



IF MANY PEOPLE SHARE THE SAME DREAM,
IT WON'T BE A DREAM FOR LONG.

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FEELING POWERLESS AND SMALL? BE PART OF A GLOBAL MOVEMENT.

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TOGETHER WE CAN DEVELOP SOLUTIONS FOR THE GLOBAL COMMONS

In a shrinking world, our opportunities are expanding.

Never before has humanity faced such serious problems. Through global economic integration, we are fast becoming a 'world without borders'. Yet the multilateral system we have developed over the past sixty years is breaking down because nation-states resist sharing their sovereignty and cooperating together more effectively. The strategies currently being pursued by our major global actors – the self-aggrandizing policies of nations, the shareholder-driven interests of transnational corporations and banks, and the biased rules of international institutions – are not adequately addressing the social, environmental and economic dimensions of globalization. As a consequence, we now face enormous obstacles in finding pragmatic and sustainable solutions to bridge the growing divide between rich and poor and to address the problems of extreme climate change, while creating new incentives to keep the market economy strong.

All of these challenges involve the global commons. Our international priorities today include:

- agreeing on a global plan of action guided by our spiritual, ethical and cultural values
- making the world economy fairer
- dealing with climate change equitably
- creating a peaceful, sustainable and prosperous life on Earth

When referring to the global commons, many people think of the atmosphere and outer space, the Arctic and Antarctic, the oceans and seabeds, rivers and forests, natural resources and the gene pool of plants and human beings. But the commons is really much more than just ecology. The global commons actually pertains to all matters that transcend national boundaries and are, therefore, outside the limits of government control, market laws, and private ownership. The global commons thus encompasses all activities, relationships, and conditions that spill over national borders and involve matters of shared international concern.

While responsibility and jurisdiction over the global commons clearly belongs to the global public, the international

community has not yet organized effectively to address these overarching interests. In many instances, these priorities have not even been identified as global commons issues, although they are largely familiar. Cross-border issues include world hunger and malnutrition, water and sanitation, disease prevention and health care, education and employment, global human rights and civil liberties, women's and children's rights, ethics and values, cultural arts and traditional heritage, international aid and income, global credit and debt, global business and production, science and population, climate and energy security, disarmament and peacekeeping, refugees and displaced persons, migration and trafficking, international law and corporate responsibility, technology and patents, media and cyberspace, and more.

The development of equitable global solutions to these challenges requires the application of ethical values, a commitment to sustainable development, economic expertise and an entrepreneurial spirit, successful political strategies, an understanding of cultural diversity, and the participation of the people of the entire world. Armed with these tools, we must reach the political and economic opinion makers and the wider population, educating them through worldwide campaigns and action programs about the global adjustments that are necessary.





HUMANITY IS IN CRISIS

*The facts are against the future of the world.
Let's speak in their favor.*

The facts reveal the threatening circumstances now facing humanity:

- 30,000 children die every day from hunger, dirty water and preventable diseases
- 2.8 billion people, almost half of the world's population, live on less than \$2 a day
- \$104 billion in aid given by developed countries in 2006 was offset by \$123 billion in interest payments from developing countries
- \$1.2 trillion is spent annually on arms and weapons systems
- the world's four wealthiest people together are richer than the poorest 1 billion people
- 40% of the world's population owns over 94% of the world's wealth
- over 50 million people are refugees of war, hunger and persecution
- 200 animal and plant species die or disappear each day

SHORT-TERM THINKING CANNOT SOLVE EXPONENTIAL PROBLEMS

Separation is the biggest threat to humanity.

Many problems do not express themselves linearly. They develop according to the exponential principle of mathematics: the larger a quantity becomes, the faster it grows. Exponential rates of growth have affected – or are currently affecting – the money supply, financial investment, debt, natural resource extraction, industrial output, food production, consumption, armaments, AIDS and other infectious diseases, pollution, the human ecological footprint, and biodiversity loss. Despite the exponential progression of these problems, political and economic decision-makers often think in restricted timeframes, developing linear solutions that anticipate linear outcomes.



Governments legitimize themselves within sovereign national boundaries. Many nations are now democracies, where politicians prove their worth by campaigning for office, serving a term, and seeking reelection. Elected government leaders thus have a vested interest in addressing issues of short duration.

Businesses are driven by the gains of profit, interest, and stock value. This, too, encourages short-term thinking. Subject to the same market forces as global corporations, media companies reinforce limited, short-range viewpoints in the public through their brief coverage of news stories.

Civil society organizations, often referred to as non-governmental organizations, typically focus on a single issue, are often locally or nationally oriented, and frequently compete with one another for financing from governments, businesses and private donors. Thus, in many ways, they are also characterized by short-term thinking.







OUR WORST CRIMES ARE LEGALIZED

No law in the world can protect us from unfairness.

The protean contradictions now tearing global society apart cannot be dismissed as post-modern ironies. The free market economy could ultimately become the most efficient mechanism ever devised for redistributing wealth and ensuring social equity, but it is far from that today. Instead, political and financial interests – to consolidate wealth and to wage class warfare on the poor – manipulate the marketplace for personal gain and power.

These inequalities in material resources parallel the imbalanced distribution of power in world politics. A minority of the world's richest countries makes decisions for the entire world, whether through the G8, the UN Security Council, the IMF or the World Bank. This economic asymmetry is reinforced through the cultural dominance of the wealthier over the poorer and more vulnerable nations of the world.

The global climate and ecological crises are the result of similar human choices. Since these problems are manmade, they must also be solved through our global rules and institutions. But, like poverty and unequal power, environmental degradation is largely permitted and defended by our national legal systems. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the world community to transform the way we treat the global commons and integrate all these unjust 'externalities' – economic, political, social, cultural, and environmental – into the price of goods and the value of our currencies.

WE CAN CHANGE THE SYSTEM!



*Old habits rule the world.
It's time to shift the balance of power.*

A different world is possible. To accomplish such a transformation, we must break with old habits and defy the opinion makers about what is and is not possible. This takes authentic global vision, a consciousness that goes far beyond the economic dictates of globalization. We, the citizens of this planet, must become aware of our responsibility and bring together our combined wisdom to develop a new ethical foundation and a new economic system for world society.

In a collective plan of action, for example, the citizens of the world could agree to equal rights for carbon dioxide emissions per capita. This would mean that no individual or organization would be permitted to pollute more than others without paying a commensurate penalty. Such a powerful vision of climate justice could mobilize millions of people worldwide.

Today, national governments and multinational corporations are encroaching on the global commons and angling for new ways of controlling or privatizing international public domains which do not belong to them, legally or morally. These domains belong collectively to humankind, to whom governments and markets – however important and necessary – are secondary functions. Global citizens, therefore, must organize and assert their right to make equitable decisions on behalf of the global commons.

Mary Wollstonecraft's call for equal rights for women in 1792 and Martin Luther King's vision of equal rights for blacks and whites in 1955 must have sounded just as utopian to people in their times as the call today for equal rights on the global commons. Yet history shows that the direct actions of citizens for social justice have brought about

numerous advancements to make our world more civilized – and global justice is no different.

Together with representatives from politics, economics, science and the media, we can use the technologies of modern communications to network and disseminate this program for global justice on an international basis. A comprehensive plan for the global commons must involve all constituencies – governments, businesses, and civil society organizations. In this way, we can meet the exponentially growing problems of our time through our united and focused action.





RIGHT COMMUNICATION

Efficiency in communication is a matter of simplification.

We need to design a common communication strategy that creates awareness among the global population. A good way to do this is to use the principal of resolution, or the agreement of opposing people or ideas.

To accomplish this, the message sender, “save-the-world-now”, will share its logo and motto with other organizations. The motto would be translated differently within different cultures, integrated by the participating organizations and groups into their individual messages according to specific circumstances.

To ensure higher self-esteem and greater impact on the part of the recipients of messages, national campaigns need to target their own messages, but they also need to be integrated through the common campaign theme, which ensures that all of the national campaigns are working toward the same goal.

The Hamburg advertising agency Leagas Delaney has formulated a symbolic way of diminishing self-interested motivations and heightening social consciousness.

Two people who are opponents in real life are shown together. They might be opponents from the world of sports, business, faith, culture, etc. Through their joint statement, “There can only be one opinion: Save the world now,” they subordinate their own self-interest and vanities and demonstrate social solidarity.

A website has been created for this campaign, which will start in Germany in December 2007 and may be conducted in more countries. More information is available at www.save-the-world-now.org. Current themes will soon be available for download.

COMMON GLOBAL VALUES

*Through the consciousness of shared values,
our differences lead to consensus.*

We are all part of a larger human family, a worldwide community characterized by a glorious diversity of cultural traditions, societal structures and natural wonders. But this interdependence is only half-realized. Our global community, which has become so highly interconnected through economics and technology, must also be grounded in common global values and a world ethos. If spirituality, ethics and values do not provide guidance for our economic rules and institutions, we will continue to move blindly into the future. And without a firm foundation in common values, the process of globalization may very likely lead world society down the slippery slope to mass chaos and wanton destruction.



'CONVENTION ON THE GLOBAL COMMONS' IN BRIEF

A central concern needs a common platform.

The actions of countless people demonstrate that another world is possible. The list of successful campaigners for the global commons includes Muhammad Yunus, who is helping to lead Bangladesh out of extreme poverty with his program of microloans; Vandana Shiva, who is fighting brilliantly in India for patent rights; the German Hans Küng, who has developed the concept of a shared world ethos; Al Gore, who is making Americans more aware of global warming; Wangari Maathai, who is reforesting the deserts of Kenya; and Amartya Sen of India, who has developed principles for an alternative economic system.

There are also many worthwhile mass initiatives such as the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, Agenda 21, Earth Charter, CIVICUS, Global Call to Action Against Poverty, One Campaign, World Ethos, Helsinki Process, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, World Social Forum, Network of Spiritual Progressives, Globalization for the Common Good, and many, many more.

Building on the work of these organizations and others, we present the first draft of a global action plan. This plan will provide the initial impetus for a multistakeholder consultation process, through which we expect eventually to contact thousands of individuals and organizations which are already

focused on a particular aspect of the global commons. Our text addresses many complex issues, for each of which there are no doubt thousands of experts. We are also seeking the expression and understanding of many more perspectives as the basis for the development of possible courses of action. Consequently, this draft is a work in progress – an introductory proposal for a Convention on the Global Commons. It is based on what has been learned from the work of many people who have thought about and worked on these issues, and it will continue to grow with time.

The text is divided into the following sections:

Spirituality, Ethics and Values

Whether or not we consider ourselves spiritual, we can all agree that the universal principles of compassion, trust, co-operation, equity, generosity, sharing, nonviolence, and peace are needed at the international level. For these ethics and values to be infused into the rules and institutions of the international system, they must first be honored and practiced in our everyday relationships. Global transformation is not possible unless our daily interactions are based on the kind of deep mutual recognition and connectedness that honors and validates the sacredness, dignity, and worth of other persons as human beings.

Fulfill the UN Millennium Goals by 2015

The United Nations Millennium Development Goals were signed by 189 nations in 2000. The eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, the achievement of universal primary education, as well as the development of an equitable global partnership for development are a few of the goals. In late 2007, halfway to the target date, the world community has fallen behind schedule in meeting many of these standards, primarily because of a lack of funds. But the implementation of the Millennium Goals remains an important step in ending extreme poverty, creating sustainable development, and arriving at a more just world order.

Protect Natural and Cultural Environments

Clean air, water, food, and diversity (biological as well as cultural) are the fundamental requirements for human life and the flourishing of cultures on Earth. The unequal access to natural resources and the increasing hegemony of monolithic western culture leads to conflicts that threaten security in every region of the world. The protection of natural and cultural environments and more equitable access to natural resources for all people must be guaranteed through appropriate treaties and enforcement mechanisms.



Restructure the World Economic System

To restructure economic globalization we need a coherent framework for the world economy. Our world economic system must ensure cultural diversity, the preservation of our natural environment, and prosperity for all people – goals whose achievement we believe is best served by market mechanisms which follow equitable principles and values. To this end, structural reforms are necessary, such as improving access to markets for developing countries (especially the agricultural sector), creating international rules on competition, closing tax havens, fighting corruption, regulating hedge funds and derivatives, and introducing an international bankruptcy process.

Improve Governance at Every Level

Developed nations must restructure their resource-intensive economic practices to help developing countries fully realize their potential to develop following their own pathways and interests, while maintaining good governance. At the global level, we need to create a better framework for the international economy through reforms that connect and expand existing international policies and institutions (e.g. United Nations and its programs, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and World Trade Organization). The decision-making process at this level must become more

democratic and transparent, which means that developing countries must participate as equal partners and that civil society must also be given much more direct input and oversight.

Link Global Financing with Global Standards

New means of global financing must also be created, with the condition that wealthy countries agree to structural changes in the world economy while developing countries initiate needed reforms for their own development. Financing will be linked to compliance with agreed upon standards, such as human rights, international environmental treaties and the basic standards of the International Labor Organization (ILO). This follows the example of the European Union, which in its expansion process linked the flow of finances from richer to poorer lands with social, ecological and political reforms in the impoverished nations, as well as the opening of markets and decision-making processes in the wealthier nations. Possible mechanisms of financing are taxes on currency transactions, a fee on the use of resources, the trading of CO₂ emission credits, and an expansion of the Special Drawing Rights of the IMF.

Realize Human and Social Potentials

Political will and sufficient financing are necessary but not sufficient in creating real global change. Because the many paths that development can take are influenced by our different traditions and cultures, the principles of self-help and trust in the power of the individual are essential. Muhammad Yunus' program of micro credit loans is a good example. Successful development requires people to take charge of their own development. It also requires universal education, better coordination of different development efforts, and strengthening of the role of women.



A PROJECT OF HOPE:
THE GLOBAL MARSHALL PLAN INITIATIVE

Complexity requires clear targets for action.

In Germany and Austria in 2003, a citizens' initiative formed under the name Global Marshall Plan with the goal of creating a global network of civic organizations. The title of this project was selected intentionally as an invitation to the citizens of the United States to join and participate in this movement. In the past four years, the activities of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative have grown in several countries and continents, particularly in the United States and Canada.

The name 'Global Marshall Plan' has popular resonance in Western Europe and the US, where appreciation for the original Marshall Plan (America's relief effort for Europe from 1948-51) is still strong. But in other parts of the world, historical associations with this name are not as compelling. Some regard the Marshall Plan analogy as an example, not of international generosity and cooperation, but of national self-interest. The varying reactions to the title serve to remind us that no single nation or bloc of nations can legitimately initiate the kind of global action program that is so vitally needed today. And we all recognize that a major international effort for sustainable development can only be undertaken on a collective basis.

Therefore, we have chosen to call this global action plan Convention on the Global Commons, although it may be referred to by other names according to regional or cultural preferences and previous organizational commitments. But we believe that this title holds the right vision, carries the right meaning, and offers great organizing potential as an

action plan that is truly global in scope. Convention on the Global Commons implicitly acknowledges the prior unity of humankind, the borderless nature of our problems today, and the need to declare our sovereignty as global citizens.

As a program for global action, Convention on the Global Commons seeks to become an integrative platform in politics, economics, civil society, science, religious communities, and the media that will enable people from all areas of the world to work together through new forms of cooperation. The goal of these cooperative efforts is the development of 'win-win' solutions for a more just and sustainable multilateral system that moves us beyond the inherent limitations of the present bilateral policies of government and the self-maximizing activities of market forces.

The central concern of this initiative is joining together an engaged partnership for sustainable development with the establishment of a just policy framework for the global economy – an eco-social market economy – for the betterment of everyone. We believe that equitable opportunities for development and equitable global competition will create an effective strategy for North-South and East-West, and help overcome the undesirable aspects of economic globalization as well as conflicts in international political relations. As humanity unites toward a common global goal, we anticipate the appearance and articulation of new and enlightened strategies capable of carrying us forward together, while honoring individual initiative and expression.



A better world already exists in our minds.

We intend this preliminary text to generate discussion and invite you to use your experience, thoughts, and know-how to further shape this global action plan. We are vitally interested in your feedback and further reflections on the issues that are raised here and are allotting a period of time for dialogue and response. All suggestions that are made through the website www.save-the-world-now.org will be taken into consideration in the creation of a second draft for the Convention on the Global Commons.

We also plan to launch a major multistakeholder consultation process on December 6, 2007, expanding this discussion beyond the present stage. This Wiki-based, interactive website, currently under construction, will open the dialogue and feedback process to a much larger number of individuals

and organizations in 2008-2009, inviting a wider circle of input for the modification of the text.

The final result of this consultation round will be made public at a major conference of international stakeholders in early 2010, where consensus on a final action plan will be completed and announced. This action plan will then be executed step-by-step through coordinated worldwide activities in accordance with agreed upon implementation and communication strategies.

A panel of eminent persons of international stature will moderate the content of the global action plan. For the different chapters of the 2010 document, this panel will select teams of experts who will oversee and ensure the transparency of the discussion process, following democratic protocols for interaction. This panel of eminent persons will be expected

to resolve disputes over the text and also contribute their political and economic wisdom to the endeavor.

The coordination team of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative will facilitate the organization of the multistakeholder consultation activities. Serving as the Secretariat for the Convention on the Global Commons, this team will coordinate the circle of supporting organizations and experts and ensure that new and revised iterations of the text are available on the consultation website and updated on a weekly basis. All changes to the text will be documented and made apparent to everyone through the website. Parallel to the continuing development of the action plan, a database of relevant information and background material will also be available on the website. Technical support for the consultation process will also be provided by the Centre for Global Negotiations, based in the United States and Canada.



The Global Marshall Plan Foundation will provide financial support for the multistakeholder consultation process. Founded in Hamburg in 2003 as a nonprofit foundation, the agency accepts tax-deductible contributions in Germany. Its funding comes from donations by private individuals and will provide the start-up funds for consultation activities. In the USA and Canada, donations for this work can also be made to the Centre for Global Negotiations.

To support a virtual consultation process without actual meetings, as well as the final conference of international representatives in 2010, we will need to raise at least 1 million Euros over the next four years. If additional funds become available, it will be possible to optimize the consultation process through regional conferences. Revenue from donations, as well as costs associated with the consultation process, may be reviewed at the consultation website.

The international public relations agency Leagas Delaney will handle media and communication operations pro bono. Their responsibilities include publicizing the results of the consultation process, developing communication and campaign strategies, and integrating the advice of other communication experts. This valuable contribution to the work is greatly appreciated.

We all know how difficult it is to unite different interests, overcome egoism, tear down walls, and build bridges. However, history testifies to the changes brought about by engaged citizens. Especially now, when the challenges are global and the solutions complex, it is in our best interests to work together to develop this global action plan and to accomplish the goals that it sets forth. As catalysts in this process, we at Convention on the Global Commons will do our best to coordinate the knowledge of the countless

engaged organizations and experts, who are really the ones who will be generating the major achievements. We can only be successful to the extent that we give ownership of the process to our stakeholders. To this end, we understand our role as servants of the servants.

Hamburg, September 2007

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INTRODUCTION

Two decades of rapid global economic integration have brought increased innovation, productivity, and financial growth to the world. But globalization is marked by extreme contrasts. There are now more linkages and interconnections

among markets, people and ideas than ever before. Yet there are also deeper divisions globally and within societies – between North and South, rich and poor, the powerful and powerless – than ever before.

Global income distribution provides a telling story. 94% of world income goes to 40% of the global population, while 60% of the world's people live on only 6% of world income. Each day, more than 1.2 billion people – one in every five on Earth – survive on less than US\$1 a day – a majority of them women and children. Every day, 16,000 children die of hunger and malnutrition. Added to this social injustice is an equally unfair imbalance in global power politics. Only a minority of the world's rich countries have a say in the global decision-making processes – whether in the G8, the UN Security Council, the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank.

The fact that rich countries that derive the greatest benefit from undemocratic global structures argue for spreading democracy throughout the world reduces the illusion of

global democracy to absurdity. This economic and political injustice is compounded by the cultural hegemony of those same rich and powerful countries. Many perceive the 'standard' Western culture, which is transported to virtually every corner of the globe, as a significant threat to their own unique cultures and traditions.

Furthermore, current worldwide production and consumption by the minority of rich countries have strong, devastating effects on the ecosystem that supports every human life on earth – climate change being a dramatic example. As other countries like China, India, and Brazil try to follow the example of the rich nations, the pressure on global ecosystems multiplies. Environmental degradation also has a strong intertemporal dimension, since it affects both today's and future generations.

This is no formula for peace. And it is obvious that in our globalized world, turmoil in one region can spread rapidly to others through war, terrorism, armed conflict, and the pressures of migration, environmental degradation or disease.

GLOBAL SPIRITUALITY, ETHICS AND VALUES

If we step back a moment from this precarious situation, we also see another reality: that in the midst of our magnificent diversity of cultures and life forms, we are one human family and one Earth community with a common destiny. This global community that is so well connected by trade and technology must now be guided by the global ethics of compassion, justice and cooperation – not only because these principles seem inherently right to us, but because they are our only means of saving a planet that is severely threatened by the mounting social tensions between its haves and have-nots, the ravages of climate change and ecological destruction, the increasing regional conflicts over resources such as oil and water, and the ever-present possibilities of nuclear warfare.

In the venerable precept, “do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you”, we find a moral and ethical code common to most cultures and religions of the world. This Golden Rule speaks to us of justice, fairness, and equal opportunities. The Earth Charter, the Parliament of the World Religions, and the Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities by the InterAction Council provide further ethical foundations for a global society based on respect for nature, universal human rights (including equal rights between men and women), economic justice and solidarity, and a culture of peace.

But we also know that under the world’s present economic conditions, where self-interest does not lead to the maximization of the global public good, individuals face systemic barriers and disadvantages in attempting to follow these high principals. Every day we see how the ethics of global justice, cooperation and peace are thwarted by a variety of entrenched and competing factors – from autarchy and terrorism, market fundamentalism and corporate domination, to national security claims and bilateral gamesmanship.

Growing numbers of people are realizing that these repressive conditions are self-created and maintained by humankind through its social, political and economic rules and institutions and the various ideologies that are crafted to rationalize the status quo. It is widely acknowledged now,

for example, that global poverty and climate change are man-made and do not belong to human civilization in its highest potentialities and deepest wisdom, as we are often reminded through the world’s various religious traditions, global ethics and common values, which emphasize the importance of universal justice, sharing and peace. Yet these values and aspirations for a better world remain scattered ideals unless they are deeply focused in individual awareness, directly expressed through our personal relationships, and unambiguously infused into the collective rules and institutions that govern globalization.

In this context, the special importance of spirituality lies in its potential to become a center of reference outside of the current system of globalization – thus providing us with the power to overcome and transform the unfair rules that presently govern the global marketplace.

Another world is possible – but only if we break with business as usual and realize our power to alter the structures that imprison us. In spiritual terms, this transformation begins by realizing the unity of all beings and experiencing each person as an embodiment of the sacred or divine. In secular terms, it begins in recognizing the fundamental value of people for who they are, and not what they can do for us. Whether we consider ourselves spiritual or not is not the issue: we all understand that human goodness, caring for others, generosity and sharing are vitally missing in today’s world and how necessary it is that each of us generates love, trust and cooperation with other human beings, whether they are standing next to us or on the other side of the globe.

JOIN TOGETHER TO MAKE ANOTHER WORLD POSSIBLE

Social change is grounded in personal transformation, as Mahatma Gandhi reminds us in his timeless call to action: be the change you want to see in the world. So let us take the first step on this journey of global change by declaring our responsibility to one another, to the greater community of life and to future generations.

Let us create a world

... with deep respect before nature
... at peace between cultures and religions
... in which prosperity is widely shared
... where solidarity is a reality within societies

and in which every human being is free to realize his or her highest potential. Let us stand in this light and transform reality. Let us overcome our cognitive barriers and build powerful new alliances. Let us join together now and focus our energy on a common action plan for a better world.

COMMON ACTION PLAN

We need to create a global regime and institutional framework based on the universal norms of social justice, generosity, equality, and love that flow from human civilization as a functioning whole – an inclusive design that establishes binding links among the many dimensions of peace, security, development, and the environment.

The process of globalization needs to be regulated similar to the way that communities, cities and regions agreed to form the nation-state in earlier times – through a better interlinking of existing global conventions and institutions as well as through a new set of standards which are based on our common values, and geared to produce greater prosperity, social harmony, cultural balance, a healthy environment, stable infrastructure, and fair access to global resources.

We also need to ensure that these benefits reach all local communities, creating open societies and open economies through an equal exchange of goods and services, ideas, and knowledge. All this to allow people to live free from fear and want, with the opportunity to develop their full personal and social potentials in a creative and supporting environment.

To this end, we see six essential directions for action:

- (1) Fulfilling the Millennium Development Goals
- (2) Protecting our Common Global Resources
- (3) Restructuring Global Economic Rules & Institutions
- (4) Establishing New Forms of Governance
- (5) Multilateral Financing for the Implementation of International Standards
- (6) Realizing Human and Social Potentials

1. FULFILLING THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

We are the first generation in history that can truly end poverty. Hunger in the world is no longer a physical problem of lack of resources – but a political problem of lack of will to distribute our resources more equitably.

In September 2000, the Heads of State and Government of 189 countries signed the UN Millennium Declaration that committed them to fight against global poverty and deprivation. Together with many international organizations, they agreed to make progress on eight measurable objectives – known as the Millennium Development Goals – by 2015.

These are:

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

In 2007, midway to their target date, implementation of the Millennium Development Goals is far behind schedule in many countries. Indeed, for some countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, several of these goals seem out of reach. While goals 1 through 7 refer to the slowing and reversal of poverty, hunger, and disease, goal 8 explicitly recognizes that all the other seven goals can be achieved only through more formal means of cooperation.

In this new global partnership, the primary responsibility of poor nations is to ensure greater accountability to their citizens and the efficient use of resources. However, for poor countries to achieve the first seven goals, it is also critical that wealthier countries deliver on their end of the bargain – through more and more effective aid and cooperation, alternative sources of multilateral financing, sustainable debt relief, and fairer trade and financial rules. We must all pursue this kind of ‘global deal’ to achieve the Millennium Development Goals and reach beyond.

The Millennium Development Goals are an important starter. However, in the long term, we must envision even more comprehensive goals. For example the ultimate objective must not be to halve poverty and hunger, or to halt the spread of HIV/Aids, but to totally eradicate it.

2. PROTECTING OUR COMMON GLOBAL RESOURCES

Natural resources provide the basics of human existence: clean air, predictable climate, water, food, and biological diversity. The unfair allocation and distribution of these resources is leading to increased tensions and emerging conflicts. Wars for resources such as oil or water are a severe threat to security and stability – eventually touching upon all regions of the world. Our cultural heritage, another vital resource which provides the potential for creation, innovation, and social expression, is also under stress.

Climate Change

Tackling the causes of climate change is a matter of survival as well as global justice. The reports of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2007), the Stern Review (2006) and many other recent studies have provided convincing evidence of the reality of climate change and also of its economic costs, which could reach 20% of annual GDP in the coming years. People living in the world’s poorest countries – who did not contribute to cause the climate problem, and who are the least prepared to deal with its consequences because they rely heavily on natural resources – are already the most affected by climate change, especially changing weather patterns, flooding, droughts, deforestation, desertification, and rising sea levels.

Due to the inertia of the Earth’s climate system, climate change can no longer be prevented entirely. However, it is still possible to stabilize the CO₂ concentration in the atmosphere and thus prevent the most severe changes so that ecosystems are able to adapt naturally to climate change, food production is not threatened and economic development

is able to proceed in a sustainable manner. In order to avert dangerous climatic changes, global warming should not exceed a maximum deviation of 2°C relative to pre-industrial values and Earth’s long-term mean warming rate should not exceed 0.2°C per decade. This requires the CO₂ concentration in the atmosphere to stabilize below 450 ppm. That will only be possible if global greenhouse gas emissions are reduced by at least 50% from 1990 levels by 2050, with industrialized countries decreasing their greenhouse gas emissions at least 30% by 2020.

Such aims must be reached through an equitable global climate regime that continues the efforts of the Kyoto Protocol under the umbrella of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). At the heart of this regime could be a cap-and-trade philosophy, which stems from the concept of climate justice and has been termed contraction and convergence. The idea is to put a cap on total global emissions and continually reduce the global cap over the years (until 2050, for example) until the cap level is reduced to a targeted sustainable threshold. This means that global greenhouse gas emissions – from industrial production and consumption to land, sea and air traffic – would decrease substantially over the long term (contraction). Emission allocation would start from the status quo and gradually reach an equal per-capita basis (convergence). In practical terms, this means that the per-capita emissions of industrialized countries, which are comparatively much higher at present, will be decreased significantly, while most developing countries may initially increase their per-capita emissions.

A substantial fund for the compensation of climate damage should be set up from 2012 onwards. Contributions of individual states to this fund should be based on their relative contributions to global warming in terms of cumulative emissions. The conservation of natural carbon stocks and sinks situated in developing countries (particularly tropical forests) should also be compensated by richer countries through financial assistance and subsidies, a possibility recently discussed by Ecuador, Indonesia and other developing nations with rainforests.

Energy Security

It is essential to turn energy systems toward sustainability worldwide – both in order to protect the natural life-support systems on which humanity depends, and to eradicate energy poverty in developing countries, where the energy supply of 2.4 billion people depends largely or entirely upon the use of conventional biomass (firewood, charcoal or dung). A further significant outcome is that such a global reconfiguration of energy systems would promote peace by reducing dependency upon regionally concentrated oil reserves.

It is clear that the energy base of global civilization must be transformed. In this endeavor it is vitally important to reduce our dependency on fossil fuels. We need significant technological innovation in this direction. Energy efficiency has to be increased and massive support for renewable energies must also be provided. Promotion of biofuels must however be balanced with other and competing uses of fertile soils – such as agricultural use for local food supply and protection of other environmental goods such as biodiversity. The long-term objective is to initiate a solar age and to ensure access to sufficient and affordable energy for all.

This transformation is technically and financially feasible. As Sir Nicholas Stern and others have determined, the cost of inaction will be much higher over the long term than the cost of initiating this transformation. Industrialized countries have the responsibility to introduce this transformation themselves – for example, by setting targets for renewable energies and reduced energy intensity.

In developing countries, existing programs toward an alternative energy revolution – through such sources as Global Environmental Facility (GEF), Official Development Assistance (ODA), the World Bank, and regional development bank loans – must be intensified. Incentives for private-sector investors in the field should be enhanced through public-private partnerships. Programs should focus on capacity and institution building in developing countries and on intensifying technology transfer. They should also contribute to the realization of pilot projects that introduce renewable energies on a large scale and thus build strategic

leverage for a global energy revolution. To ensure additional financial resources for these programs, innovative financing avenues (such as user charges for the global commons) should also be pursued.

Water

Water is essential to life. The right to water should be amended to the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as an indispensable part of the right to food. Improving the access to drinking water and proper sanitation must be an essential goal of development efforts. The price of water should on the one hand reflect the fact that water is a basic human need and on the other hand provide incentives to prevent its wastage through a progressive price curve. Prices covering the full costs of water may not be affordable for large parts of the population, particularly in poor countries.

To the extent possible, the control over water-systems should stay with the respective communities and their authorities. Water is not a tradable good like many others. The pros and cons of privatization of water services have to be considered thoroughly, since it touches an especially sensitive area. In the case of privatized water services, access to safe drinking water at all times – for all people, and the poor and homeless in particular – has to be especially guaranteed. Planning for water services should be participative and grassroots in scope, incorporating planners, decision-makers, economic interests, and water users. Women especially should be included since they are primarily responsible for the family and community water supply in many regions of the world.

Food Security / Right to Food

The right to food, as established in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, should be further developed and specified. The reduction of export subsidies for agricultural products from industrialized countries is a precondition for the integration of developing countries into international trade in agriculture. However, it must be recognized that efficient regional production and marketing

of agricultural goods in all regions of the world – keeping in mind the needs of less fortunate populations – is also essential for food security.

Better market access should therefore not lead to a lopsided concentration on the export of agricultural goods from poor countries. Developing nations must not focus on agricultural exports only and ignore food production for their domestic population; nor should rich countries rely on agricultural imports at the expense of their own agricultural production. Marketing and food production strategies should be developed in partnership with all parties concerned.

The world's food aid distribution networks must improve their early-warning systems in order to react in time to food emergencies. World food relief should rely on food grown and stored in or near the impoverished areas to be supplied and not contribute to a further distortion of agricultural markets by importing food from rich donor countries. In this regard, greater attention should be given to the role that regional economies may play in the production and distribution of food, including the delivery of regionally grown food across borders to where it is most needed. Democratic agricultural and land reforms may substantially contribute to food security in many developing countries. International research on agriculture must be strengthened and should include traditional wisdom, gender issues, participative research, and the use of renewable energies. Organic farming should also be encouraged.

Biological Diversity

The Convention on Biological Diversity aims at the conservation of biodiversity, the sustainable use of the components of biodiversity, and the sharing of benefits arising from commercial and other uses of genetic resources in a fair and equitable way. An additional protocol to the Convention on forests and the establishment of a worldwide web of protected forests should be enhanced by securing additional funds through the financial mechanisms of the Convention on Biological Diversity, while at the same time emphasizing the informational and knowledge dimension of the problem. The question of genetically modified organisms must also

be taken up by governments, businesses, and civil society in close collaboration.

Hidden and open incentives for economic activities that result in a loss of biological diversity must be eliminated – particularly those involving global production and supply chains. Protection of biological diversity must take into account the differences between developed and developing nations. For that reason, financial support for the Convention on Biological Diversity and for the Global Environment Facility, which helps countries implement the convention, should be considerably extended.

Cultural Diversity

Cultural difference and permanent variation is a common heritage of humanity. As 185 states agreed in the 2001 UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature, since it provides the capacity for human expression, creation and innovation.

Being able to express oneself, to read and to write are basic elements in the ability of individuals to advance their cultures freely, along with an ability to participate in the formation of public opinion and engage in social action. To protect and enhance cultural diversity, segregation and fundamentalism must be confronted in all countries and at all levels where it appears. Giving support to expression, creation and dissemination in the greatest possible number of languages will help to safeguard the linguistic heritage of humanity. Knowledge must be safeguarded as a common resource and not subjected to overly strict intellectual property rights.

The digital divide, depriving a majority of the world population the use of information and communication technologies, can be countered, for example, through the promotion of linguistic diversity in cyberspace and the provision of telecommunications infrastructure for universal access. Public radio and television services must be supported in order to guarantee the development of audiovisual productions of good quality, which represent cultural diversity and are accessible at reasonable costs.

Finally, the advisability of an international legal instrument on cultural diversity should be discussed internationally.

3. RESTRUCTURING GLOBAL ECONOMIC RULES & INSTITUTIONS

To address the challenges of economic globalization and bring about sustainable development with equity, we need an integrated design for the international economy – in the same way that integrated economic structures gradually evolved during the historical development of successful nation-states. We need a world trade system that is committed to the global common good and to making the best use of trade and markets as instruments towards this end. There must be a new emphasis not only on improving trade arrangements and negotiations, but also on building the infrastructure and economic capacity (including educational for all), that are needed to take advantage of trading opportunities. The following includes several structural reforms in the global trade and financial system that are necessary for the creation and support of sustainable development.

Global Trade

- Market access for developing countries

Two-thirds of the world's poor live in rural areas and depend upon agriculture for their livelihoods – and most export earnings for the least developed countries come from agriculture. The continued protection of rich-country agricultural markets locks small farmers in poor countries out of these markets. Export subsidies in rich countries lead to increasing exports of agricultural goods to poorer countries, a process which destroys domestic markets in these countries, and traps farmers in poverty. Rich countries must therefore remove export subsidies and trade-distorting support for agriculture. Market access for developing countries must also be improved for semi-finished goods and processed primary products. Programs like “Everything but arms” are first steps in this direction. To strengthen trade flows among developing

countries, tariffs between these countries may also be subject to reduction.

- Development-oriented investment and capacity building strategies

In our asymmetrical global economy, equal rules for unequals lead to more inequalities. Thus, for a rules-based system to be fair, it must apply different rules to poor countries, responsive to their specific and changing needs. Development-oriented investment and build-up strategies as well as one-sided advantages for poorer countries should take priority over the full opening of markets to allow poor nations the best opportunities for development. Such strategies should especially promote the micro level – including micro-credit, financial support for rural agriculture, small loans for local entrepreneurs, rural health and education, as well as medical support through telecommunications technology.

Favorable treatment extended to developing nations under the Special and Differential Treatment provisions of the World Trade Organization (WTO) should include both least developed countries and other small, vulnerable and low-income countries, and allow them flexibility in implementing rules and commitments. In particular, trade rules should not constrain agricultural and industrial policies, so that developing countries may be free to promote these sectors, if necessary, through tariffs and subsidies.

- Multilateral rules on competition

Multilateral rules on market competition are important to guarantee essential principles of competition in the global economy. A first step in this direction is the establishment of rules by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) that require international corporations to apply the same restrictions and regulations on competition used in their own domestic markets to their operations in developing countries. Ultimately, a process for multilateral rules on competition should lead to the establishment of an international cartel office to guard against the formation of international monopolies and restrictive business practices.

- Corruption

Corruption is both a cause of poverty and a barrier to overcoming it. It is one of the most serious obstacles to reducing poverty. It undermines democracy and the rule of law and distorts national and international trade. Grand corruption in poor nations could not exist without the enabling collaboration of corrupt financial, legal, and banking partners in the rich countries.

To effectively fight corruption at all levels, the institutions involved with tracking and punishing corruption have to have better financial and personnel resources. The exchange of information on corrupt business practices must also be improved between tax and customs authorities on the one hand and prosecutors on the other. Public biddings should make the reasons for commissioning transparent. Persons and organizations convicted for corruption should be excluded from such biddings in the future, perhaps through their registration in an anti-corruption index. Whistle-blowers should be protected and sums from corrupt businesses confiscated. Petty corruption at lower levels must be fought through education and anti-corruption education, effective oversight and control mechanisms, implementation of codes of conduct, and also, if adequate, by improved payments for officials which allow them a decent standard of living, curbing the temptation for corrupt behavior.

- Costs of transportation

Transportation is heavily subsidized because its price does not currently include the social and ecological costs which transport causes. If these kinds of subsidies were stopped and the true price of transportation paid, this would promote a re-regionalization of production and trade – especially for goods of little value. Further incentives must be set to gradually transfer traffic from air and street to water and railways.

- Flexibility and services in the GATS

The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) – the WTO treaty which applies provisions governing the trade of commodities to the trade of services – should include greater flexibility for sovereign decisions by WTO members. For example, GATS should allow individual nations to

decide which sectors they want to open, to what degree, and at which point in time. It should also allow nations the right to exclude sectors from the GATS right from the start of a market opening, or after an open market has not brought about the positive results hoped for.

Services of general interest like education, cultural services and water supplies should be completely excluded from GATS negotiations and not considered exchange options for the market opening of private services. An amendment to GATS on the exceptional rules applying to the services of general interest would be beneficial to both WTO members and the services sector.

- Patenting of genes, creatures, plants

Multilateral agreements such as the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) under the WTO should generally rule out the patenting of genes, creatures (including micro-organisms) and plants. Farmers should retain the right to reuse their seeds, exchange them for non-commercial purposes, and improve them through breeding. The interests of developing countries, indigenous people, and the protection of traditional wisdom should be further guaranteed by the Convention on Biological Diversity.

- Access to essential medicines

The amount of money invested in research on the world's most deadly health problems, such as tropical diseases, is negligible compared to that involved in overall pharmaceutical research. In addition, many existing vital drugs are unaffordable for people in developing countries due to current TRIPS laws. Research on the global health needs of the poorest areas of the world should be promoted and financed by the state community, and equal access to the medicine they need should be guaranteed to all people.

- Corporate accountability

Corporations should be held accountable worldwide to the laws governing their domestic markets. Producers and exporting companies should be required to inform importing countries about any planned importation of domestically prohibited goods (DPG) and provide all information on the effects that these products may have and the reasons for their prohibition in the exporting country.

Voluntary standards for corporations, such as the Equator Principles on project finance in emerging markets, should be promoted. Civil society organizations should participate both in the formulation of standards and in the management of compliance. Voluntary standards must however not be used as an excuse to implement enforceable standards.

Financial Regulation / World Money & Finance

- Monetary Policy

The Bretton Woods system, created in 1944, is a financial as well as a monetary arrangement. That regime has been badly strained since the United States took the world off the gold standard in 1971, requiring the world's Central Banks to abandon a central value system and adopt floating exchange rates. This has led to numerous monetary problems, including undisciplined credit creation, institutionalized deficit spending, excessive debt levels, and extreme volatility in national currency values and international exchange rates. The harsh results of these policies have most often fallen upon the poor people of developing nations and the unprotected natural resources of the global environment, but the adverse impact has been spreading to the citizens of developed nations as well.

The world's Central Banks need to adopt a new framework that reflects the realities of globalization. A new global monetary system should involve a higher degree of multilateral decision-making on the establishment of currency values, credit creation, and global monetary discipline. Business and governments must recognize that the value of money is less a function of the marketplace than it is of social and natural resources. In this regard, world monetary policy must begin to embrace the full significance of sustainable development as a source of global value.

- Stability / Exchange rate volatility

One possibility for curbing currency volatility and making money flows more transparent could be a Currency Transaction Tax (CTT). Implementation of such a tax would benefit both from technical progress and the centralization of the foreign exchange system. A CTT could include two tiers – the first a very low tax on all currency transactions (e.g.

0.01%) focused on daily currency speculation that derives profits from market volatility. A second tier of the CTT would involve a flexible tax rate which would take effect in the event of broader speculation during currency crises, when a massive wave of financial withdrawals produce sharp and sudden deviations from a defined exchange rate band. In combination, both tiers could effectively curb speculation, reduce the volatility of the currency market, and prevent, to some extent, currency crises. Revenues from the CTT should be used to finance global public goods and sustainable development in poorer countries and regions, such as improved health care or education.

A global trade currency, along the lines of expanded Special Drawing Rights through the International Monetary Fund, could also help to mitigate the effects of currency volatility on developing nations. Through the direct exchange of credit between businesses in all nations, bypassing the exchange rate regime, the pace of financial exchange and investment would become steadier and more predictable and the destructive effects of boom-and-bust swings greatly reduced. Another means of promoting exchange rate stability, perhaps years in the future, would be the creation of a common reserve standard or asset base. Currency values could be established based on a basket of key global resources, both sustainable and non-sustainable, and adjusted according to the relative availability of those resources as long-term monetary reserves.

- Hedge Funds & Derivatives

A larger share of equity capital in businesses with high leverage effects would make high-risk speculation more expensive and thereby help to stabilize the international financial system. The Bank for International Settlements, the International Monetary Fund and the OECD should engage in better cooperation on the supervision of hedge funds and derivatives, providing for transparency and including the strict regulation of funds that operate from off-shore financial centers.

- Money laundering

To fight money laundering in an effective way, transparency of capital transfers is crucial – and also realizable because

of the predominance of electronic transfers which can easily be monitored. Procedures for transparency must, however, respect human rights and fundamental freedoms. Cooperation by courts, the police and governmental administrations must also be improved to eliminate the utilization of ‘special jurisdictions’ for finance. Non-cooperating countries and territories (off-shore financial centers) must face sanctions for illegal practices. Starting with an obligation for systematic information and reporting on business connections between corporations or financial institutions and non-cooperating off-shore financial centers, sanctioning should also include restrictions, additional fees or the complete prohibition of such operations.

- Locational competition and tax shelters

Some countries or regions offer artificially low rates of taxation to corporations in order to lure them into their territories – especially attracting the mobile parts of a corporation, such as capital investment, holding and financing, administration of licenses, and assurance services. This form of tax shelter must be opposed. Political agreements concerning this matter can take the form of codes of conduct, and, if necessary, more binding forms including the cutting of all legal transactions with those zones. National taxes should also be better harmonized in order to stop the erosion of the tax base of nation states.

- Off-shore and on-shore financial centers

Off-shore and on-shore centers, due to their special jurisdictions, play a supportive role for corruption and money-laundering, allow for high-risk financial speculation and contribute to the erosion of the national tax base. These centers should adopt the OECD recommendations for cooperation with international institutions for financial supervision and regulation. Gradually, these regulations should become stricter in character. At the same time, national, regional and international financial supervision has to be improved and provided with more competencies. Corporations undertaking business relations with off-shore financial centers should at least be required to meet higher standards for equity capital. To promote transparency, these corporations should be registered in a public index.

- Debt relief

The process of debt relief or debt cancellation for highly indebted poor countries should continue. It should involve more private sector contributions than is presently the case. The Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HPIC) – aimed at poverty reduction and the integration of civil society organizations into the design and implementation of the debt relief process – should also be expanded. Debt cancellation should be tied to specific development projects and the savings realized from debt cancellation must not bypass the people in developing countries by flowing directly from aid donors to debt creditors. An individual nation’s over-indebtedness, its potential to meet its debt service obligations and the unique factors pertaining to ecology, society and the role of women must all be taken into account in the implementation of debt relief programs.

- International Insolvency Proceeding

An international insolvency proceeding should be established to guarantee well-regulated and fair debt relief for debtor nations that face severe debt and financial crises and cannot meet their debt service payments. In any case, the priority for all indebted countries should remain on serving their people’s basic needs. The modalities and the institution governing an insolvency proceeding would need to operate fairly and transparently, under a neutral chair, and with equal participation by both debtors and creditors. Its decisions should also be binding.

- Credit Supply

The system of international credit allowance needs to be altered to include an accountable and equitable mechanism for access to global credit by all nations. While the need for credit clearly pertains to the poorest people in developing countries, small and medium-sized businesses as well as broad levels of the population around the world are facing increasing difficulties in getting access to credit or having to pay much higher prices for it. To guarantee that all people and companies have access to credit, alternative approaches to safeguard credits which have proven their worth in traditional small business economics and also in the worldwide micro-financing movement should be included in regulations on equity capital, such as Basel II.

4. ESTABLISHING NEW FORMS OF GOVERNANCE

To accomplish our vision of a world of greater equity and diversity, we work for a global structural policy that is rooted in a logic of common interests and the need to protect the global commons. Implementation of such policy should take place at global, national, and local levels, following the principle of subsidiarity, which holds that policies should be decided at the lowest levels of competent authority. Broad and open discussion on all levels must lead to a wide group of leaders at the international level agreeing and collaborating on basic global policies. Wise translation and implementation of these policies into national and local legislation and administration must take place at national or local levels.

Multilateral diversity must involve not only geographic, cultural, and economic representation, but an equal proportion of women and men as well. Equitable governance will not have a chance to succeed unless there is a huge increase of women involved at every level of local, state, and global decision-making.

National and local governance

- Rich countries

Rich countries must recognize their responsibility for global environmental problems, which result from increased production as well as from the increasingly wasteful lifestyles of their populations. Such consumption patterns are already overstraining the carrying capacity of the Earth. Extrapolated to a more equitable world without poverty, where everybody is free to choose his or her lifestyle, the present consumption patterns of rich countries would lead to total ecological disaster. The modern high-consumption lifestyle is not a role model for sustainable international development and must be changed fundamentally. The credibility of rich countries depends heavily on this transformation – and it is therefore only on the basis of these structural changes that international cooperation can flourish.

- Developing nations

Developing countries are responsible for realizing their full potentials for development. They alone have the dignity, understanding and power to create their own unique path to development. By ensuring good governance at national and local levels and taking responsibility for their own growth, developing countries establish the preconditions for fair global rules and development assistance that can provide them with access to the fruits of globalization. Peace and the prevention or settlement of conflicts are preconditions for political stability and therefore crucial for a country or region to be able to make proper use of its resources and build up infrastructure. Given peaceful conditions, socio-economic and political reforms should aim at the realization of good governance and the rule of law, the generation of democracy, the creation or enhancement of regulations on competition, the eradication of corruption, the empowerment of women and respect for fundamental human rights. Policies toward these ends will have an effect both on unlocking the potential of market powers for human and social development and in opening the way for democratization.

By organizing themselves through regional cooperation, developing countries can join their forces and interests in order to attain stronger and more stable levels of development. Increased cooperation among regions also creates greater regional political stability, provides neighboring nations the opportunity to create regional trade blocs with reduced tariffs and larger economies of scale, and enhances their collective bargaining power in international negotiations.

Global Governance

The process of economic globalization has reduced the power and autonomy of states in various ways. Most states have increasingly less room to maneuver in bringing their domestic economies into harmony with society and the environment through sovereign parliamentary decisions. The influence that powerful states continue to exercise through decisions in intergovernmental agencies is also often not

subject to domestic parliamentary scrutiny.

To regain the primacy of politics over market forces, national governments have to form a new framework for global economy and its most rapidly evolving segment – financial markets. This requires national governments to adopt a global perspective and partially leave the state-centered perspective behind. This unified framework has to put ecology, society, and culture at the heart of the world economy. It has to go far beyond guaranteeing the rights of private capital, like property rights and contracts: it has to recognize the rights of public capital, including the largely non-monetized but inherently valuable sectors of global public goods and the global commons.

Guidelines for the concrete design and implementation of this new framework must not be decided from the top – they must become the subject of broad public discussion and transparent decision-making at the international level. Possibilities for participation by all relevant stakeholders are crucial for the acceptance and implementation of global decision-making by those same stakeholders. A new global governance system will thus include more actors than the present 190+ national governments and their intergovernmental organizations. Other stakeholders such as civil society and the private sector should play an active role in facilitating more equitable and participatory forms of governance – especially at the global level.

- Convergence of international rules and institutions

International negotiations must aim at the convergence of international rules and institutions – especially among the WTO in world trade, the International Labour Organization (ILO) in work and social issues, the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) on environmental problems, and other agencies in the fields of governance, peace-keeping, human rights, aid and financial regulations. These regimes should mutually enforce and balance each other, leading to a new system of checks and balances at the global level. In case of conflict between the WTO's rules on world trade and multilateral agreements for the enforcement of human rights or peace-related, social and environmental goals, the latter should be given priority. Such convergence would be a major breakthrough in global governance. To create that convergence, international labor and social

standards, as well as international environmental standards, should become part of the rules governing world trade. One way to achieve this would be to make the ILO Core Labour Standards binding under WTO rules, thus allowing the use of the WTO sanction mechanism to pursue the violation of ILO norms. Following the same logic, non-compliance with multilateral environmental agreements would be judged as a violation of WTO rules and the implementation of multilateral environmental agreements enhanced by the WTO through such means as tariff reductions for products, technologies or services that serve the multilateral environmental agreement, and border tax adjustment for nations that do not comply with the agreement. As a first step in this direction, the WTO could introduce a labeling system that transparently shows whether, during the production and trade of a product, core social and environmental standards were violated.

An alternative towards the same end would be to strengthen other existing institutions such as UNCTAD and UNEP with compliance mechanisms.

- Democratization and participation

International institutions and rules have to be reformed so that the world's poorer states can participate equally in global decision-making. This initial step towards democracy at a global level is necessary both in order to join forces to tackle global problems and to remove deep-rooted feelings of political humiliation. A mutually agreeable framework for global policymaking should be characterized by greater pluralism, transparency, and accountability. It would create a parliamentary dimension for the United Nations system and require multilateral organizations to consult more directly with civil society movements, science and business associations.

Most importantly, the representation and participation of developing countries must be improved at the most powerful international organizations. In the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, whose decisions affect the lives of billions of people, voting rights must be rearranged in a way that guarantees parity between rich and poor nations. Together with the WTO, the world's financial 'Twins' have to become better integrated into the United Nations system, and incorporate the principles of transparency, openness,

and plurality into their work.

The legitimacy of the United Nations Security Council would also benefit from more equal participation in decision-making. Its participants should represent all the world's regions – a reform that would also lead to better integration of these regions into peace-keeping procedures.

Civil society organizations across the world are already instrumental in planning and implementing policies for sustainable development at all levels, from local to global. Civil society organizations should also be included in decision-making to better address social and individual interests. One step towards this goal is to give civil society organizations, business associations, and trade unions consultative status with the WTO, IMF, and World Bank.

- Strengthening of international institutions

To enable international institutions such as UN agencies to improve both the management of cross-border problems and regulation of the global commons, these institutions have to be strengthened. This may include both the provision of additional financial resources and the transfer of decision-making and responsibility from governments to intergovernmental agencies where necessary and reasonable. At the same time, national sovereignty and parliamentary authority must also be respected and guaranteed.

At the United Nations, for example, states should formally provide global peace-keeping instruments as agreed upon in the 1992 Agenda for Peace – especially for multilateral interventions in the case of significant eruptions of violence. In addition, the world community should enable the United Nations to strengthen its review of the compliance of individual states with declarations and agreements made under the auspices of the UN. Giving the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) a mechanism allowing for compliance management would accomplish this goal. Other effective means of strengthening the UN would be the development of UNEP into a World Environmental Organization to coordinate and enforce multilateral environmental agreements, and giving the United Nations Development Program more power over existing multilateral development efforts. Both expansions would require endowing these agencies with new legitimacy and greater financial and personnel resources.

5. GENERATING MULTILATERAL FINANCING FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS

Traditional bilateral foreign assistance is often characterized by a manipulative use of aid for geostrategic objectives – supporting corrupt elites, as long as they are politically willing to serve donor states. The negative experiences with this kind of aid leads us to the conviction that worldwide aid distribution must be reconceived.

In particular, the responsibility for global resource collection and distribution needs to be shared between creditors and recipients through a new multilateral arrangement.

Accelerating global structural changes and domestic reforms through financing

Provided that rich countries agree upon major structural changes in the world economic system in order to allow developing countries equal access to the value-added potential of globalization, and provided that developing countries undertake the reforms necessary to set their countries on a path towards sustainable development, additional financing may accelerate these processes. The EU Enlargement process gives an example of funds going from richer countries to poorer countries – in combination with socio-economic and political reforms by poorer countries and the opening of markets and decision-making processes by richer countries. This type of process holds the potential for more equal and better quality living conditions in developing nations, generating greater prosperity for all involved.

Co-Financing using Global Standards

There is an obvious need now to link multilateral financing mechanisms to compliance with international standards that have been mutually agreed upon. Broad financing allows poor countries to pursue their development path independent of new standards and thus facilitates their decision to adopt those standards. The logic of multilateral financing – or Co-Financing – offers an innovative way of tackling

global problems. The 1987 Montreal Protocol, in which the international community organized to stop the depletion of the ozone layer, is an instructive precedent. All countries accepted standards for reducing the emission of ozone depleting substances – standards which were development-dependent or ‘softer’ for poorer countries.

Rich countries supported the poorer countries in meeting these standards by co-financing technologies to avoid the harmful substances via the Protocol’s financial mechanism. The logic of co-financing is reciprocal. To translate it into reality requires rich nations to continue to open their markets and adopt new measures for the multilateral financing of sustainable development (the problems of the global environment and global poverty); in return, developing nations must be willing to adopt new social, environmental, and human rights standards and improve local governance. Poor countries should then be compensated by fiscal equalization efforts from the richer countries for the potential loss of competitive advantage.

To reach such a ‘global deal’, rich countries must enter into equitable dialogue and overcome the temptation to retreat into protectionist policies. This would enable poor nations to lay down their deep mistrust and despair, resulting from the long years of unequal treatment they have received through earlier trade and financial negotiations.

This breakthrough agreement would result in a major increase in global financing for sustainable development and thus engage underutilized productive capacity and increase global employment and global economic growth. Significant increases in global income and investment would not create absorption problems for poor nations as long as critical infrastructure in support of human and social development is created in parallel.

Funds necessary

There are a number of estimates on what is needed to implement the Millennium Development Goals and to address other policy goals like climate protection. On this issue the former Mexican president Ernesto Zedillo, the former

British Chancellor of the Exchequer and current Prime Minister Gordon Brown, and global financial strategist George Soros are in general agreement with various UN studies of the early millennium. Adjusted for the current financing timetable that is to begin financing during the middle years of the period from 2000-2015, all of these proposals call for more than US\$100 billion annually from 2008 – 2015 to supplement current levels of development assistance. Less than half of this amount has been raised.

With regard to halting climate change, the Stern Review called for 1% of world GDP to be spent on climate protection annually during the next several decades – which is US\$400 billion. Of course, some portion of this money would be spent in industrialized countries and not channelled through aid budgets to developing nations. However, there are substantial investments that will have to take place in and by developing countries, since there are potentials for major efficiency gains in these nations.

Taking into consideration these calculations, and the fact that there are many needs for financing beyond the Millennium Goals and climate protection – ensuring energy security and promoting biological and cultural diversity, for example – we see the need for US\$100 – 400 billion of additional yearly financing, or roughly 1-2% of annual gross world product.

The projected amount of additional resources needed for sustainable development may seem huge, but it is a viable target, especially when compared with some other key figures of world finances and expenditures from the year 2006. International financial transactions are four thousand times greater than the resources proposed for the Millennium Development Goals and the emerging global environmental goals, and global military expenditures are still three times as much. Channeling some of the resources now spent on worldwide military budgets into spending on sustainable development would promote human security and thereby reduce the need for future military spending.

	all in billion US\$
International Finance Transactions	1,809,482
Gross World Product	48,145
Military Expenditure Worldwide	1,204
Property Growth of the World’s 946 Billionaires	900
Official Development Aid	104
Proposed Additional Resources for MDGs and Global Environmental Goals	100-400

Standards

In the envisioned approach to multilateral financing, internationally approved standards – particularly in sustainable development and human rights – need to be applied directly to the international economic framework, while the implementation of these standards by poorer countries should be combined with financial support. We suggest that the following international standards, which are today largely voluntary, become mandatory in the new global economy. States may also agree on development-dependent standards or on development-dependent time frames for the full implementation of standards.

One way to enforce these standards may be through the existing compliance procedures of the WTO, which on paper already include equitable checks and balances in decision-making, efficient dispute settlement procedures, and effective sanctioning mechanisms at the international level.

- Core Standards of the International Labour Organization
Social and work standards are articulated in the Core Standards of the International Labour Organization. The Core Labour conventions are summarized below.

1. Workers everywhere should have the right to organize in trade unions and negotiate their working conditions collectively.
2. Workers should be free from any form of forced labor, such as slavery, servitude, compulsory labor for political re-education, or debt indenture.
3. Children, meaning persons below the age of 15 (or as defined by national law), should not work so that they have the opportunity to learn and develop freely.
4. Discrimination on the grounds of gender, race, nationality, religion, political opinion or social origin is banned, as is discrimination in remuneration on the grounds of gender.

- **Multilateral Environmental Agreements**

Commitments under the various multilateral environmental agreements – such as the Kyoto Protocol, the Montreal Protocol, and the Convention on Biological Diversity, to name but a few – constitute part of a global set of standards for sustainable development and an important piece of international environmental governance.

These requirements include meeting specific pollution or conservation targets and obligations to conduct environmental and social impact assessments and deliver reports.

- **Human Rights**

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), adopted by the United Nations in 1948, includes civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights. It constitutes the basic rights and freedoms of every human being. The Declaration includes the freedom of opinion, religion, thought, and expression, as well as specific bans on torture, slavery, servitude, and arbitrary arrest. It also emphasizes the right to an adequate standard of living – including acceptable levels of health and education.

- **UNESCO standards**

The standards developed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) further the focus on human and social rights, particularly the rights to education, culture and information.

The popular UNESCO World Heritage Convention regulates the protection of both cultural and natural resources of an indigenous and historical character. It includes obligations by nations to ensure the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of their cultural and natural heritage.

The UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity includes commitments by states such as:

- to create policies for the inclusion and participation of all citizens
- to safeguard the linguistic heritage of humanity by respecting mother tongues and encouraging the diversity of language and

- to encourage the role of public radio and television services in providing diversified content of good quality in the media and global information networks.

Financing Mechanisms

Possible ways of generating new global funding for sustainable development programs and the international institutions needed to administer them include the creation of value-added fees or taxes on global transactions, taxes on the use of natural resources, a cap-and-trade climate regime, and unique mechanisms like the Special Drawing Rights of the International Monetary Fund.

- **Currency Transaction Tax**

A large number of studies have been developed which estimate the potential revenues from a Currency Transaction Tax (CTT). Depending on the scenarios and calculations used in these projections, it is estimated that worldwide revenue from a CTT could range from US\$10 billion to over \$100 billion annually.

This tax could be collected by established institutions at the national level, provided that these funds are not redirected for governmental purposes. Otherwise, the CTT should be collected through electronic means by a new agency comprised of broad multilateral representation and oversight. For the management of these revenues, a new organization could be established, which might be called the ‘Solidarity Fund for Sustainable Development’ or ‘Global Development and Environment Fund’. Such a Fund would cooperate with national governments and the Bank for International Settlements on the levying of the tax, and with UNDP, UNESCO, and UNCTAD with regard to the distribution of the revenues.

- **Tax on World Trade**

A global tax on trade, with revenues used for investment in international development, follows the logic of the ‘fair trade’ movement. All international trade in commodities and goods would be subject to a small surcharge of perhaps 0.5%, resulting in an increase in consumer prices that would hardly be noticeable.

A global tax on trade could be collected by the national customs authorities or national finance administrations and administered by the WTO. Like the CTT, it could also be collected electronically. Tax revenues should be reallocated to the same economic sector from which the funds were raised, so long as this serves development and environment objectives. For example, funds that stem from trade in pharmaceutical products can be spent on world health and disease prevention. Taxes on military sales could be used to help war orphans and the victims of landmines, the clearing of minefields, and the financing of peace research. Taxes on telecommunication transactions might be used to create new infrastructure for telecommunications, especially in the rural areas of developing countries.

- **Global Pollution Tax**

Through a small fee on international carbon emissions and/or jet and bunker fuel, the world’s heavy polluters would pay their proportionate share for adding to our global environmental problems. For example, with a tax of US\$5 per ton of CO₂ emission revenues would have amounted to US\$110 billion in 2003. A tax on international airline tickets, already introduced by Brazil, Chile, France, Great Britain and several other countries, is a variation of a global pollution tax involving carbon offsets.

Funds that are raised by a global pollution tax should be used primarily to address environmental issues. For example, revenues from environment-specific traffic fees should be designated for the removal of social and ecological burdens resulting from traffic or on measures for the reduction of traffic and the promotion of environmentally friendly technologies in the area of transport and traffic logistics. In similar fashion, funds that are raised through an energy tax would be devoted to enhancing energy security.

- **Other global taxes**

Other incremental fees on ‘global commons transactions’ could include small assessments on arms sales, maritime freight, ocean fishing, seabed mining, off-shore oil and gas, satellite orbital parking spaces, electromagnetic spectrum usage, non-sustainable resources, and energy consumption.

- Trade with per capita emission rights

The design of the follow-up process for the Kyoto Protocol also holds the potential for an interesting source of finance. In adopting a universal cap-and-trade regime, global emissions would be restricted to a sustainable level, with emissions allowances allocated according to an equal rights per capita formula. The trading of emission rights would result in rich countries with high per capita emissions buying emission rights from poorer countries with lower per capita emissions, thus generating substantial financial flows from richer to poorer nations. This type of system would also advance the interests of climate justice, requiring industrialized nations to pay for the rights to natural resources which they have taken freely for decades.

- Special Drawing Rights

Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) were created by the IMF in 1969 as an international reserve asset to supplement members' existing reserve assets. They derive value on the basis of a basket of major currencies used in international trade and finance. SDRs are issued to IMF member countries in proportion to their IMF quotas and can be converted into hard currency.

The primary motive for creating SDRs was to promote monetary stability – an objective that lost importance when the Bretton Woods system collapsed and floating exchange rates emerged in the early 1970s. The current interest in SDRs is as a mechanism for financing development. First, this includes a special and one-time SDR issuance of about US\$20 billion, which has been widely approved and requires only US support for implementation. Second, annual issues of SDRs could serve as a permanent contribution to development finance.

Special Drawing Rights have the effect of enhancing the currency reserves of developing nations, generating new money for credit in support of development. Since they are currently distributed according to each country's quota in the IMF, the majority of SDRs now flow to the rich countries. With the possible expansion of SDR quotas, these countries would donate their stake of the Special Drawing Rights to co-finance programs that benefit development. These could include trust funds for the provision of public

goods, as well as matching existing loans or enhancing public/private partnerships for development. SDR donations would not need to pass through government channels. Donor-recipient programs could be implemented through local government channels and civil society organisations and through public-private partnerships.

Administration of funds

As we have noted, there must be a whole new area of global financing – innovative approaches to ensure the multilateral distribution of resources on an independent basis. Administration of these funds would not require the creation of a large new institution – however, it would require transparent and professional management. The administration of funds should be controlled by a representative multilateral body (possibly an 'Economic Council' of the United Nations) in conjunction with democratic parliaments and advised by experienced scientific and civil society organizations. A slim but efficient structure must be established that works in the sole interest of pursuing the agreed development goals of people and countries who are trying to help themselves.

6. REALIZING HUMAN AND SOCIAL POTENTIALS

Development is not about the worldwide expansion of 'western' development or poor countries 'catching up' – otherwise further cultural impoverishment and destruction of natural resources would surely be the consequences. Development must be based on our different traditional, social and cultural ways of life and belief systems. There is no general recipe for effective development aid – except the widely known principle that, ultimately, one can only help others to develop themselves.

Experience teaches that political will and adequate global financial resources are essential for development – but they are not at all a guarantee for the achievement of real change. There has certainly been a lot of trial and error since the present era of international development began following

the Second World War. Many key principles and ideas have emerged from this learning process – developed through intensive experience in international relief, aid, reconstruction and peace-building programs – on what works and what does not in realizing human and social potentials along the path to sustainable development.

- The Power of Women

Progress in reducing poverty, sharing resources, establishing fair markets, safeguarding a life-sustaining environment, and promoting peace and stability needs the world's women as full and equal partners. There is perhaps nothing of greater import today than the fray against gender inequality. Women, after all, stand at the nexus of social change. Population growth (most of it coming in the poorest countries) poses a significant obstacle to progress. In this light, universal primary education (aimed especially at girls) and the establishment of a human right to the highest standard of sexual and reproductive health (including access to family planning) is of highest importance – as already agreed upon in the Cairo Consensus of 1994.

Greater access by women to education and health, equality before the law, economic opportunity, and female participation in decision-making at community, state, and global levels are prerequisites for a meaningful change in the way that all societies live. Women must lead the social and cultural adjustment increasingly required by global economic integration and show the way to a more humane form of globalization.

- Empowerment and Self-Reliance

In both the practice of micro-financing, for which Muhammad Yunus received the Nobel Peace Prize 2006, and the establishment of property rights, which Hernando de Soto has identified as an essential basis for development, the empowerment of the individual is paramount. Both concepts trust in the power of the poor and powerless to build upon their own potentials and lift themselves out of poverty – with women often making use of these new opportunities in especially creative and responsible ways. And, as these ideas of empowerment and self-reliance starkly reveal, poverty is both created and perpetuated by systemic inequalities.

These organizing philosophies of empowerment and self-reliance undercut the traditional top-down model of development and lay the groundwork for people to develop themselves in a much more organic way, becoming active drivers for development and empowered participants in democracy. Such bottom-up approaches do not treat the poor as almsmen, but as powerful individuals who simply need a fair opportunity in the system to realize their potentials. This logic derives its power by putting human dignity at the center of human and social development.

Becoming aware of one's own dignity and drawing upon this magnificent resource can lead to authentic social and economic change.

On a macro-level, the concept of empowerment means strengthening the problem-solving abilities of states as well as their scope for action. This includes opening up the decision-making process to greater democratic input, both from local and regional levels, as well as from the intra-national level among nation-states.

- Education

Education is an essential tool in empowering people. It must therefore be at the center of all development efforts. Free and compulsory primary education for all children is part of the Millennium Development Goals as well as of the UNESCO Education for All Campaign. Early childhood care and education, adult literacy, vocational training, and improved quality of education are essential in this field.

Where appropriate, education should make the best possible use of information and communication technologies such as broadcasting, television or Internet.

Education must also include teaching about our common global destiny and interests and the responsibility of every single person in contributing to the realization of our best possible future. To enable students to realize this responsibility, education must exceed mere fact-learning, encompassing the process of 'learning how to learn' and developing communication skills adapted to an increasingly integrated global society.

- Ownership

Ownership is now widely recognized as essential for realizing development. This concept, when referring to the state

level, means that nations are responsible for guiding their own development pathways and defining the priorities of development. Budget support for states that engage in good governance are one way of implementation.

From a bottom-up perspective, which is especially important in failing states, ownership by the people is crucial.

Ownership at both levels – national and individual – must be the goal of all development politics.

- Subsidiarity, Participation, and Transparency

Further guiding principles, which must be seriously respected and followed for sustainable worldwide development include subsidiarity, participation, and transparency in all planning and implementing processes.

- Pilot projects

Pilot projects play an important role. Such projects can create leverage and multiplier effects and send out a positive signal to the entire world. A good example of future projects is the large scale introduction of renewable energies. Such projects could include a '1-million-huts-electrification-program' to create momentum for further electrification of remote rural areas, or a strategic energy partnership between Europe and Northern Africa using the huge potentials of solar power generation in sun-drenched Northern Africa to meet both Europe's and Africa's power demands.

- New partners

Development and environment programs should engage in cooperation with competent partners who have not yet been fully integrated into these programs, bringing new people and organizations into the process. This means initiatives by local groups and civil society organizations, as well as public-private partnerships with the business sector.

- Coordination, cooperation, and coherence

Development programs and efforts must be well coordinated, harmonized, and sharply focused. Very often we see politicians and field workers in developing countries becoming confused and overloaded with the coordination of countless aid programs – each program requiring ministerial attention and somehow distracting energies from a coherent country or regional strategy.

Harmonization of all these efforts is essential. The ethic of cooperation and coordination should be applied at every level of sustainable development. For instance, the European states could better coordinate their aid by designating, for each African country, one European country to coordinate all of the aid activities and cooperation with this African country by member countries of the European Union.

- Measuring progress

Often economic development and well-being are measured in terms of growth in 'Gross Domestic Product'. However, this indicator neglects much of the unaccounted economic activity which nurtures development and things that make life worthwhile, such as health and education, a sound environment and the informal sector of unpaid work.

To evaluate progress, we must find alternative indicators, such as the Human Development Index, which provide a better picture of sustainable development.

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