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**Report
1st European Consultation
World Campaign - Global Consultations**

THE ROLE OF EUROPE IN THE REFORM OF UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Perugia (Italy) 10 th October 2003: 5th Assembly of the UN of the Peoples



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Organised and Edited by the Ad Hoc Secretariat of the Ubuntu Forum & World Campaign
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1. RATIONALE

One of the proposals of the World Campaign for In-Depth Reform of the System of International Institutions is to promote thought and analysis of world civil society in relation to ideas and proposals for reforming institutions, as well as the promotion of multi-stakeholder dialogue at the world level on the need and nature of that reform. It is therefore about establishing a dual dialogue. On the one hand, between civil society actors and on the other hand, between civil society and other actors on the international stage, such as international institutions, various levels of government, the corporate world, the parliamentary world, etc.

The organisation of a series of "Presentations and Global Consultations" is the desire to respond to the will for presentation and dialogue, thereby converting itself into keys for the spreading of knowledge and campaign interaction from all sides.

This is the report of the first of these events and, more specifically, the first report of a series of regional consultations that will try to analyse and debate the role of each region (continent) in a process of reform of the international system, especially from the academic and civil society viewpoints of each region.

Questions addressed at the first European Consultation:

- . Is Europe a regional experience for a global polity?
- . To what extent does the EU represent a source of ideas about global and regional governance in an increasingly globalised world?
- . In a global process of reform, what are the lessons to be learnt and the roles to be played by Europe?
- . And more specifically, what are the European proposals for reforming international institutions?

2. PARTICIPANTS AT THE 1st EUROPEAN CONSULTATION

- John Foster** Principal Researcher, The North-South Institute, Ottawa. Member of the Organising Committee of the World Campaign for the Reform of International Institutions. Former CEO of Oxfam-Canada. Co-editor and author of *Whose World Is It Anyway? Civil Society, the United Nations and the Multilateral Future*.
- Lucio Levi** Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Turin. Member of the Executive Board of the World Federalist Movement.
- Federico Mayor** President of the Foundation for a Culture of Peace. Founder of Ubuntu - World Forum of Civil Society Networks, and of the World Campaign for the Reform of International Institutions. Professor of Biochemistry at the Autonomous University of Madrid. Former Director General of UNESCO. Former Minister of Education of Spain, MEP and MP of the Spanish Parliament. Member of the European Academy and the Club of Rome.
- Antonio Papisca** Professor of International Law and Chair Holder of the UNESCO Chair on Human Rights, Democracy and Peace at the University of Padua. Director of the Centre for Human Rights and Rights of the Peoples at the same University. Co-founder of the European Master's Degree on Human Rights and Democratisation. President of the International Association of European Studies.
- Cyril Ritchie** President of the World Civil Society Conference (1999). President of the International Environment Liaison Centre. President of the Federation of International Institutions in Geneva. Member of the Organising Committee of the World Campaign for the Reform of International Institutions.
- Cora Weiss** President of The Hague Appeal for Peace and of the International Peace Bureau. Joint-Principal of the Peace Boat's Global University, Honorary Patron of the Committee on Teaching About the United Nations. Member of the Council on Foreign Relations, of the NGO Committee on the Status of Women and of the Women's Foreign Policy Group. Member of the Organising Committee of the World Campaign for the Reform of International Institutions.
- Josep Xercavins** Coordinator of the Secretariat of Ubuntu - World Forum of Civil Society Networks and of the World Campaign for the Reform of International Institutions. Professor at the Technical University of Catalonia and founder of the UNESCO Chair on Sustainable Development at the same University.

The public attending and participating in the debate included MPs from the Italian Parliament, NGO representatives, scholars (such as Richard Falk), and graduate and undergraduate university students.

3. "TO REFORM THE GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS: LESSONS FROM THE EUROPEAN PROCESS"

KEYNOTE SPEECH BY PROF. ANTONIO PAPISCA

Chair holder, UNESCO Chair on Human Rights, Democracy and Peace University of Padua

The difficult transition towards a new, more humane and sustainable world order can be read with the metaphor of the delivery, in our case of a very troubled childbirth. Who should be born, that is the outcome of the transition, is more than a mere wish, it is already a well recognisable map.

I mean that the world order we need does exist as a project whose identity we can actually reconstruct by using parts that are really existing. In other words, we have not to imagine the baby, we have to help him to live and to develop.

A further metaphor is that of the mosaic: we cannot make the mosaic without the tesseras, the tesseras are there but the mosaic will not appear unless somebody arranges the tesseras.

With this twofold metaphor I would emphasise that the key elements of a stable and sustainable world order do really exist - I refer to the moral and juridical paradigm of human rights internationally recognised, to the International Law rooted in the United Nations Charter, multilateral institutions, actors, historical circumstances -, but the coherent outcome has not yet appeared because the political actor which has the inherent capacity to arrange the tesseras lacks the courage to cope with that task, firstly by making visible the model of world order.

I urge on the necessity of making visible that project, of making people aware that we are not groping in the dark, that it is possible to resist the ideology of Realpolitik determinism, that in the second half of the 20th century we got some positive achievements (epiphanies of global good governance) that it is unreasonable to give up to.

I would add a third metaphor. In the forties of the last century a generous and far-sighted sowing of 'universals' took place: especially, the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Organisation, the UN system of specialised Agencies. Then we could say that the planet is like a house with a lot of useful household appliances and sophisticated facilities, that are not properly exploited.

In the mid of last century a human-centric revolution started and it has already changed the DNA of the world system: today, nobody would say, at least as a matter of principle, that the principle of the respect of human dignity should subordinate to state's sovereignty. Apartheid and colonialism are perceived as taboos, security and development are more and more perceived as people security and people development, unilateralism, although emphasised by the superpower leadership, is considered unnatural and costly in both moral and economic terms.

Before a situation that is providing not only conflicts and confusion but also a lot of opportunities, we can actually wonder whether the European Union is the very political actor that is capable of collecting and arranging the tesseras of the mosaic, of giving rise to the birth of the baby, of making household appliances working.

The big task is to recapitulate the seeds and the fruits of the fertile sowing of universal values into a coherent strategy of world peace building, that is to develop and improve that common heritage.

To take over that flag, two kinds of power resources are needed for the candidate actor: moral consistency and appeal, and governance capacities. I mean that the actor is primarily asked to lead by example. Is this

the case for the European Union? I shall try to provide a hopefully comprehensive response by articulating it in several "lessons" drawn by the empirical evidence of more than fifty years of functioning of the European integration system. I envisage those lessons as being significant for the whole International Community. I emphasise positive aspects, bearing in mind the huge assumption that the EU should be more consistent and coherent both ad intra and ad extra of its own system.

First lesson:

The European integration process is a convincing example of how it is possible to construct lasting peace among those states and peoples and religious entities that for many centuries were fighting each other. The main independent variable of the overall process is the firm will of a group of far-sighted political leaders sharing the same basket of moral values and the same operational approach.

Second lesson:

The European system is a living laboratory of reciprocal learning among different political systems and cultures. This is a real yard of intercultural dialogue in a very complex historical context.

Third lesson:

The European system is a laboratory of multi- and supra-national governance based on the principle of subsidiarity, both territorial and functional. We could say that the system is proving to be successful in carrying out the twofold task of 'agenda development' and 'institution building', in order to meet in a suitable way the governance needs stemming from the crisis of both the state 'capacities' and the state 'form' (structural crisis of traditional statehood) and of the democratic practice. The crisis is the result of the political impact of globalisation that deprives states of the power to decide in many fields and of the space in which meaningful democracy can actually go on. The European Union is the extra-national system in which new and more sophisticated forms of governance - better, of statehood - are actually pursued.

Fourth lesson:

The European system is pioneering the experience of international democracy, I mean of genuine transnational democracy as:

1. legitimatisation of supranational political institutions through direct election of a parliamentary body,
2. participation of civil society organisations and groups to the decision-making process at the supranational level. In this case we see significant results of the curriculum development.

At the beginning of the European Communities there were neither elections nor physiologic civil society participation. Gradually the European system moved from a 'Parliamentary Assembly' to a real 'Parliament', and from a lobbying practice limited to powerful economic interest groups to the enlargement of access channels for civil society organisations, including local government entities. In particular as regards participation we have two institutional outcomes: the creation of the Committee of Regions and Local Powers and the starting of the so-called "civil dialogue", that will complement the already established "social dialogue".

Fifth lesson:

The European Union is metabolising the internationally recognised paradigm of human rights inside and outside its own system. EU member states fully comply, at least from a formal point of view, with the requirements of human rights, the rule of law and democratic principles. But this was considered non sufficient for the holistic institutional architecture of the EU, in which so many numerous and heavy decisions are daily taken. Now we got the EU Charter of fundamental rights, that successfully advocates for its inclusion in the "Constitutional Treaty" and then for the full "constitutionalisation" of the overall system.

Furthermore, the EU is visibly championing the effectiveness of the International Law rooted in the UN Charter, and especially the International Law of Human Rights and the "international rule of law" as emphasised by the UN Secretary General. The EU has established the practice of the "human rights clause" in the treaties with third countries, and it was campaigning - orally and with huge financial support - for the establishment and the entering into function of the International Criminal Court. These are good indicators of the human rights advocacy.

Sixth lesson:

The European Union is gradually enlarging both concept and practice of citizenship. The Maastricht Treaty established the "EU citizenship" as a basket of rights that are additional to those of the only citizens of EU member states: it is an enlarged citizenship, of course, but always *ad excludendum alios*. The "Charter of EU fundamental rights", proclaimed in Nice in December 2000, regards individuals as "human beings" (*personnes humaines*), not as "registry citizens" of a given state. For sure this new outcome - citizenship *ad includendum* - is challenging the discriminatory approach of the original "EU citizenship". Also from this point of view, the European integration process shows to be a laboratory of structural change according with universal ethics requirements, finally an example for the entire world.

Seventh lesson:

The "conventional way" to the institution-building process is strictly linked with the comprehensive democratic lesson stemming from EU. So far, we had two experiences of "European Convention", the first on human rights (the EU Charter is the outcome), the second on the EU future. The lesson says that for some important goals to be achieved, the supranational (summit) decision-making needs to be complemented by an enlarged input, including the most significant actors of the subsidiarity game. The intrinsic value of the "Convention" resides in the magnitude and variety of membership, that allows to gather and build up, through participation of a large typology of actors, both ideas and legitimacy.

For sure we could find out further lessons, but all those above mentioned are enough to make the European integration process an impressive example for all and the European Union a credible actor in world politics. But the actor has not yet the capability to use those lessons as resources of power - very legitimate resources indeed: the lack of a EU "single voice" in world politics, despite the fact that it has a home single currency, well indicates a persistent, exasperating deficiency. For the lessons are a boomerang for the EU in the sense that it has to meet external expectations of political effectiveness as well as internal expectations for more coherence and consistency.

In the world system, the European Union is urged to cope with the magnitude of its achievements, it bears a moral duty to act as it is, a Power marked by successful human rights mainstreaming, successful peace-building and democratisation.

In this moment, priority should be given to the arrangement of tesseras of the world order mosaic bearing in mind that behind economic de-regulation there is a strategy of institutional de-regulation, that means undermining the system of organised multilateralism, of supranational criminal justice, of collective security, of non profit transnationalism. Furthermore bearing in mind that the destiny of the (new) International Law is strictly linked with the destiny of the United Nations, of multilateralism and of the entire system of international organisation. If we give up to the latter we shall have neither suitable machinery to implement human rights and pursue collective security goals, nor suitable place for extending the practice of democracy.

Then which task for the EU with regard in particular the UN future?

As a priority, the European Union should make, and comply with, what I would call the "preferential choi-

ce for the United Nations". On the EU international agenda, the first item should read "Strengthening and democratising the United Nations", in order to make clear that the democratisation of the UN would enhance its capacities.

UN democratisation should be conceived as a process that urgently:

- . will provide more representativeness to the Security Council, hopefully reorganising its membership on regional basis,
- . will establish a UN Parliamentary Assembly, as a second UN General Assembly, and a permanent Global Civil Society Forum,
- . will enhance the role of both non governmental organisations and local government institutions,
- . will reinforce the ECOSOC functions in pursuing social justice goals including the empowerment of the UN human rights machinery,
- . will establish a permanent UN police force (both civil and military);
- . will enlarge the mandate of the International Criminal Court and further empower it by human and material resources.

Assuming that these are priority items on the operational agenda of the European Union, how to make it credible and actually working, by which means and methods?

Bearing in mind the useless work done by several UN internal 'working groups' on the UN reform in the last decade, I dare to suggest (only) one major initiative aimed at providing healthy, plural inputs and a really constituent dynamism to the overall reform undertaking: the UE should propose to address the UN development with the scheme of the "Convention" ("We, the Peoples..."), then by establishing a "Universal Convention for strengthening and democratising the United Nations".

This ad hoc "body" would not be a mere 'working group', but a real constituent entity, with the mandate of drafting a coherent set of formal proposals. By this way it should be possible to overcome what until now has proved to be the real obstacle to the reforming process, that is a strict, exclusive, self-sufficient, finally sterile inter-governmental approach.

It should be appointed by the UN General Assembly (veto power would be avoided and the UN Charter not affected).

Membership would read as follows:

- .UNO member states, by regional groupings;
- .representatives of the UN system institutions;
- .representatives of "Regional" Organisations;
- .representatives of national parliaments (through the Interparliamentary Union?);
- .representatives of local government institutions (IULA+United Cities?);
- .representatives of the NGO networks;
- .Permanent Observers (Holy See, ..).

An ad hoc web-site should be open to inputs from civil society and academic *milieux*.

The UN Universal Convention should convey its formal output to the General Assembly.

4. REPORT BY DR. JOHN W. FOSTER

Principal Researcher, The North-South Institute, Ottawa & member of the Organizing Committee of the World Campaign

Implications of this consultation: concluding comments

The UBUNTU organizers of this valuable session have taken a special risk in having a non-European offer the conclusions of the session. We are all making our own notes of what we have heard, what has been meaningful in this very valuable session, here are my own for your consideration.

Common themes

There have been many "threads" which link the presentations and the comments from floor. They may not be universally agreed but there is significant convergence:

- .The urgent need to strengthen the UN and the overall system of global governance.
- .The centrality and pre-eminence of human rights (including all dimensions of gender equity), peace and democracy.
- .The opportunity in reform at the multilateral level of utilizing the rich experience of Europe, not only the EU but the Council of Europe and much more, and further the recognition that many desire that Europe be an alternative to the hyper-power.

Some specific dimensions:

A fundamental battle:

I want to begin by highlighting something that Prof. Papisca noted early in his address, but which may not have adequately registered, which was his comment about de-regulation, not only of commercial life but of political life, the attack on democratic norms and the state.

We live in a situation not only of de-regulation, but of re-regulation under new terms. On the one hand is the UN and the system of norms and standards, of human rights treaties, labour standards and environmental agreements. On the other is the aggressive "mission creep" of the World Trade Organization. The latter asserts not really de-regulation but regulation of all else in terms of harmony with commercial interest law and practice.

The battle between international law and norms set through UN processes and the assertion of the trade-compatibility goes on from conference to conference, negotiation to negotiation. It is viscerally evident in the struggle between the pre-eminence of the right to health, and the assertion of corporate protection in TRIPS and the long battle over access to cheap life-saving drugs for AIDS and other diseases. It is evident in the battle over cultural protection, cultural diversity mentioned by Federico Mayor. My own government is proposing an agreement, supported by a number of European powers, to "carve-out" culture from the WTO. The *via campesina* proposes a "carve-out" for agriculture. While significant areas might be removed from or protected from the WTO, the WTO itself should be brought within the UN, within the guidance of its norms and the authority of its governance.

This battle, and the necessity of defending the pre-eminence of international norms and agreements on human rights, environment, gender, indigenous peoples, etc., must be central in the priorities of all who favour global governance which will serve humanity and the public interest.

Practical proposals:

Cora Weiss has indicated how a group with a vision can advance UN policy on gender, peace and security. There are many such windows of opportunity. Cyril Ritchie has listed the extremely relevant precedents from the history of the Council of Europe. Both have underlined the importance of underlining and strengthening precedents and practices regarding civil society relations with global institutions. To their examples I would add simply the collaboration between interested CSOs and sympathetic governments which brought about both the Land Mines Treaty and the International Criminal Court in the last decade, against significant opposition, but with effect which changes the global terrain.

We are all aware that significant as these examples of advance are the urgency and trans-border character of global challenges - disease, environmental ruin, poverty - are such that we need to develop more ambitious and effective democratic processes for taking action.

A further reminder in this session has been that change, for CSOs, often needs to begin "at home". We need to make sure that our policies and practices, particularly regarding gender, minorities, transparency, participation and accountability offer a positive alternative.

Finally and most important, we have been reminded that financial backing is absolutely essential for and effective UN and adequate global governance. No one however mentioned the principle of universal taxation, and proposals of recent decades for global funding through universal taxation. Whether through levies on international currency transactions (Tobin Tax), carbon emissions or air travel, funds for the UN and for global development could be raised. If we are serious, we need to confront and push forward such a principle and such practical applications.

Democracy at a global level: time to move forward:

While supporting the UN as the central instrument of global governance, participants are clear that the UN as presently understood can be enhanced to meet global challenges and democratic needs.

There is a desire to see a **global parliament** developed, based ultimately on universal participation, global citizenry. This is clearly not satisfied by a relationship between the International Parliamentary Union and the UN.

The proposal by Prof. Papisca of a global and general **constitutional conference** is a necessary and extremely practical initial step. The global inter-governmental discussion of governance has been stymied virtually since the initial response to the Commission on Global Governance (Our Global Neighborhood, 1995). A broadly-based, "multi-stakeholder" continuing conference is long overdue.

Much more modestly the UN could convene (taking into account the precedent of the Millennium NGO Forum) a continuing **civil society assembly**, with flexible but clear criteria for eligibility, assistance for full participation from poorer nations and population groups. This would encourage greater depth and coherence in policy development by CSOs, a global civilian voice which might speak to events in the General Assembly, ECOSOC and the Security Council, and facilitate CSO participation in discussion of the "rules of the game" in global governance.

This session has been rich in practical proposals and in the knowledge of precedents on which their implementation can be based. As Cora Weiss has reminded us, there is much that can be done, many opportunities at and around the UN exist, if there are people who get together to move things ahead. No one should leave the room without the sense that they can take initiative and contribute.

Thank you all for your participation.

5. ABOUT THE WORLD CAMPAIGN

The **World Campaign for the In-depth Reform of the System of International Institutions** intends to encourage a series of reforms of international institutions towards a global system of democratic governance through representative procedures involving the participation of all the actors of the world scene. Its key objective is to contribute to establishing a consistent, transparent, responsible and effective global architecture based on developing international legislation whose democratic value and legitimacy is widely accepted.

At the heart of this system would be a stronger, more democratic United Nations Organisation, with effective control over all its bodies and agencies and over global multilateral organisations.

Such an institutional system would be empowered to contribute to building a fairer, more equitable, diverse, sustainable and peaceful world.

The campaign was launched for the first time within the framework of the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg on 30 and 31 August and 1 September 2002. It has since been presented in other places and forums including Montreal, Florence, Barcelona, Geneva, Bangkok, Porto Alegre, New York, Ulaanbataar and Perugia.

Future Presentations & Global Consultations

14th November 2003

2nd European Consultation

Open Workshop: *The Role of Europe in the Reform of International Institutions*
Ivry-sur-Seine (Paris). Within the framework of the 2nd European Social Forum

11th December 2003

Side event: *The Reform of International Institutions in the Age of the Information Society*
Geneva (Palexpo). Within the framework of the World Summit on the Information Society

January 2004

1st Asian Consultation

Seminar: *The Role of Asia in the Reform of International Institutions*
Mumbai (India). Within the framework of the 4th World Social Forum

Other consultations and dialogues are under preparation. Updated information in different languages can be found at the campaign's website: www.reformcampaign.net. You may also contact the Campaign's Secretariat at info@reformcampaign.net.

List of organisations and personalities supporting the campaign by 10th October 2003

PERSONALITIES, INTELLECTUALS

Samir Amin, Forum du Tiers Monde
 Leonardo Boff, Theologian
 Anil Bordia, Foundation for Education and Development
 Jorge Brovetto, Grupo Montevideo
 Ignasi Carreras, Intermón Oxfam - Oxfam International
 Noam Chomsky, Writer
 Ricardo Díez-Hochleitner, Pres. Emeritus Club of Rome
 Nawal Elsaadawi, Writer
 Leonel Fernández, Fund. Global Demo. y Desarrollo
 Jim Garrison, State of the World Forum
 Butros Butros Ghali
 Cándido Grzybowski, IBASE
 François Houtart, Centre Tricontinental
 Asma Jahangir, Human Rights Activist
 Hans Küng, Center for Global Ethics
 Alexander Likhotal, Green Cross International
 Federico Mayor
 Ribogerta Menchú, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate
 Candido Mendes - Writer
 Danielle Mitterrand, France Libertés
 Gertrude Mongella, Advocacy for Women in Africa
 Edgar Morin, Association pour la Pensée Complexe
 Kumi Naidoo, CIVICUS
 William Pace, World Federalist Movement
 Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate
 Anaisabel Prera, Fundación para una Cultura de Paz
 José Ramos-Horta, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate
 Jeremy Rifkin, Writer
 Mary Robinson
 Joseph Rotblat, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate
 Sebastião Salgado, Photographer
 José Saramago, Nobel Prize in Literature Laureate
 Roberto Savio, Inter Press Service
 Vandana Shiva, Res. Found. for Sci. Tech. and Eco.
 Mario Soares, Fundação Mario Soares
 Alain Touraine, EHESS
 Aminata Traoré, Writer
 Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, Writer
 Cora Weiss, The Hague Appeal for Peace
 Muhammad Yunus, Grameen Bank

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

Advocacy for Women in Africa
 Asian Regional Exchange for New Alternatives
 Centre Tricontinental
 Centre UNESCO de Catalunya
 Centro Internacional Cultura Democrática
 Community Org. Development Institute
 CONGO Conference of NGOs Consultative UN
 Coordinadora Catalana de Fundacions
 Dev. of Alternatives with Women for a New Era
 EarthAction
 Federation of African Women's Peace Network
 FEMNET African Women's Dev. Com. Net.

FLACAM Foro Latinoam. de CC Ambientales
 Foreign Policy in Focus
 Forum du Tiers Monde
 France Libertés
 Fundación Global Democracia y Desarrollo
 Fundación para una Cultura de Paz
 Fundación Rigoberta Menchú
 Fundação Mario Soares
 Global March Against Child Labour
 Global Movement for Children
 Global Policy Forum
 Grameen Bank
 Green Cross International
 Institut International Jacques Maritain
 Intermón Oxfam - Oxfam International
 International Peace Bureau
 Int. Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War
 IUCN The World Conservation Union
 Justice and Peace Europe
 Linguapax Institute
 Network Institute for Global Democratization
 New Economics Foundation
 One World Trust
 Pax Romana - ICMICA
 Peace Round Table
 Social Alert
 Society for International Development
 The Arab Organisation for Human Rights
 The Global Youth ACTION Network
 The Hague Appeal for Peace
 United Nations Association Spain / Latin America
 Unrepresented Peoples and Nations Organisation
 World Assembly of Youth
 World Civil Society Conference
 World Confederation of Labour
 World Peace Centre
 Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action

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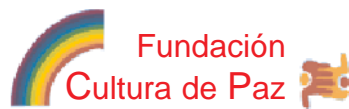
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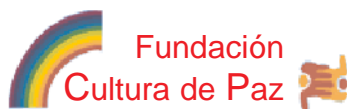


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