Reforms for Strengthening

the United Nations

Orientations and Proposals
of the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches

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Content

Summary

In his address to the UN-General Assembly in September 2003, Kofi Annan coined an image of the reform process that has since set the tone of such debates. He stated that the United Nations has now reached a fork in the road that may be as significant as its year of foundation. Hence, the United Nations can only face the global challenges of development and security policies by undertaking a comprehensive reform of one's own structures.

From the point of view of the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches (FSPC) it is important to analyse and support the ongoing reform processes of the UN, as basic values that the FSPC defends from its reformed perspectives will thus either be strengthened or weakened. The following are good causes to do so: a) The FSPC wishes to share its matters of concern with the Swiss foreign and development policy; b) the FSPC wishes to contribute with a well-founded perspective for the attention of the World Council of Churches; c) the FSPC seeks to illustrate the urgency and importance of the UN-reform processes within member churches and in the general public; and d) the FSPC endeavours to include its concerns regarding the United Nations as it expressed in an earlier statement into the present reform discussions.

In doing so, the FSPC-position paper focuses its analysis on four pioneering and spearheading UN-reports published between June 2004 and March 2005; thus serving as a «Roadmap» – in terms of content – for the Millennium+5-Summit in autumn 2005. The four reports include the study written by the «High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change» (HLP) appointed by the UN-General Secretary; the «Report on the Millennium Project» («Sachs-Report»); the results of the «Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations» («Cardoso-Panel»); and finally, the FSPC seeks to comment on the report by the UN-Secretary General «In Larger Freedom» that had been eagerly awaited for March 2005. The FSPC sees great values in this important report, in particular as it focuses on the closely interacting goals of development, security and human rights.

In terms of content, as to the area of collective security, the FSPC favours the creation of an independent Human Rights Council and of a Peacebuilding Commission. That the civil society – including the religious communities – is entitled to have a say and to be consulted is of particular importance. In addition, the FSPC considers it basically positive that the Security Council be increased based on the models under discussion. Overall, we recommend an increased application of the «Arria Formula». In the field of development policies, we support the great significance of the Millennium Goals and their strengthening within the institutions of the societies. This is especially true if the Millennium Goals – as in the Report of the UN-Secretary General – are embedded in a broader agenda of development policies. The FSPC would welcome the (financial) support of representatives from the South so that they can participate in intergovernmental conferences and consultations. Finally, the FSPC voices its support for examining the initiative of a Parliamentarian Assembly at the United Nations.

In conclusion, the precarious budgetary position of the UN represents a problem that should not be underestimated if reforms are to be implemented successfully. In order to improve the financial situation of the UN, the principal debtors must immediately and fully pay their outstanding contributions.

1. Reason and Motivation of the FSPC-Position

For the United Nations, the year 2005 is of substantial significance. It is the anniversary of important international conferences such as the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen+10), the Beijing World Conference on Women (Beijing+10) and the International Conference on Financing for Development (Monterrey 2002). The first interim review of the Millennium Goals that have been agreed upon with the community of States will play a key function in September 2005 (M+5-Summit). It already becomes apparent that although a certain progress was made in reaching the goals, it still requires extensive political will and efforts of the world community in order to implement the Millennium Goals by 2015 in a comprehensive and regionally balanced way.[1]

**Box 1: The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)
of the United Nations**

1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
2: Achieve universal primary education
3: Promote gender equality and empower women
4: Reduce child mortality
5: Improve maternal health
6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
7: Ensure environmental sustainability
8: Develop a Global Partnership for Development

The year 2005 however, is not only marked by UN-Conferences. This year will be coined by Kofi Annan's programmatic speech to the General Assembly in autumn 2003 (see also chapter 3.1) and its substantial statement that he reiterated in September 2004 with the following sentences:

«As I said a year ago, we have reached a fork in the road. If you, the political leaders of the world, cannot agree or reach agreement on the way forward, history will take the decisions for you, and the interests of your peoples may go by default.»[2]

Hence, the global community – and thus including the United Nations – faces basic challenges that have become ever more acute in the last years. These challenges include poverty and social polarization, population growth, global water scarcity, climate change and the loss of biodiversity as well as financial crises and an unequal world trade. Additional problems are the collapse of states and the non-conventional forms of wars and conflicts including the increasing threat of proliferation of the nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological arms as well as terrorism.[3] According to the views of the UN-Secretary General, the United Nations will only be able to face the complex challenges if they undertake an extensive reform of their own structures.

From the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches' point of view, it is important to analyse the ongoing reform process of the United Nations and to support its endeavours with a well-founded position paper.

Thus, this paper focuses on four spearheading reports published between June 2004 and March 2005; thus serving as a «Roadmap» – in terms of content – for the Millennium+5-Summit in September 2005. First, we discuss the results of the «High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change» (HLP), appointed by the UN-Secretary General, and the results of the Millennium Project («Sachs-Report»). Then, we explore the eagerly awaited report by the UN-Secretary General «In

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1   Compare Stückelberger, Christoph (2004) «Menschen statt Zahlen: Moratorium für weitere Entwicklungsziele», in: Zeitschrift für Entwicklungspolitik, Nr. 7, p. 17f.

2   UN Secretary-General's address to the General Assembly, New York, 21 September 2004 (http://www.un.org/apps/sg/sgstatp.asp?nid=1088).

3   Compare Dirk Messner, German Development Institute: Lecture on the issue of «Globalisierung und neue Akzente in der Entwicklungspolitik. Entwicklungspolitik zwischen neuen Ansprüchen und politischer Legitimationskrise» in the framework of the SDC-lecture series «Traverse» on 25.1.2005 in Berne. Also compare Fröhlich, Manuel (2004) «Die Vereinten Nationen am Scheideweg», in: Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik (Ed.) Sicherheitspolitik in neuen Dimensionen, supplementary volume I, Hamburg, p. 427-448.

larger freedom» of March 2005. This report is of great relevance as it serves as a starting point for positions and consultations of the UN-member states on highest government level until and for the M+5-Summit in September 2005. Finally, we look at the study of the «Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations». Even if this study leads a kind of shadowy existence, it nevertheless features central demands that the FSPC considers valuable to be supported.

The present position paper is directed to various target groups such as Swiss politics, the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the FSPC-member churches. The following five goals and motivations are in the centre of attention:

1. The position paper intends to take a share in the debate about the UN-reforms addressing the concerns of the FSPC to the Swiss foreign and development policy. This happens against the setting that for the 59th session of the UN-General Assembly, Switzerland has defined as its top priority that the UN-reforms be successfully implemented.[4] And here, prior to the M+5-Summit, the FSPC aims at supporting the present UN-reform process from the Christian point of view.
2. We wish to render a well-founded contribution to the World Council of Churches from the perspective of the FSPC. This happens immediately after the exchange of information and strategy building of the «International Affairs and Advocacy»-Week of the WCC, in which the authors of this study participated. This took place in November 2004 in New York. The issue of «UN-reforms» was one of the focal themes. For the FSPC, the WCC represents the leading community of churches in matters of UN-relations.
3. Within FSPC-member churches and in the public, the topicality and relevance of the UN-process should be made visible as well as processes of opinion making should be strengthened.

4. The future of the UN is of great importance for the worldwide church development cooperation and mission as practiced in a competent way at the front by the aid agencies and missions connected to the FSPC. The UN-Peacekeeping Forces for example in the DR of Congo, the UN-Relief Aid in Sudan, the ILO-Labour Standards, etc. are vital supports for the work of these agencies. Therefore, in order to use donations efficiently, it is vital committing oneself to good multilateral framework conditions.
5. The issues and concerns of earlier FSPC-statements regarding the United Nations should be followed up. In its announcement of the 13th of September 2000, as well as in an ecumenical brochure, the FSPC-Council clearly favoured a strengthening of the UN and the accession of Switzerland to the United Nations. The reason was that multilateral political fora «can lead to globally sustainable solutions of problems that go beyond the capacities of all the countries, but especially of small states».[5]

2. Ethical Orientations in Relation to the UN-Reform

The FSPC-Consultation of the year 2000 pointed out that substantial values and goals of the gospel, peace, human rights, justice, social progress and better living conditions, are also established in the preamble of the United Nations Charter (see box 2).[6]

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4   Compare DFA/EDA (2004) Priorities of the Swiss delegation at the 59th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Berne 2004.

5   Institute for Social Ethics of the FSPC (2000) «Vernehmlassung über den Beitritt der Schweiz zur Organisation der Vereinten Nationen (UNO)», in: reformierte presse, Enclosure to RP Nr. 47/2000 (ISE-Texts 17/00), p. 7 (translated by HN).

6   Compare ibid, p. 8. Also compare Institute for Social Ethics of the FSPC/Justitia et Pax (2001) Die Kirchen und die UNO, Berne.

«We the peoples of the United Nations determined – to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

and for these ends

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples – have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.»

The Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations signed on 26 June 1945 in San Francisco

The parallels between the central church positions and the goals of the United Nations as established in their preamble are not a coincidence. Konrad Raiser, the former Secretary General of the WCC, rather points out that churches had initiated the preamble and decisively prepared and influenced its wording. On the basis of studies such as the document «Six Pillars for Peace», church representatives brought in basic ethic values like peace, human rights, justice, equality of women and men as well as social progress – which were essential values at the UN-founding conference in San Francisco in the year 1945. For a large part, it was due to the efforts of the churches that the United Nations also included the goal of a just world order in their preamble and charter apart from elements of peace keeping and security.[7] Churches were already involved when the League of Nations was founded and when Switzerland joined in 1920 – the year of FSPC's foundation.[8]

To this day, article 71 of the UN-Charter has been decisive for the relations between the United Nations and the churches; and it has been mainly due to the efforts of the churches that this article was included. Hence, from an early point in time, the «Commission of the Churches on International Affairs» was granted special consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC); this status has been maintained until today.[9]

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7   Compare Raiser, Konrad (1995) «The United Nations and the WCC: Rights and Justice», in: The Ecumenical Review, Vol. 47, Nr. 3, p. 281.

8   Compare Semmler, Kurt (1974) Kirche und Völkerbund. Das Verhalten der evangelisch-reformierten Kirchen der Schweiz gegenüber dem Völkerbund, Zürich. Shortly prior to the foundation of the FSPC, the individual cantonal churches were those that in their majority supported the accession of Switzerland to the League of Nations in 1920. The FSPC itself «owes its creation [1920. CS] to the need of closer and stronger solidarity, first internally within Switzerland, then also worldwide influenced by the newly awakened ecumenical thinking and the League of Nations in development.» (p. 75, translated by HN).

9   Compare Raiser, Konrad (1995) «The United Nations and the WCC: Rights and Justice», p. 279ff.

The FSPC-positions as to the UN-reform expressed in this paper are based on ethical Christian core values[10]. The following are summaries of the individual issues:

Peace, Justice and the Integrity of Creation have been for decades the centre of the ecumenical efforts, which the global community takes up responsibility. The task and goal of multilateral efforts consist in promoting, building and keeping peace and security. Yet, peace can only result from an equal distribution of goods, services and resources and thus life opportunities. Therefore, questions of collective security are closely linked to those of development and trade. But peace and justice are deprived of their ethic foundation if they do not include the integrity of creation. The natural life resources are the precondition for a sustainable human and non-human life, and a gift of God that we cannot manipulate the way we want.

Responsibility (for the Protection of Human Rights) is one of the honourable and central tasks of each individual as well as of states. From the Christian point of view, this responsibility has its roots in charity, in the concerns for one's fellow human being, as well as in the compassionate, diaconal service and care for each other in the community (that today has turned into a global community) and in the mutual «exhortation» (today's right and obligation to intervene), wherever basic rights are violated. Single states cannot exercise this responsibility all by themselves: in this globally intertwined world, both states and civil society forces must mutually support each other. This «responsibility to protect» represents a value that the UN needs to claim from the states to be lived up to – and that has to be supported by the UN itself.[11]

Equality and Participation are universal values forming the basis of human rights: every human being has an inalienable dignity and equal rights – justified according the Christian faith with the six billion people that are all beings made in God's image as well as with the offer of liberation by Jesus Christ, open to every human being. Human dignity includes the participation in processes that concern one's own life and world's development.

The Preamble of the UN-Charter establishes the organization on the basis of such universal values: «Faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small …, justice, …social progress … better standards of life in larger freedom, … to live together in peace, to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security.»[12]

The UN upholds the principle of fundamental equality of all nations in its bodies and specialized agencies – unlike e.g. IMF and World Bank where the member states have very different voting powers depending on their economic power. From an ethical point of view, this UN-principle of equality is of great relevance and confers special ethi-

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10 See more in «Projekt Grundwerte» of the Institute for Theology and Ethics (ITE) by the FSPC (Publication scheduled for the beginning of 2006).

11 Compare ICISS (2001) The Responsibility to Protect. Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, Ottawa; Coicaud, Jean-Marc/Warner, Daniel (eds.) (2001) Ethics and International Affairs, New York.

12 UN-Charter, in: Menschenrechte. Ihr internationaler Schutz, München 1979, p.1.

cal legitimacy to this principle. Hence, the UN embodies a model of world order neither allowing the anarchic fight of all against all nor the hegemony of a world power, nor the order imposed by a centralist world state, but enables and implements global participation based on a voluntary nature with limited elements of world statehood.[13] Under the umbrella of such ethically sound support as well as on the basis of the values of the UN-Preamble, the present UN-reform process needs to be translated into major further developments and adjustments as to changed framework conditions of today's globalisation.[14]

3. Present Reform Processes within United Nations

3.1 Collective Security

In his address to the UN-General Assembly in September 2003, the Secretary General coined a picture that has since set the tone of the debates on the reform processes within the UN:

«Excellencies, we have come to a fork in the road. This may be a moment no less decisive than 1945 itself, when the United Nations was founded.»[15]

The fact that Annan voiced such a clear assessment on the situation of the United Nations has to be seen against the setting of the differences regarding questions of collective security that has marked the global community since the attacks of 9/11. The conflicts culminated in 2003 in the arguments on the Iraqi-war and in the UN's responsibility regarding this question. The bombing of the UN-headquarters in Baghdad in August 2003 took the toll of almost 30 UN-staff lives, including that of Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary General for Iraq. This event marks another dramatic attack on the identity and self-understanding of the United Nations.

In fall of 2003, as immediate reaction to these events that shook the foundations of the UN, Kofi Annan convened «The High Level Panel of Eminent Persons on Threats, Challenges and Change» (HLP) under the chairmanship of Anand Panyarachun, former Premier Minister of Thailand. The office of the Panel was headed by Stephen Stedman, Professor at the New York University and Stanford University. The goal of the High Level Panel was to assess «current threats to international peace and security»[16] as well as to work out possible solution policies to address those threats. The HLP-Final Report with the title «A More Secure World: Our shared responsibility» was presented after one year of intensive work at the beginning of December 2004.[17]

In this report, the HLP concludes that a functioning system of collective security is indispensable, as today's threats do not respect any national boundaries. The HLP identified «six clusters» of threats with which the world must be concerned now and in the decades ahead:

- «Inter-State conflict»
- «Internal conflict, including civil war, genocide and other large-scale atrocities»
- «Economic and social threats, including, poverty, infectious diseases and environmental degradation»

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13 Compare Stückelberger, Christoph (2001) Ethischer Welthandel, Bern, p. 152-160; Ziegler, Karl-Heinz et al. (2000) Weltordnungspolitik für das 21. Jahrhundert. Historische Würdigung, ethische Kriterien, Handlungsoptionen, Stuttgart.

14 Compare Helsinki Group (2004) Governing Globalization – Globalizing Governance. New Approaches to Global Problem Solving, Helsinki; Brand, Ulrich et al. (2001) Global Governance. Alternative zur neoliberalen Globlisierung, Münster 2000; Berndt, Michael/Sack, Detlef (Eds.) (2001) Global Governance? Voraussetzungen und Formen demokratischer Beteiligung im Zeichen der Globalisierung, Opladen.

15 The Secretary General Address to the General Assembly, New York, 23 September 2003 (http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/58/statements/sg2eng030923).

16 United Nations (2004a) A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility. The High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, New York (A/59/565), p. 1 (http://www.un.org/secureworld/report.pdf).

17 Compare ibid, p. 6.

- «Nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological weapons»
- «Terrorism»
- «Transnational organized crime»[18]

With globalisation, the security threats have intensified, as no state can prepare oneself all alone for the globally expanding threats such as nuclear terrorism or infectious disease.[19] In the HLP-report comprehensive recommendations and suggestions of reform are worked out that should enable the UN to develop and implement appropriate strategies against all six categories of threats. And here, preventive measures play a vital role.

In the following sections, we discuss the explanations and recommendations of the HLP as to the issues of human rights, as well as conflict prevention and peace building; issues, that in the eyes of the FSPC, merit particular attention.

3.1.1 Strengthening Human Rights

The assessment of the Geneva-based UN-Commission on Human Rights turns out to be quite critical. The HLP thinks «the Commission on Human Rights suffers from a legitimacy deficit that casts doubts on the overall reputation of the United Nations».[20] Clear signs of this are shown by the fact that states such as Sudan and Zimbabwe are members of the Human Rights Commission despite serious human rights violations in their own country and have nothing to fear.[21] Many sides share the criticism of HLP: The present Commission on Human Rights' procedures apparently show limited efficiency and effectiveness; moreover, some critics maintain that they are slow in the decision-making process as well as increasing politically biased in their work. As a functional commission of ECOSOC, the Commission on Human Rights is limited in its effectiveness and authority. Rightly, Walter Kälin, Professor at the Institute of Public Law, University of Bern, points out that according the preamble of the Charter of the United Nations the promotion and protection of human rights is one of the main goals of the UN, but these priorities are not reflected in the UN-structures.[22]

Which are the proposals mentioned in the HLP-Report to overcome this deficit?

The HLP identifies the membership question as one of the central reasons of the dearth in credibility and professionalism of the Commission on Human Rights, which adversely influences its effective functioning.[23] Hence, the HLP recommends to extend membership of the Commission on Human Rights to all signatory states – thus membership should be made universal[24] – and that an advisory council should support the Commission in its work.[25]

At the end of the chapter on Human Rights, the Panel also recommends, in the longer term, to consider upgrading the Commission to become a «Human Rights Council». Details are however not defined (§ 291). With this particular wording – reflecting a non-binding nature – the HLP-report takes up only a weak version of an initiative by the Swiss government, to transform the Commission on Human Rights

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18 Ibid, p. 2.

19 Compare Ozgercin, Kevin/Steinhilber, Jochen (2005) Toward a More Secure World? The Report of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. New York (FES Briefing Papers), p. 3; United Nations (2004b) A more secure world: our shared responsibility, Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, New York, p. 19f.

20 United Nations (2004a) A more secure world: Our shared responsibility, p. 64.

21 Compare Fues, Thomas (2005) Stärkung der Vereinten Nationen durch vertiefte Zusammenarbeit mit NGOs, Privatwirtschaft und Parlamenten, Bonn (DIE-Analysen und Stellungnahmen, No. 1), p. 1.

22 Compare. Kälin, Walter (2004) Towards a UN Human Rights Council: Options and Perspectives, p. 1–8.

23 Compare United Nations (2004a) A more secure world: Our shared responsibility, p. 74 (§ 283).

24 Compare ibid, p. 74 (§ 285).

25 Compare ibid, p. 74 (§ 287).

into an independent high-level institution in the form of a Human Rights Council standing alongside the Security Council.[26]

The Swiss Initiative «Human Rights Council»

In spring of 2004, Micheline Calmy-Rey, the Swiss Minister for Foreign Affairs, announced in the Commission on Human Rights that Switzerland would recommend the establishment of a Human Rights Council to the HLP.[27] Consequently, Walter Kälin was commissioned to work out a study with various options for an independent Human Rights Council. In his study, Kälin considers that upgrading the Commission on Human Rights into a Council of Human Rights should be seen as an opportunity to strengthen its authority and legitimacy. Here, the Human Rights Council should be given appropriate instruments to guarantee the respect and implementation of recommendations and decisions. In addition, in view of the increase of human rights violations due to conflicts, wars, flight and displacement, a closer link for example to international law should be necessary. This implies also a new form of coordination with the Security Council as well as with the other specialized bodies of the UN-system.[28]

Kälin offers three possible models of a Human Rights Council for discussion. Model A recommends a small body with a limited number of 15-25 members. According to this model, such a Human Rights Council is flexible in the convening of meetings and due to its moderate size works efficiently. Analogous to UN-Charter Article 86, possibly only (external) human rights experts were to be designated to this Panel. The disadvantage of a small Council was the fact that in view of the number of UN-member states it would be less representative. Model B recommends a body with approx. 50-60 country delegates. Such a Council would be more representative, but at the same time less efficient, both as to the number of Council members and to the expertise available. Model C recommends universal membership and thus reaching highest representation. In contrast to Models A and B, in which the Human Rights Council could take decisions, but binding treaties would still be the matter of the General Assembly or of the Security Council, Model C would allow to take final decisions in most matters. However, due to the size of the Council in Model C, there is a risk of repeated politicization and lack of effectiveness.[29] In the case of all three Models, Kälin recommends Geneva as the venue of its meetings. In none of the Models, the Council is given the task to sanction human rights violations. Primarily, it is all about achieving majority votes in order to force a state to let UN-human rights representatives enter the country if needs be.[30]

Apart from the size of the Council for Human Rights, the question of which rights of participation and consultation NGOs should receive in such an independent Council is also an important matter to consider. Since today's Human Rights Commission is a functional commission of the ECOSOC, under ECOSOC Resolution 1996/31 accredited NGOs have the right to submit written statements, make oral presentations and propose issues to be discussed by the Commission.[31] If lifting the connection to ECOSOC, these NGO-rights would be relinquished. Therefore, Kälin proposes in his study to allow an exception

26 Compare also Tanner, Fred (2005) «Schweizer Interessen in der UNO gewahrt? Eine Beurteilung der Reformvorschläge», in: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, January 5, 2005, Nr. 3, p. 9; United Nations (2004a) A more secure world: Our shared responsibility, p. 75 (§ 291); see also Mission Permanente de La Suisse auprès des Nations Unies (2005a) Assemblée générale, 59ème session. Réunion officieuse de la plénière. «Échange de vues sur les recommandations contenues dans le rapport du Groupe de personnalités de haut niveau sur les menaces, les défis et le changement», p. 3.

27 Compare Niederberger, Walter (2004): «Schweiz wirbt für einen Menschenrechtsrat», in: Tages-Anzeiger, 13.10.2004 (http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/dyn/news/ausland/425455.html).

28 Compare Kälin, Walter (2004) Towards a UN Human Rights Council: Options and Perspectives, p. 2f.

29 Compare ibid, p. 5f.

30 Compare Niederberger, Walter (2004) «Schweiz wirbt für einen Menschenrechtsrat».

31 Compare United Nations (1996) 1996/31. Consultative relationship between the United Nations and non-governmental organizations. ECOSOC 49th plenary meeting, 25 July 1996, New York (http://www.un.org/documents/ecosoc/res/1996/eres1996-31.htm).

and sees special justification in the preamble of the 1984 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in which «every individual and every organ of society» are to be involved. [32]

Upon the insights of Kälin's study, foreign minister Calmy-Rey presented the results to the HLP in September 2004 and tried to win the support of Canada, Norway, Denmark, Great Britain, Czech Republic and Poland.[33] The Swiss proposal was included in the HLP-report to only a limited part. It is of great relevance, however, that the initiative of a 'Council of Human Rights' has found its way into the report of the UN-Secretary General that has been presented on March 21, 2005 (see chapter 3.3).

FSPC-Position in view of Strengthening Human Rights

1. The Council of the FSPC supports the initiative of a Human Rights Council, as strengthening human rights – and here, the political as well as economic, social and cultural human rights – is one of the substantial tasks of the UN as the most comprehensive multilateral organization. Following the recommendations of the report of the UN-Secretary General (see also chapter 3.3), it should be considered to establish the Council either as an principal high-level organ or as a subsidiary body directly elected by the General Assembly. The last option has the advantage of not having to amend the UN-Charter, and that decisions must be taken with a two-thirds majority. As an interim solution, the working methods of the Human Rights Commission should be improved. And for the time being, the CHR would still act in its present form as functional ECO-SOC-Commission.[34]

2. The FSPC supports both Model B and Model A as appropriate for a Human Rights Council. Model B has the advantage of higher political representation of UN-member states. By appointing an additional Steering Committee, comprising three or four countries from each geographical region work could be carried out efficiently despite its size.[35] However, as an alternative, the FSPC also supports the Secretary General's proposal of establishing a smaller Commission – in accordance with Kälin's Model A – (see also chapter 3.3) that would primarily consist of human right experts.

3. When discussing the possible establishment of a Council of Human Rights, it is highly important to grant civil society organizations – to which religious communities belong – the rights to say and to be consulted. It would be commendable to guarantee that the existing rights of accredited NGOs were not limited but extended, as very often it is they to dispose of important collateral and non-governmental assessment of a country's human rights situation. Here, on the one hand Kälin's proposal should be taken up to grant NGOs an exception in matters of rights to say and to be consulted under the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. On the other hand, following the recommendations of the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations, this concern should actively be tabled in the discussions about UN-reforms (see also chapter 3.4). This is where fundamental new accreditation mechanisms for NGOs are looked at – possibly allowing certain leeway to opening up for the Council of Human Rights.

3.1.2 Extension of the Security Council

The UN-Security Council is mainly criticized because its compositions and standing has not changed since its establishment in 1945 and has not been adjusted to the different geopolitical structures and the new

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32 Compare Kälin, Walter (2004) Towards a UN Human Rights Council, p. 6.

33 Compare Niederberger, Walter (2004) «Schweiz wirbt für einen Menschenrechtsrat».

34 Compare also EDA (2005) Déclaration de Mme Micheline Calmy-Rey, Conseillère fédérale des affaires étrangèrep. Genève, le 14 mars 2005. 61ème session de La Commission des droits de l'homme de l'ONU. Segment à haut niveau.

35 Compare in regard to a Steering Committee for ECOSOC: Adaba, Gemma et al. (2003) A Political Agenda for the Reform of Global Governance. A background policy paper, New York (http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/1003-IFG-on-govern.pdf), p. 15.

global threats to security. Only in 1963, the number of non-permanent members was increased from 6 to 10 answering the decolonization processes of that time.[36] Under Article 23 of the UN-Charter, the Security Council has to consider in its composition the «contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security» as well as geopolitical power relations. Despite numerous proposals and initiatives, nothing was translated into institutional change.[37] Thus, the Security Council continues to consist of five permanent members (USA, Russia, France, Great Britain, China) as well as ten non-permanent members that are elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years.

Due to the experiences during the run-up of the Iraqi war, Secretary General Kofi Annan undertook another attempt at finding a compromise in the reform-debate on the Security Council by appointing the HLP. Hence it follows that a successful reform of the UN-Security Council is not only of special importance to the world community to strengthen «credibility, legitimacy and representation»[38] of the Security Council. Much rather, the successful implementation of the reforms is increasingly interpreted as decisive influence for all further UN-reform processes. Even if the reform processes are fundamentally independent from each other, a failure in the question of the Security Council could curb the required consensus in other areas.[39]

In concrete terms, the HLP-report proposes in this important question to select prospective members of the Security Council according different criteria: Here, it is about the financial, military and diplomatic contributions to the United Nations as well as a geopolitical balance of the candidates.[40] Based on these fundamental criteria, the HLP-report recommends the UN-member states to choose between two reform models for the Security Council. Model A provides for six new permanent seats, with no veto being created, and three new two-year term non-permanent seats, divided among the major regional areas as follows:[41] The six permanent seats would be distributed among two countries from Africa, Asia and Pacific each, and one country from the Americas and Europe each.[42] At present, the main candidates for permanent seats are Japan, India, Brazil, Germany («G-4») as well as Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt.[43] Model B provides for no new permanent seats but creates a new category of eight four-year renewable-term seats. These seats would be divided among two countries from Africa, Asia and Pacific, Europe and the Americas each. In addition, this model provides for one new two-year non-permanent and non-renewable seat.[44] For both models, the HLP proposes a new regional distribution of the country groupings. And, both models require a modification of the UN-Charter, implying that the five permanent Security Council members and two-thirds of the General Assembly must approve of the modification.[45]

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36 Ozgercin, Kevin/Steinhilber, Jochen (2005) Toward a More Secure World?, p. 5.

37 Compare Weiss, Thomas G. (2005) Overcoming the Security Council Reform Impasse. The Implausible versus the Plausible (FES Occasional Papers, No. 14).

38 United Nations (2004a) A more secure world: Our shared responsibility, p. 64.

39 Compare Schneckener, Ulrich (2005) Gerangel um den Sicherheitsrat. Aussichten und Anforderungen an Deutschland, Berlin (SWP-Aktuell, Nr. 6), P. 5; Maurer, Peter (2005) «Schweiz muss auf faire Spielregeln achten.», p. 3; compare Williams, Ian (2004) «Will Calls for Sharing Responsibility in New UN report Fall on Deaf Ears?», in: Foreign Policy in Focus, December 10, 2004 (http://www.globalpolicy.org/reform/initiatives/panels/high/1210chance.htm).

40 Compare United Nations (2004a) A more secure world: Our shared responsibility, p. 66 (§249).

41 Compare Schneckener, Ulrich (2005) Gerangel um den Sicherheitsrat, p. 4.

42 Compare United Nations (2004a) A more secure world: Our shared responsibility, p. 67f.

43 Compare Ozgercin, Kevin (2004) Collective Security and the United Nations: The Work of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, New York (FES Briefing Papers), p. 8; Schneckener, Ulrich (2005) Gerangel um den Sicherheitsrat, p. 4.

44 Compare United Nations (2004a) A more secure world: Our shared responsibility, p. 67.

45 Compare Schneckener, Ulrich (2005) Gerangel um den Sicherheitsrat, p. 5.

To complete the reform of the Security Council, Article 51 of the UN-Charter is highly important for a system of collective security. Artikel 51 provides for the right of individual and collective self-defence in the case of imminent attacks. The crux of the problem is the argument to what extent a state may claim the right of self-defence and can thus bypass the Security Council, if its actions are not only pre-emptive «(against an imminent or proximate threat)» but also preventive «(against a non-imminent or non-proximate [danger])». Those that say yes to a watering down of Article 51 argue that the potential harm from some threats – such as e.g. terrorists armed with nuclear weapons – is too great. The HLP-report however does not favour the watering down or reinterpretation of Article 51.[46] The argument here is that a state which can give good evidence of a high-level threat to the Security Council, can certainly count with an appropriate reaction or support from the Security Council.[47] The formation of opinion of the HLP as to Article 51 was mainly prepared and supported by the Swiss government. Among others, in March 2004, a conference was held in Geneva headed by the Swiss expert on international law Nicolas Michel, today's Under-Secretary-General for Legal Affairs and United Nations Legal Counsel.[48]

Position of the FSPC in view of an Enlargement of the Security Council

1. The FSPC thinks a reform of the Security Council to be necessary. Basically, the FSPC considers the models that have been conceived outside of the HLP as equally relevant. In particular, the enlargement of the Security Council providing for seats with a veto or the lifting of the right to veto altogether. But as an expansion or a lifting of the veto powers does not seem politically feasible at this time, any potential reform of the Security Council will probably be a compromise between Model A and B. The FSPC shares the assessment of the Secretary General's report (see chapter 3.3), that it should be up to the member states of the UN-General Assembly to decide on the choice between Model A or B. Here, it is necessary to mention that both models have the advantage of integrating the continents of Asia and Pacific as well as Africa and Latin America into an enlarged Security Council. Furthermore, Model A has yet another advantage, namely to guarantee continuity due to the fixed distribution of seats; thus, the position of the new members of the Security Council is strengthened, even if they do not dispose of the right of veto. But Model B has another advantage: those countries that need to be re-elected every four years, may have to intensify their political cooperation and coordination within their own regions – probably leading to positive effects on regional democratisation processes.

2. Following the recommendations of the HLP-report, the FSPC favours a restrictive interpretation of Article 51 in order not to weaken the multilateral system at this vital point.

3. In order to strengthen the rights to speak and to be consulted of states that are not members of the UN-Security Council as well as those of the civil society including religious communities, the FSPC supports the systematic application of the «Arria-Formula». In 1992, the Arria-Formula was introduced by the ambassador of Venezuela describing an informal agreement allowing the Security Council to discuss specific issues in a closed circle of handpicked external persons.[49]

46 Compare United Nations (2004a) A more secure world: Our shared responsibility, p. 55 (§ 192).

47 Compare ibid, p. 55 (§190).

48 Compare ibid, p. 109; Tanner, Fred (2005) «Schweizer Interessen in der UNO gewahrt? Eine Beurteilung der Reformvorschläge», p. 9; Compare also Mission Permanente de La Suisse auprès des Nations Unies (2005a) Assemblée générale, 59ème session. Réunion officieuse de la plénière. «Echange de vues sur les recommandations contenues dans le rapport du Groupe de personnalités de haut niveau sur les menaces, les défis et le changement». Déclaration de S.E.M. Peter Maurer, New York, le 27 janvier 2005, p. 2.

49 Compare NGLS (2004) «We the Peoples: Civil Society, the UN and Global Governance. Report of the Panel of Eminent Persons on UN-Civil Society Relationships», in: NGLS Roundup, Nr. 113 (June) p. 3f; Ozgercin, Kevin (2004) Collective Security and the United Nations: The Work of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, New York (FES Briefing Papers), p. 10f.

A meeting in the year 2000 represents one example of a successful application of the Arria-Formula. At this meeting, informal consultations under the application of the Arria-Formula were held among members of the Security Council, representatives of the government of Namibia, UNIFEM, the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women as well as of the NGO-Working Group on Peace and Development and of experts from Guatemala, Somalia, Sierra Leone and of the Organization of African Unity Women's Committee for Peace and Development. This hearing mainly contributed to the fact that Resolution 1325, recognizing the special role of women in situations of wars and conflicts, was adopted by the Security Council (see also chapter 3.1.3).[50]

3.1.3 Conflict Prevention and Peace Building

In the shadow of the discussions on an enlargement of the Security Council, there is one proposal by the HLP that merits great attention and that could serve to close an institutional gap in the UN-system.[51] The HLP recommends, acting under Article 29 of the Charter of the United Nations, to establish a Peacebuilding Commission that adopts preventive measures to avoid countries to collapse or slide into war. This Commission was to be understood as a reaction to the changed global security threats in an era of increasing internal conflicts and state collapse.[52] Apart from early warning and preventive action, the core functions of this Commission should be to «assist countries in their

transition from war to peace» as well as to arrange for peacebuilding measures, if need be.[53] The HLP proposes to establish a reasonably small and flexible Commission. It should be chaired for at least one year by a member approved by the Security Council.[54] In addition to representation from the Security Council, it should include the UN-system such as IMF and the World Bank as well as representation from the ECOSOC.[55] Completing the Peacebuilding Commission, a Peacebuilding Support Office should be established, supporting the coherent integration of system-wide peacebuilding policies and strategies within the UN-system.[56]

It is to be mentioned that the HLP recommends in its report the need of «greater consultation with and involvement in peace processes of important voices from civil society, especially those of women, who are often neglected during negotiations».[57] In addition, «the Security Council, United Nations agencies and Member States are urged to fully implement Resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security».[58] The background to this statement is the fact that women become victims of armed conflicts and wars through gender-related violence and human rights violations, as rape and forced prostitution are increasingly used as a weapon of war. However, women are not only victims, they also play an eminent role in conflict prevention and conflict resolution. This modified perception of the role of women in wars, conflicts and peace processes is particularly reflected in the UN-Resolution 1325, passed by the Security Council in October 2000. The Resolution calls upon member states to integrate women more on all

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50 Compare UNIFEM Supporting Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325, New York, p. 5.

51 United Nations (2004a) A more secure world: Our shared responsibility, p. 69 (§ 261); compare Mission Permanente de La Suisse auprès des Nations Unies (2005a) Assemblée générale, 59ème session. Réunion officieuse de la plénière. «Echange de vues sur les recommandations contenues dans le rapport du Groupe de personnalités de haut niveau sur les menaces, les défis et le changement», p. 4; Ozgercin, Kevin/Steinhilber, Jochen (2005) The Report of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, p. 7.

52 Compare United Nations (2004a) A more secure world: Our shared responsibility, p. 69f (§ 261).

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53 Ibid, p. 69 (§ 264); compare Williams, Ian (2004) «Will Calls for Sharing Responsibility in New UN report Fall on Deaf Ears?».

54 Compare United Nations (2004a) A more secure world: Our shared responsibility, p. 70 (§ 265 c).

55 Compare ibid, p. 70 (§ 265 d-f).

56 Compare ibid, p. 70 (§ 266).

57 Ibid, p. 80.

58 Ibid, p. 87.

institutional levels in matters of prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding. In October 2004, this assessment was again confirmed in the Security Council and also the UN-General Secretary's report on women, peace and security (UN-Document No. S/2004/814) welcomes it.[59]

Position of the FSPC in view of Peacekeeping

1. The promotion of peace is one of the ethical core concerns of the FSPC. In this respect, the proposal of establishing an independent Peacebuilding Commission and a Peacebuilding Support Office is highly welcomed.

2. In the establishment of the Peacebuidling Commission, the FSPC considers it important to emphasize the special role of women in wars and conflicts as well as in conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

3.1.4   Development Policy and Security Issues

The South criticizes the HLP-report as much as it does not comprehensively discuss the significance of development policy for the protection of collective security and therefore does not phrase appropriate development recommendations. Ibrahim Gambari, deputy UN-Secretary General and UN-Africa Adviser, thus demands a specific development strategy be worked out, especially in view of the existing political incoherences.[60] This criticism seems particularly plausible in view of the background that stable social and economic as well as

sustainable development and poverty reduction play an essential preventive role in wars and conflicts.[61]

In addition, representatives of development countries argue that too much significance is attached to the proliferation of mass destruction weapons in relation to the problem of general disarmament. Here, many countries – in particular in the South – consider the non-proliferation of small weapons and landmines to be of utmost importance.[62] And, it seems not to be defined how the required additional funds for conflict prevention and peace building e.g. for Africa should be generated. This is especially true in view of the fact that the goal of the global community to spend 0,7% of GNP in official development assistance has by far not been reached.

Position of the FSPC in view of Development and Security Policy

1. The FSPC considers the criticism at the HLP-report to be justified that it does not deal sufficiently with questions of development strategies. If the HLP-report and the UN-Millennium Project report (see chapter 3.2) are however to be considered as complementary reports, we can talk about (an unspoken) «job-sharing» between the two commissions. Whereas the UN-Millennium Project report published in January 2005 (Sachs-Report) rather focuses on the issues of development policies (especially on poverty reduction), the HLP-report rather deals with the issues of security policies outside of the socio-economic area.[63] Yet, in the political

59   Compare United Nations (2000) Resolution 1325 (2000). Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000, New York (S/RES/1325 (2000); United Nations (2004) Declaration by the President of the Security Council. October 28, 2004. New York (S/PRST/2004/40); Women's Security Council (2004) Aktionsplan zur beschleunigten Umsetzung von Resolution 1325. Ein Positionspapier des Frauensicherheitsrats (http://un1325.de/fsr.htm).

60   Compare United Nations (2005a) UN Africa adviser says High-level Panel's report needs to clarify development strategy, in: UN News Centre, 16 February 2005 (http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=13365&Cr=Africa&Cr1=development).

61   Compare South Center (2005) Developing countries need to examine the report of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. Press Release 21 January 2005, p. 3.

62   Compare United Nations (2005) General Assembly Critiques High-level Panel Report (UN Press Release, February 1, 2005); compare also Mission Permanente de La Suisse auprès des Nations Unies (2005a) Assemblée générale, 59ème session. Réunion officieuse de la plénière. «Echange de vues sur les recommandations contenues dans le rapport du Groupe de personnalités de haut niveau sur les menaces, les défis et le changement», p. 2.

63   Compare also Mission Permanente de La Suisse auprès des Nations Unies (2005a) Assemblée générale, 59ème session. Réunion officieuse de la plénière pour poursuivre un échange de vues sur les recommandations contenues dans le rapport «Investir dans le développement» du Millennium project. Déclaration de S.E.M. Peter Maurer, New York, le 25 janvier 2005.

context, it is important that the results of both expert groups have substantially been included in the balanced report of the UN-Secretary General (see chapter 3.3).

3.2 The UN-Millennium Goals

After the world community agreed on eight Millennium Development Goals and passed a subsequent Millennium Declaration in the year 2000 as well as after the conclusion of the Conference for Development Financing of Monterrey in the year 2002, it became quite clear, that comprehensive measures had to be implemented to reach the Millennium Goals. To work out appropriate strategies, Kofi Annan appointed Jeffrey Sachs, professor at the Columbia University, as Special Advisor for the Millennium Goals in July 2002. Over 260 experts in development strategies worked in 10 working groups and after their intensive work a final report called «Investing in Development. A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals» was presented in January 2005.[64] The 350-page report stands out for its numerous recommendations for action but cannot be dealt with comprehensively at this point, particularly as it is less directed at UN-reforms than at national and international strategies to achieve the Millennium Goals. Nevertheless, the following summarizes some of its basic statements and main recommendations.

From the Sachs-Report's point of view, the Millennium Goals represent the fullest time-bound agenda of international development policy the global community has ever agreed upon. It is now a matter of their implementation. The Sachs-report however points out that the UN-member states are far from a successful implementation of the goals. At the same time, it is argued with a rather optimistic tone that the goals could be achieved by 2015 if the required political measures were planned and implemented rapidly.[65]

According the Sachs-Report, the central problems in achieving the Millennium Goals in development countries and in countries with economies in transition are discerned in the following areas: a) *Government Failure* (no rule of law and/or an inappropriate/lacking economic policy); b) *Poverty Traps* (the development countries remain captivated in these traps if they do not invest e.g. in human resources and do not improve the living and working conditions of small and subsistence farmers as well as increase their productivity); c) *Poverty-Cluster* (even in rapidly developing national economies such as China or Brazil large sectors of the population and of regions are excluded from the improvement of working and living conditions); d) *Lacking awareness of the problems* (e.g. due to lacking expertise and know-how in the Ministries for the Environment).[66] These observations served as fundamentals of the Sachs-Report to develop strategies how to achieve the Millennium Goals comprehensively, regionally balanced and timely determined.

The developing countries are recommended to work out a national program specifically geared to their own needs of how to implement the Millennium Goals within their country. This supporting program should be followed by individual poverty reduction strategies («MDG-based poverty reduction strategies», in short: MDG-PRS) that define and implement verifiable intermediate goals.[67] The MDG-PRS should be developed in a joint consultation process with civil society and the private sector.

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64 Compare MillenniumProject (2005) Investing in Development. A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals. Report to the UN Secretary General, London; Martens, Jens (2005) Der Bericht des UN Millenniumsprojektes «Investing in Development», Berlin (FES Briefing Papers), p. 2.

65 Compare MillenniumProject (2005) Investing in Development, p. 2ff.

66 Compare ibid, P. 29-46; Martens, Jens (2005) Der Bericht des UN Millenniumsprojektes «Investing in Development», p. 5.

67 Compare MillenniumProject (2005) Investing in Development, p. 55-62.

In the case of political strategies, the greatest importance is attached to public investments in the area of infrastructures and of an efficient public administration.[68] But as major investments cannot be financed by the developing countries themselves, comprehensive financial support extended by the global community is urgently needed. The Sachs-Report critically assesses today's development and financial policies.[69] It uses the findings of extensive analyses to work out concrete strategies of how to strengthen international development cooperation. These strategies focus among other on the a) strengthening of a coherent and MDG-based development policy, in particular on the part of the international finance institutions IMF and World Bank; b) the establishment of country-specific ten years- framework programs and three to five years-MDG-PRS; c) the scaling up of the official development assistance (ODA) up to US$ 195 bio. by 2015; and d) a change of spirit when it comes to debt release, in order to grant more countries a full debt release.[70] In view of the issue of the UN-reform, it is important to underline that the Sachs-Report recommends to strengthen the coordination functions of the United Nations – both on the international level and on the level of its country teams. It actually recommends to increase the staff of the country offices and to guarantee their close cooperation with the country representatives of the IMF and World Bank.[71]

The Sachs-Report directs the attention also to the role of international trade in achieving sustainable GNP-growth and poverty reduction. These demands correspond to the Millennium Goal 8 «Develop a Global Partnership for Development». In analogy to the Monterrey Consensus, the Sachs-Report demands that development countries should have easier access to markets and obtain better economies of scale. In addition, such an improved market access needs to be complemented by an increase of the competitive edge on the supply-side in low-income countries.

Position of the FSPC in view of the Millennium Goals

1. The FSPC vigorously supports the Millennium Goals, and in particular, if these goals are embedded in a broad development strategy.
2. The FSPC considers the demand of the Sachs-Report to be of great relevance, to strengthen the (economic and) political coherence of the development agenda. Here, the Report talks about increasing the coherence within the national policies of a country – such as the coherence between finance, trade and development policies. Moreover, the Sachs-Report underlines the necessity of redirecting the policies of international trade and finance institutions (IMF, World Bank, WTO) along the lines and goals of UN-development strategies, in particular along the Millennium Goals.
3. As all the ambitious recommendations issued at international conferences, the Millennium Goals hide the danger of de-motivating populations and governments, if the Goals are not reached by 2015. Therefore, from the Christian perspective it is important to emphasize «humans instead of figures»:[72] Each child, whose tears are wiped off, experiences a little refuge and healing and thus represents a step forward in the development process. De-motivating statistical figures and global development goals need to be opposed with motivating children's eyes – even in politics.

3.3 A Milestone:
The Report of the UN-Secretary General of March 2005

On March 21, 2005, the UN-Secretary General's report «In larger freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All» was

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68 Compare ibid.

69 Compare ibid, p. 193-199; Martens, Jens (2005) Der Bericht des UN Millenniumsprojektes «Investing in Development», p. 6f.

70 Compare MillenniumProject (2005) Investing in Development, p. 199-210

71 Compare ibid, p. 205f.

72 Compare Stückelberger, Christoph (2004) «Menschen statt Zahlen: Moratorium für weitere Entwicklungsziele», p. 17f.

presented in New York.[73] The report arrived with great excitement, as it is the central political program package for the M+5-summit in September 2005. In terms of content, the report is based upon the findings of the Sachs- and HLP-Reports, but discloses an independent emphasis on their evaluation. The title «In larger freedom» refers directly to the Preamble of the UN-Charter; but it can also be understood as an answer to international politics, that increasingly turns into a unilateral matter – often justified with the argument that sovereign states enjoy absolute freedom. The report can be seen as a direction-setting plan of action that has been conceived to push the UN-member states to a time-bound implementation of their agreed development goals.

Kofi Annan's report «In larger freedom» defines Development, Security and Human Rights as interconnected goals.[74] They can only be realized with collective action; and here, the United Nations as multilateral institution bears a decisive role.[75] In order to cope with the global challenges and, in particular, to implement the Millennium Goals by 2015 in a comprehensive and regionally balanced way, it is vital to dispose of a realistic timetable.[76]

3.3.1 Development, Security and Human Rights

The chapter «Freedom from want» mainly deals with reaching the Millennium Goals with a consensus-based agenda of development strategies adopted by the UN-member states. Also, this chapter focuses on the implementation of the required national and international strategies. Against the setting of global UN-Conferences (Johannesburg, Monterrey, Beijing) and their extensive agenda, the Secretary

General's Report emphasizes that the Millennium Goals need to be embedded into a larger agenda of development strategies.[77]

Kofi Annan establishes that progress has been made in reaching the Millennium Goals, but that enormous efforts are additionally needed to realize the Goals comprehensively. In particular, the Report refers to the importance of global partnership for development – such as agreed on the International Conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey or according the definition of Goal 8 of the Millennium Goals. Hence, both development and industrial countries have to fulfil obligations of development policies. Following the analysis of the Sachs-Report, the development countries have the primary responsibility to monitor a national development strategy, such as fighting corruption and maximizing the provision of local financial resources. Highly developed countries however, have for their part the responsibility to coherently follow development strategies, such as realizing development-oriented trade policies, debt release and an increase of official development assistance funds (ODA).[78] In concrete terms, the Report by the Secretary General demands the ODA to be increased to 0,7% of the GNP by 2015; whereby the target of 0,5% should be reached as an intermediate scale up by 2009.[79] In addition to an increase of ODA, the Report recommends along the lines of the Sachs-Report to implement the British proposal of an International Finance Facility (IFF). Here, financial resources are generated by taking out loans. In addition, it is demanded that the Doha round of multilateral trade negotiations should fulfil its development promise and be completed no later than 2006.[80] The Report directs special attention to ensuring environmental sustainability; and here, the problems of desertificati-

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73   Compare United Nations (2005b) In larger freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All, New York (A/59/2005).

74   Compare ibid, p. 6 (§ 17).

75   Compare ibid, p. 6 (§ 21).

76   Compare ibid, p. 7.

77   Compare ibid, P. 10f (§ 30, 31); Mission Permanente de La Suisse auprès des Nations Unies (2005) 59ème session de l'Assemblée générale. Consultations informelles. Rapport Sachs-Objectifs de développement du Millénaire. Déclaration de S.E.M. Peter Maurer, New York, le 11 février 2005, p. 2.

78   Compare United Nations (2005b) In larger freedom, p. 12-24.

79   Compare ibid, p. 16f. (§ 49).

80   Compare ibid, p. 18 (§ 55).

on, biodiversity and climate change are given particular thought (see also chapter 3.2).[81]

In the chapter «Freedom from fear», mainly based on the HLP-Report, Kofi Annan's report states that there is neither a basic consensus on the collective security-side (as it exists in the case of the Millennium Goals) nor is there a concrete implementation of political strategies. This is true for example for the analysis of possible threat strategy scenarios (compare the six threat clusters in chapter 3.1) as well as for the definition of terrorism.[82] In concrete, the Report urges member states to conclude a comprehensive convention on terrorism by autumn 2006.[83] Special attention is dedicated to the danger of proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.[84] In the area of conflict prevention and peacekeeping, the UN-Secretary General's Report takes up several proposals of the HLP-Report, among others to establish a Peacebuilding Commission as well as a Peacebuilding Support Office (see chapter 3.1.3).[85] The Report also follows the HLP's position, to keep Article 51 of the UN-Charter unchanged (see chapter 3.1.2).[86] Yet, stronger than the HLP-Report, the Secretary General emphasizes the problem of small arms, light weapons and landmines and their effects on peace, stability and sustainable development.[87]

The chapter «Freedom to live in dignity» focuses on the universal values such as rule of law, human rights and democracy. Apart from strengthening the International Criminal Court in The Hague, the Report underlines the need to strengthen human rights as essential task

of the United Nations (see also chapter 3.3.2). Contrary to the HLP-Report, the UN-Secretary General's Report recommends the Human Rights Commission be replaced by a Human Rights Council. In addition, the Report recommends the creation of a democracy fund to provide assistance to development countries seeking to promote or strengthen their democratic structures and processes.[88]

3.3.2 Strengthening the United Nations

In the chapter «Strengthening the United Nations» concrete reform proposals of the various bodies and commissions of the United Nations are presented and discussed. From the FSPC's point of view, some of the relevant proposals – as partially already discussed earlier – are the following:

Contrary to the relatively weak positioning in the HLP-Report, the UN-Secretary General's Report clearly recommends the creation of a small Human Rights Council. This Council should either be established as a principal organ of the United Nations, similar to the Security Council, or as a subsidiary body of the General Assembly. To avoid the present-day politicization of the Human Rights Commission, the Report proposes the members be elected directly by the General Assembly by a two-thirds majority, and not by regional country groups, as has been the case so far.

In view of the Security Council's reform, the Report recommends the UN-Member States to consider two options, Models A and B. It is remarkable that in the Secretary General's Report it would be preferable for Member States to take decisions by consensus. However, if they are unable to reach consensus, further steps should be taken. This implies the option for Member States to take a crucial vote (see chapter 3.1.2).

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81 Compare ibid, p. 19f.

82 Compare ibid, p. 24-26.

83 Compare ibid, p. 26 (§ 91).

84 Compare ibid, p. 28f. (§ 97-105).

85 Compare ibid, p. 31 (§ 114).

86 Compare ibid, p. 33 (§ 124).

87 Compare ibid, p. 33 (§ 121).

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88 Compare ibid, p. 39 (§ 151).

Furthermore, the HLP-Report recommends to «revitalize» the General Assembly by streamlining its agenda and rationalizing its work.

Finally, the Report urges to ensure a stronger system-wide coherence. This coordinating and strategically important task is up to the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), which needs to be strengthened by reforms. Finally, the Report suggests mandating the Economic and Social Council to hold annual ministerial-level progress assessments towards agreed development goals (particularly the Millennium Development Goals).

Position of the FSPC in view of Kofi Annan's Report

1. The FSPC considers the balanced Report by UN-Secretary General «In larger freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All» a very positive synthesis and continuation of the HLP- and Sachs-Reports. We welcome the streamlining of its agenda to the interactive goals of development, security and human rights. In addition, we agree with the reference that the Millennium Goals represent an integral part of a broader agenda of development strategies. However, from a strategic point of view, the FSPC considers it appropriate to concentrate all existing «forces» towards carrying out a result-oriented M+5-Summit.

2. We have already expressed our consent to a reform of the Security Council according the two options Model A or B, and to the establishment of a Peacebuilding Commission as well as of a Human Rights Council (see chapter 3.1).

3. Both the broad agenda and the necessity of a two-thirds majority for amendments of the UN-Charter illustrate the significance of the General Assembly at the time when the United Nations was founded.[89] Even without mechanisms of sanctions, the General Assembly is an important place of multilateral consensus building. We therefore welcome the revitalization of the General Assembly as principal organ of the United Nations. Hence, its agenda should focus on substantive issues in order to strengthen the advisory function of the General Assembly by means of Resolutions and Statements. The Report also proposes to delegate the qualified work to smaller sub-committees. Finally, the «systematic exchange with organizations of civil society» should be enabled.[90]

4. From the FSPC's point of view, the reforms in the economic and social area of the United Nations are highly important. However, here, existing proposals should be considered, that among others suggest the creation of a global high-level decision-making body for social and economic problems. The General Assembly's General Committee would provide a good forum for transformation into such a body («G-29») or the introduction of a Steering Committee to the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), to enhance the efficiency of its work.[91] On the other hand, the question is how to raise the voice and participation of developing countries in global institutions. Here again, we propose to use existing material and findings. The ultimate goal is to have a broader representation of development countries in the IMF and World Bank and to push through a voting rights reform. It is also necessary to strengthen

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89 Compare Habegger, Beat (2005) «Globaler Marktplatz der Ideen. Vorschläge zur Reform der UNO-Generalversammlung», in: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, February 11, 2005, No. 35, p. 9.

90 Compare United Nations (2004) We the Peoples: civil society, the United Nations and global governance, p. 9; compare also Hunte, Julian Robert (2004) «A United Nations General Assembly for the Twentyfirst Century». Paper presented at the DGVN-Veranstaltung on 24th of May 2004 in Berlin (http://www.dgvn.de/publikationen/hunte_vortrag040524.htm); Mission Permanente de La Suisse auprès des Nations Unies (2004) 59ème session de l'Assemblée générale. Points 52 et 54 de l'ordre du jour. Revitalisation des travaux de l'Assemblée générale. Renforcement des Nations Unies. Déclaration de S.E.M. Peter Maurer, New York, October 4, 2004.

91 The proposal for a «G-29» stems from Inge Kaul (Director, Office of Development Studies, UNO). Compare also Martens, Jens (2003) The Future of Multilateralism after Monterrey and Johannesburg, Berlin (FES Occasional papers, No. 10), p. 35. Compare also in view of the general reform debate Varwick, Johannes (2004) «Die Reform der Vereinten Nationen – Weltorganisation unter Anpassungsdruck», in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, B 43, p. 37-45.

the negotiating position of development countries in the WTO.[92] And all in all, – because the principle of participation is highly ethical – it is vital to strengthen the UN and its agencies regarding the Bretton-Woods-Institutions, IMF and World Bank.

3.4 Involving Non-Governemental Actors in the United Nations

Non-governmental actors play an important role in the question of the United Nations-reforms. Such actors include NGOs, religious communities,[93] private economy as well as Members of Parliament. They dispose of «key resources such as trust, credibility, knowledge, financial means, decentralized implementation capacities, early warning systems, global networks and ability to develop campaigns»[94]– all important resources for the strengthening of the United Nations.

Against this background, in February 2003, Kofi Annan appointed a «Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations» chaired by former Brazilian president Fernando Henrique Cardoso. The Group was commissioned to formulate proposals that should lead to an intensified cooperation between UN and civil society. The final report was presented on June 7, 2004 (UN-Document No. A/58/817, in the following named «Cardoso-Report»).

The 30 proposals of the Cardoso-Report look at very different reform areas. All in all, the Report recommends to develop alternatives to the

conventional intergovernmental multilateralism. Non-governmental actors should be more participatory, issue-based networks be promoted and the interaction between the local, regional and global level be strengthened.[95] Institutional reform proposals suggest for example the establishment of an Office of Constituency Engagement and Partnerships as well as new accreditation mechanisms for NGOs that no longer need to access the UN via ECOSOC but via the General Assembly.[96]

On September 13, 2004, the UN-Secretary General presented his report and his recommendations to the General Assembly as a reaction to the Cardoso-Report (UN-document No. A/59/354). Even if the recommendations of the Cardoso Panel have not been comprehensively supported since – neither from the side of civil society nor from the UN-Member States –, they nevertheless touch important issues and long-term goals. From the FSPC's point of view, these should be supported because of their inherent idea of participatory involvement. There are two areas that are of particular significance: NGOs from the South should participate to a larger extent and Members of Parliament should be broadly included into the UN-system. These two areas are discussed both in the light of the Cardoso-Report and of the Secretary General's answer to the Cardoso-Report.

3.4.1 A Stronger Participation of NGOs from the South

The Cardoso-Report explicitly advocates a stronger participation of NGOs from the South and from countries in transition that are involved in political processes both on national and on international level.

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92 Compare Buira, Ariel (Ed.) (2003) Challenges to the World Bank and IMF. Developing Country Perspectives, London; Martens, Jens (2003) The Future of Multilateralism after Monterrey and Johannesburg, p. 31; Rosenthal, Gert (2005) The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, An Issues Paper, New York (FES Occasional papers, No. 15); Adaba, Gemma et al. (2003) A Political Agenda for the Reform of Global Governance, p. 10-17; Floro, Maria/Hoppe, Hella (2005) Engendering Policy Coherence for Development, Berlin/New York (FES Briefing Papers).

93 It is a controversial question whether churches and other religious communities belong to the category of NGOs. Compare Raiser, Konrad (1994) The World Council of Churches and international Civil Society, in: The Ecumenical Review, No. 46, p. 38-44.

94 Fues, Thomas (2005) Stärkung der Vereinten Nationen durch vertiefte Zusammenarbeit mit NGOs, Privatwirtschaft und Parlamenten, p. 2 (translation by HH/CS).

95 Compare United Nations (2004) We the Peoples: civil society, the United Nations and global governance; Fues, Thomas/Hoppe, Hella (2004) «Reform der Vereinten Nationen. Neue Wege für die Zusammenarbeit mit NROs?» in: Forum Umwelt und Entwicklung, Rundbrief Nr. 4, S. 31; NGLS (2004) «We the Peoples: Civil Society, the UN and Global Governance. Report of the Panel of Eminent Persons on UN-Civil Society Relationships», in: NGLS Roundup, Nr. 113 (June) p. 1-6.

96 Compare Fues, Thomas/Hoppe, Hella (2004) «Reform der Vereinten Nationen. Neue Wege für die Zusammenarbeit mit NROs?», p. 31.

Despite an increase in the last years, the Southern NGOs are still heavily under-represented.[97] This may be at least partly due to lacking financial resources. This is why the Cardoso-Report recommends to establish a fund to support NGOs from the South and from countries in transition. The goal is not only to generate funds for individual conferences or events but to dispose of a general annual budget. Governments, foundations, UN-resources and other sources should contribute to this fund.[98]

This proposal is also taken up in the Secretary General's Report. Here, on the one hand, the report announces the establishment of a fund that is to enable accredited NGOs from the South to receive financial support to participate in global UN-Conferences.[99] On the other hand, another fund should be established to increase the participation of NGOs on the local level. This fund should be fed with bilateral donations and foundations.[100]

Position of the FSPC in view of Civil Society Participation

1. The FSPC welcomes the financial support of civil society representatives from the South, in particular from non-governmental organizations, so that they are able to participate in intergovernmental conferences and consultations. The FSPC-partner organizations such as Bread for all, Interchurch Aid (HEKS), mission 21 and DM-échange et mission dispose of an international network in the countries of the South and could thus give recommendations and advise in the selection of church, human rights and development organizations that are eligible for financial support.

2. The FSPC shares the view that women's groups and gender experts need to be involved at a higher level into the processes following the Cardoso-Report. At a long-term, the goal should also be to reach a balanced representation of women in governments and international bodies and have equal participation of women's groups as well as women experts.[101]

3. But the means to finance a stronger participation of civil society representatives should not be deducted from existing development programs. Much rather, these funds should be generated in addition, or – if this is not possible – by savings effected in the spending of government delegations.

4. If civil society is called to be included at a higher level, then, churches are also challenged to strengthen their international structures. The World Council of Churches (WCC) as international community of more than 340 churches from all over the world represents the most important and appropriate instrument for the FSPC to bring the voice of the church into the UN and its agencies. As history shows, the churches have come forward with creative proposals and have thus been able to effectively influence the course of things. But to fulfil this task, the churches must be ready to allocate more funds to the WCC.

3.4.2 Involvement of National Parliaments

One of the most serious democracy deficits is caused by the lacking Parliamentarian control of international bodies and multilateral insti-

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97 Compare United Nations (2004a) Report of the Secretary General in response to the report of the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations, New York (A/59/354), p. 6; Fues, Thomas/Hoppe, Hella (2004) «Reform der Vereinten Nationen. Neue Wege für die Zusammenarbeit mit NROs?», p. 31.

98 Compare United Nations (2004) We the Peoples: civil society, the United Nations and global governance, p. 66f.

99 Compare United Nations (2004a) Report of the Secretary General in response to the report of the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations, p. 6; Fues, Thomas/Hoppe, Hella (2004) «Reform der Vereinten Nationen. Neue Wege für die Zusammenarbeit mit NROs?», p. 32.

100 Compare United Nations (2004a) Report of the Secretary General in response to the report of the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations, p. 12; Fues, Thomas/Hoppe, Hella (2004) «Reform der Vereinten Nationen. Neue Wege für die Zusammenarbeit mit NROs?», p. 32.

101 Compare Floro, Maria/Hoppe, Hella (2005) Engendering Policy Coherence for Development.

tutions.[102] The possibilities for Parliaments to influence globalisation processes is dropping, whereas those of governments are on the rise:

«By shifting political decision-making processes onto the level of international politics, governments partly manage to break away from Parliamentarian control and thus from an essential part of the democratic system. […] In addition, economic processes with global outreach are dominating today's world at the expense of the required slowness of national decision-making and democratically blessed policies.»[103]

Non-governmental actors are important here again, because they contribute to making decision-making processes public and transparent. Thus, they assume a complementary role regarding representative democracy.[104]

The Cardoso-Report identifies this democracy deficit and comes forward with several proposals of how to involve Members of Parliament in the UN-system at a higher level. In concrete terms, the Report proposes the following:

- Prior to relevant UN-conferences and consultations, interactive meetings with NGOs and Parliamentarians should be established,[105] as has been taken place in Switzerland already quite often;
- The creation of «global public policy committees».[106]

Both proposals are taken up in the Secretary General's Report and in the Cardoso-Report. The parliamentarians' reaction to these proposals were rather restrained. Although they welcomed the basic statement of the Cardoso-Report to involve Parliaments more into the UN-system, they at the same time also criticized that the proposals of the Cardoso-Report are not sufficient to live up to the «principles of democratic legitimation of Parliamentarian activities». The proposal of establishing global public policy committees with a temporary membership of up to 30 Parliamentarians, who would be involved in UN-discussions, «apparently had not enough grounds of legitimacy».[107]

Yet, on the basis of a strategy paper by the Committee for a Democratic UN (2004), a few members of Parliament pleaded in favour of creating a Parliamentary Assembly. According Article 22 of the UN-Charter, this Assembly should be structured either like a semi-autonomous ancillary body of the General Assembly or a special agency with advisory functions.[108] The Parliamentary Assembly would include 700 to 900 members from national Parliaments, who could also be directly elected at a later point in time.[109] It would be worth examining whether the Interparliamentarian Union (IPU) could possibly be integrated into the secretariat.

This proposal of a UN-Parliamentarian Assembly has been supported by more than 100 members of the Swiss Parliament. In an open letter to the Secretary General, they clearly voice their support: «Represen-

102 Compare Wahl, Peter (2001) Nichtregierungsorganisationen (NGO) als Akteure im Prozess der Globalisierung. Sitzung der Enquete-Kommission «Globalisierung der Weltwirtschaft» on January 22, 2001; Compare also Deutscher Bundestag (2002) Globalisierung der Weltwirtschaft – Herausforderungen und Antworten, p. 440f., 445-448.

103 Ibid, p. 445 (translated by HN).

104 Compare Wahl, Peter (2001) Nichtregierungsorganisationen (NGO) als Akteure im Prozess der Globalisierung; Compare also Deutscher Bundestag (2002) Globalisierung der Weltwirtschaft – Herausforderungen und Antworten, p. 440f., 445-448.

105 Compare United Nations (2004) We the Peoples: civil society, the United Nations and global governance, p. 47f.

106 United Nations (2004) We the Peoples: civil society, the United Nations and global governance, p. 49.

107 Deutscher Bundestag (2004) Für eine parlamentarische Dimension im System der Vereinten Nationen. Antrag der Fraktionen SPD, CDU/CSU, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen und FDP, Berlin (Drucksache 15/3711), p. 1 (translated by HN).

108 Compare Committee for a Democratic UN (2004) Developing International Democracy For a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations. A Strategy Paper of the Committee for a Democratic U.N. (http://www.uno-komitee.de/en/documents/unpa-paper.pdf), p. 19; Bummel, Andreas (2005) «Auf dem Weg zum Weltparlament. Für mehr Legitimität und Bürgernähe der Vereinten Nationen,» in: Blickpunkt Zukunft, Jg. 25, Ausgabe 43, Januar, p. 3f.

109 Compare ibid, p. 20.

tation of the population and participation of civil society within the organization would promote the faith of citizens in the UN and increase its acceptance and legitimation.»[110]

Position of the FSPC in view of Involving Members of Parliament

1. The FSPC supports the initiative of creating a UN-Parliamentary Assembly and recommends examining its details. And here, the strategy paper of the Committee for a Democratic UN should serve as basic document to draw upon.[111] In principle, the FSPC would suggest respecting a balanced composition regarding regions and gender. Furthermore, it is important that the members of Parliament be clearly connected to the civil society representatives of their own country

2. The FSPC, however, also recognizes that the involvement of Parliament members may only promote the democratization process of the UN to some extent; in as much as Parliaments in many UN-Member States due to corruption and nepotism do not fully represent their population.

4. Blocking of Reforms because of the Financial Problems of the UN?

For many years, the United Nations complain about the insufficient willingness of the Member States to pay their dues. This has led to serious financial problems. In view of the tight budgetary situation of the UN, the question must be raised whether the reforms can be financed altogether.

Basically, the regular UN-budget is financed by the contributions of its Member States. The progression of the contributions is determined by the General Assembly for a period of approximately two years. Thus, the percentage for the regular budget for the three biggest contributors for 2004-2006 amount to: USA (22%), Japan (19,5%) and Germany (8,7%). The percentage of Switzerland's contribution amounts to 1,14% (prior to the supplementary budget in December 2004). Overall, the regular UN-budget for 2004-2005 runs into US-$ 3,6 billion (without special agencies and peace actions).[112]

For the year 2005, the percentages of the UN-Member States' contributions, in view of an overall budget of US-$ 1,8 billion, are shown in diagram 1:

Diagram 1: Regular UN-Budget 2005 (US-$ 1,8 bio.)
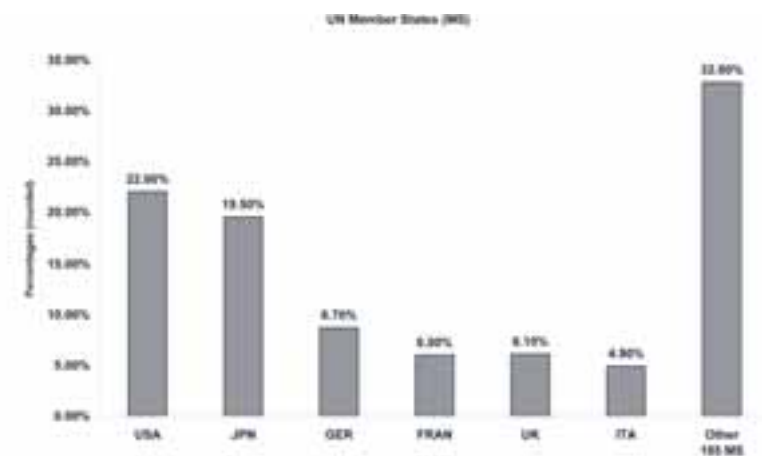
Source: Auswärtiges Amt (2005) Die Finanzstruktur der Vereinten Nationen (Februar 2005), Berlin (http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/de/aussenpolitik/vn/vereinte_nationen/finanzen_html)

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110 Committee for a Democratic U.N. (2005) Open letter to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (http://www.uno-komitee.de/en/news/006-07-02-05-Switzerland.pdf), p. 1; Maurer, Peter (2005) «Schweiz muss auf faire Spielregeln achten.», p. 3.

111 Compare Committee for a Democratic UN (2004) Developing International Democracy For a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations.

112 Compare Auswärtiges Amt (2005) Die Finanzstruktur der Vereinten Nationen (Februar 2005), Berlin (http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/de/aussenpolitik/vn/vereinte_nationen/finanzen_html).

In addition to the regular budget, the Member States finance the various Peace Missions of the UN. The costs of peacekeeping measures are estimated to amount to over US-$ 4 bio. for the year 2005. Here, the biggest shares are allotted to missions in Africa. The international Criminal Courts of Justice, numerous programs and UN-Funds (e.g. ILO, ITU) have their own budgets. For the larger part, they are supported by voluntary contributions from UN-Member States.[113] Table 1 shows the contributions of Switzerland in the year 2002.

Table 1: Overview on Switzerland's contributions to the
UN-System for the year 2002, in CHF

1. Core UN	
Regular Dues	31 487 100
Voluntary contributions to Peacekeeping Operations	7 926 555
Other UN-bodies, Institutes and Commisions	274 060 897
Total Core-UN	313 474 552
2. UN-Special Agencies (FAO, UNESCO etc.)	65 808 848
3. World Bank, IMF and associated Institutions	211 861 921
Total 1+2+3	591 145 321

Source: EDA (2004) Die Schweiz und die UNO. Bericht des Bundesrats 2004. Berne, p. 65.

Even if the financial situation of the UN has slightly improved, the overall debts outstanding amount to US-$ 2 bio. at this time. The accounts receivable of the current budget run up to more than US-$ 700 million. A large part of the debts are to be paid by the US.[114] Partly,

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113 Compare ibid.

114 Compare United Nations (2004c) Progress Made in Strengthening UN Financial Base, But Serious Problems Remain, Budget Committee Told, New York (UN Press Release GA/AB/3637).

the payments of the dues are connected to political demands. As such, Japan does not have a seat in the Security Council, despite being the second biggest contributor. After the UN announced its intention to increase the regular dues for the Budget 2004-2005, Japan threatened to cut the voluntary contributions in the year 2003, – also to show dissatisfaction with existing UN-structures.[115] Only a small minority of countries pay on time and the full amount due to the United Nations. Apart from Canada, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Russia, also Switzerland can be found in this category.

The effects and the consequences for the present reform processes can hardly be assessed accurately. Partially, (publicly available) estimations on additional expenses or savings caused by the reform processes are missing. For example, the HLP-Report does not list the exact costs of implementing the reform proposals. However, it for example strongly recommends to increase the staff of the secretariat of the Secretary General for the programs of collective security. These costs can be calculated.[116] To the contrary of the HLP-Report, the Cardoso-Report delivers some real figures for the implementation of his reform proposals and calculates the overall costs to amount to approx. US-$ 4 million. At the same time it is expected, that savings of some US-$ 3 million could be achieved by streamlining the accreditation process.[117] The concrete initiative of a Parliamentary Assembly at the UN would probably cost around 100 to 120 mio. Euro per year, which could probably be financed with voluntary contributions such as the International Criminal Court of Justice.[118]

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115 Compare N.N. (2003) Japan threatens to cut voluntary UN-payments, in: Nord-Süd Aktuell, 4. Quartal 2003, p. 566.

116 Compare United Nations (2004a) A more secure world: Our shared responsibility, p. 76 (§ 295 and 296).

117 Compare United Nations (2004) We the Peoples: civil society, the United Nations and global governance, p. 68.

118 Compare Committee for a Democratic UN (2004) Developing International Democracy. For a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations, p. 13f.

Position of the FSPC in view of UN-Financing

1. The precarious budget situation of the United Nations represents a problem that should not be underestimated – if the reforms should be implemented successfully. The precondition to improve the financial situation of the UN is that the principal debtors pay their dues immediately and in the full amount. At the same time, if compared to other expenses, the United Nations spendings can be called moderate. It needs to be repeated as often as possible that the OECD-States use over US-$ 300 billion annually to protect their agricultural markets and that global military expenditure amounts to over US-$ 800 bio. every year.[119]

2. Here, we see once again that, if global challenges are to be successfully met, the UN is at the mercy of the political will of its Member States, despite all its ongoing reform efforts.[120] The new funds for the Financing of Development, that are being discussed globally at present (such as a global lottery, an international currency transaction tax, an air carrier fuel tax, etc.),[121] should also be used to strengthen the UN and for its reforms, as the United Nations represent a universal instrument for development.

5. Prospects

In its final document, the ILO-World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation underlines the necessity of a more sustainable ethic framework for a just as well as socially and ecologically balanced globalisation:

«There is today a deep-seated desire by people to reaffirm basic ethical values in public life, as seen, for example, in calls for a more ‹ethical globalization›».[122]

Such a sustainable framework already exists in the form of Resolutions and Agreements of the multilateral system of United Nations, among others reflected in the Charter of the UN, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ILO-Standards and Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work as well as the Millennium Development Goals.[123] These fundamental values, however, need to be strengthened by reforms in order to make them work as substantial guidelines in national as well as international politics. In analogy to the history of the origins of the Preamble and the Charter of the UN, churches must again assume an important role: Hence, it is all about preserving values of an ethical globalisation in the multilateral UN-system and – where these do not exist – they must be claimed in order to be implemented into everyday politics.

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119 Compare Hoppe, Hella (2004) WTO und Gerechtigkeit. Eine Bestandsaufnahme nach Cancún, in: Gerechtigkeit für Anfänger. Jahrbuch für Arbeit und Menschenwürde, published by Oswald-von-Nell-Breuning-Haus, vol. 5.

120 Compare EVD/DFE (2004) Speech by Joseph Deiss, President of the Swiss Confederation to the United Nations General Assembly, New York, 21 September 2004 (http://www.eda.admin.ch/sub_uno/e/uno/publi/speech.p.html), p. 4.

121 Compare Hofer, Walter/Gerster, Richard (2005) New Sources of Development Financing, Berne (SDC Working Paper).

122 ILO World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization (2004) A fair globalization - Creating opportunities for all, Geneva, p. 7.

123 Compare ibid, p. 7f.

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Church Center across the street from the UN Headquarters in New York.