

Building a world community

mondial

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plus UPDATES:

ICC, R2P, COPLA Campaign



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Citizens for Global Solutions

Citizens for Global Solutions - Our MONDIAL Debut

Greetings All!

Beginning with this issue, CGS will be contributing news, commentary, and announcements in a special section of the printed publication and the online version of Mondial. On behalf of our entire community, I wish to thank the World Federalist Movement - Institute for Global Policy editorial team for making this excellent newsletter possible and for the opportunity to regularly add American-oriented content of specific interest to our members. Thanks especially to Fergus Watt for assisting us to adopt the editorial process employed by WFM-Canada.

Citizens for Global Solutions Education Fund is the United States' member organization of the World Federalist Movement. Founded in 1947 as the United World Federalists, and for many decades known as the World Federalist Association, CGS experienced a difficult learning curve over the last several years, with nearly a total loss of paid membership, and much of its capital. We came close to extinction.

I am most happy to report that CGS is rebounding with vigor! Things are looking up. Reconstituted as a volunteer-led organization, with countless hours of volunteer time and effort invested, CGS is focused once again on federation as a key to global peace and prosperity. We have organized a capable committee structure, built and adopted a strategic plan, achieved financial stability, and begun to once again produce meaningful programmatic initiatives. We are most excited by the advent of our new globalsolutions.org website.

Tough challenges lie ahead. Chief among them are finding effective ways of recruiting and retaining members and engaging youth. Making the hill much steeper, we American world federalists are confronted with a president who has dismantled the foreign-policy establishment, embraced nationalism, and subordinated everything to American sovereignty.

Thanks to Donna Park, chair of one of our two corporations, for her superb orchestration of our CGS re-emergence. Much of our progress is due to her exceptional commitment and skill. And thanks to our new volunteer editor, Peter Orvetti, for taking on the Mondial task.

Our volunteers are stretched thin. We need more. Please connect with us if you have any time to give and interest in any area of our work, be it communications, fund-raising, programs, chapter development, event planning, etc.

Forward to a United Federation of Nations!

Larry M. David, Chair
Citizens for Global Solutions Education Fund

Chuck Woolery is a member of Citizens for Global Solutions and served as Issues Director when the organization was known as the World Federalist Association.



Bolton Is No Einstein

by Chuck Woolery

John Bolton's rant against the ICC is exactly why we are in an endless war against terrorism, a tactic that cannot be readily defeated and part of an evolving conflict that we cannot win. Our freedom and security are increasingly vulnerable given the ever more rapid evolution of war and the continuing development of ever more destructive weapons.

The Trump Administration that Bolton represents puts us at even greater risk. It is accelerating our government's dysfunction by moving us backward toward nationalism instead of forward toward increasing global cooperation that is essential for effectively addressing the growing array of global threats

to all our cherished freedoms as well as both our individual and our national security.

Bolton claims that protecting our national sovereignty is essential to protecting our national security, but just the opposite is true. If Bolton and the American people understood exactly what unlimited national sovereignty really involves, they would understand it is literally a dead end.

"Unlimited national sovereignty" is essentially the freedom of every national government to do as it pleases regardless of how its actions affect the human rights of individuals inside or outside of its boundaries. When our U.S. government puts our national interest above

the human rights of those in other nations, we invite accusations of injustice from those individuals and governments.

Those who fashioned the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (the 70th anniversary of that declaration was marked December 10th 2018) knew what was needed to prevent future wars and even greater threats to human life in the future (unprecedented new weapons technology, genocidal governments) and the lethal consequences of poverty (hunger, infectious diseases and pandemics).

Why would anyone want to mass murder Americans? Real or perceived injustices drive extremist action. U.S. foreign policy has consistently put the protection of powerful and often murderous and repressive governments above our greatest ideal of protecting human rights. Claims that terrorism is blowback to our wavering from our pledge of “liberty and justice for all” have some legitimacy. The chant “No justice, no peace” should be changed to “No justice, no security” because without security we can kiss our freedoms goodbye.

The passage of the Patriot Act and our intelligence agencies’ mass violation of our 4th Amendment in an all-out effort “to keep us safe” was only the beginning. Imagine the future as those hostile to our irresponsible foreign policy acquire increasingly affordable and powerful dual-use technologies (bio, chemical, robotic, drone, cyber and so on) to use against this country. Nothing and no one will be safe.

We have two basic choices in moving forward. We can choose the “Rule of Law” which requires justice and the protection of human rights for all, or we can continue down the path of the “law of force,” better known as “war,” which involves no concern for either justice or protection of human rights.

The International Criminal Court intends to move us in the right direction by holding powerful individuals accountable for mass murder when it results from genocide, war crimes, or crimes against humanity. So far, the ICC is not yet what it can and should become, but that is only because murderous leaders of nation states are still not being brought to justice, partly because the ICC still lacks full support from the U.S.A.

Every major religion holds at its heart the idea of the Golden Rule. That’s what justice is all about. Our founding Fathers knew that the only

way of maintaining our freedom was to use our freedoms responsibly. If we use our national sovereignty to irresponsibly invade any nation, assassinate any suspected terrorist, allow collateral damage (the unintentional killing of innocent men, women and children), and sanction other nations to get what the USA wants, residents of our country should not be surprised by the lethal blowback.



John Bolton

Abraham Lincoln once said that the Declaration of Independence was a “golden apple” and the Constitution its “silver frame.” Until we adjust our Constitution to fit the “golden apple” and enforce “liberty and justice for all” globally, as the ICC attempts to do, our freedoms and security will increasingly be threatened.

Trying to preserve a system of global governance that puts the protection of national sovereignty above the protection of human rights is unsustainable given the evolution of weaponry and war.

Albert Einstein, a believer in the global rule of law, was once asked what weapons would be used in World War III. He said he didn’t know but that he did know that World War IV would be fought with sticks and stones. That makes him not just a smart man but a very wise one. And John Bolton? It seems that he’s neither.



World Federalist Congress in The Hague reaffirms fight for global peace, justice and democracy

by Andreas Bummel

Andreas Bummel is Coordinator for the UN Parliamentary Assembly campaign.



Convening July 9 to 13 in The Hague, the world's capital of international law, the World Federalist Movement (WFM) reaffirmed the organization's

Programs discussed in The Hague included the Coalition for the International Criminal Court (CICC), the Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (ICRtoP), the Campaign for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (CUNPA), the Coalition for a Latin-American Court on Transnational Organized Crime (COPLA), the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), and the Civil Society Initiative for a UN 2020 Reform Summit (UN2020), among others.

Priority areas identified at the Congress for WFM's work included continued support of the International Criminal Court, the Responsibility to Protect, promotion of regional integration processes and the democratization of regional organizations, support of the Campaign for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly and of the efforts for a Latin-American Court on Transnational Organized Crime.

In addition, the meeting decided to set up transnational working groups that will explore and promote federalist solutions to major global issues in collaboration with experts and relevant stakeholders.

"cosmopolitan counter-balance to populist nationalism"

Discussing the necessity of the movement's stronger engagement with issues such as migration, global warming, the disruptive impact of automation, artificial intelligence and biotechnology or nuclear non-proliferation, participants emphasized that democratic world federalism represents "a cosmopolitan counter-balance" to the recent rise of populist nationalism.

The topic of world citizenship and the need of strengthening democracy was also taken up during a presentation of the new book *A World Parliament: Governance and Democracy in the 21st Century* authored by Jo Leinen and Andreas Bummel. Introduced and moderated by the newly elected chair of WFM's Congress, Florencia Gor from Argentina, the book launch put a spotlight on how



Group photo: delegates to the July 2018 WFM Congress in The Hague

fight for global justice, peace, and democracy. In a resolution adopted at the meeting, the movement underlined its "primary goal" of institution-building and emphasized its commitment to "the reform and improvement of existing international institutions" and "the creation of new democratic supranational institutions" to cope with "the urgent challenges of our interconnected world and move away from international anarchy and towards world federalism and democratic world governance."

World federalism and global democracy are now more urgent than ever

"While they may appear distant in terms of realization, the goals of world federalism and global democracy are now more urgent than ever," said the movement's newly elected Co-President, Fernando Iglesias, a Member of Parliament from Argentina and former Council Chair, who will serve in this capacity together with Lloyd Axworthy, a former Foreign Minister from Canada.

global democratization needs to be a response to the erosion of democracy worldwide.

Resolutions adopted by the Congress included a call introduced by WFM Japan and the Japanese Parliamentary Group for World Federation on parliamentarians across the world to create similar parliamentary groups to promote “democratic global governance and world federation.” According to another resolution, “global taxes could be one of the promising means to generate funds for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals.”

The Congress unanimously adopted a resolution in support of a UN World Citizens’ Initiative based on the example of the European Citizens’ Initiative and

the creation of an internet platform for “global debates, voting, and elections.” Another resolution expressed “in principle” support of “the concept of a World Community of Democratic Nations as one possible first step towards a democratic world federation.”

As part of a major internal reform, the WFM streamlined its own governance architecture and abolished one of the organization’s bodies, the Council, leaving an Executive Committee and a bi-annual Congress running the organization. It is anticipated that WFM’s next Congress will take place in Japan in 2020.



Towards a UN World Citizens’ Initiative

by Andreas Bummel

While the establishment of a citizen-elected United Nations Parliamentary Assembly remains a key federalist goal, it is possible to pursue complementary efforts towards strengthening global democracy. One such innovation that the Congress of the World Federalist Movement in The Hague supported unanimously this year is a UN World Citizens’ Initiative (UNWCI).

While government-initiated popular plebiscites put forward by elected or non-elected rulers can be highly problematic, instruments of direct democracy, if designed in a right way, can mobilize the positive energy of the citizenry. They can help regain citizen trust in democracy and provide a way to strengthen their political voice. Even in the intergovernmental realm, recent initiatives such as the 1 for 7 Billion Campaign on the selection of the UN Secretary-General or the My World 2015 survey on the Sustainable Development Goals have shown that it is possible to engage millions of people in UN-related issues.

An example and inspiration to draw upon when imagining citizen participation at the UN is the European Citizens’ Initiative (ECI), the only existing

transnational tool of participatory democracy. The ECI was introduced with the Lisbon Treaty on the European Union (EU) that entered into force in 2009. The instrument allows for citizens to identify a problem, propose a solution and submit their proposal to the European Commission for review if they manage to mobilize the support of at least a million EU citizens. So far, there have been four successful initiatives and six others are still open.

A similar instrument could be established at the UN to allow for citizens’ input. The fundamental idea of a UNWCI is that if a certain threshold of world citizens endorses a citizen-launched initiative, UN bodies such as the UN General Assembly or the Security Council would have to put the item on their agenda and give representatives of the initiative the floor to make their case. Ideally, the UN General Assembly would follow up and adopt recommendations based on the UNWCI in question or launch an intergovernmental process to adopt or modify relevant treaties. We anticipate that an instrument such as a UNWCI will support the emergence of better synergies and collaboration among civil society worldwide and of a citizen-based global political sphere.



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Towards a UN World Citizens' Initiative – *continued*



Democracy Without Borders has aligned with Cologne-based Democracy International and with the support of other NGOs such as WFM, CIVICUS and Global Justice Now we are building an alliance that will develop the UNWCI proposal and launch a campaign ahead of the upcoming 75th anniversary of the UN in 2020 which we hope will be used as an opportunity for innovation and reform, as the UN2020 civil society initiative suggests.

While the ECI offers a strong example to draw upon, conceptualizing a UNWCI will come with its own challenges, as of course the EU and the UN differ in fundamental ways. However, just as the EU realized that an element of participatory democracy

is important to strengthen the connection between the EU and its citizens, the same thinking should apply to the UN today. A 'magic tool' that the UN General Assembly may be able to use to establish a UNWCI, once all details have been figured out, is Article 22 of the UN Charter, which allows the Assembly to "establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions." The creation of a consultative mechanism like a UNWCI could be seen as a win-win scenario and as part of the UN General Assembly's long-sought revitalization.

Neglected aspects of the United Nations Charter

by Marjolijn Snippe



Marjolijn Snippe is on the Executive Committee of the World Federalist Movement and a founding member of the Centre for United Nations Constitutional Research (CUNCR)

In 1995, Erskine Childers (1929-1996) and I composed a project proposal raising questions about the legal rules governing four specific issues covered by the UN Charter. These issues were:

- 1) financing the UN,
- 2) the economic mandates of the General Assembly,
- 3) international economic and social cooperation, and
- 4) the sovereign equality of member states and their (inviolability of) voting rights.

The project emphasized the authority of the existing (but neglected) legal provisions relating to social, economic and other aspects of the United Nations Charter.

We proposed that a team of highly qualified jurists from all continents undertake an in-depth study of the provisions of the Charter, taking into account where necessary applicable definitions adopted in 1945 by the United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO). We suggested that the outcome of these interpretative findings could be used by legal experts and the UN

diplomatic community, but also by the wider international community (e.g. NGO's and media).

Over the years some of the questions we raised have been addressed in the ever growing literature on UN affairs. Still, it would be desirable that an expert team should take stock of past and present research on the proposed issues needing examination and fill gaps that might be identified.

An important underlying question to answer would be: at what point does the subsequent practices of member states go too far so it can safely be assumed that the behaviour of member states is no longer covered by the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations? The envisaged legal analysis would identify the limits of modification of international treaties (in particular the UN-Charter) by subsequent practice of its member states.

The availability of such an authoritative publication with a comprehensive range of interpretations would significantly assist Charter revision work as well as current and future reforms towards a more democratic United Nations. It would equally assist member states in the formulation of Charter-respecting policies in a wide range of areas, affecting large proportions of humankind.

THE PROPOSED ISSUES NEEDING EXAMINATION

1. Questions relating to financing the UN (Articles 17 – 19)

Can a member state refuse to pay its contribution for explicitly stated reasons of opposition to policies duly adopted by the General Assembly?

Can a member state assert a privileged interest in the policy and/or administration of the UN on grounds that it is one of the members that "pays most"?

Can a member or group of members demand that their nationals occupy specific posts in the UN-Secretariat in view of their contributions, or any other claimed special attribute? (Articles 100 and 101: i.e.: no instructions from any government to UN-staff)

Article 18.2 states that one of the "important questions" on which the General Assembly decides "shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting ... shall include ... budgetary questions." Is the current (since 1986) insistence on budget approval by consensus consistent with the Charter?

2. Economic mandates of the General Assembly

The founding 1945 UN Conference on International Organization (UNCIO) adopted a definition of the word "economic"; it was to be interpreted to include international trade, finance, communications and transport, economic reconstruction and, under "economic problems", international access to raw materials and capital goods. The UN-Charter subsequently attributes economic mandates to the United Nations Organization (Preamble, Articles 1.3) and specifically to the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council (Article 10, Article 13, Articles 55-72).

The Bretton Woods Institutions (including the International Monetary Fund and World Bank) are specialized agencies under the umbrella of the UN (as are the International Labour Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, World Health Organization, etc.), but since 1984 the reciprocity provisions of the relationship of the Bretton Woods Institutions and the United Nations have often been breached, e.g. by dis-inviting the Secretary-General

to the Bretton Woods meetings. Key member states from the global north take the position that international macro-economic policy cannot be determined in the General Assembly (or ECOSOC), on grounds that the Bretton Woods specialized agencies are so mandated.

It has become commonplace to speak of "complementarities" between the UN and the Bretton Woods Institutions, as if the latter are at least co-equal with the UN instead of being UN specialized agencies and an integral part of the UN-system.

Questions:

In view of subsequent practice by member states, what is the legal status of the UNCIO definition of "economic"?

Can a minority of member states deny the extensive provisions in the UN Charter for General Assembly (and ECOSOC) leadership in economic and social matters?

Can a UN specialized agency unilaterally suspend a provision of its relationship agreement with the UN?

Given the leadership/coordinator function over specialized agencies plainly mandated to the UN in the Charter, is it consonant with international law to speak of the UN and any such agency being in "complementarity"?

3. International Economic and Social Co-operation (Chapter IX of the United Nations Charter)

Although various volumes of commentary on the Charter have addressed the Articles 55-60, Chapter IX on Economic and Social Co-operation, at a time of considerable world economic stress and the evolution of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, an overall review of its status in international law would be very useful.

Questions:

How have member states interpreted their legal obligations in the language of Article 55 that the United Nations shall promote higher standards of living, conditions of economic and social progress and development and universal respect for human rights?

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United Nations charter – *continued*

Given the "pledge" of all members-states in Article 56 "to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55, can member states be held accountable for claimed insufficiency of "useful effects" from the provisions in Chapter IX?

4. Sovereign equality and voting rights

The principle of sovereign equality of states laid down in the Charter (Preamble and Article 2.1) is repeatedly ignored in the statements, and behaviour of various member states.

The San Francisco UN Conference on International Organization (UNCIO) in 1945 debated and adopted an explicit definition of "sovereign equality" stating:

- (1) that states are juridically equal;
- (2) that each state enjoys the right inherent in full sovereignty;
- (3) that the personality of the state is respected, as well as its territorial integrity and political independence;
- (4) that the state should, under international order, comply faithfully with its international duties and obligations.

Questions:

Can this adopted UNCIO definition clarify the intentions, and thus be useful in the interpretation of the UN Charter?

Can a member state refuse to participate in the work of the UN on the grounds that its procedures follow the one-nation one-vote Charter principle?

Inviolability of votes

A small number of powerful member states have used direct economic intimidation of weak member states to secure either their votes in favour of decisions or the silencing of member states.

It can be argued that this behaviour goes far beyond the traditional diplomatic practices of states "bargaining" over their votes on different resolutions for reciprocally advantageous ends. Some of the behaviour has taken the form of bribery, intimidation, retaliation or coercion.

The Charter does provide for coercive measures to be taken under some circumstances (e.g. by the Security Council following a determination of a threat to the peace). However, in 1993 the Secretary-General noted that "there is no clear consensus in international law as to when coercive measures are improper."

Questions:

Do these practices constitute violations of Article 2.1 (sovereign equality), Article 2.2 (the "good faith" requirement), Article 18.1 (General Assembly voting), Article 27.1 (each member in the Security Council has one vote), and the UNCIO definition of sovereign equality? Are such practices violations of international law?

If they are, does the membership have any recourse against any member state in violation, and how might such recourse be taken?

CONCLUSION

The founders of the United Nations clearly intended the Organization to have a balance of mandates between tackling the socio-economic causes of conflict, and responding to the consequences of neglect of such causes in threats to and breaches of international peace, security and human rights. In no small part because of lack of knowledge of the provisions of the Charter, the United Nations Organization has been substantially prevented from advancing the Charter's economic and social goals. There are further problems in inadequate understanding of provisions in the Charter regarding the responsibilities of member states in the financial underpinnings of the United Nations.

Also, there are grave issues concerning the inviolability of the independence of votes and expressions of policy of member states.

The correct interpretation and understanding of international law cannot provide the only source of restoring UN mandates and improving the behaviour of member states. But authoritative analysis of the applicable provisions of the UN Charter vital to world peace, economic progress and stability will surely add great value. Also, wider public knowledge of the provisions of the Charter will strengthen, democratize and revive the United Nations System and make it more effective in serving "We the Peoples" – just as it was meant to do by the organization's founders.



Ventotene International Seminar: 35th edition

by Yasmina Gourchane



Yasmina Gourchane is the Membership and Outreach Associate at the Coalition for the ICC, New York

In early September, young world federalists assembled on the Italian island of Ventotene for the 35th edition of the Ventotene International Seminar. From Mombasa to Montreal, Islamabad to Buenos Aires, WFM's delegation of 12 took part in the week-long event, participating in panels as speakers, leading working groups, and networking with other young federalists from Europe and beyond. While the main draw of the Seminar is its packed agenda, with sessions on topics ranging from economy to history to defence policy, it also provides unparalleled opportunities for young activists to engage with one another and grow their networks. The sunny island with a federalist history, as the place where Altiero Spinelli drafted his Federalist Manifesto, serves as an ideal setting for equipping a new generation of young federalist activists with the tools, knowledge and networks they need for an ever-changing world.

WFM participants gathered for a two-day pre-seminar that serves as a crash-course in federalism, giving an overview of WFM's history, goals and projects, as well as a chance for the participants to get acquainted before convening on the island. Aiming for an interactive format, each participant presented on a topic of their choice ranging from federalist solutions to post-conflict situations, to influential female leaders of Pakistan, all of which sparked strong discussions and a flow of ideas from the diverse group.



The island of Ventotene may be small, but the welcome is big. After an opening session, participants and speakers met in the town square, along with residents of Ventotene for a welcome dinner. Each of the ten restaurants on the island provided a different dish, and everyone dined at large communal tables in the shape of E, for Europe. Bringing together locals, tourists and federalists alike, the dinner broke the ice and lay the groundwork for a productive week of work.

This year, WFM took a particularly active role. Nick Christie, WFM EC member and Chair of the Policy Committee, Lucio Levi, WFM Councillor, and Yasmina Gourchane, WFM Membership and Outreach Associate briefed participants on WFM programs, such as the Campaign for a UN Parliamentary Assembly and the Coalition for the ICC. Later in the week, Florencia Gor, WFM Congress Chair, touched on other WFM projects, including the COPLA campaign and the UN2020 initiative. Having active and engaging WFM speakers has always been a key feature of the Ventotene Seminar, bringing a world perspective to complement a focus on the European Union, which many European participants work on regularly. One feature of WFM that attracted the JEF (Young European Federalists) and UEF (Union of European Federalists) participants were the newly launched Transnational Working Groups, established to encourage regular and robust communication between Member Organizations and experts in the field.

Ventotene is truly a melting pot for federalists who come from different countries, generations and disciplines. Participants kept the spirit of discussion alive even outside of the seminar meeting room by continuing the day's debates in their free time, whether over dinner overlooking the Mediterranean, grabbing a Spritz in the square, or on a boat tour around the island. Interactions like these solidified collaboration efforts across JEF chapters, between JEF and WFM, not to mention countless friendships. Nearly four decades on, new generations of federalists continue to return to Ventotene, determined to continue on the legacy of Altiero Spinelli and work towards a more federal world.



COPLA Update

COPLA arrives on the global stage

by **Florencia Gor**



**WFM
Congress
Chair and
Past-
President of
Democracia
Global,
Argentina**

Kick-started five years ago by the small NGO Democracia Global (the WFM Member Organization from Argentina), the campaign to establish a Latin American and Caribbean criminal court against transnational organized crime continues to garner support in the governmental, academic and civil society sectors.

COPLA (acronym for Corte Penal Latinoamericana y del Caribe contra el Crimen Transnacional Organizado) is presented not only as a proposal for a new judicial organization; it is also considered a key strategy towards a deeper integration in a region that desperately needs more and better cooperation.

As proof of the continued commitment of Argentina's leaders to spearhead the intergovernmental side of this initiative, the President included it in his address this past September to the opening of the 73rd United Nations General Assembly. This is the second time that COPLA has been mentioned at the UNGA, after Argentine Vice President Michetti did the same in 2017.

Macri stated that, "For decades, we have gathered here to safeguard international peace

and security. However, we live in a world that is not exempt from serious threats, such as organized crime, cybercrime and terrorism, which require cooperative responses to confront them. During these years, thanks to political will and improved cooperation with our partners in the region and the world, we have managed to dismantle criminal networks of drug trafficking, to increase the number of captures of national and international fugitives and to reduce homicides linked to drug trafficking. We also continue to seek the necessary consensus to create a complementary judicial body at the regional level to fight together against organized crime."

Further regional backing

Another recent institutional development was the signing of the Declaration of Buenos Aires in support of the creation of COPLA. The document was signed last November 1st by parliamentarians and representatives from Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela during a side-event at the Parliamentary Speakers' Forum and Summit in the context of the G20 Leaders' Summit.



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Participants at the side event included parliamentarians from the region, ambassadors and key figures of the Argentine government, including Vice President Gabriela Michetti, Minister of Justice and Human Rights Germán Garavano, Minister of Foreign Affairs Jorge Faurie, and Secretary of Public Ethics, Transparency and Fight Against Corruption, Laura Alonso.

During the opening panel, Camila López Badra, Executive Director of Democracia Global and COPLA campaign coordinator, highlighted the NGO's leading role in promoting the project and its commitment to "building a judicial instrument capable of stopping and prosecuting the highest echelons of organized crime." She stated that COPLA would be complementary to national judicial systems, working in collaboration with member states and "an independent Court, not subordinated to any regional organization." For Ms. Badra, the statistics are too clear: "Today's fight for human rights is the fight against organized crime."

Garavano believes in the value of this initiative, and he proved it by creating a COPLA Unit within the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights: "Latin America is one of the most violent regions of the world, with the highest levels of intentional homicides, many of them related to organized crime." According to Alonso, we are witnessing the "transnationalization of crime" and COPLA has the potential to be "an excellent tool" to battle corruption at the regional level.

Vice President Gabriela Michetti, a dedicated supporter since the campaign's inception, closed the event stating that "COPLA could be a very effective instrument to make progress in the path of fighting against organized crime."

A draft statute has been drafted by a group of experts in international criminal law and regional integration. Prof. Christian Cao, the group's coordinator, expressed that "nowadays, organized crime looks for large amounts of money in order to boost and continue to develop and deploy these transnational crimes" [...], hence "establishing a complementary

judicial tribunal that can prosecute the leaders of these groups is a demand of the 21st century."

What next?

The support of the Argentine government since the early stages has been key in the advancement of COPLA. However, Octavio Silliti, Legal Adviser for the Argentine Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, believes that one of the main internal challenges is "to reach the goal of making COPLA and its objectives a state policy beyond the political inclination of subsequent governments." For Argentina the challenge is also "to achieve a fluid communication and coordination among the different Ministries of the Latin American and Caribbean countries" and "to create a Commission of Legal Advisers appointed by the governments of the member states."

COPLA campaigners draw parallels with the model that first inspired it, the International Criminal Court. In the case of the ICC, a coalition of NGOs and a group of like-minded governments worked together at every stage to improve the draft statute and to provide a wide understanding of the need for such an institution. There is already an undeniable social consensus on the urgent need for a regional approach to the crisis of violence. COPLA advocates need to voice this social demand for security so that governments feel compelled by their citizens to take action.



Suggested reading:

An in-depth expert analysis of the COPLA proposal is available in the paper, "COPLA: A Transnational Criminal Court for Latin America & the Caribbean", by Prof. Robert J. Currie and Jacob Leon (currently available on SSRN).

To learn more about the campaign and its supporters, please visit www.coalicioncopla.org. You can join the COPLA campaign by signing the petition online and sign up to receive regular updates.

Fergus Watt
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UN2020: Landing pad or launch pad?

by **Fergus Watt**

The UN2020 initiative is a civil society-led consortium calling for a United Nations 75th anniversary that includes a meaningful process of stocktaking, renewal and reforms that strengthen the organization.

The campaign is led by WFM-IGP and a growing network of civil society partner organizations. On the basis of consultations in 2017 and 2018 with governments, secretariat officials and NGO colleagues, there is now a growing recognition not only of the current challenges facing multilateralism, but also the need for a dedicated, General Assembly process that builds upon present and ongoing Secretary-General-led reforms to generate international support for a more robust and coherent UN system, one that is better able to respond to the challenges of the 21st century.

proposed 2020 Summit, there are questions regarding the possibilities and scope of any 2020 outcome that would lead to reform and renewal of the UN system. This gives rise to the “landing pad vs launch pad” debate. Will 2020 be a landing pad for world leaders to adopt agreed measures for renewing the UN system? Or will the Summit Outcome provide a launch pad for additional discussions in the years following on ways to improve and strengthen the system?

Popular support for a UN2020 Summit continues to grow. Some other noteworthy recent developments include:

A resolution in August adopted by over 1,100 organizations at the 2018 UN NGO / DPI conference included a recommendation to Member States to “Advance people-centered multilateralism by developing proposals to revitalize the United Nations on the occasion of its 75th anniversary in 2020.”

A resolution at the October 2018 meeting of the World Federation of United Nations Associations calls on “All United Nations Associations and WFUNA to join the call for a UN2020 summit to serve as a catalyst for fundamental renewal, reform and strengthening of the UN system . . .”

“Together First,” led by UNA-UK, was launched November 11-13 at the Paris Peace Forum. Supported by the Swedish Global Challenges Foundation, Together First is a worldwide network of scholars and activists, generating substantive proposals for strengthening global governance and the United Nations.

On December 10, Spanish Foreign Minister Josep Borrell, writing in *El Pais*, said that “. . . We support the Secretary-General’s efforts to make the UN a more useful tool in the fulfilment of its goals. . . . In 2020 the UN turns 75 years old. That may be a good time to discuss at a summit some institutional changes needed to enhance the legitimacy and effectiveness, such as Security Council reform, to make it more representative and to limit the use of the vetoes of the great powers, or the



The campaign was dealt a setback in August when a proposed General Assembly resolution (in the context of the Ad Hoc Working Group on GA Revitalization, AHWG) failed to generate consensus around language that “called for timely preparations for the seventy-fifth

anniversary of the United Nations.” Opposition came from Algeria, Indonesia and some other members of the Non-Aligned group of states.

The failure to obtain agreement on a mandated preparatory process for 2020 also led to a loss of time. Often it is the case with UN conferences that these preparatory processes, with discussions regionally, in national capitals as well as at the UN, and including involvement of civil society, provide the necessary political momentum for successful multilateral negotiations. The 2015 Sustainable Development Goals and the recent Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration are two recent examples.

Now, with less than two years before a

establishment of a Parliamentary Assembly, thereby strengthening the role of civil society and the democratic dimension of the multilateral system.”

The PyeongChang Global Peace Forum 2019 will be held in PyeongChang, South Korea from 9 to 11 February, 2019 under the theme “Agenda for Peace from PyeongChang to the World – PyeongChang Appeal for Peace (PCAP) 2030.” The PGPF 2019 aims to make use of the momentum created in the Korean Peninsula during the PyeongChang Olympics in 2018 for peace-building in Asia and to link peace to other global agendas. A follow-up global forum is planned for February 2020.

Importantly, over 70 civil society representatives participated in the “UN2020 Information, Organization, and Strategy Meeting: Responding to Multilateralism in Crisis” that took place in New York on October

15 2018. The meeting set the direction for the UN2020 campaign’s support to civil society mobilization in 2019 and 2020.

Following this summer’s failure of the AHWG resolution to deliver a mandate for a UN2020 process, there is a need now for a stand-alone General Assembly resolution. At a meeting with NGOs on December 5th, the President of the General Assembly, Maria Fernanda Espinosa Garcés said that her first priority is the revitalization of the UN, to make it fit for purpose, and that she has begun consultations with a number of Member States about the need to begin preparations for the 75th UN anniversary summit.

The UN2020 campaign looks forward to working with Ms. Espinosa, and the co-facilitators that are expected to be appointed soon for a resolution leading to the proposed UN Summit in 2020.



R2P Update:

UN SC side event and MENA trainings emphasize prevention

by Marijke Kremin

On 24 October 2018, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (ICRtoP), and the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), working in partnership within the Prevention Up Front (PuF) Alliance, convened a side event to the annual UN Security Council (UNSC) Open Debate on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS). The event brought together a diverse group of gender experts from across the globe to discuss women’s roles in conflict and atrocity prevention. The panel of experienced practitioners discussed the benefits of and best practices for integrating and including women peacebuilders in prevention work. Their interventions reflected their own personal experiences in incorporating and increasing the meaningful participation of women in peace processes, to establish sustainable peace and build resilient societies. The need for gender-responsive mechanisms at all levels, especially when addressing root causes of conflict and creating space for communication, both through networks as well as official channels, were also stressed. A forthcoming policy brief

from the event, to be released in 2019, will generate concrete action points ahead of the UN Commission on the Status of Women meetings in March 2019.

In an effort to build the capacities of civil society representatives to better operationalize the Responsibility to Protect in the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region, the ICRtoP conducted trainings in Beirut, Lebanon in December 2018 on atrocity prevention and RtoP. The trainings were conducted in partnership with the Permanent Peace Movement (PPM) and took place on the margins of the assembly of the regional configuration of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (MENA-PPAC). The trainings aimed to encourage CSOs to further incorporate atrocity prevention lenses into their programming, strengthen regional networks and establish information-sharing channels among actors at all levels, by building the capacity of practitioners already working on conflict prevention and other linked development, human rights, and peace and security agendas.



Marijke Kremin is a Program Associate at the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect at the WFM-IGP office in New York.

The ICC comes under attack – again

by by Yasmina Gourchane

Yasmina Gourchane is the Membership and Outreach Associate at the Coalition for the ICC, New York



On 10 September 2018, US National Security Advisor, John Bolton, speaking at a meeting of the right-wing Federalist Society in Washington DC, publicly denounced the International Criminal Court. He called it a creation of “self-styled global governance advocates,” and went on to announce that “the United States will use any means necessary to protect our citizens and those of our allies from unjust prosecution by this illegitimate court.”

Two weeks later, in his address to the UN General Assembly, U.S. President Donald Trump reaffirmed this position, while also taking a harsh stand against multilateralism and global institutions more generally. “We reject the ideology of globalism, and we embrace the doctrine of patriotism,” he said.

to the United Nations. During his tenure, he negotiated dozens of Bilateral Immunity Agreements with states, both parties and non-parties to the Rome Statute. Under these agreements the signing state would be obliged to surrender any US nationals wanted by the ICC back to the US government, not to the Court. Bolton was also part of the administration when it effectively ‘unsigned’ the Rome Statute, thereby underscoring its intent to never become party to the Court. Now back in government as National Security Advisor, Bolton has a stronger position from which he could initiate further action against the ICC and those who cooperate with it.

In November 2017, ICC Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda requested authorization to initiate an investigation into crimes allegedly committed in Afghanistan, as well as crimes allegedly committed related to the Afghan situation on the territory of other states parties to the ICC. The Prosecutor’s request asserts that there is a reasonable basis to believe war crimes and crimes against humanity were committed by the Taliban, as well as war crimes by members of the Afghan National Security Forces, US armed forces, and the CIA. Although the Pre-Trial Chamber has yet to grant a final decision authorizing the investigation, the US has continued to reiterate its unwillingness to cooperate with the ICC, with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo recently referring to the ‘rogue international court’ as an imminent threat to American sovereignty in a speech to the German Marshall Fund in early December.

These threats against the ICC extend beyond the current US administration. In late 2016, Burundi submitted its intent to withdraw as a state party to the Rome Statute, which took effect one year later. Similarly, in response to the opening of a preliminary investigation into crimes allegedly committed in the context of the Government’s ‘war on drugs’, the Philippines announced its intent to withdraw from the ICC, slated to take effect in March 2019. This wave of anti-ICC sentiment is also felt at the United Nations, with states working to remove references to the Court and international justice from resolutions of the Security Council, General Assembly and other



caption?

Twenty years after the signing of the Rome Statute, the guiding document of the ICC, the Court is facing not only criticisms of its performance and jurisprudence during its first decades, but actual threats that could for example impede its officers from making routine visits and reports to the United Nations.

The Court is no stranger to criticism. Back in the early 2000s, John Bolton was part of President George W. Bush’s administration, serving in a different capacity, as Ambassador

committees. For example, in a recent plenary session of the General Assembly on cooperation with regional institutions, Sudan called for a vote to remove references to the ICC and Rome Statute in a resolution on the Council of Europe.

Despite the persistence of these threats, support for the Court is sustained, primarily because the ICC carries out its work as an impartial international judicial body. Notably, ICC Pre-trial Chamber III ruled earlier this year that the Court maintains jurisdiction over crimes allegedly committed during the time when a state was party to the Statute, meaning that the Prosecutor can still pursue an investigation into the situation in Burundi, covering the period when Burundi was a state party. This ruling would also apply in the Philippines. And in the General Assembly, states stepped up to block Sudan's proposal, and voted to successfully retain mentions to the ICC in the above-mentioned resolution.

Many states and civil society organizations are doing their part to thwart attacks on the ICC. At the General Debate of the 73rd session of the General Assembly, mere days after Bolton's speech, nearly two dozen states referred explicitly to the Court, underscoring its absolute necessity in the rules-based global order. Weeks later, at a General Assembly

session on the ICC, states again stepped up to recall the importance of the Rome Statute system in maintaining international peace and security, as well as its indispensable role in granting justice to victims when domestic systems fail.

2018 also marked the 20th anniversary of the Rome Statute. The ICC Coalition kicked off the year with a launch event at the seat of the Court in February, and with other civil society organizations, called on States, the Court, regional organizations and other NGOs to do their part in commemorating the achievement that is the ICC. This resulted in numerous conferences, seminars and other media events that were held across the globe all year long.

In many ways these threats to the Rome Statute system serve to remind us that the Court is worth defending. World leaders were once able to act with impunity, with no fear of repercussions when they committed grave international crimes. But the very existence of this institution undermines such impunity. The Court was conceived in a more idealistic time, and today faces a challenging road ahead. Yet now more than ever the world needs institutions like the ICC to stand up for victims of the most heinous crimes, and ensure a future that includes a robust system of international justice.



Join Our Global Movement

The World Federalist Movement - Institute for Global Policy has Member Organizations (MOs) around the world that are dedicated to spreading the ideas of World Federalism. Currently our MOs are working on diverse issues such as raising support for the International Criminal Court, strengthening the European Constitution, creating a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly, and reducing small arms trafficking.

In addition to the WFM Member Organizations and Associate Organizations, WFM-IGP's programs CICC and ICRTOP also have thousands of members around the world. For more information on their members, please visit www.coalitionfortheicc.org and www.responsibilitytoprotect.org.

WFM-IGP also welcomes your individual membership in our global efforts to promote the principles of international democracy, federalism, global governance and human rights.

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Keith Best is a member of the WFM-IGP Executive Committee.



European Identity - Fact or Myth?

by Keith Best



From a speech by Keith Best at the 28th European Economic Forum: 4-6 September 2018 Krynica, Poland, "A Europe of Common Values or A Europe of Common Interests?"

European values and interests are both evolving all the time, as is the national identities of the states. Through migration, changing norms of societal behavior, changes in religious affiliation, increased exposure to other values, cultures and cuisine, the profile of all our states is changing. For some of our citizens, that is uncomfortable as the familiar territory of only a few years ago is now very different. That has manifested itself in concern about the unequal distribution of benefit through globalization, scapegoating migrants and a reaction to the multicultural society in which our citizens find themselves. There is no doubt that the main motivations for those who voted for Britain to leave the EU were not so much about the common rules and regulations, but about a sense of disenfranchisement.

There is always a counter-intuition about this debate as, on one hand, there is the fear of migration changing the established norms, habits and way of life (often stimulated through sometimes unconscious and subliminal but deeply seated racism) and, on the other hand, the recognition that migrant workers are essential in a range of sectors.

Beyond economic considerations, the revolution in the recognition of discrimination against women and ethnic groups, and LGBTI rights may have

been brewing for a long time, but these changes have been disconcerting to some. Many societies have been as unprepared for these changes as they have been for the increase in migration and that fault must lie partly at the door of governments. So much more could have been done by forward thinking politicians. Instead, many merely echo concerns over these trends, often for short-term political populist gain.

If we look at common trends now in much of Europe they include a demonstration of these sensitivities – a move to the political right and intolerance of migrants, especially asylum seekers, a growth of nationalism and retreat into introversion and a shift away from a belief in international co-operation, including free trade, as a way of improving the condition of the people. Increasingly, these political views will come into conflict with religious ones – not least as all the major religions embrace a welcome to the stranger and charity to the poor and needy.

There are also the economic consequences of the loss of financial confidence which could carry contagion outside Europe. Thanks to the uncertainty over Brexit, the UK has seen business investment decrease £22 billion from what it would have been – at a time when investment in infrastructure and training is so necessary for productivity. All this, coupled with arguably an over-valued asset market, is a recipe for forthcoming woe. The world, let alone Europe, cannot afford to have Europe implode.

It is the fate and inelegance of most politicians always to be fighting today's battles and problems with yesterday's weapons and not able to anticipate what may come -- unlike Churchill who, in his own words, tried to "peer through the mists of the future to the end of the war," once victory had been achieved, and think about how to re-build and maintain peace on a shattered continent.

We are asked to examine whether we have a Europe of Common Values or a Europe of Common Interests? This underpins another debate between religious values and political interests, which creates its own tensions. Can they be reconciled? Yet to ask the question misunderstands the debate. Religious values underpin most political philosophies even if their provenance is not acknowledged.

Europe has shown itself adept at formalizing and enshrining those values that were so obvious to civilized living in the wake of the World Wars. A notable contribution was made by Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, a leading British Conservative politician who had been one of the prosecutors at Nuremberg, who was instrumental in drafting a large part of the Council of Europe's Convention on Human Rights. The scope of that treaty of course, encompasses 47 countries, a far wider reach than the EU, stretching from Albania and Armenia to Georgia, Turkey, Ukraine and Russia. It enshrines the common values of human rights, democracy and the rule of law.

These core values and their counterparts in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights may have had their roots in Judaeo-Christian philosophy but they were enshrined in secular language and are now accepted as norms that have a global reach. It is true that the East produced a different strand of thought in Confucianism and authoritarianism which is now challenging the utility of democracy in providing wellbeing for the people. It is true, also, that the concentration on individual rights and responsibilities is different from the greater regard given to collective groups but respect for the dignity and safeguarding of the individual is now interwoven with concepts of rights for groups.

It remains alarming that there are still so many people who cannot distinguish the Council from the EU. Arguably, in the UK, one of the greatest arguments for Leavers was the desire to regain sovereignty and much anger has been directed against the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg (the creature of the Council) when the

true bile was meant to be directed against the European Court based in Luxembourg.

I trust that I have given some explanation of European common values, especially in recent times, but what of interests? They, like values, have changed with the times. For most of the last millennium those interests were in deep competition as different countries vied with each other for global empires or were consumed among themselves over territorial and religious conflicts. It would have been difficult at any stage to discern a common interest. That changed some seventy years ago after those countries, showing that common values were insufficient to avert conflict, discovered that the only way forward was to share a common interest in peace and trade. We now live in the greatest trading bloc in the world. Of course, that requires some surrender of sovereignty but even the most nationalist of countries understands that pooling sovereignty can lead to a greater, not lesser, influence.

Security is a major common interest in combating terrorism and cyber crime and requires enormous co-operation between security forces, the police, Interpol and sharing information. Moreover, if the USA is serious about withdrawing more from Europe and concentrating on its Pacific hinterland then, increasingly, Europe will need to find its own solutions. These are matters requiring collective action and not state individualism.

We are living in an interconnected world in which communications, transportable skills and, indeed, cyber attacks do not respect national boundaries. This is not a time for separation but for coming together and exploiting what we have in common rather than what divides us.

There will continue to be many areas in which common interests will not prevail and it is wrong to try to impose unanimity. Sometimes foreign affairs and certainly much domestic policy will not have a universal common interest. After centuries of internal conflict, however, often drawing in much of the rest of the planet, the creation of a Europe of common interests has been one of the greatest achievements in the world. It is a precious jewel that we must keep and develop at all costs. For the sake of ourselves and our children we must rebuild trust in international co-operation and institutions otherwise both humanity and our environment will pay the price.



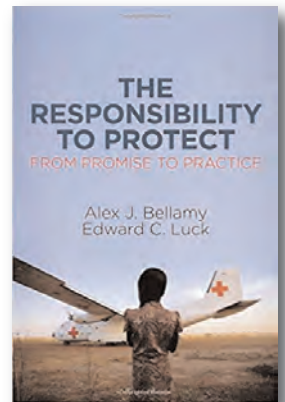
World Federalist Reading



In *Supranational Political Economy: The Globalisation of the State-Market Relationship*, Guido Montani argues for a supranational approach to global governance that will be a better balance between politics and economics. In making his argument, Montani covers the birth and development of international political economy from Bretton Woods through globalization, including current disorder and crises. A supranational approach would follow the principles on which European political and economic integration was built. The system suggested by Montani would accelerate the convergence of rich and poor countries in the aim of a more sustainable global system, while considering globalization and the current ecological challenges as both causes of social discontent and an opportunity. The book demonstrates how a 'supranational' world order enables us to view globalization, world capitalism, and the ecological crises as processes that can be governed. In postwar Europe nation states that had been enemies began a process of integration which led to the abolition of inter-European national borders. With supranational global governance, the same, it is suggested, could be achieved in the global system.

Supranational Political Economy: The Globalisation of the State-Market Relationship
(Series: Routledge Frontiers of Political Economy)
Guido Montani
Routledge, August 2018

It has been over ten years since the international community adopted the principle of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), "a political commitment to end the worst forms of violence and persecution. It seeks to narrow the gap between Member States' pre-existing obligations under international humanitarian and human rights law and the reality faced by populations at risk of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity" (United Nations). However, these pledges to support the R2P principle have failed or often been ignored. In *The Responsibility to Protect: From Promise to Practice*, Alex Bellamy and Edward Luck examine this question by looking past the United Nations and individual states and at the bigger picture of who is present when conflict-affected and other vulnerable populations are at risk. Bellamy, director of the Asia Pacific Centre for R2P and a professor at the University of Queensland, and Prof. Luck, former Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on the Responsibility to Protect and currently at the University of San Diego, are well placed to investigate what would be the best, next approach. In the end, Bellamy and Luck suggest that short-term policies to address emergency situations be combined with policies that will enable longer term change. These are the key to avoiding future crises of the sort we see currently in Syria and Libya.



The Responsibility to Protect: From Promise to Practice
Alex J Bellamy and Edward C Luck
Polity Press, November 2018



The book *Anthropocene* is part of The Anthropocene Project, a "multidisciplinary body of work combining fine art photography, film, virtual reality, augmented reality, and scientific research to investigate human influence on the state, dynamic, and future of the Earth." Utilizing photographs from Edward Burtynsky that are also part of the exhibition, the book includes essays from the authors and others.

The major museum exhibition was at Art Galleries in Toronto and Ottawa, Canada during 2018 and also will open at Manifattura di Arti, Sperimentazione e Tecnologia (MAST) in Bologna in the Spring of 2019.

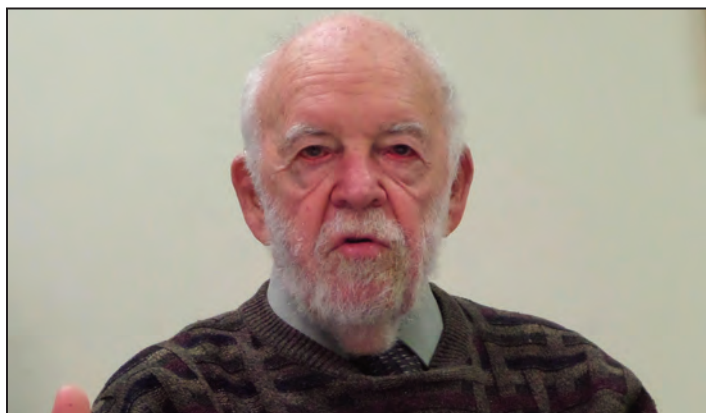
The film, which has been playing in Canada, will have its international premiere at the 2019 Sundance Film Festival.

Further details and content can be found at theanthropocene.org.

Anthropocene
Edward Burtynsky with Jennifer Baichwal, and Nick de Pencier
Steidl, November 2018

A Tribute: Joseph E. Schwartzberg, 1928 – 2018

by Nancy Dunlavy, Director, The Workable World Trust



Joseph E. Schwartzberg, Distinguished International Professor Emeritus at the University of Minnesota (USA), died on September 19, 2018, at the age of 90. He was an intellectual activist leader in the World Federalist Movement, having significant impact at the local, national and international levels. His outstanding book *Transforming the United Nations System: Designs for a Workable World* was published in 2013 by the United Nations University Press and is one of the classic texts in the body of literature generated by our World Federalist Movement.

I knew Joe for the last sixteen years from our collaborative work in the Minnesota peace and justice community. I had the distinct privilege of working with him on an almost-daily basis for the last four years, first as Administrative Assistant and then as Director of the Workable World Trust, which he had created in 2014. Rather than reciting here Joe's many life accomplishments (see <https://www.workableworld.org/about-the-author.html>), I would like to give you a peek into "A Day in the Life of Joe Schwartzberg."

I would arrive at Joe's home most weekday afternoons just after lunch. If we had had any "days off" since our last work day, he would tell me what he had been reading or what filing or writing he had finished since I last saw him. I do not believe that Joe had any ability to just relax!

There were many days when he was excited about a new idea that came to him in the middle of the night. He wouldn't just tell me the idea; he would insist that we sit down right then and take action on it, such as write an opinion piece for the New York Times about a "global Marshal plan" for Syria, or send email messages to the deans at local universities to set up a date to create a "Twin Cities global governance and world citizenship consortium."

After these middle-of-the-night brainstorm ideas had been handled, Joe would ask me "What's on your agenda?" I learned very quickly that I'd better have my topics in priority order, because he wasn't going to listen to my entire list. He would want to handle whatever I first mentioned.

Those of you who have received email messages from Joe know how each one was beautifully composed, poetic and

nuanced. He transcribed those to me on the spot. I marveled at his mastery of the use of words to make a point and move ideas forward.

Mid-afternoon we would have a tea and ginger cookie break. This was the time that I heard many stories about Joe's life, and learned that he had quite a sense of humor. How I now wish that I had taped those sessions!

In the midst of these now-treasured afternoons, Joe would need to change his oxygen tank, or find a cough drop, or replace the batteries in his hearing aids. Those distractions were bothersome to him, and he basically kept working throughout.

And then, at the end of a very long afternoon, as if he had never said it before, he would exclaim "I think we got some important things accomplished today." Indeed, Joe! Indeed!

Here are excerpts from just a small sampling of the condolence messages received by Joe's family:

Bill Pace

Joe was one of the finest advocates for peace and justice and the rule of law in international affairs in our Movement. He spent decades wrestling with the challenges and working on viable proposals. His work on democratic global governance will be recognized for years to come. . . . I will be forever inspired by the extraordinary courage, dignity and honesty Joe demonstrated in his last years of life.

Richard Ponzio

Joe has been a thought leader and generous benefactor of our movement, but it's his compassion, sincerity, limitless curiosity and appetite for new scholarship, quick wit, and sense of humor that will be most remembered among his friends and closest collaborators.

Andreas Bummel

Joe had a razor-sharp mind and to the end he kept considering ideas and projects that can help bringing the world on a better path. Joe was not only an outstanding academic, but he followed his words with deeds.

Maria Florencia Gor

Despite the challenging and frightening nature of our times, Joe always struck a balance between optimism and realism. He stands as an inspiration for us to continue to fight for our cause with a renewed strength, carrying on his commitment to make a more just world.

Chris Hamer

Joe was an outspoken and enormously courageous spokesman and flag bearer for our whole movement worldwide. The Workable World Trust which he set up in recent years continues his legacy, and provides crucial support for a number of our causes.

World Government Research Network [tweet]:

[Joe was] a highly systematic thinker on world order/government who offered some of the most sophisticated treatments of how democracy on a global scale might actually be operationalized. His 2013 book *Transforming the United Nations System* is a very instructive read.

Making Effective Use of Existing Legal Obligations in the Face of Atrocity Crimes

based on Remarks Delivered in the UN Trusteeship Council by Professor Jennifer Trahan,
New York University, October 22, 2018

As we commemorate the 70th anniversary of the adoption of the Genocide Convention, the international community has not done well in ensuring that “never again” means “never again.”

There are three current challenges to addressing the crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. The political landscape is growing increasingly less tolerant of pursuing accountability. And although there is a general agreement that the international community bears a responsibility to protect (“R2P”) against atrocity crimes, in situations such as Syria, there has been no responsibility shown and no protection. And there has been extensive use of the veto by at least some permanent members of the United Nations Security Council.

As to how to strengthen support for international justice in an increasingly hostile landscape, I will simply ring the warning bell that the field appears to be facing increasing challenges and needs the support and engagement of those states and individuals still committed to it.

Over the last twenty years, we have seen the responsibility to protect grow into a broad doctrine, encompassing a “continuum of prevention, reaction and rebuilding,” and formulated in terms of three pillars of responsibility: that states have primary responsibility to protect their population, that the international community will assist states to meet that obligation, and that other states will step in when such protection is not provided.

Too often people speak of R2P as if it is optional, a nice moral aspiration, but nothing more. In fact, there are hard law legal obligations underlying R2P.

Under the Genocide Convention, Article 1 imposes an obligation to “prevent and punish” genocide. The obligation to “prevent” depends on means. In this regard, countries with particular ties or particular positions of influence, or ones intervening in a situation, would have particularly strong obligations of due diligence.

There is also the obligation to “punish” genocide in Article 1 of the Convention.

The International Court of Justice has recognized the obligation of third states to ensure respect for the Geneva Convention.

Next is the issue of the use of the veto power by certain permanent members of the UN Security Council in the face of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.

Veto use has been mixed in the past. The US, UK, and France used the veto related to apartheid-era crime, although sanctions were ultimately imposed. In the case of Rwanda, there was no veto, but permanent members displayed no particular interest in taking action. Periodically, the US has used the veto in reference to Israel, for various reasons. There is also the threat of a veto, or ‘silent veto,’ that results in a lack of timely response, for example in situations in Darfur, Sri Lanka, and Myanmar. And there have been twelve vetoes related to the situation in Syria.

In all these situations, I ask: are these kinds of vetoes in line

with what was negotiated in San Francisco? Are they in line with the UN Charter? There is no indication that they are.

For the last twenty years, there have been a number of initiatives calling for voluntary veto restraint in the face of genocide, crimes against humanity, and/or war crimes. These started with the report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty and have continued with the work of the “Small Five” group of states (Costa Rica, Jordan, Liechtenstein, Singapore, Switzerland), the French-Mexican initiative (now endorsed by 101 states), and the ACT group of states’ Code of Conduct.

These represent twenty years of agreement that use or threat of use of the veto in the face of atrocity crimes is problematic. However, they are all framed as “soft law” legal obligation—as a Code of Conduct or “political declaration.” Moreover, three of the permanent members of the Security Council have not joined any of these initiatives.

Three arguments support the conclusion that there are legal limits to the use of the veto power in the situations discussed:

- 1) The veto power derives from the UN Charter, which is subsidiary to jus cogens norms. Thus, a veto that violates jus cogens norms, or permits the continued violation of jus cogens norms, would be illegal or ultra vires.
- 2) The veto power derives from the UN Charter, which states that the Security Council “[in] discharging [its] duties” “shall act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.” A veto in the face of a credible draft resolution aimed at curtailing or alleviating the commission of genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes does not accord with these principles.
- 3) A permanent member of the Security Council that utilizes the veto power also has other treaty obligations, such as those under the Genocide Convention. A Permanent Member’s use of the veto that would enable genocide, or allow its continued commission, would violate that state’s legal obligation to “prevent” genocide.

To move forward on R2P, we need to remind ourselves that there are legal obligations underlying it. These remarks are not solely addressed to states on the UN Security Council, but also member states of the General Assembly and individual states in their bilateral relations. Are you doing all possible to “ensure” these protections? That is what is required by treaty obligations.

Why did R2P play virtually no role related to the situation in Syria? It was blocked by veto use in the face of atrocity crimes. I suggest a critical look at whether unlimited veto use in the face of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes accords with the UN Charter and international law.

One could even imagine the General Assembly requesting an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on this issue: “Is unrestrained veto use in the face of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes in accordance with international law?” I will end with that thought.

By Monique Cuillerier

The International Criminal Court is currently engaged in ten preliminary examinations, has eleven situations under investigation, and is pursuing 26 cases that involve 42 defendants.

The preliminary examinations are currently being conducted in Afghanistan, Bangladesh/Myanmar, Colombia, Guinea, Iraq/UK, Nigeria, Palestine, the Philippines, Ukraine, and Venezuela.

A preliminary examination of acts allegedly committed in Gabon resulted in a decision not to proceed as there was not "a reasonable basis to believe that the acts allegedly committed in Gabon in the context of the 2016 post-election violence, either by members of the opposition or by the Gabonese security forces, constitute crimes against humanity within the meaning of the Rome Statute of the ICC."

Central African Republic (I)

Referred to the Court by the Government of the Central African Republic in 2004, Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo was found guilty of crimes against humanity and war crimes in March 2016. In early June 2018, the Appeals Chamber decided to acquit him because they found the trial court had erroneously convicted Bemba of specific acts outside the scope of the charges and erred in its assessment of whether he took all necessary and reasonable measures to prevent or punish his subordinates of the other crimes involved.

Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo, Aimé Kilolo Musamba, Jean-Jacques Mangenda Kabongo, Fidèle Babala Wandu and Narcisse Arido were found guilty of offences against the administration of justice. Appeals resulted in new sentences for Bemba, Mangenda and Kilolo in September 2018. Bemba was sentenced to one year imprisonment and fined EUR 300 000, Kilolo and Mangenda were each sentenced to eleven months imprisonment. Kilolo was fined EUR 30 000. All were credited with time spent in detention and as a result the imprisonment portion of their sentences are considered served. The fines are to be paid by mid-December 2018, three months after the decision, and transferred to the Trust Fund for Victims.

Central African Republic (II)

In May 2014 the Government of CAR referred this situation, which focuses on alleged war crimes and crimes against humanity committed since 1 August 2012, in the context of the conflict between Muslim Séléka and Christian anti-balaka groups.

An arrest warrant was issued on November 11, 2018 for Alfred Yekatom and he was surrendered to the Court on November 17. An initial appearance before the Court is the next step in the case.

Côte d'Ivoire

The trial of Laurent Gbagbo and Charles Blé Goudé began in January 2016 and continues. Both are accused of four counts of crimes against humanity. The case against Simone Gbagbo remains at the pre-trial stage as she is still not in the custody of the Court.

Darfur, Sudan

There are four current cases concerning the situation in Darfur, Sudan. The suspects in all of the cases -- Ahmad Harun, Ali Kushayb, Omar Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir, Abdallah Banda Abakaer Nourain, and Abdel Raheem Muhammad Hussein -- remain at large.

Democratic Republic of the Congo

In 2012, Thomas Lubanga Dyilo was convicted and sentenced to 14 years of imprisonment. In December 2017, a decision set the amount of his liability for collective reparations at US\$10,000,000. Implementation of the collective reparations decision remains pending.

The trial of Bosco Ntaganda began in September 2015 and closing statements were made in August 2018. Ntaganda is accused of 13 counts of war crimes, and five counts of crimes against humanity. Deliberations continue and the Court's decision will be made in due course.

Sylvestre Mudacumura, for whom an arrest warrant was issued in 2012, remains at large.

Georgia

An investigation into crimes allegedly committed in and around South Ossetia, Georgia in 2008 was begun in January 2016 and continues.

Libya

The cases of Mahmoud Mustafa Busayf Al-Werfalli, Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi, and Al-Tuhamy Mohamed Khaled remain pending as they all remain at large.

Kenya

Arrest warrants for Walter Osapiri Barasa, Paul Gicheru and Philip Kipkoech Bett for various offences against the administration of justice remain outstanding.

Mali

In September 2016, Ahmad Al Faqi Al Mahdi was found guilty of the war crime of intentionally attacking historic monuments and religious buildings and was sentenced to nine years imprisonment. The Reparations Order became final in March 2018. Al Mahdi was found liable for EUR 2.7 million.

Al Hassan Ag Abdoul Aziz Ag Mohamed Ag Mahmoud was surrendered to Court's custody at the end of March 2018. A confirmation of charges hearing is the next step.

Uganda

The case against Joseph Kony and Vincent Otti remains pending as they are still at large.

The trial of Dominic Ongwen began in December 2016 and the Defence is currently presenting its evidence. Over 4000 victims have been granted the right to participate in the trial.

Other

To date, 123 countries have ratified the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, which marks its 20th anniversary in 2018.

Last year's Assembly of States Parties meeting included the adoption of a consensus resolution on the activation of the jurisdiction of the Court over the crime of aggression, as of 17 July 2018. This year's ASP took place in early December in The Hague.

Sovaida Ma'ani Ewing is an international lawyer, author and founding director of the Center for Peace and Global Governance (CPGG.org).



Why the UN is in danger of becoming irrelevant

by Sovaida Maani Ewing

The World Has Become Interconnected and Interdependent

We live in amazing times! Thanks to incredible advances in communications and transportation, trade, finance and technology, our world has become interconnected and interdependent in ways that are inextricable and unprecedented. In reality, the world is functioning as a single organism with all the consequent benefits and potential dangers. The problem lies in the fact that many dangers that were formerly localized now have the effect of endangering the entire organism very quickly. An example of this is the spread of viruses such as Ebola and SARS that create the risk of pandemics that can threaten the entire world. Another example is that of Syria, where what started off as protests clamoring for political change, evolved into civil war, the rise of insurgencies and the illegal use of chemical weapons. Syria's domestic problems eventually spawned three world-encircling crises: the flow of economic migrants and refugees to Europe and beyond, the creation of fertile soil for terrorist networks to flourish, notably ISIL, and the widening of the scope of the conflict with different countries such as the United States, Turkey and Russia arrayed on different sides of the internal conflict leading some to describe the war in Syria as a "proto-world war."

Yet, in the face of these growing global challenges and systemic risks to the international order, our systems of global governance have lagged far behind in their evolution and to the extent they exist, have demonstrated a remarkable incapacity to evolve in ways that can meet these challenges. Our modus operandi as a world community has been to wait until a crisis has wreaked a great deal of suffering and havoc or until the eleventh hour, before we begin to act: witness the laggardly pace at which we have responded to the siren calls warning us of the disasters that lie in wait as a result of unmitigated

climate change. Our national leaders and international institutions have proven themselves unequal to the responsibility of being proactive and of cooperating and collaborating to manage common problems. To quote a former president of the UN Security Council: "The demand for global leadership has never been greater. ... The world has changed structurally, yet our systems for managing global affairs have not adapted" and so, he concludes: "Our world is adrift."

The UN is In Danger of Becoming Obsolete

Many believe or assume that the United Nations can and will stem the tide of these global challenges and provide the global solutions we so urgently need. This, however, is a mistaken belief. The truth is that the UN was created in a different era and was not equipped with the power, authority, legitimacy or tools it needs to properly address severe global challenges on the order of climate change, global financial crises, pandemics, terrorism, migration, genocide or the proliferation of nuclear weapons to name but a handful of the most severe crises of our times. As time passed, unfortunately, it failed to evolve as rapidly and drastically as was necessary to meet these challenges. Consequently, it stands in danger of becoming obsolete.

Here are some of the reasons why the UN in its present form is not up to the task of managing common problems:

UN General Assembly

Firstly, the UN General Assembly, though providing a wonderful forum for representatives of nation states to gather on a regular basis to consult upon and discuss global affairs, suffers from two obvious defects: firstly, its members are not truly representative of the peoples of the world, in that they are not directly elected by them as members of a national parliament or legislature would be. The institution therefore does not have the

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legitimacy it requires when it passes resolutions urging action in a particular sphere of activity. Secondly, the UN General Assembly does not have the power to pass legislation that is legally binding on all its member states. Consequently, at a time in our collective history when we most need a viable collective decision-making body that can effectively address collective challenges, we find our institutions lacking. For example, we need a world decision-making body (i.e. a world parliament) that properly represents the people of the world to determine what kinds of energy we can use to arrest global warming with its potentially disastrous consequences and to be the trustee for natural resources that are part of the common heritage of humanity, while regulating the production and ensuring the equitable distribution of such resources. We also need a collective decision-making institution that can pass binding

regulations in the financial arena that ensure that we will never again suffer from a global financial crisis that threatens the well-being of our planet.

World Parliament

Moreover, we need a world parliament that has the authority to levy taxes from individuals and corporations that would fund its critical activities that are in the global collective interest. Such a fund might be used to help bail out countries in financial distress (like Greece), or support research and development to find alternative clean sources of energy, or fund the research and development of vaccines to prevent the spread of virulent pathogens that threaten the health of our global society.

Security Council

Such a world parliament would also need to have the capacity to enforce its rules through an

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international executive that does not suffer from the fatal flaws of our current UN Security Council. The current Security Council is not truly representative of the nations of the world. It is also hamstrung by the fact that its five permanent members have the right to veto a decision in support of restoring or maintaining peace even if all the other nations believe it is a good decision. Moreover, the Security Council's mandate is vague and needs to be properly fleshed out so that it can act swiftly and with confidence, knowing that it will not be accused of overstepping its authority. Finally, the Security Council lacks some critical tools it needs to accomplish its mission of maintaining peace in the world. For example, it lacks an international intelligence agency from which it can obtain timely, reliable, shared and transparent information on the basis of which it can make decisions to take action. It also lacks an international police force serving at its behest to take timely, efficient and effective action to nip problems in the bud before they fester into unwieldy disasters.

Need for Executive Branch and International Police Force

To effectively counter our current global challenges, we need to have an international executive that would serve in accordance with a universally-agreed mandate and pre-determined rules arrived at by consensus of all nations. It would have at its command an international police force that would be comprised of units from all the nations of the world. In short, it would act only collectively at the behest of the democratically legitimate parliament in accordance with collectively determined rules and through collective mechanisms.

Need for Effective World Court

Finally, the United Nations system today lacks the ability to forestall many global conflicts because the World Court which is one of its principal organs lacks compulsory jurisdiction to require nations that are in dispute to come

before it so it can hear and decide these cases before they spill over into conflict. It is untenable that at this moment in history when there is so much at stake, and local conflicts can so easily cascade into international conflicts with potentially horrific consequences, including the use of nuclear weapons, that nations are not compelled to appear before a World Court to have their disputes decided peacefully.

Not only does the World Court lack compulsory jurisdiction, it also lacks the ability to enforce its decisions and essentially relies on the honor system for states to comply with its rulings. We would never countenance a national judicial system in which a murderer was either given the option to show up in court to be tried or to opt out of a trial (i.e. no compulsory jurisdiction), or in which such a murderer once found guilty was asked to go and lock himself in a jail cell and remain there for the duration of his punishment. And yet, even though our world is now so interconnected and interdependent, we continue to put up with this manifestly ridiculous system that is not serving us well. It is high time that we create an international court with both the power of compulsory jurisdiction to hear cases that could lead to international disputes and the means of enforcing its decisions, through the agency of an international police force.

Ultimately the larger lesson here is that if global institutions, such as the UN, or policies or procedures are no longer serving the welfare of humanity as a whole and if our systems of global governance are lagging far behind the movement towards global integration and interdependence, then we must be willing either to radically reform them or to create new alternatives that will ensure our peace, security and well-being. We owe this to ourselves and to future generations.

For further thoughts on global governance go to collectivesecurity.blogspot.com or cpgg.org.



A new vehicle for Progressive Multilateralism

by Charles Marsh



Charles Marsh recently worked as Program Associate for the UNPA Campaign at the office of the World Federalist Movement in New York.

Proposal of an Alliance of Multilateralists to Fill Void

German Foreign Minister Heiko Maas has emerged as a leading voice in favor of international institutions and principles of multilateralism. In a world where nationalistic, populist and authoritarian governments are becoming increasingly common, Mr. Maas proposed some striking and somewhat radical counter-measures. Most notable is a proposal he made when visiting Japan at the end of July 2018, that Japan and Germany should start an “alliance of multilateralists” with a focus on the protection and promotion of liberal multilateral values. He noted that this alliance could assume an important role that seemingly is being vacated by an increasingly nationalistic and isolationist USA.

Mr. Maas proposed an alliance where countries could jointly defend existing rules and could continue to develop them where necessary. It could show solidarity when international law gets trampled underfoot. It could also help fill the vacuum that is emerging as some countries withdraw from engagement in some parts of the world. It could be committed to climate protection as one of the greatest challenges facing humankind, and it could assume responsibility for holding international organizations together financially and politically.

International Order Not Supported by “America First”

Mr. Maas perceives the current U.S. administration as failing to undertake the roles required to hold together the post-war rules-based international order. Because of its prioritization of its own short-term national interests under the so-called “America First Policy” the USA has shifted from being a “source of order” into being a “destroyer of order.”

Other members of this proposed bloc would be Mexico, Argentina, Australia, Canada and South Africa. Mr. Maas hopes that by working together these nations would be able to overcome their comparatively small individual roles on the world stage. This bloc is not proposed as a means by which to control or overpower the USA but rather as a way to make it impossible for the USA to control or overpower any other nation.

Multilateralist Proposal Received Mixed Responses

This proposal has received mixed responses. Mr. Maas was openly criticized by Chancellor Angela Merkel for a later opinion piece he wrote where he said that Europe should push more strongly for greater autonomy from the USA. In her retort Chancellor Merkel emphasized the mutual benefit that comes from the Euro-American relationship but strongly rejected the notion that Germany would benefit from pushing for more autonomy from the USA. Nevertheless, her spokesman went on to say that the Chancellor shares many of his views. Thus, her response to his article cannot be viewed as a complete rejection of his views but merely an effort to avoid aggravating the USA.

Mr. Maas’s call for a “rebalancing” of the trans-Atlantic relationship has gained some traction and has stimulated debate. Discussion on European autonomy in matters such as trade, security, and foreign relations is increasing. Mr. Maas’s proposals for a more equitable Euro-Atlantic relationship is not falling on deaf ears, but whether it will result in implementation of his proposed “alliance of the multilateralists” remains to be seen.

Alliance Could Provide Stable and Equitable Global Order

Mr. Maas’s suggested alliance certainly has a great deal of potential. The issue with U.S. “leadership” in the international community is that it will always to a certain extent be undercut by concerns that the USA will exploit its position for its own national gain. This perception delegitimizes American actions on the world stage, making it harder for it to organize and lead collective multilateral actions. This concern has been magnified by the policies of the Trump administration. The USA’s international standing has fallen significantly, and confidence ratings of U.S. global leadership are plummeting.

A novel aspect of Mr. Maas’s proposal is that it seeks to replace the concept of a “hegemon” in the usual sense with a coalition of mutually aligned states. Such an arrangement would minimize the risks of an “enlightened hegemony” mutating into a “predatory



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hegemony” as many argue has recently happened with the USA. No one country would possess the power to unilaterally alter the course of the bloc. Through a focus on issues of mutual concern and mutual benefit the “alliance” could provide a more stable and equitable core to the international community. It would offer a new paradigm for the structure of the global order.

Looking Back and Ahead

Mr. Maas’s proposed alliance seems a bit similar to a view advanced by some idealists of the early to mid-20th century. During a similar period of rising nationalism and growing international tensions in the 1920s and 1930s, theorists such as Clarence Streit proposed that the liberal democratic countries should collaborate to form

the core of a stable world order. Mr. Streit’s proposal that all democratic countries should unite into a single federal union proved to be too much for those countries. Instead they chose to prioritize the preservation of their national sovereignty. Streit’s proposal failed to get enough support before it was derailed by World War Two.

Given the backlash against Mr. Maas’s more recent statements, he and his followers should confine themselves to language focused on what is to be gained by the “multilateralists” such as Germany and Japan while avoiding any open confrontations with the USA. Then the proposal could gain traction without arousing backlash.

Saybrook University Offers New Online Course on World Federation

Beginning in January 2019, the **Department of Transformative Social Change at Saybrook University** will offer a graduate level course on Global Governance and Democratic World Federation. This will be one of the few courses anywhere that explores the history of the World Federalist Movement, proposed models for a World Federation, and possible paths for getting there. Since this course will be offered on-line, students can attend from anywhere in the world. The course will be taught by Associate Director of Research, Bob Flax, PhD.

About the Course

Global Governance and Democratic World Federation has four major sections. In section one, students are presented with an overview of the world’s most pressing problems -- war and global violence, violations of human rights and social justice, and the growing threats to our environment. It will address our inability to resolve these problems, given our current system of global governance. The next section reviews past attempts to build cooperation on a global scale, including the League of Nations and efforts toward a world parliament. Section three provides an overview of our current system of global governance, including the United Nations, the global economy, and global civil society. The final section looks into the future by exploring the possibility of a Democratic World Federation. Here, the course will cover the arguments for and against it, proposed design principles, and possible paths to getting there.

Course activities consist of weekly readings and videos, weekly on-line discussions, three video conferences, and three 8-10-page papers. Those interested in the course who are not pursuing a degree at Saybrook may still enroll and receive academic credit on a space available basis. Contact Admissions for more information (see below).

Here are the required textbooks for the course. You may obtain these through your local library, get them directly from the publisher, or on-line through sites like Amazon.com:

Ewing, S.M., (2015). Building a world federation: The key to resolving our global crises. Washington, D.C.: The Center for Peace and Global Governance.

Hanhimäki, J. M. (2015). The United Nations: A very short introduction. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leinen, J. and Bummel, A. (2018). A world parliament. Berlin: Democracy Without Borders.

Yunker, J.A., (2011). The idea of world government: From ancient times to the twenty-first century. New York: Routledge Press.

About the Instructor

Bob Flax, Ph.D., is Associate Director of Research at Saybrook University and teaches in their Transformative Social Change program. He is a psychologist, organization development consultant, activist, and educator. Bob is former President of the Democratic World Federalists, former Council Member of the World Federalist Movement <http://wfm-igp.org/>, and is on the Board of Citizens for Global Solutions <https://globalsolutions.org/>

About Saybrook

Since 1971, Saybrook University <https://www.saybrook.edu/> has provided rigorous graduate education that inspires transformational change in individuals, organizations, and communities, toward a just, humane, and sustainable world. Its new Department of Transformative Social Change <https://www.saybrook.edu/areas-of-study/transformative-social-change/ph-d-transformative-social-change/> offers courses for both scholars and activists in a wide range of areas, including human rights, public policy, social justice, peace, and environmental sustainability.

To Register

If you are interested in participating in the course and are not a Saybrook student, you may contact Admissions to register. Call 800.825.4480 toll-free during business hours (Mon-Fri 8:30 am-5:00 pm Pacific time zone) with any questions or email admissions@saybrook.edu. Let them know you are not seeking a degree but are interested in registering for course number TSC 7075 Global Governance and Democratic World Federation, offered by the Transformative Social Change Department.