

Global Governance: The Next Frontier

EGMONT PAPER 2

Global Governance: The Next Frontier



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PREFACE

In January 2003, the Security & Global Governance Department of the Royal Institute for International Relations (IRRI-KIIB), at the request of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, initiated work on the elaboration of a concept on global governance as a guide for a new ambition in international diplomacy.

In the past two decades, globalisation has proven to be not just economic. It is also a political, a cultural and a security phenomenon. Our collective ability to handle all these challenges has not progressed at the same pace as globalisation itself. Today's rules, instruments and institutions are often inadequate and ineffective to tackle the scale of our challenges, new and old together. Notwithstanding this, serious talk about global governance has been scarce. The very word is sometimes judged divisive. Moreover, after 9/11 world attention seemed to turn to the sole issue of the combat of the threat of terrorism. Global governance suddenly seemed out of sync with today's anxieties. But neglecting global issues today, spells trouble for tomorrow. No future is inevitable. Ultimately, our kind of future depends on the kind of choices that we are making – or not making – today.

The Royal Institute for International Relations set up an informal working group with the aim of drafting an overall concept of global governance. This resulted in 'Global Governance: The Next Frontier'. Its main aim was to rephrase the debate about global issues by using an alternative umbrella concept. This will help shake up the policy debate, get people to think afresh about these issues and hopefully tie in with some of the creative thinking from the very beginning of the post-Cold War era, that lead to various recommendations many of which still remain valid.

'Global Governance: The Next Frontier' rephrases the debate in two distinct ways. First, by equating the *functions* of **governance at the global level** with similar functions of **governance at the domestic level**, thus linking the national society we are all living in with the international community that has to be forged. Secondly, by equating the notion of **global governance** to that of **core global public goods**.

Using these two keys, so we hope, will make it possible to provide for an overall concept and a framework in which today's countless bilateral and multilateral

activities, the existing pockets of global governance and the missing links can all be integrated in a **unity of purpose**. Ultimately this must steer the definition of priorities and sub-priorities, as well as specific action plans in order to pursue these priorities, at the local, national and global level.

Ideas matter. But for global governance to become reality, more is needed: a **Coalition for Global Governance**, based upon the ambition of a group of like-minded leaders and states to take up the challenge of reforming and rebuilding a common agenda, grounded in shared priorities and concerns.

Global governance cannot be but a work in progress. So is ‘Global Governance: The Next Frontier’.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1. When the Cold War ended, it was generally thought that a new international era was about to begin. Emphasis on military security seemed to fade away. International diplomacy turned its efforts and attention to those challenges that were of importance to everybody's daily life. Globalisation was to become a source of wealth for all, economic, social, technological and cultural wealth. A series of global conferences laid the groundwork of an ambitious global inclusive agenda aimed at the **sustainability of mankind**, governed by multilateral cooperation and institutions and binding rules for all. It was now widely recognised that anybody's fate ultimately depended upon everybody's fate. The once clear border between domestic and international had become porous.
2. The nineties witnessed the rise and fall of this sense of a shared global fate. Intractable problems, both economic and political, challenged the prospects of rapid successes in global governance. Member states failed to buttress the institutions intended to deal with global problems with the resources needed to attain the goals that they were expected to pursue.
3. The international community failed to put an early end to **human suffering** in Somalia, former Yugoslavia or Rwanda. States imploded, especially in Africa, often with the international community as a powerless bystander. Then came September 11, Afghanistan and Iraq.
4. Moreover, **globalisation** turned out to also encompass a dark side. Drugs and human trafficking, organised crime, environmental degradation, infectious diseases and financial turmoil showed how the impact of borderless forces have exploded faster than our ability to cope with them. These issues are like global warming: the consequences are diffuse and only perceptible in the long term. But at a certain point, the resulting strains will have become uncontrollable.
5. Started in an atmosphere of euphoria and a strong belief in the feasibility of the polity, the post-Cold War ended in its mirror image. We are now living in times of global tensions and divisions, where consensus and cooperation have become endangered species. Disillusion, anxiety and uncertainty are now major characteristics all around the world. World-

wide public opinion surveys indicate that people all across the globe view their future in dire terms. Large majorities in many parts of the world, when asked whether they think the children of today in their countries will be better or worse off when they grow up than people now, reply 'worse'.

6. It is vital to regenerate the prospect of an effective and credible rule-based system of co-operative **global governance**, legitimised by representative institutions and by the rule of law. Global governance needs effective institutions and mechanisms for global action.

2. SOCIETY AND GOVERNANCE

7. What makes a society ? A general sense of shared fate, a degree of solidarity and a government to secure the provision of public goods – goods to which everybody is entitled and which cannot and should not be denied to anyone, which everybody should be able to consume, including future generations, without diminishing its availability to others. This enables a group of individuals to transform into a community.
8. In order to exist, international society is to be seen in broadly similar terms as a national society. For the international community to exist as such, that what is deemed vital at the national level, is likewise to be seen as vital at the global level. What is deemed unacceptable at the national level must likewise be considered unacceptable at the global level.
9. **As in a nation-state**, where a government is in charge of securing public goods, the international community too needs governance, an institutionalised framework that secures public goods at the global level. If global governance is made to work, it will gain the legitimacy it needs to be sustainable.
10. **As in a nation-state**, an international community cannot endlessly endure the strains arising from the growing gap between haves and have-less's, between haves and have-nots, be it in affluence, in security or in political power. A world divided along zones of peace and zones of turmoil, with islands of security in an ocean of insecurity, will ultimately collapse, as the world experienced in the 1930s. In today's world, anybody's security and well-being ultimately depends upon everybody's security and well-being.
11. **As in a nation-state**, where the citizens need to be involved in setting the political agenda and in having their say in the affairs of the state in order for a national government to be legitimate, the aim should be to increase citizens' participation around the globe for global governance to be legitimate.
12. **As a nation-state**, the international community cannot be but a work in progress. Many strands of cooperation have affirmed themselves over the

years. We must now stitch them into a strong fabric of community. Participating in this long-term process of identifying and forging the ties that bind the international community, is as important an endeavour as obtaining short-term results

13. Just like a national government, global governance has to concentrate on an overall linked set of **core public goods**. Between them there is no hierarchy, since they all are evenly important:
- **international stability and security**, for which the greatest powers carry the main responsibility;
 - an **international legal order** which should ensure the effective equality of all;
 - an **open and inclusive economic world system** that meets the needs of all, especially the poorest, so as to enable all to participate fully in decision-making;
 - **global welfare** as the global equivalent of national human security systems;
 - the shared commitment to **combat pockets of lawlessness and settle regional conflicts**.

3. PRINCIPLES OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

14. Global governance is not about creating a world government. Nor simply about creating new powerful institutions. It is about enhancing the **coherence**, effectiveness and legitimacy of the existing ones, about identifying and filling the gaps in the multilateral institutional and regulatory architecture and, finally, about imagining new institutions only where needed.
15. For global governance to be effective, **rule-based and institutionalised multilateralism** is needed. Governing without governments is not feasible nor desirable. For global governance to become reality, states are and remain key actors – actors who decide to share sovereignty.
16. Global governance is **multi-level** governance, implicating all levels of authority. Global institutions and mechanisms are not intended to replace actions at local, national or regional level, but to complement them. Regional integration processes in particular should be encouraged and strengthened as they constitute crucial instruments and stepping stones for global governance. Ultimately, global governance will require reforms to be undertaken and efforts made at all levels – national, regional and international. Global governance does not imply that responsibility lies exclusively with the international institutions, nor should it be instrumentalised by states to shed responsibility.
17. In order to be legitimate, global governance has furthermore to be **participative**, allowing for non-state actors to play an effective role next to and together with the states. Global issues networks, each focused on an urgent global issue and involving governments, international organisations, corporations and international civil society organisations, can serve as a tool to realise this increased participation as well as to create bridges between all players involved.
18. Global governance has to be **democratic** in order to be legitimate. This not only implies the involvement of non-state actors, but also the inclusion and equitable representation of all countries in global governance. It also requires that principles of transparency and accountability be better applied to international decision-making procedures and institutions. It could also be considered to ensure a direct participation of world public

opinion in the UN system through an annual Forum of Civil Society or through the creation, parallel to a revitalised General Assembly, of a people's assembly, bringing together members of national and international parliamentary assemblies and civil society. This will contribute to restore and enhance the legitimacy of the United Nations as a universal forum.

19. Europe has a special responsibility in global governance. By its unique character of partially pooled sovereignty, institutionalised cooperation and its growing set of harmonised rules and regulations, the **European Union** could prefigure governance at the global level – not so much as a model for global structures or institutions, but by its distinctive approach to governance, enabling global instruments and actions to blend with those at the regional, national and local level, so as to take the best advantage of each level. The EU has furthermore to strengthen its ability to contribute to global governance – especially in the fields of sustainable development, poverty reduction, security and peace – by enhancing its cooperation with the United Nations and by strengthening Europe's voice within the UN system.

4. GLOBAL PUBLIC GOODS

I. International stability and security

20. The foremost public good is the **stability of the international system** itself, for which the greatest powers have to carry the main responsibility. As in a nation-state, ground rules need to be defined and subscribed to by all, their compliance being the responsibility of all.
21. Amongst the ground rules to be observed by all are:
- **The use of force.** All states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against any other state. The coercive use of force is a last resort, if all other means have clearly failed, only to be considered in accordance with international law.
 - **Proliferation.** The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction has to be contained by global action. Countries possessing them should agree upon a detailed plan to gradually eliminate them, thus abolishing over time the divide between haves and have-nots.
 - **Terrorism.** All states not only have the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in terrorist acts in another state or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts, but they must also combat terrorism. International terrorism is a global challenge to be dealt with globally.
 - **Organised crime.** The prevention of and combat against transnational organised crime and illicit trafficking is to be forcefully pursued, so that these are not allowed to grow as a cancer threatening the very health of our international system.
22. In order for these basic rules of the game to be effective, they must be entrusted to a multilateral mechanism that reflects the interests of all. The United Nations Security Council has the historic responsibility to function as the primary venue for all global action concerning international peace and security. It is in everybody's interest for the UN to work effectively.
23. If however the Security Council, whose authorization should in all cases be sought prior to action being taken, proves unable to act in a situation which threatens international peace and security, then two institutional solutions are available that need additional thought. Either the consent of

the UN General Assembly in Emergency Special Session under the Uniting for Peace procedure can be sought, or action within its area of jurisdiction by a regional organisation under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter can be envisaged, subject to it seeking subsequent authorization from the Security Council. Pre-emptive coercive military action on the initiative of the European Union or its Member States is not in accordance with the Charter. Since Article 51 of the UN Charter allows military action by way of self-defence only *after* an armed attack occurs, the Security Council is the only body that can legally – and legitimately – decide on any other form of coercive military action. Hence the need to strengthen the decision-making capacity and legitimacy of the Security Council.

24. It is now widely recognised that in order to function as the primary venue for global action, the United Nations system needs reform, as Secretary-General Kofi Annan has signalled through the recent creation of a Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change.
- The **expansion of the UN Security Council** is long overdue. Notwithstanding the difficulties encountered up to this day, adapting the composition of the Security Council to the geopolitical realities of the 21st century, remains as vital as ever, in order for the Council to regain the confidence of all states and of global public opinion. A comprehensive reform of the Security Council should include an equitable representation, steps to curtail the scope and application of the veto powers, and improvement of the decision-making process and the working methods.
 - Establishing an effective **prevention and crisis management capacity** for the United Nations, in order to move the organisation from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention. This includes enhancing the role of the Secretary-General, creating efficient decision-making mechanisms and providing sufficient stand-by forces, to which regional organisations have to contribute with monitoring, crisis management and military capabilities in order to enable the Security Council to act rapidly and effectively.
 - **Proliferation.** Promoting accession to and verification of the key multilateral agreements on non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament offers the best approach to counter-proliferation, by:
 - ♦ strengthening the existing independent agencies;
 - ♦ entrusting them through the Security Council with a broader mandate and capabilities for ad hoc and long-term on site inspections and monitoring to ensure compliance;

- ♦ member states providing them with all available intelligence.

This implies in particular:

- ♦ Establishing a **UN Counter-Proliferation Committee** under the Security Council to monitor compliance with relevant agreements and resolutions and to coordinate, if need be, the different UN, regional and national bodies;
- ♦ Strengthening the verification and enforcement mechanisms of the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention;
- ♦ Strengthening the inspection regime under the Non Proliferation Treaty;
- ♦ Enacting legal instruments that would empower the International Atomic Energy Agency to verify compliance and render the organisation less dependent on the member states;
- ♦ Increasing efforts in the field of export controls, both within the European Union and in cooperation with partners, to prevent dangerous materials from falling into the wrong hands;
- ♦ An unequivocal undertaking by the nuclear-weapon states to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals, leading to nuclear disarmament to which all states parties are committed under article VI of the NPT, as was agreed upon during the 2000 NPT Review Conference; as well as the ratification and entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, the immediate commencement and early conclusion of negotiations on a convention banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons and the resumption of the efforts to create regional zones free of weapons of mass destruction, especially in the Middle East.
- **Terrorism.** A **UN Counter-Terrorism Agency**, enlarging the existing Counter-Terrorism Committee, would be able to co-ordinate the work of the different UN, regional and national bodies that are now active in the fight against terrorism. This agency should integrate the whole range of available instruments to disrupt and destroy the capability for command & control, the finances and the material resources of terrorist organizations.
- **Organised crime.** Enhancing the **institutional links between national law enforcement agencies** in order to act effectively against multidimensional and internationally organised criminal networks involving drugs trafficking, money laundering and human trafficking and reinforcing the role and the task of international organisations having responsibilities in these matters. In addition, regional institutions

might offer – some already do, such as the European Union – new coordination mechanisms, creating new opportunities for cross border cooperation and promoting a gradual harmonisation of national criminal laws.

II. An international legal order

25. The very existence of an international society is, just as in a nation-state, dependent upon the existence of **shared values**, of a common set of norms and laws. In most national societies the equality of all is enshrined in a Constitution and laws provide for the protection of the individual against the arbitrary use of power. The international society too needs a similar legal order and that global legal order too, should put the everyday protection of human life at its core.
26. The core of this is embodied in the **UN Charter**. Alongside which there also exists an elaborate edifice of international humanitarian law and human rights law. Recently, international criminal law has also undergone major developments with the ad hoc tribunals for Rwanda and former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Court. Overall, international law has been marked by the growing awareness that ultimately politics is about people and that people centred human security should serve as a guideline for international action. As international law constitutes a founding stone of the edifice of an international community, impunity and disregard of these rules by any state cannot be tolerated.
27. Presently, rules and institutions exist, but violations remain numerous and the effectiveness of the institutions is sometimes lacking. Therefore, a number of steps can be envisaged in order to reinforce the global legal order:
 - The primary focus should be on the **strengthening of the rule of law and judicial institutions at the national level**. Providing for positive incentives and support in the framework of bilateral and multilateral relations will enhance the effectiveness of the judicial system.
 - A strengthening of the **human rights monitoring mechanisms** within the United Nations – especially a rethinking of the functioning of the Commission on Human Rights – and at the regional level as well as the development of efficient compliance mechanisms is required in

order to effectively confront states and governments that violate basic human rights with their responsibilities.

- In the face of severe human suffering, whether it be through violations of human rights or the outbreak of armed conflict, the international community today finds itself increasingly confronted with a contradiction between what is legal and what many perceive as being a legitimate course of action. This discordance poses a serious challenge to the credibility and efficiency of the international system. When states fail in their task of being protectors of individuals, the international community should intervene and exercise its **responsibility to protect** the individual man, woman and child from violence, abuse and injustice. According to the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) large-scale loss of life and large-scale ethnic cleansing, both actual and anticipated, clearly should constitute the threshold for international action to be initiated. It is to be considered to adopt a declaratory United Nations General Assembly resolution giving weight to the principles enunciated in the ICISS report and to the whole idea of the “responsibility to protect” as an emerging international norm.
- A **dialogue between civilizations and cultures** offers a good conduit for the endeavour to forge a consensus on the universality of human rights, as well as between specific viewpoints on the manner, pace and scope of implementation of human rights. While cultural differences are to be taken in consideration, it is oft also required to move beyond them: basic human rights, with the human person as the central subject and beneficiary, have to be upheld with equal determination by all states. Moreover, a sustained dialogue between civilizations and cultures will help diminish the threat of intercultural conflict.

III. An open and inclusive economic world system

28. Since no society, be it national or international, can ultimately withstand the strains arising from growing inequalities in its midst, the yawning **inequalities** between the haves and the have-less's, and between the wealthiest and the poorest, are to be considered the ultimate systemic threat to world security and stability. Much of the world is desperately poor and the wealth gap keeps on growing. Nevertheless, the world's economic resources and potential are sufficient to guarantee prosperity for

all. To meet this objective, we need an open and inclusive economic world system that is both able to meet the needs of the poorest and enables them to fully participate in decision-making as well as enables nations to participate in international trade and investment as well as in economic decision-making in a more or less equal way.

29. Even if important progress has been achieved in recent years, global economic governance has still to be strengthened. Free markets, by themselves, can neither guarantee inclusiveness and a fair distribution of wealth nor sustain openness when confronted with major crisis. Action at the global level, both through market and institutional mechanisms, is needed to make sure that open markets serve **human development** and are considered fair to all.
30. Global inclusiveness requires a **global cohesion policy**. A more ambitious global effort on labour standards or environmental protection should not harm the competitiveness of low-income countries. Instead, high-income countries should continue with their support to low-income countries in the up-grading of their economies. This involves investment in infrastructure, education, technological and managerial know-how, etc., as well as massive debt relief – in other words, a sensible policy of development aid. This enhanced global economic cohesion that will thus be achieved, is a precondition to an open and inclusive economic world system in which basic social and ecological goals are met. Inclusiveness also means that low-income countries fully participate in global decision-making on extra-economic norms, and are fairly compensated whenever their efforts risk to harm their position in the world economy, that is already relatively weak.
31. A number of steps can be envisaged:
 - A further refinement of the agreements within the framework of the WTO, by which the objectives of openness, national developmental goals and policy autonomy are reconciled. The **world trade regime** has to be redesigned so that it allows for the strengthening of local industries and agriculture in low-income countries instead of hampering them.
 - The robustness of the **international financial architecture**, aimed at the efficient allocation of capital and crisis prevention, should be further pursued in order to regain partly the stability it once possessed. The

severity of the 1990s financial crises and their social costs, the contagion effect by which even countries with sound economic foundations were affected, has led to an important questioning of the working of the international financial institutions, including within the institutions themselves. This has engendered a number of important results, but the reforms should be continued, in particular so as to strengthen national financial systems (including more transparency), in order to be able to manage crisis in an orderly manner and to avoid destabilising effects of short-term capital flows. The balance between two desirable goals, the free movement of capital and financial stability is indeed crucial. Only the close cooperation between governments, public and private international financial bodies, the business community and civil society can enforce the international financial architecture.

- More global coordination of **aid assistance**, carrying on the process confirmed at the 2002 UN Conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey, leading to internationally confirmed commitments and a structural enhancement of development aid.
- These efforts should include action to reduce the global ‘**digital divide**’ and to make sure that all nations can profit from the opportunities of information and communication technology.
- The creation of a **Social and Economic Security Council**, consisting of a small but representative number of countries, possibly with partly rotating membership, or regions, so as to be truly representative for the community of nations. Building upon the original purpose behind the creation of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (Ecosoc), this body can overlook different spheres of economic and social development in the world, such as trade, investment, sustainable development and labour rights, and substantially contribute to the coordination of international decision-making on socio-economic matters. As a legitimate body of horizontal coordination and consensus building, an overarching Social and Economic Security Council can both provide strategic guidance across the major institutional organisations, in order to promote stable, balanced and sustainable development, as well as play a central role in crisis management, when a large number of different actors have to be brought together, in the case of financial crisis, economic stagnation and disruption or famine disaster.

IV. Global welfare

32. All societies are based on solidarity amongst their members and securing their basic needs. **Global welfare**, as the world equivalent of national human security systems, provides for similar basic services for all at the global level, such as access to health, clean air and water, education, employment and labour standards. National governments are the primary responsible for the individual's human security, so as to provide each individual with an environment that induces confidence in the future. But the world is becoming smaller and borders more porous. An individual's fate is no longer shielded from the rest of the world and has thus become a concern for all.

33. Many of these global welfare problems have already been identified by and large and some are already subject to some form of governance. Some have proven to be a remarkable success, such as the 1987 Montreal Protocol that resulted in a global freeze of ozone-damaging chemicals. Some have been reformulated lately, so as to provide for a common framework for global action. That is the case with the Millennium Development Goals. Together they form a core global welfare program, aspiring to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, to achieve universal primary education, to promote gender equality and to empower women, to reduce child mortality and improve maternal health, to combat HIV/Aids, malaria and other diseases. The importance of these goals resides not only in the fact that quantifiable targets have been defined against which their implementation can be measured, but even more so in the fact that it has comprehensively linked together underlying issues, that is to say issues that if they don't get resolved will make it very difficult to implement solutions to the other global issues.

34. But there has been a lack of long term perseverance by national governments in the pursuit of such objectives, due to a lack of capacity, a lack of political will and a reluctance to empower multilateral institutions with effective governance capabilities. There is a clear need for **effective multilateral agencies** that operate in the name of the member states. They offer the best chance to buttress effective long term regimes for global welfare action. **Global issues networks** allow for the pooling of knowledge, exchange of expertise, confidence-building and systematic dialogue and consultation between states and non-state actors. They can provide

crucial stepping stones for sustainable governance through effective multilateral agencies. Together such agencies and networks will help both developing and developed countries to step up their efforts: the former by engaging into real pro-poor policies and aim at strengthening national policies and institutions, the latter by stepping up their efforts to back up these reforms with more resources and trade opportunities. They will stimulate member states to enhance their follow up capacity for the Millennium Development Goals and for the major UN conferences of the last decade.

35. A number of steps can be envisaged in order to enhance the effectiveness of global action and agencies:

- Health. In light of the world-wide persistence and increase of the HIV/ Aids epidemic, global response and commitment to ensure effective prevention, wider treatment access and appropriate care programmes have to be stepped up. The outbreak of the Sars virus furthermore once again highlighted the need for updating law-based regulations to enhance the effectiveness of the World Health Organisation in preventing and combating global diseases and supporting national governments health efforts.
- Environment. Today's wide array of fragmented, overlapping and sometimes conflicting environmental treaties and agreements would undoubtedly better be gradually replaced by effective agencies for global commons, coordinated through a World environmental agency or organisation, that would be in charge of elaborating principles and strategies, as well as negotiating global protocols and be charged with the power to recommend sanctions in case of non-compliance. Furthermore, for a global environmental policy to be sustainable, it is of crucial importance that it be accompanied by an overall, multi-faceted compensation policy to low-income countries, so that they can meet higher standards without undermining their competitiveness. For that purpose, a considerable extension of the capacity of the Global Environment Facility (GEF) is to be envisaged.
- Migration. Only by joint effort can we tackle the challenges posed by international migration flows of millions of people everywhere in the world. Neither countries of origin nor countries of destination can handle this alone. The existing international agencies and institutions which deal with this issue have thus to be strengthened and the gaps filled (essentially regarding internally displaced persons and ecological

migrants). But friction, fear and mismanagement is in large part also generated by a lack of actionable information on the overall trends, scale and implications of these movements if people. The creation of a world agency on the movements of people, as proposed by A.C. Helton en Jagdish Bhagwati, could therefore be considered. Its task would be to support the work of the UNHCR, the International Organisation for Migration and the International Labour Organisation by generating comprehensive research on the issue, as well as a codification of good practices and ultimately proposing and arbitrating global migration policy, that is more effective, generous and human than today's. The new *Global Migration Commission*, an independent body tasked to examine how international migration could be better managed, constitutes a promising first-step in this direction.

- Employment and core labour standards. Employment policies for the creation of decent jobs for all should be recognised as a key objective in its own right in the context of national, regional and international policies for development and poverty reduction. Capacity building assistance focused on the promotion of core labour standards is to be increased significantly.

V. **A shared commitment to combat pockets of lawlessness and settle internal and regional conflicts**

36. No nation-state can tolerate no-go zones for police and officials. The same holds true for an international community. A renewed commitment to **settle long-lasting internal and regional conflicts** of different nature is the global equivalent of national and local authorities' fight against domestic pockets of lawlessness.
37. The enduring crisis in Central Africa, where millions of lives have been lost in the absence of any legal and political order, the rampant instability in West Africa, longstanding unresolved regional conflicts in Kashmir, Western Sahara, Cyprus, Somalia, the southern Caucasus, Colombia, persistent low level conflicts on other continents and the fragility of peace processes in countries such as Nepal, Sri Lanka and Sudan causes human suffering and makes a mockery of the very notion of an international

community. Strong and efficient **regional organisations** would certainly be of major help in tackling persistent conflicts, and function as a bridge between states and the global level. The international community has the responsibility to encourage and buttress such efforts, as well as to do whatever is needed to engage in continuous mediation or conciliation efforts to help bring these conflicts to a settlement, before they destabilise their regional environment.

38. Undoubtedly, the most enduring regional conflict is in the **Middle East**. No other regional conflict today is so closely linked to the feeling of frustration of an important part of the world's population. And no conflict so clearly demonstrates the irrelevance of solely military means in finding a solution for a quintessential political problem in a way acceptable to all.
39. No uniform recipe exists for the prevention and settlement of armed conflict. Nevertheless, as far as violent conflicts are concerned, the World Bank has identified a set of measures that should be taken in order to tackle their rationale and their **viability**:
 - Cutting rebel organization's sources of external finance. This requires not only more efficient tracking devices of the financial flows of such organisations. The foremost need is to assure a better governance of natural resources. The Kimberly process with regard to the diamond trade is hereof a setting example and, if revealed efficient, ways should be thought of to extend this type of process to other commodities.
 - Stepping up the aid to countries that are at a high risk of falling into armed conflict as well as to countries that are in a post conflict period. The development of Stabilisation Pacts focused on a specific country or a specific region (Balkans, Middle East, Great Lakes region, West Africa, Caucasus) – offering financial aid but also political support – could ensure a more efficient coordination between the different donor countries as well as engage them in the long term. In this context and in order to ensure the empowerment of the regional actors themselves, establishing or stepping up the co-operation with regional organisations acting in favour of conflict prevention and development should be considered.
 - The international community should be aware that, in order for a settlement to be sustainable, substantial and effective, a military peace-keeping presence (long term when required), especially in countries where a peace process has been launched, is to be considered. The

capacity to ensure a proper protection for refugees and internally displaced persons is likewise to be reinforced.

- At the same time the effort of the international community must be directed towards the recreation of political institutions and civil society structures of conflict prone and post conflict countries. This can only be successful if coordinated and, if need be, stimulated by a lead country taking the responsibility to provide for an overall approach.
- Next to these measures, it is equally important to make progress in long-term scaling down of conventional armaments, in particular by tightening export controls and tracking the illicit flow of arms through marking.

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