



Shaping Globalization!

A young agenda on climate protection, sustainable growth and development, and global governance

Individuals have sense of community and environment
People take actions regarding their
People acting locally thinking glob
People act in solidarity towards
People focus on needs rather

(entrepreneurship)
10. People can assess their surroundings (making use of
11. People take
12. People are transparent and non corrupt

↓
Sustainable development
↓
Efficient
Waste disposal & limitation
↓
Sustainable development
↓
Avoid Single Disposal

↓
Equal access to natural resources - every
fresh fruit
fresh water
fresh air

UNV -> NGOs

Report on the international youth project
September – November 2010
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Bonn

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Preface



What would a global policy for climate protection and sustainable growth and development look like if young people had the say? With a view to the United Nations Conference on Climate Change in December 2010 in Cancún, Mexico, and the urgent need for progress in international cooperation for combining climate protection and sustainable perspectives for growth and development, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung invited 36 young professionals and youth leaders from 12 different countries to Bonn. The participants of the international youth conference, organized by the foundation's Forum Youth and Politics in Bonn, came from a wide range of industrialized, emerging, and developing countries, including Afghanistan, Brazil, Germany, Ghana, India, Jordan, Mexico, Morocco, Poland, Turkey, Timor-Leste, and the United States. Would the young generation succeed in finding common solutions?

The international youth project "Shaping Globalization!", which included a two-month online preparation module and a final one-week conference in Bonn, tried to answer these questions by giving voice to young people's perspectives on climate protection and sustainable growth and development. But the project also intended to support young professionals, youth leaders, and youth representatives of democratic parties, ministries, trade unions, and civil society organizations in making a contribution to international cooperation and politics in their respective fields. The participants were invited to deepen their knowledge of international affairs in the fields of climate change, growth and development, as well as to change perspectives in a simulated UN conference, to meet experts on the subjects, and to develop shared ideas in a so-called

future workshop. Thus, a dialogue between young global citizens on some of the most urgent global challenges was initiated. Namely, we would like to thank Ulrich Kelber (Member of German Federal Parliament, SPD) and Dr. Christiane Textor (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) for contributing to the introductory workshops as well as Christoph Bals (Germanwatch, Political Director), Luis Davila (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change), Johannes Enzmann (European Commission, Directorate General on Climate Action) and Silke Weinlich (German Development Institute) for their contributions to the final discussion of the conference.

To give voice to the youth representatives' proposals and expectations towards global policy in the ongoing discussion is one of the objectives of this young agenda. Another objective is to share the key experience of this project, namely that, from the perspective of the young generation, globalization can be shaped to work towards peace, democracy, and social justice. Even more, the young generation is willing to contribute to this process. Once more, Willy Brandt's remark holds true: "International cooperation is far too important to be left to governments alone."

Kerstin Ott
Head of Forum Youth and Politics
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

Introduction

Simon Raiser and Björn Warkalla

The United Nations Conference on Climate Change in December 2010 in Cancún, Mexico, has generally been perceived as a success. Most observers have praised the fact that, finally, the international community was willing and able to agree upon something. While the final document does not contain any binding reduction targets and – more generally speaking – is relatively weak with regard to concrete commitments, the fact that the states managed to (almost) unanimously sign a document can be considered as a success in itself, particularly after the failure of earlier conferences, for example in Copenhagen in 2009. With the agreement reached in Cancún, it seems much more likely that the process of climate talks within the UN context will continue and possibly lead to more concrete results in the years to come – which at least offers a glimpse of hope.

The fact that a relatively thin document is regarded as a success shows that progress in international negotiations is usually very slow – too slow for many, including those who suffer most from the effects of climate change. However, experienced observers of international negotiations maintain that it is unrealistic to expect much more, considering

- the high priority many states put on safeguarding their national sovereignty;
- the wide range of (diverging) interests, interpretations, and demands from developing and developed countries;
- the unequal distribution of power and economic wealth.

This raises more fundamental questions regarding the still extremely state-centred political system in a supposedly globalized, borderless world; regarding the sustainability of the predominant economic system; as well as regarding issues of justice and the distribution of wealth. This is not the place to elaborate on these fundamental questions. Yet, it is worth keeping them in mind and reflecting on them during the day-to-day business of international negotiations on issues such as climate change, development, and sustainable growth, as well as on the institutional structure of global governance.

Linking climate change and development

Less fundamental but still crucial for a sustainable future development is the acknowledgement that the issues of environmental degradation, including climate change, and development are inherently linked. This issue has been on the agenda ever since the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Yet, the talks on climate change in the past focussed first and foremost on the reduction of global greenhouse gas emissions. Only in recent years have decision-makers begun to acknowledge that they cannot address the climate change issue without taking into consideration question related to development – not least due to the continuous pressure exerted by civil society groups all over the world.

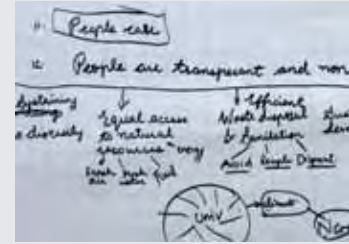
The United Nations Environment Programme sensed the winds of change and published a Global Green New Deal (GGND) in 2009, addressing the question of how to create an economy that is sustainable in the medium to longer term, while stimulating the economy to provide growth and jobs while also tackling poverty. There are three main objectives of the GGND. First, it seeks to make an innovative contribution to revive the world economy, to save and create jobs, and to protect vulnerable groups. Secondly, it aims at promoting sustainable and inclusive growth and achieving the Millennium Development Goals. And thirdly, it calls for serious efforts to reduce carbon dependency and ecosystem degradation – claiming that these are the key risks along the path to a sustainable world economy. The Global Sustainable New Deal, published in the World Economic and Social Survey by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs in 2009, points in the same direction. It claims that sustainable growth will not be possible in the medium to long term unless we promote mitigation and inclusive growth simultaneously.

Against this background, the International Learning Project “Shaping Globalization” – organized by the Forum Youth and Politics and the international departments of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Bonn and Berlin – focussed on the issues of climate change as

A few selected quotes from the participants during the online preparation module



“ Until now, globalization promised a lot to my country, but delivered very little, at a very expensive price... ”



well as sustainable growth and development, underlining the inherent link between them. The overall aim of the one-week conference in Bonn was to provide a platform for an open exchange on some of the most pressing issues of globalization, to reflect on causes as well as challenges ahead, and to develop new perspectives and ideas on how to address the problems humankind is confronted with. Of course, as backgrounds and perspectives of the participants from 12 different countries differed a lot, opinions on some issues – particularly on the more fundamental issues raised above – varied a lot, too. The more concrete the issue being discussed, for example measures and demands with regard to mitigation and adaptation, the more participants agreed. On the broader questions regarding future global governance structure, participants found it more difficult to reach agreement. Both observations are also reflected in the results of the discussions documented in chapter II.

Perspectives on globalization from around the world

Before the conference started, the participants joined an online platform on which they were invited to discuss their general understanding of globalization. The questions included whether or not there is an alternative to the current processes of globalization, and whether there is a way out of the “globalization dilemma” (Marc Saxer): the growing interdependence of societies and the emergence of global problems that call for joint political action (such as climate change) on the one hand, and the crises of multilateralism on the other hand. According to this view, for example, the failure of the Doha Round or the post-Kyoto climate talks clearly indicate that interests and identities continue to be predominantly defined along the lines of national interests. Expectedly, the discussions were controversial.

However, the underlying consensus among the participants was that something is wrong with the current processes and that globalization – as we witness it today – is based on the wrong premises, and

to a certain extent based on highly disputable ideological concepts. Consequently, it has so far advantaged only a few, leaving behind the majority of the people. Global injustices and the unequal distribution of wealth and power are evidence of that fact, as well as poverty, hunger, and the spread of fatal diseases in many developing countries. Who is to blame? Again, most participants would agree that it is first and foremost the (historical) responsibility of the industrialized countries. However, the emerging economies and their role in global economic processes are being critically scrutinised, too, particularly the role China plays in many developing countries.

The online discussions paved the way for an intense and open dialogue during the five-day conference in Bonn. Methodologically, the focus was on two aspects – a two-day simulation of a UN conference and a so-called future workshop in order to generate concrete ideas, proposals, and demands on how to address some of the most pressing global issues. As mentioned above, we restricted ourselves to the issues of climate change and development. While the inherent link between those issues has not yet fully been internalized by policy-makers, we are confident that for the upcoming generation of young professionals and potential future leaders, this link is not only self-evident in theory but in practical policies, too.

The international youth conference: developing a young agenda

After a two-day simulation of a (fictitious) UN conference on climate change and development – to which the general feedback of the participants was that they could now more easily understand why politics is so tough and progress on the international scene so slow, and that the simulation game offered a more realistic picture of what is feasible and what is subject to the domain of “hopes and dreams” – people returned to their real identities and reflect on their individual fears, concerns, criticisms, as well as hopes with regard to the future.

“*It is absolutely an advantage to be part of the advanced world. However, the challenge is how to ensure that benefits are shared equitably not only to profit few!! We have to learn how to adapt by selecting the best and avoiding undesired influences of invading globalization.*”



Methodologically, the future workshop is perfectly suited to generate clear results in a structured manner. More generally speaking, it is a technique meant to shed light on a common problematic situation, to generate visions about the future, and to discuss how these visions can be realized. It comprises three distinct phases: the *critique phase* investigates thoroughly the issue at hand and collects critique points participants have towards the issue. The task in the so-called *vision phase* is to develop utopian visions and generate an exaggerated picture of future possibilities, thereby consciously ignoring questions of their feasibility. In the *implementation phase* these ideas are checked and evaluated with regard to their practicability. On the basis of the visions, the participants develop specific demands and proposals that are realistic in scope – if a certain amount of political will is added.

Future workshops on climate protection, development policy and global governance

The participants divided themselves into three sub-groups: climate change, sustainable growth and development, and global governance structures. In the critique phase participants were allowed to criticize everything they always wanted to criticize. Expectedly, a lot of criticism focussed on questions of inequality, power imbalances, the role of the United States in world politics, the predominantly negative effects of “neoliberal” policies, the irresponsible consumption of energy and resources, the general attitude of greed and suspicion, as well as the militarization of foreign politics.

Also, the structure of international institutions – such as the UN, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank (WB) in particular – was strongly criticized for being dominated by the rich countries and imposing the wrong policies on poor countries. On a more personal level, participants strongly criticized the apathy of many fellow citizens who obviously don’t care about global problems and their effects as long as they are not di-

rectly affected. And finally, civil society’s very weak influence was mentioned several times. This list, of course, is not exhaustive: many more specific criticisms were voiced but cannot, however, be documented in detail at this point.

After the critique phase came the vision phase, in which participants were kindly asked to develop their visions for the future, irrespective of their feasibility, particularly with regard to financing. Here, the most striking fact was that many participants apparently had difficulties in detaching themselves from the restrictions of the real world – consequently, many “visionary” ideas had a quite realistic tone. Particularly interesting were visions of a world in which each and every citizen actually cares about the environment and acts accordingly, is open to innovative ideas, and refuses corruption. Expectedly, participants developed visions of a world without poverty, a world of free mobility without borders and other restrictions, a world of religious freedom and peace, as well as a world of greater equality, with genuinely democratic decision-making processes and with full transparency in policy-making.

Working towards results

The third phase, the implementation phase, was probably the most difficult, yet the most important for reaching concrete results. Participants witnessed the difficulty of translating what are, by definition, unrealistic visions into realistic demands and proposals for change. Only little time was provided to develop those concrete demands. Naturally, not on all aspects the group reached a shared understanding; many issues were also discussed controversially. Some ideas reflect the multifaceted discussion processes others were translated in definite proposals. The results are documented in the following section.

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“ Whether the globalization process is positive or not, we have to know that it cannot be avoided. Since it is inevitable we have to make the best out of it. ”

The working group on sustainable global climate protection agreed on concrete proposals, which are presented here as follows.

I. Global climate governance, mechanisms and key proposals

Preliminary note: Concepts and principles

It is important to have consensus on the definition of the key issue of how to face the global climate crisis. The definitions below will be included in a new agreement that will be part of the Global Environmental Organization (GEO). The new agreement should combine prevention, adaptation, resilience, and mitigation in equal measure.

1. Prevention

Target an entire population with the goal of enhancing strengths so as to reduce the risk of problematic outcomes regarding climate change and variability and/or to increase prospects for positive and sustainable development.

2. Adaptation

Make adjustments in the social, economic, and environmental systems to counter the current and expected effects of global warming, thereby preventing its impacts in order to reduce vulnerability to climate change or variability, particularly in poorer communities and regions.

3. Resilience

The ability of a social or ecological system to absorb disturbances while retaining the same basic structure and ways of functioning, the capacity for self-organization, and the capacity to adapt to



stress and change (International Panel on Climate Change – IPCC).

4. Mitigation

Reducing greenhouse gas emissions that cause global warming and, as a consequence, climate change.

5. Vulnerability

Refers to the degree to which a system is susceptible to, and unable to cope with, adverse effects of climate change, including climate variability of extremes. Also, it is a function of the character, magnitude, and rate of climate change and variation to which a system is exposed, its sensitivity, and its adaptive capacity (IPCC).

6. Climate Justice

The burden of adjustments to the climate crises should be borne by those who were historically responsible for bringing them about and not by those who contributed less or nothing to it and who are the main current and potential victims of climate change.

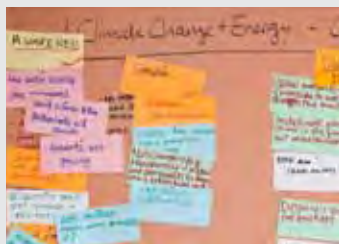
7. Forests

Dense growth of trees, plants, and underbrush covering a large area, characterizing by a great diversity of species and biodiversity. Monocultures of species should not be considered as forests.

8. Common Goods

Water, land, air and seeds.

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II. Politics and implementation

1. Food security and sovereignty

To achieve this goal, it will be necessary to adopt measures that can support agriculture as well as agroecology and agroforestry, in the sense that agriculture respects biodiversity, doesn't use pesticides, protects the land, and is implemented in small areas of land. Also, short cycles of production and trade are more sustainable and less energy intensive.

In addition, Creole Seeds Banks at a local and national level should be created, with the understanding that the seeds are at the centre of food sovereignty. It is of fundamental importance to implement a system that relies as little as possible on any external products, such as fertilisers. To be sovereign means to have control over seeds and land, techniques and knowledge – in short, everything that is necessary for food production.

2. Common goods protection

By managing sustainably their property and their lands, family and peasant farmers, gatherers, indigenous peoples and traditional populations take care of the common good. It is the duty of society and the states to recognize the importance of these social groups in preserving the environment, and to support and enable policies to this end. These policies should be translated into financial support to promote activities such as community forestry, fishing, aquatic resource management, agroforestry and agroecology, among others. These measures can guarantee the reproduction of the socio-cultural community and the conservation of natural resources.

3. Waste and pollution

Governments monitor industrial waste and greenhouse gas emissions and act on them. The proposal is to create:

- a fee for waste
- a Climate Justice Court in the GEO that will judge the environmental and climate crimes of corporations, states and government representatives around the world.

III. New governance architecture

Short term:

It is necessary that the states reach a fair, ambitious, and binding agreement on climate change to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 2020, taking into account the principle of common but differentiated responsibility, in order to reach the global goal of reducing emissions by 40 per cent by 2020.

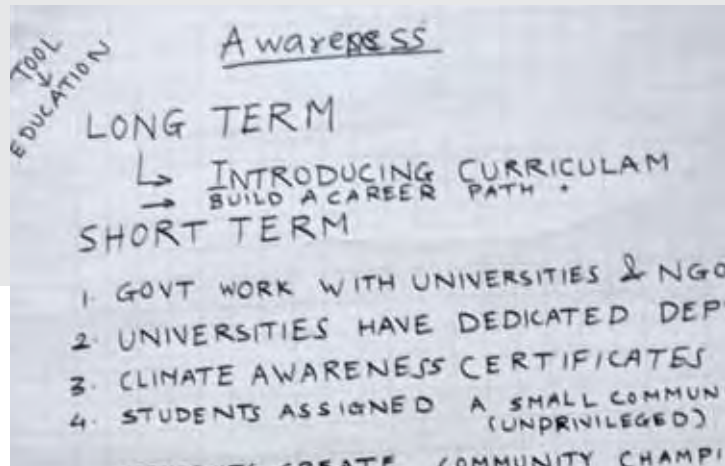
In order to achieve this, the states should implement policies to this end at the national and local levels. Local governments should play an active role, and the states should include their citizens and their proposals in their national development plans. In order to achieve this goal, the states should start on developing ideas about the GEO.

Medium term:

A Global Environmental Organization is established in order to have equal participation and share the common but differentiated responsibilities. The aim of the GEO is to protect the environment as a public good, and the organization includes voices from

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“Globalization is not the cause of some negative process, but a consequence of capitalist expansion.”



the most vulnerable groups at all levels. Its mandate will not be limited to fighting climate change.

The GEO will adopt the Climate Justice term in order to make states accountable for their actions. It will also define global environmental and climate problems and will propose strategies to defeat them. The GEO will also help to develop common and global strategies to reach the global goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 80 per cent by 2050.

The GEO system:

- **The International Environmental Court:** The court will judge environmental and climate crimes made by governments, individuals, and companies
- **The Indigenous Community Council:** This council will advise countries on respecting the views of indigenous people in protecting the environment and on the actions of the states at local and national levels.
- **The General Assembly**

The GEO should be transparent, democratic, accountable, and horizontally organized.

Additionally, the international community should establish a new protective status for “environmental refugees”, that is, for people that are forced to leave their countries because of environmental stress as a consequence of climate change, natural disasters, desertification, or water scarcity.

Long term:

The IMO (International Migration Organization), along with the GEO, will help to develop new national strategies to integrate migrants into their societies in order to reduce their vulnerability in the receiving country. The states will develop new financial strategies to support their livelihoods.

IV. Finance and technology

Raising sufficient financial revenues for adaptation and mitigation is a very important topic – mostly because the regions that are most vulnerable to the effects of climate change are primarily not in the developed countries. But even so, the consequences of climate change will also be felt in the developed countries. Nevertheless, they might be able to buy their personal security. Therefore, it is of utmost importance and urgency to support the marginalized sectors and struggling countries.

We agree that states need to invest in infrastructure for adaptation and mitigation in order to keep people in their homes, prevent climate change from affecting their lives incommensurably, and at the same time to stop and reverse the processes that have caused climate change.

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“*The integration of people and cultures is something very different from integration of markets and goods. The former has to be based on unity among diversity, equality among singularities. The latter is necessarily based on wealth among adversity, benefits among exclusion.*”

First, the system of patents and copyrights for technology has to be reformed in order to make know-how cheaper for states and interested communities. Ideas are not scarce, and they should not be treated as such. The cost lies in their implementation, the natural resources and the mobilization of labor and political will.

Just as states are responsible for shaping the future, they also need to look back. Therefore, it is imperative that all states require companies to be responsible for the way they treat the environment – anything that is taken must be put back, anything that is introduced must not be harmful, and they must be completely accountable for any damages they might cause. Additionally, a tax on international transactions – particularly if they are related to the environment and climate change – should be introduced with the revenues flowing to the states. A share of these revenues should be used towards providing direct and immediate aid to environmental migrants fleeing from deteriorating living conditions and for repairing the damage done.

V. Energy for a sustainable global climate balance

1. Renewable energies

In order to achieve a global climatic balance that does not threaten the existence of humans, animals, and plants, it is essential that all energy comes from renewable sources – that is, from wind, sun, water, geothermal energy, and third-generation biofuels – as soon as possible. It should be mandatory for every country to define concrete steps of increas-



ing their share of renewable energy in the short-, medium-, and long run. Before the end of the century, all energy production worldwide has to be 100 per cent renewable, with developed and industrialized countries taking the lead. However, every form of energy production can do harm both to society and the environment, and that includes renewables. These impacts need to be minimized.

Neither fossil nor nuclear energy sources are feasible solutions for the world's energy supply because they create more problems than they solve and they are distributed unequally. Also, nuclear waste has to be disposed of in a safe way. So far, the countries concerned have not found a safe solution to this serious problem. New ways have to be found in order to safely contain the dangers of radioactive waste, but the first step towards ridding ourselves from this severe burden is to not produce more nuclear waste.

Moreover, all means of energy production should be democratically controlled and self-managed, and whenever possible, energy production should be decentralized. However in some areas large-scale renewable energy production can also be efficient. In addition, all countries should establish regional energy integration strategies to make the best use of comparative advantages.

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“*Social and economic inequality has deepened since the process of (neo-liberal) globalization started.*”



2. Grid

To guarantee a steady and reliable energy supply, all nations should cooperate to establish smart and transnational energy grids. The existing grids have to be improved by the companies that own them. At a later stage, the networks should be socialized. Transnational connectivity should always be taken into account at all stages.

3. Energy and resource efficiency

In designing, manufacturing, and recycling of any product, the highest energy- and resource-efficiency standards have to be applied. The Japanese Top Runner Programme (whereby every product has to fulfil the energy efficiency standard of the best product available on the market after five years, otherwise it is banned from the market) as well as the “cradle-to-cradle” concept, should be made obligatory in the short term, at least in the industrialized countries.

4. Technology transfer

Renewable energy and energy efficiency technologies have to be considered open source and made available to everyone. As a first step, companies should, on a medium-term basis, forward their second newest technologies to the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) after a defined and appropriate amount of time. Then IRENA can give financial and know-how assistance to countries that cannot afford to implement those technologies on their own.

5. Transport

All means of transport (land, water, air) have to be powered with renewable energy. In this field, a lot of research is necessary. International regulations

concerning fuel-usage and emissions should be implemented step-by-step. In this field the Top Runner concept is also of essential importance. As a first step, cars should start running on electricity from renewable sources as soon as possible. The public sector should take the lead and switch to e-mobility immediately.

As a general principle, public transport has to be available for everyone, everywhere, and free of charge. Since sustainable air traffic is still a vision of the future, much more emphasis should be placed on high-speed transnational railroads. Short-distance flights should immediately be made unattractive and subsequently banned. Kerosene should be taxed everywhere and in proportion to its harmful effects.

6. Human rights

All natural resources should be considered global public goods and belong to every global citizen equally. The only way of achieving global energy justice is through considering sufficient access to clean energy as a basic human right. Access to energy is an essential precondition for development and for the ability to participate in social activities, locally and globally.

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“*If we are to emerge as one world, we need to be one about how serious we are and should be about a given issue – be it market access or global warming.*”



VI. Education and vision

We need people who know and care about the environment, and consequently will be willing to act to protect their environment. Sustainability should become a part of the human learning process. Awareness cannot come through the enactment of a law – it has to come through a process that is deeply felt and learnt, and that is more informal and user-friendly at all levels. Awareness is a matter of changing habits, which is a slow and difficult – and yet essential – process.

Moreover, climate change is no longer an exclusive domain of meteorological studies or environmental scientists. It should be discussed in simple, non-technical language. It is here that the media have a major role to play – they need to turn the technical climate change jargon into everyday language that everyone can understand. Even development is no longer an issue to be perceived as at loggerheads with environment protection. Variations in rainfall – a result of climate change – affect everybody's food. Poverty studies cannot be de-linked from environment studies today.

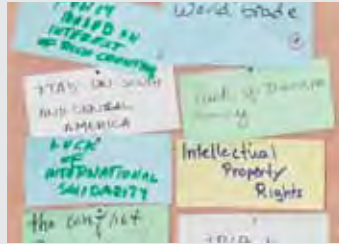
It is necessary to begin by educating children about environmental problems and practical ways of preventing those problems, thus increasing the likelihood that they will be more responsible citizens of the world. Furthermore, the underprivileged, who do not have access to the same level of education, should also be taught environmental awareness.

Universities (with the help of governments and NGOs) will play two very important roles here. First,

universities should incorporate special programmes in which selected elementary and high school teachers are required to receive training concerning environmental awareness conducted by scientists and other qualified individuals at the university level. The teachers trained in these programmes would then teach the children in their respective schools. Second, universities should oblige their students to fulfil a minimum credit requirement in which they work to educate local communities about awareness and practical implications of environmental issues. This way, crucial knowledge can be disseminated in the short term and information can be exchanged to learn more about awareness-building among underprivileged communities.

Another way of disseminating knowledge is through traditional or folkloric media. For instance, local music and dancing can be used to tell the story of the importance of environmental issues. Local university students or other willing participants can organize and implement such media-related methods at a local level.

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The group dealing with the issue of growth and development chose a broad approach to their topic, realizing that these questions cannot be dealt with in isolation from other important aspects of global policy, especially with regard to global climate policy. A certain overlap with the results in the other groups is therefore unavoidable. The group developed some concrete demands and visions, both for the short- and for the long term (table 1), as well as some prescriptions regarding the economics of development (table 2).

While the group managed to develop some very interesting concrete results (see following tables), it also engaged in more fundamental discussions with the challenging aim of reaching a consensus on such controversial questions as whether a long-term vision should include a world without states and borders, with a common currency and a global government, or whether state sovereignty should continue to be the pillar of the global political framework. We can therefore only try to briefly summarize what was in essence an unfinished discussion, a dialogue between global citizens in the best sense.

Firstly, the group identified aspects that any discussion on development would have to take into account as well. Concerning peace and security, the group agreed that it is imperative to consider the causes of terrorism and to understand the motives of those turning to violent means. The need to improve states' security systems and for people to be conscious of their security was emphasized, as well as the need to discourage discrimination and stereotypes towards people originating from the Arab or Muslim countries. Other aspects mentioned included the abolition of nuclear weapons, prevention

of military coups, and the complete decentralization of political power. Also, it was stated that the guarantee of national security no longer lies with military power but in the protection of human rights.

Concerning ideology, the need to promote alternatives to the Washington Consensus and its emphasis on free trade was noted. As alternatives to this ideology, the group discussed the following suggestions:

- interventionist policies to protect local industries in the developing countries with large subsidies, especially in agriculture;
- intensive industrialization of the developing countries;
- promotion of regional integration and increasing trade among the sub-regions to enable the concept of comparative advantage between the North and the South so that it is realized by 2020;
- "eat what you produce and produce what you eat" (domestication by 2020);
- establishment of a permanent international commission on sustainable development by 2020;
- strengthen people-run cooperatives as alternatives to multinational and state-owned corporations.

Corruption was also an issue with the group, which agreed on the demand for a common anti-corruption framework by 2015. Corruption should be fought and eradicated through constitutional obligations to ensure transparency and accountability, and there should be a clear definition of corruption in constitutions by 2015.

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“ For me the main positive gain of globalization is related to the democratization of communication and information all over the world. Today it is more difficult to curtail freedom of expression, even in more conservative societies or countries with dictatorial regimes. ”

Table 1: Demands and visions for sustainable growth and development

ISSUE	LONG TERM (2050)	MEDIUM TERM (2025)	SHORT TERM (2015)
Social services: ■ Education	Achieve 100 % literacy (improve quality, accessibility, infrastructure)	Build adequate educational infrastructure at all levels Free, accessible, compulsory, quality secondary education Set up education endowment funds and financial assistance systems e.g. scholarships One teacher to 30 students maximum (elementary schools)	Free, compulsory basic education Increase budgetary allocation to education by 50 % Increase and adequately resource training institutions to train, motivate, and retain teachers Decrease illiteracy rate worldwide by at least 15 % by 2020
Social services: ■ Health care	Universal health care for everyone (quality, accessibility, availability, affordability) Increase life expectancy by 10 % by 2050 Reduce mortality rate by 80 % by 2050	Health insurance is available to all Adequate motivation and remuneration for health workers Improve doctor patient ratio to 1:100	Improve budgetary allocation to health care by 50 % Build more health care facilities Improve training institutions for health workers
Poverty reduction: ■ Food sufficiency	Enhance agricultural production, equal distribution of food	Significant improvement in the living conditions of at least 50 % of world population by 2030 Adequate, universal social security	War solidarity fund to eliminate poverty and promote social and human development by 2020 100 % reduction of number of people whose income is less than one dollar per day by 2020 Provide 100 % housing for all, ensuring there is no homeless person after 2015
Poverty reduction: ■ Employment opportunities	Stimulate entrepreneurship, income-generating activities, skills for employability	Increase employment opportunities by 80 % Link educational sector to industry	Development employment policies and programmes Improve skills training institutions/projects Increase training for employable skills by 50 % Improve access to credit facilities Decent jobs and working conditions under a single, universal criteria Decrease child labour rate worldwide by at least 15 % by 2020
Human rights ■ Political rights ■ Social rights ■ Equality	Free democratic expression, justice, and fairness Effective state institutions Inclusion, welfare distribution No discrimination according to gender or of minorities	Universal access to justice	Adequately resource institutions to promote human rights Legal aid to the vulnerable Build and give adequate resources to state institutions

II. The young agenda on Climate protection Sustainable growth and development Global governance



Table 2: Economics of development

Economic policies	Financial policies	Alternatives for aid	Trade for development
Regulate monopolies	Decrease interest rates on loans	Sustainable, controlled tourism for local development	Free movement of services
Manage state and public companies and means of production democratically	Enhance democracy in multilateral financial organizations	Forgive debts	Promoting and developing fair trade
Public control over finances of development projects	Restructure decision-making processes of financial institutions such as IMF and the WB, or:	Decrease drastically dependency on aid in the short term	Remove subsidies on agriculture in the industrialized countries
Public goods owned by public	Create new non-neoliberal multilateral organizations as alternatives to the IMF and WB	Aid effectiveness in the short term so in the long term it is not needed	Enhance local industries development through long-term investment and access to market
Prohibit privatization of natural resources	Create punishment systems against TNCs and banks to prevent irresponsible use of resources	Double the currently available funds for rapid and total adaptation to climate change and promotion of renewable energy	Increase support to renewable energy industry
More expenditure for science and technology as well as research and development in order to improve innovation and increase competition internationally	Create a new global and/or regional currency backed by substantial means		

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“
It would be very naïve to downplay the important and positive contributions globalization has brought to the lives of many in all parts of the world.
”

In order to achieve sustainable climate protection, development and growth, the third working group on the future of global governance identified the importance of reorganizing international institutions such as the United Nations as well as international trade. As a third aspect the problem of militarism was addressed. The ideas presented in the following were to some extent discussed controversially.

I. The United Nations:

The group observes that the UN is not fulfilling its role according to its mandate for the following reasons:

1. The asymmetric distribution of power among member countries.
2. Being a relic of the Second World War, the current structure of the Security Council is obsolete. This concerns particularly the provisions regarding the veto power.
3. The lack of binding mechanisms in the UN's agreements and conventions.

Some people, especially inside the UN, argue that the UN's responsibility is to bring together countries to discuss important global issues, to open dialogue among these countries in order to bring them to a mutual understanding concerning these issues, and consequently to come up with solutions. This would define the UN's main task as being a discussion forum.

The group sees the UN as being used by the most influential and strong countries to legitimize their



actions in front of the international community. This means that the UN is not only a discussion panel anymore, but it also has international legitimacy and standing that gives it the opportunity to play a stronger and more effective role in international development and global governance.

The following solutions concerning a reform of the UN with the aim of enabling it to play a more effective role were suggested by the group:

1. UN decisions, resolutions, and legal actions should be binding on all countries; an effective mechanism should be developed to ensure this; one of the mechanisms might be applying a stronger system of sanctions.
2. In the Security Council, both the veto provisions and permanent membership should be abolished.
3. The General Assembly, in which each country has one vote, should elect the Security Council every four years; representation on the Council should be according to the size of the populations of the respective countries.
4. Security Council decisions should be made by a two-thirds majority, not by consensus, as this results in continuous deadlock.

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“ It has become a common knowledge that globalisation process is a ‘race to the bottom’. So, yes I feel globalization can be regulated to promote equal distribution of wealth to curtail the commoditization of labour across the globe. However, not being pessimistic, I think the attempt or establishment of global governance may be a utopian thinking until the highly advanced nations become receptive to the ‘peripheral’ countries. ”

II. International trade:

The group agreed that the biggest problems affecting global governance in the realm of international trade are:

1. An unfair trade system and free trade agreements enabling industrialized countries and emerging economies to pursue their interests without taking into consideration the negative effects on the poor and non-industrialized countries.
2. The structures of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the IMF, and the World Bank are designed to serve countries with strong economies at the expense of the poor countries and their people.

With respect to the situation of agriculture, the following proposals were discussed by the group:

1. Promote locally based production, which means that every region, as a general rule, should produce according to the needs of that region, while allowing exceptions under certain conditions that all nations should agree on.
2. Cancel all free trade agreements.
3. Negotiate the characteristics of trade and transfer of technology within the UN framework (e.g., United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) instead of within the WTO and the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). Enact new regulations to ensure that all countries benefit from the world trade system.
4. Reconsider the structures of the IMF and the World Bank; restructure them within the UN framework.

III. The problem of militarism:

The group observed that there are a lot of problems connected with what it decided to call militarism: among others, the existence of nuclear weapons, NATO, the role of private security contractors, as well as the role of the International Court of Justice (ICJ).

As concerns the issue of militarism, the group suggested the following:

1. Draft and sign a binding international agreement on nuclear disarmament that all countries should sign and implement.
2. Assign the responsibility of the NATO and all other military organizations to the UN, with all nations being represented equally.
3. Eliminate all private security contractors, which are practically mercenaries under a different name.
4. Reduce military funds and personnel to a minimum and use the money for development purposes.
5. Strengthen the United Nations Disarmament Commission and concentrate on removing all existing mines.
6. Strengthen the Geneva Convention, especially concerning armed combatants (so-called terrorists) and prisoners of war, to prevent what happened in Guantanamo prison from occurring again.
7. Strengthen the ICJ and bring all those who started wars and mass killings of people to justice.

III. Expert perspectives on the young agenda

The participants of the International Learning Project “Shaping Globalization” were given the opportunity to briefly present their concrete proposals for action on the issues of climate change and development as well as on global governance to a panel composed of four distinguished experts.

While the participants had to cope with limited time for preparing as well as for giving their presentations, the experts were very interested in getting to know the concrete proposals and demands. In the following section, we have collected some of their valuable comments and contributions in the open discussion with the participants. This collection, of course, is not complete but represents a selection of comments. All experts underlined that they were talking as private persons and not as representatives of their respective organizations or institutions.

Comments on the proposals on climate change:

Luis Davila: I can only invite you to increase the pressure on your home countries’ governments to take your demands into account. Make your voices heard – it’s crucial in order to convince the governments that it is time to act.

One key issue is how to finance the necessary policies to mitigate and adapt to climate change. Yet, it is not entirely clear where the money should come from. In this context it is crucial that Parties to the Convention agree on whether there is a need for the creation of some type of institutional arrangement, such as a Green Fund, and decide on its basic institutional structure. While this would not solve the issue of where the money will come from, it would most certainly kick-start the process.

Johannes Enzmann: How can your interesting ideas be implemented? The key to that is to raise awareness, first of all among those in charge of climate policies, that is, your governments: so, please tell your home governments that something needs to be done! Secondly, we need to spread awareness among the ordinary population that each and every person is affected by climate change and that each and every person will have to change his or her way of living. This issue will accompany us throughout our entire lives!

Climate change is a horizontal issue, as any actions to cope with climate change are directly linked to many other issues, such as development, security, economic, or financial issues and policies. And this fact definitely has not yet reached the minds of those in charge: the decision-makers. So, it is where





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we have to put our energies – underline the inherent link between the policy fields. If we want to tackle climate change, we need to take into account many more issues.

Christoph Bals: We have to consider the climate change issue in a three-dimensional way: first, the real actions on the ground, be it on the local, national, or global level; second, the crucial importance of building coalitions among “the willing”, among those states and governments but also ordinary people around the world who have understood that something needs to be done; third, the building of new institutions – we need new institutions in order to structure and channel discussions and processes of change.

It is of utmost importance that we do not deal with issues of climate change and development separately. Instead, there is an inherent link between those issue areas, that is, we will not be able to tackle the problem of climate change without dealing with the problem of poverty and hunger. This understanding has yet to be established among the decision-makers, thus it is our responsibility as civil society actors to continuously underline this inherent link in national as well as international debates and fora.

As regards the financing, we need to seriously consider options such as taxes on financial transactions, on aviation, as well as on shipping. But we should not try to only introduce such taxes on the global level – as particularly the United States is not very much in favour of such options – but instead call for regional implementation, for example in the EU. Also, we need much higher prices for certificates

on the international carbon market in order to increase incentives to save energy.

Comments on the proposals on sustainable growth and development

Silke Weinlich: Global solidarity is currently not very high on the agenda – to the contrary: in many Western societies, people do not understand why the state should spend even more money on aid and development while they themselves are unemployed and without a real perspective of getting out of (relative) poverty. Also, many states in the OECD are heavily indebted and in a serious state of crisis, for example Greece or Ireland in the EU. Thus, it is unlikely that governments in the OECD will have much leeway in increasing their official development aid (ODA) budgets. Against this background, we need to be more creative with regard to financing measures addressing global problems, such as climate change and poverty.

The age of aid is over! Even if all states of the OECD spent 0.7 per cent of their GDPs on ODA – which is very unlikely anyway – we would not be able to save the world. Of course, the 0.7 per cent target is of high symbolic relevance, and to that end it is justified to call upon the states to finally fulfil the promise they had given 40 years ago.

We need a new development paradigm. It is no longer a North-South problem. Instead, emerging economies nowadays play a much more important role, and their influence is likely to increase in the coming years. Many of these emerging economies

today are donors themselves. Hence, their role in the development debate will have to be redefined. At the same time, there is a growing gap between poor and rich people in pretty much any society – whether in the North or in the South. Also, the greatest amount of poor people nowadays live in emerging powers such as China and India. And they will have to fight poverty themselves. They cannot expect the North to help them on that.

Christoph Bals: One very crucial issue that is directly linked to the issue of development is to reduce the growing gap between the rich and the poor. This phenomenon used to be limited to so-called banana republics. However, today many societies in the supposedly richer countries, such as the United States but also many European countries, are confronted with the same phenomenon – and the gap will most likely become even bigger.

Comments on the reform of the UN system

These comments refer to the ideas raised by the participants to make UN decisions more binding, to request states to obey decisions taken by the UN, to reform the UN Security Council, as well as to introduce a two-thirds majority voting system in order to avoid potential blocking coalitions and deadlock:

Christoph Bals: From my point of view, your ideas on the reform of the UN take a dangerous path. In fact, I am convinced that making all UN agreements fully binding would severely undermine the sovereignty of nation states and this would be unacceptable to many states, in particular the most powerful, like the United States or China. In the end, I firmly believe that it would destroy the UN system. Instead, I believe that the UN can only be reformed incrementally. While this is a very slow and painful process, it may be the only alternative. Otherwise, we risk that powerful states would simply turn away and leave the UN system.

Silke Weinlich: There is no doubt that the UN is in crisis. Nonetheless, I think that it is a very important forum for states to reflect upon global prob-

lems and risks and to discuss new ideas on how to deal with them. And the states appreciate the role of the UN – after all, why do they still participate in the UN institutions?

Two thoughts on how to make the UN institutions more effective: First, why don't we invest more energy in strengthening the principle of subsidiarity by building up stronger regional institutions? Second, we need to strengthen the idea of mutual accountability of all states within the UN family, for example by making the votes of the Security Council more transparent, by forcing states to openly explain their disagreement or veto to a given proposal.

Luis Davila: The UN is above all a forum where governments come together and discuss issues of global range – like in the context of climate change. The UN itself, however, cannot impose anything on the sovereign states. It can solely support and moderate the discussions. In a way, the UN functions as a “butler” of the states. So, any reform of the UN rests upon the governments' willingness to support changes.

Johannes Enzmann: The UN system is crucial for promoting international exchange and discussion of new ideas. And it has proven in its long history to be the appropriate body for tackling many global problems and crises. However, the UN is no panacea. It cannot solve all problems, and in some contexts it may not be the appropriate body – not least due to the fact that the member states often cannot agree on concrete policy actions. Therefore, I maintain that more progressive states and regions should move on and implement certain policies on their own.

IV. Outlook and final comments

Simon Raiser and Björn Warkalla



“*It's time to learn from our big mistakes and failures and accept that the nations need to talk more, interact more and debate more often.*”

Trying to sum up the many inspiring thoughts and experiences drawn from this fascinating conference is a daunting task. We therefore restrict ourselves to pointing out some general conclusions drawn from the many discussions with and among the participants, as well as from the presentations and the experts' comments.

In our view there are three major pitfalls when addressing global problems and considering possible solutions:

1. Being too naïve about what can be expected from sovereign states and their governments as well as being too easily disappointed by them not accepting binding commitments. All national governments have their national agendas, that is, they all need to take into account the domestic political level, which significantly reduces their options available on the international level (Robert Putnam calls this the “win-set” in a “two-level game”). Also, states are often loath to give up their sovereignty and tend to refuse what they consider unwanted interference in internal affairs. Effecting global change will therefore always be a very slow process, or as Max Weber put it: “the strong and slow boring of hard boards.”
2. Being too pessimistic about what can be expected from the international community and indulging in doom and gloom, painting horror scenarios of the future – here the danger is that observers become cynical about the states' unwillingness to move forward and lose their hope and determination to fight for what is right.



3. Being too pragmatic and modest about what can be demanded from sovereign states – it is fair to say that all states, and particularly the most powerful, could do much more and better than they are doing now. It would therefore be a mistake to settle for too little too early.

In analogy to the methodological phases of the future workshop (critique, vision, and implementation phase), we suggest instead a three-step approach:

1. We should continue to openly criticize those who are in charge of international agreements and who regularly fail to come up with effective and binding commitments. Decision-makers must be forced to constantly justify their decisions and to take into account the concerns and demands of those affected by their policies. It is our obligation – as part of the civil society in our respective countries but also as global citizens – to constantly remind the relevant actors of their responsibilities to save the planet from man-made destruction, to ensure a more just distribution of wealth, and to promote sustainable development: in short, to make a better world possible.
2. We should dare to develop and discuss radical ideas, visions, and alternatives that go beyond the narrow confines of the current state of affairs and question the basic concepts of state-based international politics as well as of capi-



“*In spite of its positive aspects, globalization is empowering already powerful states to the detriment of the developing countries and appears in the form of neo-colonialism.*”



talism as the dominant economic model. While most radical ideas are unlikely to become reality in the near future, it is helpful to reflect from time to time on questions such as “Where do we want to go from here?” or “What does our ideal world actually look like?” Answers to these questions will help us to develop clear and ambitious proposals for addressing the current global problems.

3. We should go beyond the criticizing or visionary stages and think about concrete steps and measures that can make the world a little bit better every day. It is necessary to engage in the sometimes tiring business of developing realistic and pragmatic solutions, of fighting for their realization and putting them into practice. Some very interesting ideas and measures have been suggested in the previous chapters.

Referring back to the globalization dilemma suggested by Marc Saxer (global problems that call for joint actions vs. national interests that predominantly define states' positions on the international level), it is about time that we break the stalemate of international politics. For that, we need young people around the world who are willing to act, speak out, and participate. If they realize that they are not alone but parts of a literally global network of activists who share similar ideas, they will feel more confident in putting pressure on their home governments to finally make change happen. The International Learning Project “Shaping Globalization” has been a modest contribution to strengthening this global network – many more such events need to follow.

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