

- it would prevent the Court from exercising jurisdiction beyond the stage when an accused is surrender to the court except where the state of the accused's nationality or the Security Council gave its

consent. This would be tantamount to giving a veto over the court to the country of the accused or Security Council permanent members. Proposals to this effect were firmly rejected when the treaty was negotiated two years ago in Rome.

- it seeks to amend the Rome Statute, contrary to the treaty's amendment provisions.

The U.S. delegation has contributed constructively to many other aspects of the PrepCom's work. However, the proposal demonstrates that the U.S.'s (more specifically, the Pentagon's) oft-stated "bottom-line conditions" for accepting and participating in an ICC have not changed. Continued vigilance among like-minded states and NGOs is essential to preserving the integrity of the Statute.

In the meantime, the process of ratification of the Rome Statute by countries around the world is accelerating.

Norway became the seventh state to ratify the Rome Statute for an International Criminal Court (ICC). As of March 8, 2000, 95 countries have signed the ICC treaty. The number of ratifications is expected to grow more quickly this year. The 15 member governments of the European Union have pledged to ratify by the end of this year.

Canadian NGOs and members of Canada's delegation to the PrepCom met March 6 at the Department of Foreign Affairs in Ottawa prior to the meetings at

the UN, which are designed to give further definition to the ICC Rules of Procedure and Evidence and Elements of Crimes. Twenty-one NGO representatives attended the meeting which was organized by the Canadian Network for an ICC.

On December 10, 1999, Canada was the first country to introduce comprehensive legislation in its parliament to implement the changes to domestic law required by the ICC Statute. Canada's bill also will make legal provision for prosecuting war criminals in Canada, overcoming legal obstacles arising from the Supreme Court's ruling in the Finta case.

Two Canadian organizations, the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy (based at UBC) and the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development (Montreal), have collaborated with the Department of Foreign Affairs to produce a technical manual outlining requirements for complying with the ICC Statute.

The next step following production of this 'Ratification Manual' will be the organization of regional training seminars for a number of less-developed countries needing legal technical assistance. The Canadian Network for an ICC (a project administered by World Federalists of Canada) will participate in this second phase, by organizing civil society participation and mobilization around the seminars and broader ratification campaigns.

The U.S. proposal is complicated, and to the lay reader is a bad combination of convoluted legalese and very bad grammar.

Food for federalist thought



Mary June Pettyfer is a member of the WFC Executive.

by **Mary June Pettyfer**

During a single week in early March, Victoria welcomed an unusual number of visitors of special interest to World Federalists.

An international conference of United World Colleges (UWC) on *Visions of Peace for the 21st Century* included speakers such as Dr. Rushworth Kidder, formerly senior columnist with the *Christian Science Monitor* and head of the Institute for Global Ethics; Queen Noor of Jordan, UWC's president; and Julie Payette, Canada's first astronaut on an International Space Station assembly mission.

During the same week on separate occasions, the University of Victoria hosted Christopher Westdal, Canada's Ambassador for Disarmament, Anne Leahy, Canada's former ambassador to Russia (until 1999) and Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy.

Dr. Kidder warned the UWC conference that 20th century ethics were no longer good enough because unethical decisions can now trigger vastly expanded repercussions, thanks to technology. For example, the Chernobyl disaster was due to the "moral meltdown" of two scientists overriding safeguards in an unauthorized experiment. Likewise, 100 years ago, a drunken captain could not have caused the damage of the Exxon Valdes, nor would a lack of moral leadership bankrupt a stable British financial institution such as Barings Bank.

Are we teaching ourselves and tomorrow's leaders to do better? Not according to U.S. research,

reported Kidder, where a majority of students accept cheating in exams as the norm, where term papers are found on the Web, and between 57 and 76 per cent of graduates (depending on the faculty) admitted to cheating to enter graduate school.

Politics and economics are the language of today, said Kidder. "Who's winning? What's the bottom line?" As we move into vast new domains for truth and consequence, we need the language of ethics, he added. And as we ponder questions around genetic engineering, we have to ask "What's right?"

With the use of digital techniques to splice images or sounds into entirely different contexts, such as producing a tape of Louis Armstrong singing music composed after his death, the question we should ask is "What is truth?"

Dr. Kidder suggested that all over the world, people want the same things — freedom, security, a good job. Our shared core values — responsibility, respect, honesty, fairness and compassion — are what unite us.

Ms. Payette, a former UWC graduate, provided a graphic illustration of those shared core values as well as the precautionary principle in practice with a portrait of life in a space shuttle with a disparate group of Americans, Russians and Canadians. "We never ever flick a switch or do an action... without first asking someone else to confirm... that the procedure and the rationale for that procedure is correct and agreed upon."

Queen Noor stressed the need to solve the paradox of globalization that, though it is supposed to bring peoples together, is forcing them apart with the widening gap between rich and poor, and driving people to take refuge — in national, ethnic or religious identity — from an increasingly alien but homogenized world.

Earlier that week, Ambassador Westdal warned a university audience of the "unrelenting threat" of nuclear weapons, suggesting that an increasing number of nuclear players is turning the game of deterrence into roulette. He described NATO's nuclear policy of first use as "hypocrisy" since its members are bound by the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Former ambassador Leahy, also at UVic, suggested NATO's arms and expansion policies were giving new life to Russia's old military guard which is now pursuing a more dangerous nuclear policy and throwing its weight around in Chechnya.

So what are we to draw from all of this?

So much of what I heard validated the vision and goals of world federalism. The world desperately needs the principles of federalism: democratic institutions which are accountable and fair; stronger international laws which uphold the rights, responsibilities and protection of all peoples and our natural environment; codes of conduct which incorporate core values; decision-

...20th century ethics are no longer good enough because unethical decisions can now trigger vastly expanded repercussions...

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Bits and Peaces

by **Simon Rosenblum**

Disarming Iraq

Seventeen international arms experts have been chosen for a new UN commission led by Hans Blix of Sweden. It is charged with completing the inspection and disarming of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Among the new commissioners are three — from Canada, Britain and Finland — who previously were UNSCOM commissioners. The new team is ready to go but has yet to sort out one minor complication — Saddam Hussein won't let them in to do their job!

No First Use: The Wulf is at the door

Although NATO — after some persistent lobbying by Canada and Germany — agreed to conduct a year-long review of its outdated reliance on nuclear weapons, don't look for any helpful participation from the Americans. As a case in point, Norman Wulf, Bill Clinton's special representative for nuclear proliferation, said in early February that Canada is wasting NATO's time: "Questions like 'no-first-use' enter almost into what I call theological issues." As for Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy, the U.S. envoy was dismissive saying that he "comes from a different world." The NATO report is due in December.

Ballistic Missile Defence

Despite continuing test failures, the Pentagon is determined to proceed with building a limit-

ed national missile defence system — even though such construction may jeopardize nuclear arms control treaties with Russia. The Clinton administration, not wanting to be seen as "weak on defence" in an election year, seems desperate to give the green light and is anxiously awaiting the results of a May test. If there is any way to put a positive spin on the upcoming test, you can rest assured they will.

UN Security Council reform: All he is asking

In early March, Theo-Ben Gurirab, president of the UN General Assembly, asked the working group on Security Council reform to try harder: "Here we are again, starting the seventh year of the work of the Open-ended Working Group on the reform and enlargement of the Security Council. Can't we try very hard to move the process forward by taking some decisive steps where there's agreement to show real progress in the 21st century? That's all I ask." While it is apparent that both the present veto system and limited number of permanent memberships on the Security Council are obstacles to good global governance, the current prospects for change are slim.

WTO Worries

Some interesting WTO-related developments in Washington: In early March, the WTO upheld a complaint by the European Union that "foreign sales corporations" — tax-avoidance vehicles worth about \$3.5 billion a year — act as illegal export subsidiaries to firms based in America. American businessmen are up in arms. On another front, the

White House probably does not have the votes in Congress right now to grant China permanent trading privileges in the US market. This arrangement is a crucial piece to China's application to join the World Trade Organization. On a final WTO note, Paul Krugman, a prominent liberal economist, has recently become a *New York Times* columnist. In his inaugural column, he noted that the Seattle protests gave the American left a new lease on life. Too bad, he concluded, this had to be on the backs of workers in the developing world.

Never Again

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan has appointed an eight-member panel to study UN peacekeeping efforts with the aim of preventing any repetition of the "appalling failures" in Rwanda and Bosnia. Annan kicked off the review by noting "we must not promise too much, or raise expectations higher than are justified by the will of governments to act. But we must do whatever we can to raise the standards of international behaviour and responsibility." On a related note, an article by Alan Kuperman in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs* demonstrates that one major reason why the world failed to act to halt the genocide in Rwanda was that the reporting was so poor: we didn't hear what was going on until it was at least half over. Kuperman's analysis also suggests that a last-minute military intervention could not have saved most of the victims. Half of the genocide would have been already completed by the time help arrived. Obviously there is much to study.

Branch News

Vancouver — “Philosopher’s Tea” discussions are how WFC Vancouver branch meetings are now advertised. Sixty-five people came out to a “Philosopher’s Tea Panel” recently on “*Globalization’s Impact: What’s happening to our Environment, Biotechnology-safety, and Culture?*” Speakers included Steve Shrybman (West Coast Environmental Law Association), Sid Katz (UBC Pharmacology), John MacLachlan Gray (playwright and *Vancouver Sun* columnist), and human rights activist Jennifer Wade. The globalization theme was also front and centre at a meeting in January which included a review of Thomas Friedman’s *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*. Branch meetings are held the third Thursday of the month, usually at the Unitarian Church.

Toronto — Attending Shirley Farlinger’s 70th birthday party on January 21 were several World Federalists, including Ruth Boyer, Dorothea Sheasby Jay Cestnik, Richard Earle, Eva and Donn Kushner and Derek Paul. Shirley chose a novel — and successful — approach for her celebratory dinner at Bloor Street United Church. Prior to tributes from family, a representative from each of 10 peace organizations to which Shirley belongs spoke for two minutes. Contributing to the program was WFC’s Paul Dilse with his description of the work of the World Federalists of Canada — *Love & NGOs Make The World Go ‘Round*. The format provided an opportunity for Shirley’s 100

guests to hear about the valuable contributions made by all 10 groups and consider joining those new to them.

Winnipeg — Former Manitoba Premier Howard Pawley will give this year’s Robson Lecture, September 10. Monthly branch meetings were held March 19 and April 16. Call Karl Grupe (204) 757-4794 for more information. The irrepressible Cec Muldrew was recently presented the Winnipeg YMCA Peace Medal. Branch members were saddened to learn of the recent death of Margaret Robson. Mrs. Robson, who was 95, had been a member of the World Federalists in Winnipeg, along with her late husband Harold, since 1950.

Montreal — Branch members met on March 21. In addition to the regular Issues Action business, Carol Greene distributed copies of a booklet outlining the history of the World Federalist Movement (produced by the international office in New York). A number of branch members are planning to attend the June conference in Ottawa.

Victoria — Regular monthly public meetings, 1:30–3:30 p.m., on the last Friday of each month began in the office building of the First United Church on Balmoral at Quadra. Attendance continues to grow. Discussions focus on selected issues and ways for World Federalists to become more activist. The Victoria Branch will present related resolutions to the General Members’ Meeting in June.

Issues Action Groups have been less successful due to lack of regular briefing papers. One group meets regardless.

Victoria’s AGM April 8 heard Dr. Fred Knelman speak on *The Threat of Globalization and The Globalization of Threat*.

April 22, Victoria World Feds planned as always to join in the Earth Day walk to the British Columbia legislature and have a table at the ensuing events. They unfurled a new colourful banner made by Marya Nyland.

A larger-than-usual contingent from Victoria will attend the GMM in Ottawa, the majority flying out June 1 and returning June 4.

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making at the most local level possible (the principle of subsidiarity), be it municipal, provincial, national or continental; a rapid reaction capability with skilled peacebuilders; and education for peace that teaches the values of ethnic diversity and builds respect for our common heritage.

More than anything, these visitors confirmed that federalists cannot limit their focus to two or three issues. Our mandate is to promote world federation, and that includes a worldful of issues. As our visionary forebears saw a century ago, the need is there. Today, it is more urgent than ever before. ☐

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.

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