



# THE BULLETIN

Of the Australian World Citizens Association

<http://www.worldcitizens.org.au>

Volume Nine; Issue One Winter 2012

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## President's Column: Goals for the future

Discussions with possible hosts for our proposed *Centre for Global Governance and International Peace* are approaching a conclusion (we hope), with the Ven Dr Minh Tam aiming to take the preferred proposal to his Board in October. This has been a long drawn-out process, but there seems to be light at the end of the tunnel

There is a report elsewhere in the Bulletin on a Symposium on the topic "*Is Democratic Global Governance Possible*", which we organized together with the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney. The featured speaker was Bob Brown, who had retired from the Senate on that very day, and gave a very inspiring little speech.. The Symposium went well, and was enjoyed by the participants, but I'm afraid the attendance was very disappointing. Our publicity campaign must have been inadequate. My thanks to our loyal members who came along, and made up a good half of the audience.

In June I attended the *Congress of the World Federalist Movement* in Winnipeg. The Congress only occurs every five years or so, and is supposed to set policy for the Movement. A description appears elsewhere in the Bulletin, but arising from the meeting were a number of goals we should set ourselves, in solidarity with the global movement:

- Endorse the Manifesto for a Global Democracy, and organize an Australian launch for it. Secure signatures from prominent public intellectuals.
- Support the Coalition for the ICC. Support recognition by Australia of the "crime of aggression" under the Rome Statute.
- Support the Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect. Secure Australian support of the S5 coalition for

a UN General Assembly resolution in favour of reform of the working methods of the Security Council. Apparently it will require a 2/3 majority vote to pass this resolution.

(We have already signed up as members to provide nominal support, at least, for both coalitions).

- Form a working group to support the Campaign for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly. We should organize discussions on the issue, and lobby, in particular, Australian parliamentarians who are members of the IPU.
- Campaign for the establishment of a World Community of Democratic Nations (my own pet project). Following the successful strategy of WFM, we need to put together a Coalition of NGOs in support of this idea.

There is a call for volunteers to work on these campaigns enclosed. No doubt there are many other worthy causes we could support, but these should be enough to be going on with!

Once again I would like to thank our dedicated executive members: Wali and Tasnima Islam working tirelessly to direct the Aid Project, Daryl Le Cornu formulating education policy, Michelle Cavanagh keeping the books, Alan Ryan maintaining a bright website, Brett Samuel producing the Bulletin, and Michael de Mol working on the solar cooker project and providing general support, together with all the others offering support, such as our new Facebook team, I should also mention Pera Wells, recently added to our Advisory Board, who is indeed providing very valuable advice and support.

Finally, I am very pleased to welcome Bob Brown and Thich Minh Tam, who have consented to join our Advisory Board. Minh Tam has been the driving force behind our

Centre project; and Bob Brown has declared that promoting a global parliament will be one of his major interests now that he is retired from our national parliament. They will give a huge boost to the public profile of our movement.

Chris Hamer.

## General News

### Report on 26<sup>th</sup> Congress of the World Federalist Movement

Winnipeg, 9-13 July 2012

The Congress is held every four or five years, and is supposed to set policy for the Movement. It was held this year in the pleasant surroundings of the University of Winnipeg, which by a remarkable coincidence is the home of both the President and the Chairman of the WFM. Lloyd Axworthy, the President, is also Rector of the University, and a former Foreign Minister of Canada. Jim Christie, the Chairman, is a member of the theology faculty at the University.

During the meeting, Jim Christie stepped down, and a new Chairman was elected, Fernando Iglesias from Argentina. Fernando is tall, dark and handsome, and has been a member of parliament both in Argentina and Mercosur, I believe. He has founded a movement called *Democracia Global*, and issued a *Manifesto for a Global Democracy* which the WFM has agreed to promote or promulgate.

I learnt a great deal at the meeting, especially from the Executive Director, Bill Pace, who deals with the real world in the UN and around the diplomatic scene. The Congress spent too much time on procedure and not enough on policy for my taste, but perhaps that's unavoidable. Together with Bob Flax from Democratic World Federalists in California, I organized a "side event" on *Pathways to Democratic World Federation*, involving two morning sessions of 90 minutes each. It went very

well, and Bob did an excellent job as MC. He and I tried to emphasize very strongly that since we don't know where the final breakthrough will occur, the movement should **support each other strongly in pushing ahead along all possible pathways**. I spoke about possible pathways as at our recent Symposium, and especially about my preferred pathway of uniting the democracies into a community based on NATO and the OECD, which was well received in some quarters. I have to admit, however, that I didn't dare introduce the idea as a resolution to the plenary session, being fairly certain that it wouldn't pass.

The tone of the meeting was a little downbeat, and there were no bold new initiatives for the coming 'Five Year Plan'. The peace movement generally appears to be weakening around the world, and financial support for WFM-IGP has weakened. Policy ideas discussed at the meeting included

#### *Reform of the UN Charter under Article 109*

This was proposed by Shahriar Sharei from DWF, but actually voted down by the meeting. The feeling was presumably that the time was not right, and WFM would lose credibility by even proposing the idea. This has to be a long-term goal of WFM, but they dare not even propose it at the present time.

Instead, WFM is concentrating on changes that can be made *without* requiring reform of the UN Charter. They have had huge successes in this regard. These campaigns include:

#### *Reform of the Security Council*

There have been many proposals in recent years for reform of the Security Council. The 'Small Five' (S5) group, consisting of Costa Rica, Jordan, Liechtenstein, Singapore and Switzerland, have proposed improvements to the working methods of the Security Council. In particular, they have proposed that the 5 permanent members pledge not to use their veto in cases involving genocide, war crimes and

crimes against humanity. The WFM have again been organizing a coalition of NGOs in support of these ideas.

#### *Coalition for the International Criminal Court*

The WFM has built up a huge coalition to support the ICC, involving over 3000 NGOs at last count, including big ones such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, who are doing most of the heavy lifting. Some 121 nations have now ratified the ICC, which came into force in 2002, but not the US, Russia or China. The Coalition is working on lifting this number. They are currently working hard to get the “*crime of aggression*” recognized in an amendment to the Rome Statute of the ICC, which requires ratification by 30 countries to come into force, under an agreement reached in Kampala in 2010.

There is some resentment against the ICC because so far all the prosecutions have been of Africans. Milosevic and company in Yugoslavia were prosecuted by an independent war crimes tribunal.

#### *Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect*

Another large coalition is working to support the new concept or ‘norm’ of the responsibility to protect, i.e. the idea that national governments have a duty to protect their own populations from crimes against humanity, and if they don’t do it, the UN is entitled to step in. This was proclaimed in 2005, and is very important as the first breach in the doctrine that national sovereignty is inviolable unless there is a threat to international peace. It was taken to surprising lengths in the Libyan conflict. Apparently this was because the Libyan regime had no powerful friends in the international community.

The bulk of the WFM budget, some \$4 million, is tied up in supporting these two Coalitions. The Australian government makes a significant contribution of \$0.5 million to support the R2P coalition, courtesy no doubt of our former Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans.

#### *Campaign for a UNPA*

Andreas Bummel from Germany has organized a very effective campaign for the establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly, and spoke about the campaign in a plenary session. The UNPA could be recognized as a subsidiary body to the General Assembly, initially in a purely advisory role, and consist initially of appointed representatives from the national parliaments. It could form the nucleus of an eventual elected parliament, and begin to cure the ‘democratic deficit’ at the UN.

Andreas is running the campaign on a shoestring budget, of about 10-15,000 euros per year. So far, 1000 MPs and virtually all the regional or international parliaments have endorsed the idea: the European Parliament, the Pan-African Parliament, the Latin American Parliament, and so on. On the other hand, virtually none of the national parliaments or governments has done so (except perhaps for Argentina?). Recall that Bob Brown proposed the UNPA in the Australian Senate, but was voted down *en bloc* by both major parties, without serious debate. The WFM was not able to offer much in terms of concrete support for this campaign, unfortunately. It has been left to the Member Organizations to generate support.

Bill Pace suggested in a final open forum that we need to get the IPU onside for this campaign. The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) has existed since the nineteenth century, and is made up of parliamentarians from various national parliaments. It occupies much of the space that would be claimed by a UNPA, since it is already recognized by the UN. So far, the IPU has apparently been opposed to the idea of a UNPA; but the IPU itself could very well play this role.

*Chris Hamer*

## UNPA Report

The call for the establishment of a UN Parliamentary Assembly has remained strong in the course of the last twelve months.

The European Parliament called on the European Union's foreign ministers to promote the case of a UNPA at the UN General Assembly.

In Germany around forty civil society organizations and 160 leading individuals from all walks of life addressed an open letter to the chancellor and the foreign minister, urging them to pay attention to the European Parliament's request.

In a much noticed speech, the leader of the Australian Greens voiced support for the creation of a global parliament.

The campaign celebrated securing its 1,000th parliamentarian endorsement in 2011, with around 800 such supporters still serving their constituencies as elected officials in over 100 countries. An important step was made when in October 2011 the first member of the United States Congress expressed support.

The objective of the campaign is to create a group of like-minded governments. This would be a vital step towards getting the establishment of a UNPA onto the agenda at the UN. All in all, however, governments have remained inactive and cautious. Still, it needs to be stressed that by now the campaign is at least taken seriously by most. The campaign's Secretariat was able to establish communication with several foreign ministers and informal briefings were held at the departmental or ambassadorial level. One of the main issues that emerged in such talks was that a UN Parliamentary Assembly is not regarded as a priority in the overall reform agenda and that the establishment of such a body in any case would require financial commitments that are not feasible in these times of harsh budgetary restraints.

The Global Campaign for a UN Parliamentary Assembly continues on all

Continents widely debated. The topic of a UNPA was also raised in the Parliament of New Zealand in the run up to the elections of November 2011. In India, the campaign for a UNPA reached a new level when the number of parliamentarians who support the cause exceeded forty in December, including one union minister and several former government members. In the same month, the Parliament of the South American community Mercosur declared its endorsement of "the creation of a Parliamentary Assembly within the United Nations, with the goal of strengthening the effectiveness, transparency, representation, plurality and legitimacy of the institutions that are part of the UN system."

The creation of a UNPA was also a subject of an interpellation in the Parliament of South Africa. In Kenya, several meetings were held in December to prepare for the creation of a "Kenya Parliamentary Caucus of the Campaign for a UN Parliamentary Assembly." This caucus would be the first formal parliamentary group devoted to the establishment of a UNPA.

The campaign argues that what is required is a thorough political and technical assessment of the concept of a UNPA, something that has not been commissioned by any government or agency yet. The assembly, for example, could emerge gradually from a smaller structure. The Global Public Policy Committees suggested in the report of the panel on UN-Civil Society Relations in 2004 or the Global Parliamentary Group proposed by the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization in the same year could constitute reasonable starting points.

*Andreas Bummel*



### UNPA working group

We need volunteers to help with the Australian end of the vigorous worldwide campaign for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly. Activities might include helping to organize seminars or symposia on this topic, and lobbying members of parliament on the issue, especially any members of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Anyone interested, please contact Chris Hamer at [C.Hamer@unsw.edu.au](mailto:C.Hamer@unsw.edu.au)



*Thich Minh Tam*

### News from WCA

#### Bob Brown, Thich Minh Tam to Join Advisory Board

Two very distinguished members of the community have agreed to join our Advisory Board.



*Bob Brown*

Bob Brown is a household name, as the former leader of the Greens Party. Not everybody agrees with his ideas, but everybody will recognize his honesty, his integrity and his courage in the Parliament. He has declared the pursuit of a global parliament as one of his major aims in retirement. He will give a huge boost to the profile of our cause.

The Venerable Dr Minh Tam is a Buddhist monk, Chairman of the International Buddhist Organization for Culture, Education and Social Development, and Vice President of UNAA (NSW). He has been a consultant to the World Bank, and is involved in countless charitable activities. The IBO has made a provisional offer, through him, of substantial funding to set up a Centre for Global Governance and International Peace, in collaboration with the WCA.

#### Annual General Meeting

The Annual general meeting of the WCA was held at 3/141 Oberon St on 24<sup>th</sup> June 2012. Minutes were circulated by email, and most of the items are covered elsewhere in this Bulletin.

#### Election of Officers

Since no other nominations were received, it was decided *nem con* that our previously elected officers should continue in the same roles for 2012-13.

#### Bangladesh Aid Project Report

The project is proceeding well, and a medical clinic has been established, but funds are drying up. **Can anyone suggest a new source of funds?** A day with the Bangladesh community has been suggested, with Bob Carr to speak

Informally, the Bangladesh government has agreed to take over funding the school. We need some sort of

documentary evidence of this for a renewed DGR application. Accounts are also needed from the school

Wali Islam

**Treasurers Report** – Michelle Cavanagh was overseas

### **Report on solar cooker project**

Michael de Mol reports that the solar cooker project is currently going nowhere. We are dependent on Respect International for the plans, but they have not obliged. We need to do some fund-raising for the project.

### **Aid Project Volunteers**

We need volunteers to help with the aid project in Bangladesh, and other possible projects in the future. Activities would include helping to raise funds, and possible trips to the project site for those who might have useful skills, e.g medical knowledge. We have established a basic medical clinic in the community, where medical students might be able to volunteer their help. Michael de Mol could also use some help with his solar cooker project. Anyone interested, please contact Wali Islam at [islam.wali6@gmail.com](mailto:islam.wali6@gmail.com)

**Motion: That the following clause be added to the Constitution of the World Citizens Association of Australia:**

### **Conflicts of Interest**

Whenever a director or officer has a financial or personal interest in any matter coming before the executive council, the affected person shall a) fully disclose the nature of the interest and b) withdraw from discussion, lobbying, and voting on the matter. Any transaction or vote involving a potential conflict of interest shall be approved only when a majority of disinterested council members determine that it is in the best interest of the association to do so. The minutes of meetings at which such votes are taken

shall record such disclosure, abstention and rationale for approval.

The motion was carried *nem con*

The meeting was followed by a BBQ

### **Symposium on “Is Democratic Global Governance Possible?”**

*University of Sydney, 15 June 2012*



### **Senator Bob Brown asserts a global parliament is inevitable.**

A Symposium held at the University of Sydney addressed the question “Is Democratic Global Governance Possible?” The featured speaker was Senator Bob Brown from the Australian Greens Party, who has twice introduced resolutions into the Australian Senate in support of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly. To date, however, the major parties have refused to debate the issue seriously.

The occasion coincided with Dr Brown’s retirement from the Senate. He told the audience he was looking forward to “getting out of the cage and getting on to important issues” as an advocate for global democracy and a global parliament. He attacked national sovereignty as a “prescription for failure”, and said the world should operate under a bicameral parliament to determine international issues like nuclear weapons, transnational financial arrangements and a tax to solve world poverty. “It’s simply common sense”, he said.

Above all he emphasized the struggle ahead to achieve a sustainable way of living for the planet. We are already consuming resources at 120% of the sustainable rate, and on current projections the rate will get five times worse by the end of the century. If we don't change our ways, James Lovelock's prediction of a human population crashing to 1 billion by the end of the century might yet come true. "Until we recognize that we're all the same on this little planet, we're all equal, we're not going to be able to live with each other. I love the idea of being a citizen of the world .. It is inevitable, that's where we're heading."

**Symposium discusses the question "Is Democratic Global Governance Possible?"**

The Symposium was hosted jointly by the World Citizens Association (WCA) of Australia, and the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS) at the University of Sydney. The lead speaker was Chris Hamer, President of the WCA, who discussed "Pathways to Democratic Global Governance". He noted that uniting 7 billion people and 200 sovereign nations under a global parliament or world federation is an enormous task, analogous to climbing Mount Everest. World federalists have tried various routes, including the constitutional route, the UN reform route, the democratic route, and the regional route. He emphasized that since nobody can predict where the eventual breakthrough might occur, world federalists need to support each other in pushing forward on all fronts. The UN reform route, favoured by the World Federalist Movement, has never surmounted the cliff-face represented by the rigid UN Charter. In recent years, they have had more success by concentrating on initiatives that don't involve changing the Charter, such as the International Criminal Court, the Responsibility to Protect, and (hopefully) the UNPA.



*Brett Bowden, Chris Hamer & Jonathan Kuyper*

The most successful strategy has been that of the European federalists, led by Jean Monnet. They started with a smaller group of progressive states in an association with limited aims, the European Coal and Steel Community, and evolved from there in a flexible manner through successive treaties to arrive at the present European Union. How could we reproduce this strategy on the world stage? "Democracy is a fundamental principle of modern government", Chris Hamer said. "It's the only form of government with a safety valve, by which the people can change the government if it's doing a bad job". Accordingly, he put forward a scheme for a "World Community of Democracies", based upon NATO and the OECD, as a first step towards an eventual system of universal, democratic global governance.

Brett Bowden, from the University of Western Sydney, discussed "Democracy and International Institutions". He pointed out that democracy as a principle of government has only been recognised relatively recently. Only since the end of the Cold War has it been claimed as a universal value. There are more than 250 intergovernmental organizations in the world today, which have traditionally been wary of the notion of democracy. There have been many proposals for reform, from the UN Security Council on down. But he posed the question: "Is more democratic



global governance desirable because it will bring about more just, more accountable and ultimately good global governance .. or because democracy in itself is an intrinsically good thing?” How are the nations to be represented? Do China and India with half the world’s population get the same vote as Luxembourg?



*Jake Lynch, Michael Cornish & Bob Brown*

Jonathan Kuyper, from the Centre for Deliberative Democracy at the Australian National University, spoke on “A Global Parliament: A Means to strengthen accountability, legitimacy and democracy”. While applauding the pursuit of global democracy as an “ongoing process”, he warned of the problem of citizens losing touch with global institutions, and advertised John Dryzek’s proposal for a Deliberative Global Citizens Assembly. Another speaker, Michael Cornish from the University of Adelaide, discussed the idea of a UNPA. He pointed out that it is a proposal that “seeks to democratise global governance through the *gradual* implementation of democratic participation and representation, using the existing United Nations as its vehicle for implementation.” Many details remain to be worked out, but the principle of democracy is clear. Government must be “of the people, by the people, for the people”, as Abraham Lincoln said. He asked the audience to “dream big, and then persist, and persist, and persist to make it into a reality”.

Finally, the Director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, Jake Lynch, spoke on the topic “Keep War From Our Door - A Wave of Hope for democratic governance in the Asia Pacific and beyond” He recounted some of the atrocities we have seen in war zones around the world, and raised the hope that the emergence of democratic governance globally can help us cure these problems.

## Education Report

*7<sup>th</sup> June 2012*

### NEW K-10 (NATIONAL) HISTORY SYLLABUS FOR NSW

The new junior History syllabus is being finalised by the Board of Studies and will be released in August 2012. This new NSW syllabus follows the national curriculum for K-10 with one significant difference. In Year 10 there is an optional unit which allows teachers to teach ‘Australia in the Vietnam War era’ or any topic from the period since 1945. This leaves teachers free to write programs for more contemporary global topics. I have been suggesting to teachers that they could write on topics like the following:

- UN Peacekeeping Rwanda, Cambodia and East Timor
- Terrorism
- Genocide
- East Timor
- Cambodia
- Gulf War & Iraq War
- Afghanistan
- European Union
- History of the Internet
- Arab Spring
- Rise of China
- Threat of Nuclear War

The NSW Board of Studies has done an outstanding job of producing a high-quality syllabus based on ACARA’s national curriculum for K-10 History. However, the

draft national Modern History curriculum is another matter.

### **DRAFT NATIONAL MODERN HISTORY**

WCAA members may remember that we gave our backing to a UNAA submission last year to ACARA about the lack of content on the United Nations in the draft national Modern History curriculum. ACARA has just released their draft national Modern History curriculum. Overall quality of this document is very poor compared to the current NSW Modern History course which is studied by over 20,000 students each year in NSW. It is not a very engaging or imaginative document. There are no specific electives within this draft curriculum on global contemporary history or the development of the League, the UN, NGOs, the EU or any other IGOs or the history of Internationalism. There was a unit on Internationalism in the last draft but it has been taken out with no explanation. There are two electives that can be studied in the 4<sup>th</sup> Unit (last semester of Year 12) that could include some content about global issues and concerns. These are:

- The Changing World Order 1945-2010
- Towards a Globalised Economy 1945-2010

The content descriptions for these are very inadequate but the period these electives cover gives some scope for coverage of matters that are of interest to us. However, NSW history teachers are unlikely to be enthused by this dull and unengaging draft curriculum. We can only hope that in the consultation process that is now underway improvements will result.

Anyone interested in reading these draft curriculum documents can find them on ACARA's website on the following link:

[http://www.acara.edu.au/curriculum/draft\\_senior\\_secondary\\_australian\\_curriculum.html](http://www.acara.edu.au/curriculum/draft_senior_secondary_australian_curriculum.html)

. There is a power-point produced by the *Curriculum and Learning Innovation Centre* (where I work) which gives an outline of the Modern History draft.

The content outlines for these two electives are below

#### ***The Changing World Order 1945-2010***

- The nature of the world order at the end of World War II, the continued existence of colonialism in the Eastern communist bloc and Western capitalist bloc, and the emerging role of the United Nations
- The nature of the origins and early development of the Cold War to 1948, including the ideological, cultural and political differences between the United States and the Soviet Union; and the significance of the Truman Doctrine and Berlin Blockade
- The evolving nature and character of the Cold War in Europe and the Asia-Pacific from 1948 through to détente; and the new Cold War of the 1980s, including the United States, Australia in Vietnam, and the arms race and the threat of nuclear war
- The significance of the Cold War for the superpowers, for the European and Asia-Pacific regions affected by it, and for international trade and economic development
- The role of significant individuals during the period, with particular reference to Josef Stalin, Harry Truman, Mao Zedong, John Kennedy, Nikita Khrushchev, Jawaharlal Nehru, Richard Nixon, Deng Xiaoping, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev
- Significant developments that followed the end of the Cold War in 1989, including financial problems in the Russian bloc, the development of European governance and extension of the 'European Union', and the emergence of China and India as significant Asian powers
- The changing nature of world order in the period 1989-2010, including intra-state conflicts, the use of guerrilla warfare, terrorist activities, and significant conflicts such as those in the Middle East, the Balkans, Iraq and Afghanistan
- Interpretations and representations of the history of the world order in the period 1945-2010, including notions of the role of the United States as the world's 'policeman', and the emergence of the theory of 'soft power'

### **ACUNS PRESENTATION**

I gave a presentation at the ACUNS Annual Meeting in New York on 15 June on 'Teaching the UN to high school students.' One of the things I will be arguing for is the creation in Australia of something like the *Choices Program* based at the *Watson School of International Studies* at Brown University in Rhode Island. The *Choices Program* produces quality resources for

schools on history and current issues. This would be the sort of thing that we could look at doing in the educational arm of our institute. The Choices Program can be found at:

<http://www.choices.edu/>

*Daryl Le Cornu*  
Education Officer

## **For an Earth's Parliament**

*Bob Brown*

Fellow Earthians,  
Never before has the Universe unfolded such a flower as our collective human intelligence, so far as we know. Nor has such a one-and-only brilliance in the Universe stood at the brink of extinction, so far as we know. We people of the Earth exist because our potential was there in the Big Bang, 13.7 billion years ago, as the Universe exploded into being. So far, it seems like we are the lone thinkers in this vast, expanding Universe. However, recent astronomy tells us that there are trillions of other planets circling Sunlike stars in the immensity of the Universe, millions of them friendly to life. So why has no one from elsewhere in the Cosmos contacted us?

Surely some people-like animals have evolved elsewhere. Surely we are not, in this crowded reality of countless other similar planets, the only thinking beings to have turned up. Most unlikely! So why isn't life out there contacting us? Why aren't the intergalactic phones ringing? Here is one sobering possibility for our isolation: maybe life has often evolved to intelligence on other planets with biospheres and every time that intelligence, when it became able to alter its environment, did so with catastrophic consequences. Maybe we have had many predecessors in the Cosmos but all have brought about their own downfall. That's why they are not communicating with Earth. They have extincted themselves. They have come and

gone. And now it's our turn. Whatever has happened in other worlds, here we are on Earth altering this bountiful biosphere, which has nurtured us from newt to Newton. Unlike the hapless dinosaurs, which went to utter destruction when a rocky asteroid plunged into Earth sixty-five million years ago, this accelerating catastrophe is of our own making. So, just as we are causing that destruction, we could be fostering its reversal. Indeed, nothing will save us from ourselves but ourselves.

We need a strategy. We need action based on the reality that this is our own responsibility – everyone's responsibility. So democracy – ensuring that everyone is involved in deciding Earth's future – is the key to success. For comprehensive Earth action, an all-of-the-Earth representative democracy is required. That is, a global parliament. In his Gettysburg address of 1859, Abraham Lincoln proclaimed: "We here highly resolve... that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the Earth". 153 years later, let us here in Hobart, and around the world, highly resolve that through global democracy we shall save the Earth from perishing. For those who oppose global democracy the challenge is clear: how else would you manage human affairs in this new century of global community, global communications and shared global destiny?

Recently, when I got back to bed at Liffey after ruminating under the stars for hours on this question, Paul enquired, "did you see a comet?". "Yes", I replied, "and it is called *Global Democracy*". A molten rock from space destroyed most life on the planet those sixty-five million years ago. Let us have the comet of global democracy save life on Earth this time.

Nine years ago, after the invasion of Iraq which President George W. Bush ordered to promote democracy over tyranny, I proposed to the Australian Senate a means of expanding democracy without invasion.

Let Australia take the lead in peacefully establishing a global parliament. I explained that this ultimate democracy would decide international issues. I had in mind nuclear proliferation, international financial transactions and the plight of our one billion fellow people living in abject poverty. In 2003 our other Greens Senator, Kerry Nettle, seconded the motion but we failed to attract a single other vote in the seventy-six seat chamber. The four other parties – the Liberals, the Nationals, Labor and the Democrats – voted 'no!'. As he crossed the floor to join the 'noes', another senator called to me: "Bob, don't you know how many Chinese there are?". Well, yes I did. Surely that is the point. There are just 23 million Australians amongst seven billion equal Earthians. Unless and until we accord every other citizen of the planet, friend or foe, and regardless of race, gender, ideology or other characteristic, equal regard we, like them, can have no assured future. 2500 years ago the Athenians, and 180 years ago the British, gave the vote to all men of means. After Gettysburg, the United States made the vote available to all men, regardless of means. One man, one vote. But what about women, Louisa Lawson asked in 1889: "Pray, why should one half of the world govern the other half?". So, in New Zealand, in 1893, followed by South Australia in 1895, and the new Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, universal suffrage – the equal vote for women as well as men – was achieved. In this second decade of the Twenty First Century, most people on Earth get to vote in their own countries. Corruption and rigging remain common place but the world believes in democracy. As Winston Churchill observed in 1947, "Many forms of government have been tried in this world of sin and woe. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to

time". Yet, in Australia and other peaceful places which have long enjoyed domestic democracy, establishing a global democracy – the ultimate goal of any real democrat – is not on the public agenda. Exxon, Coca-Cola, BHP Billiton and News Corporation have much more say in organising the global agenda than the planet's five billion mature-age voters without a ballot box. Plutocracy, rule by the wealthy, is democracy's most insidious rival. It is served by plutolatry, the worship of wealth, which has become the world's prevailing religion. But on a finite planet, the rule of the rich must inevitably rely on guns rather than the ballot box, though, I hasten to add, wealth does not deny a good heart. All of us here are amongst the world's wealthiest people, but I think none of us worship wealth to the exclusion of democracy. We instinctively know that democracy is the only vehicle for creating a fair, global society in which freedom will abound, but the extremes of gluttony and poverty will not. Mahatma Ghandi observed, the world has enough for everyone's need but not for everyone's greed.

So what's it to be: democracy or guns? I plunk for democracy. The concept of world democracy goes back centuries, but since 2007, there has been a new movement towards an elected, representative assembly at the United Nations, in parallel with the unelected, appointed, General Assembly. This elected assembly would have none of the General Assembly's powers but would be an important step along the way to a future, popularly elected and agreeably empowered global assembly. Two Greens motions in the Australian Senate to support this campaign for a global people's assembly have been voted down. However similar motions won support in the European Parliament, and in India 40 MPs, including a number of ministers, have backed the proposal. I will move for the world's 100 Greens parties to back it too, at the third Global Greens



conference in Senegal next week. It fits perfectly with the Global Greens Charter, adopted in Canberra in 2001. We Earthians can develop rosier prospects. We have been to the Moon. We have landed eyes and ears on Mars. We are discovering planets hundreds of light years close which are ripe for life. We are on a journey to endless wonder in the Cosmos and to realising our own remarkable potential. To give this vision security, we must get our own planet in order.

The political debate of the Twentieth century was polarised between capitalism and communism. It was about control of the economy in the narrow sense of material goods and money. A free market versus state control. Bitter experience tells us that the best outcome is neither, but some of both. The role of democracy in the nation state has been to calibrate that balance. In this Twenty First Century the political debate is moving to a new arena. It is about whether we expend Earth's natural capital as our population grows to ten billion people in the decades ahead with average consumption also growing. We have to manage the terrifying facts that Earth's citizenry is already using one hundred and twenty percent of the planet's productivity capacity – its renewable living resources; that the last decade was the hottest in the last 1300 years (if not the last 9000 years); that we are extinguishing our fellow species faster than ever before in human history; and that to accommodate ten billion people at American, European or Australasian rates of consumption we will need two more planets to exploit within a few decades.

It may be that the Earth's biosphere cannot tolerate ten billion of us big consuming mammals later this century. Or it may be that, given adroit and agreeable global management, it can. It's up to us.

Once more the answer lies between the poles: between the narrow interests of the mega-rich and a surrender to the nihilist idea that the planet would be better off

without us. It will be global democracy's challenge to find the equator between those poles, and it is that equator which the Greens are best placed to reach. One great difference between the old politics and Green politics, is the overarching question which predicates all our political decisions: "will people one hundred years from now thank us?". In thinking one hundred years ahead, we set our community's course for one hundred thousand years: that humanity will not perish at its own hand but will look back upon its Twenty First Century ancestry with gratitude. And when the future smiles, we can smile too.

That query "will people a hundred years from now thank us?" should be inscribed across the door of Earth's parliament. *So let us resolve that there should be established for the prevalence and happiness of humankind a representative assembly, a global parliament for the people of the Earth based on the principle of one person one vote one value; and to enable this outcome that it should be a bicameral parliament with its house of review having equal representation elected from every nation.*

An Earth parliament for all. But what would be its commission? Here are four goals:

- Economy;
- Equality;
- Ecology;
- Eternity.

To begin with economy, because that word means managing our household. The parliament would employ prudent resource management to put an end to waste and to better share Earth's plenitude. For example, it might cut the trillion dollars annual spending on armaments. A cut of just ten percent would free up the money to guarantee every child on the planet clean water and enough food, as well as a school to attend to develop her or his best potential. World opinion would back such a move, though, I suppose, Boeing, NATO, the People's Liberation Army, and the Saudi Arabian royal family might not. The

second goal is equality. This begins with equality of opportunity – as in every child being assured that school, where lessons are in her or his own first language, and a health clinic to attend. Equality would ensure, through the fair regulation of free enterprise, each citizen's wellbeing, including the right to work, to innovate, to enjoy creativity and to understand and experience and contribute to defending the beauty of Earth's biosphere.

Which brings me to the third goal: ecology. Ecological wellbeing must understrap all outcomes, so as to actively protect the planet's biodiversity and living ecosystems. 'In wildness', wrote Thoreau, 'is the preservation of the world'. Wild nature is our cradle and the most vital source for our spiritual and physical wellbeing, yet it is the world's most rapidly disappearing resource. And so I pay tribute to Miranda Gibson, 60 metres high on her tall tree platform tonight, as the rain and snow falls across central Tasmania. In Miranda's spirit is the saving of the world. And lastly, eternity. Eternity is for as long as we could be. It means beyond our own experience. It also means 'forever', if there is no inevitable end to life. Let's take the idea of eternity and make it our own business.

I have never met a person in whom I did not see myself reflected. Some grew old and died, and I am now part of their ongoing presence on Earth. Others have a youthful vitality which I have lost and will soon give up altogether. These youngsters will in turn keep my candle, and yours, if you are aged like me, alight in the Cosmos. In this stream of life, where birth and death are our common lot, the replenishment of humankind lights up our own existences.

May it go on and on and on. The pursuit of eternity is no longer the prerogative of the gods: it is the business of us all, here and now. Drawing on the best of our character, Earth's community of people is on the threshold of a brilliant new career in togetherness. But we, all together, have to open the door to that future using the powerful key of global democracy.

I think we are intelligent enough to get there. My faith is in the collective nous and caring of humanity, and in our innate optimism. Even in its grimmest history, the optimism of humanity has been its greatest power. We must defy pessimism, as well as the idea that there is any one of us who cannot turn a successful hand to improving Earth's future prospects. I am an optimist. I'm also an opsimath: I learn as I get older. And, I have never been happier in my life. Hurling to death, I am alive and loving being Green. I look forward in my remaining years to helping spread a contagion of confidence that, together, we people of Earth will secure a great future. We can and will retrieve Earth's biosphere. We will steady ourselves – this unfolding flower of intelligence in the Universe – for the long, shared, wondrous journey into the enticing centuries ahead. Let us determine to bring ourselves together, settle our differences, and shape and realise our common dream for this joyride into the future. In that pursuit, let us create a global democracy and parliament under the grand idea of one planet, one person, one vote, one value. We must, we can, we will.

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\* *This speech was delivered in Hobart, Tasmania, on 23 March 2012 at the "3<sup>rd</sup> Annual Green Oration"*