

## IV. Prospects of a Global Marshall Plan

The Marshall Plan as role model: The efforts the US made for Europe's reconstruction after World War II were fuelled by the realization that to stabilize Europe was essential for global security. The need for an extensive stabilization on a global level is even more pressing today. The circumstances may be different, but the spirit of the Marshall Plan is in urgent demand again, as basis for a Planetary Contract.

After World War II, the US supported **Europe's reconstruction** by implementing a **Marshall Plan**. Besides **opening their markets to a large extent for European products**, the US employed substantial sums during four years, amounting on average to 1.3 % of the US gross domestic product, and up to 2 % in top periods. This large investment was made subject to the **establishment of democratic and market economy structures**, and proved to be a major determinant of the quick boom in Europe, especially in Germany. Its success was based on the establishment of order and stability, and the usage of the specific motivational and economic potentials resulting from the extreme breakdown during the war. At the same time, this effort on part of the US inspired **courage and hope** in the people of Europe, going a long way beyond the purely financial part. The Marshall Plan turned out to be a sagacious investment **for the US too**, and facilitated an **economic miracle** in Europe.

**Kofi Annan**  
[4]

"Within the United Nations we are jointly fighting to eliminate AIDS and other epidemics, to control climate change and to make clean air and water available to all. Within the United Nations we fight for a global market which is beneficial for all of us and which enables the poor to free themselves from poverty. Economic growth has to be promoted, but the fruits of this growth have to be distributed more broadly."

In these difficult times, we should tie up to this encouraging historical experience. There is an urgent need for a dedicated and rapid promotion of **global development under the**

**terms of sustainability.** This is the goal of a Global Marshall Plan / Planetary Contract. Europe in particular is capable to, and must also play a key role in this process by providing the framework for an international forum working towards the development of an Eco-Social Global Marshall Plan. It goes without saying that the global conditions and plights today bear little resemblance to the situation after World War II (e.g. as regards educational standards, historical experience, political system, economic basis, infrastructure, cultural background, etc.) and that, in many ways, other procedures are called for now than at the time of the first Marshall Plan. It is the **fundamental principle** that can be carried forward, not the details. In particular, the time frames for implementation (around 50 years) will be very different, and individual countries will develop their very own dynamics [68, 87], which must be taken into account. Thus, there is no need for quick solutions, but for **stamina**, far beyond the year 2015.

Despite or even because of this, a substantial effect could be produced if the rich part of the world would now introduce serious efforts for development, a visible signal of solidarity, a large investment of also an **emotional, intellectual nature**. The chances for such an effect are even better because this investment would be connected to the **establishment of reliable regulatory structures**, benefiting both the North and the South. It could be the foundation of a **global economic miracle**. The world could be much more wealthy than it is today [78]. Under the conditions of a Global Marshall Plan / Planetary Contract, the **global domestic product** could be increased **ten-fold** within 50 to 100 years. This increase could be four-fold in the North, and 34-fold in the South, accomplishing a global social balance as can be observed in Europe today, while technological progress would protect the environment. The latter topic is elaborated in the author's considerations on his **future formula 10~> 4:34** [86, 87]. Without fail, such a step would implicate a – relatively speaking – **massively dematerialized** gross global product and

respective **change of lifestyles**, resulting from changed price relations, amongst other things. Concerning the **prospects of such a path**: the chances for the implementation of a Global Marshall Plan / Planetary Contract are better now than at any stage during the last years, despite all international blockades. This is due to the following developments, amongst other things:

The global resource exhaustion, particularly by the "rich North", is already threatening sustainability and calls for measures binding future growth to a dramatic increase in resource efficiency (technological progress and a change in life styles), and for an orientation towards closed-loop material cycles.

1.) The **market fundamentalist model of globalization** has largely lost credit, and for good reason, e.g.:

- The failure of the New Economy, the bouncing of the "Financial Bubble", and the outrageous acts of fraud committed by insiders on international financial markets that surfaced with it [85, 87, 108, 109].
- The disastrous effect of market fundamentalism in Russia, contrasted by the much more positive development in China.
- The mounting divide between the poor and the rich on this globe.
- The increasingly sterile and "mendacious" system of concepts and media reporting (honest communication being replaced by public awareness management and political correctness), which causes many to stop listening altogether.
- The events of September 11, 2001 and the insufficient political response, the consequences of which become

increasingly apparent in Iraq and in Israel/Palestine [49, 65, 87].

- The dramatic increase in global environmental degradation.

**It is indeed time for a new approach** [9, 59, 135].

2.) The **WTO conference in Cancun 2003** has very nearly stalled all further development of the WTO. The erosion of this important international organization is imminent, and would result in a relapse into bilateral agreements, detrimental for weaker countries and bearing incalculable consequences [87]. This must be considered against a background of a brutalization of conventions on all sides, accumulating into a climate of hate, terrorism, and, in part, actions breaching international law, further augmenting aggressions. A new approach that offers perspectives for the future must be adopted rapidly. The need for new ways has been reconfirmed at the end of 2003 in Geneva, when the **World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS)** again revealed the **conflict between North and South**, in this case concerning the **Digital Divide**.

3.) The proposal of a Global Marshall Plan ties up to the **great achievement of the US** after World War II. Despite the aforementioned incomparableness of the situations, this could prove psychologically beneficial. It has also been mentioned that at all WTO negotiations, the US (pressured by environmentalists and unions) and the other developed countries have demanded **adherence to environmental** and particularly **to core ILO standards**. The developed countries now have the chance to accomplish this advancement of the WTO that they have **declared as their goal** repeatedly and publicly, by connecting it to a Global Marshall Plan. It may however become apparent instead that these demands have been shammed by some, or that the willingness to contribu-

te to their implementation through co-financing is lacking. It may also result in a new dissociation between Europe and the US, or between “Old Europe” and others. Let us hope that none of this will happen. But even if it does, the resulting clarity would be better for future discussions about the world order than the inefficient “state of suspense” of arguments prevalent today.

In any case, to a substantial extent, the Initiative for a Global Marshall Plan / Planetary Contract should be linked to the implementation of certain standards, at the very least to those pertaining directly to objectives of the UN Millennium Development Goals. The **prohibition of child labor** in all transactions covered by the WTO would be such a case, if by 2015 school **education for all children in this world will finally be guaranteed and funded by both the world community and the respective local governments.**

4.) The sporadic evaluative differences between **continental Europe and Great Britain**, e.g. concerning free trade, do not exist here. As has been stated above, it was the British **Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown** who, at the Rio+10-Earth Summit in Johannesburg in July/August 2002 ([www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/ffd/2002/1216brown.htm](http://www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/ffd/2002/1216brown.htm)), made the proposition of a Global Marshall Plan in this spirit, if not the detailed terms described here. He has reconfirmed this in the exceedingly important document that has been cited above [13], and with his additional statement that the British government will use its G8 presidency in 2005 as a **Development Presidency.**

5.) In some **Latin American states**, the population protested against the erroneous trends of market fundamentalist approaches in recent months, which has raised concerns. These protests have finally made it plain to many global players in the rich countries that certain forms of “exploitation” of the poorer people in poorer countries (particularly following the

implementation of the original Washington Consensus [56]) will no longer be practicable with guaranteed high yields; in spite of being internationally accepted today through the exploitation of free market concepts and the interaction between the local elites and the elites in the North.

6.) Because it is obvious that the approaches presently taken are ill-suited for overcoming poverty and establishing sustainable conditions, WTO, IWF and WB work on new approaches to manage the global challenges, in different contexts and in one case in interaction with the **Club of Rome**. Some of their current reflections have been incorporated into this text.

7.) Meanwhile, many **prominent persons** have argued for a Global Marshall Plan, e.g. the **former foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher**, from the German liberal party whose position carries special authority in this context (please refer to the **Declaration of Stuttgart**, its circle of first signatories, relevant press releases at [www.globalmarshall-plan.org](http://www.globalmarshall-plan.org), as well as to references in the appendix). With the **Federal Association for Business Promotion and Foreign Trade** (president: Carl-Eduard von Bismarck, great-great-grandson of Otto von Bismarck, founder of Germany’s social legislation; chairman: Dieter Härthe), the first industrial federation offered its active support for the idea of a Global Marshall Plan on December 4th, 2003.

8.) Thematically, our proposal incorporates considerations of the **Stiftung Weltethos** (World Ethos Foundation, Prof. Dr. Hans Küng) and of the **Open Society Initiative** (George Soros). Similar objectives are targeted by the **World Future Council Initiative** ([www.worldfuturecouncil.org](http://www.worldfuturecouncil.org)).

9.) The **Eco-Social Forum Europe** (president: former Austrian Vice-chancellor Dr. h.c. **Josef Riegler**) promotes the topic. It is regarded as an intermediate step towards a **worldwide Eco-Social Market Economy** [87, 93], a system

- also favored by, e.g., the Federation of Austrian Industry [76]. **Prince El Hassan of Jordan**, president of the **Club of Rome** and the **Arab Thought Forum**, and many members of the Club (besides the author, these are Wouter van Dieren,
- 5 Amsterdam, Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, Conches-Geneva, Esko Kalimo, Espoo-Finland, Sergey Kapitza, Moscow, Pentii Malaska, Helsinki, Mike Mesarovic, Pittsburgh, Uwe Möller, Hamburg, Ivo Slaus, Zagreb, Ernst Ulrich von Weizsäcker, Berlin, Raoul Weiler, Antwerp, Anders Wijkman, Brussels)
- 10 support the program, as does the **Club of Budapest**. Furthermore, the Initiative directly seizes on contributions made within the last decade by the **Information Society Forum (ISF)** of the European Union ([www.europa.eu.int/index-de.htm](http://www.europa.eu.int/index-de.htm)) [48], the **Information Society Forum/Forum**
- 15 **Info 2000 of the German Federal Government** ([www.forum-informationsgesellschaft.de/fig/extern](http://www.forum-informationsgesellschaft.de/fig/extern)) [27], and by the **Global Society Dialogue** ([www.global-society-dialogue.org](http://www.global-society-dialogue.org)) [33], initiated by the ISF in 1999.
- 20 10.) There are strong connections to considerations by Helmut Schmidt and others in the **InterAction Council** of former **heads of state** and government ([www.interactioncouncil.org/](http://www.interactioncouncil.org/)).

## I. Why is there a chance on part of the institutional design to implement a Global Marshall Plan within a few years?

International agreements on goals, standards, funding, implementation, or compliance systems for the organization of global tasks are extremely complex and generally require time frames of ten years and more. Therefore, to implement a Global Marshall Plan Initiative with regard to the year 2015 would be utterly impossible if all this were yet to be accomplished. Fortunately, the situation is much more favorable. All components essential to a Global Marshall Plan already exist; they have been accomplished in the course of the last 10 to 15 years. What is still missing is an adequate linkage of these components.

At this point, an intellectual contribution is called for, a central clue to be found, something like the "Rosetta Stone", which would finally make the translation of the hieroglyphics possible. The formulation of the elements of the solution was the largest contribution to be made; now the existing elements have to be adequately integrated into a coherent, comprehensive system of Global Governance. This shall be the accomplishment of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative.

## II. What does already exist?

### 1. Objectives

To formulate objectives shared by all countries and international organizations is a demanding process. This process was accomplished during the period 1990-2000. The **United Nations Millennium Development Goals** of 2000 present a thoroughly considered list of objectives pertaining to critical global problems, a schedule of accomplishments the world community aspires until 2015. These Millennium Development Goals have been widely accepted and communicated, and many international authorities from all parts of society support these goals. So does the Global Marshall Plan Initiative, interpreting these goals as an intermediate step towards a **worldwide Eco-Social Market Economy**. The latter represents an elaborated political concept with direct connections to European success stories like the EU enlargement processes.

### 2. Regimes and Organization

To pursue global goals requires **sophisticated regimes** with adequate regulatory frameworks. Their formulation is also a process of decades. Fortunately, elaborate solutions in the form of international contracts and

organizations already exist in the fields of trade, finance, social standards, environmental standards, cultural standards, etc.. These are in particular the international regimes like **WTO, IMF/WB, ILO, UNESCO**, and the international environmental agreements supervised by **UNEP**; all these are of high importance today. The listed organizations and contracts are highly developed, and some of them have their own sanction mechanisms, supported by respective legal structures. They are the **core elements of any global regulatory framework for Global Governance**. We are fortunate that they are already in place. What needs to be done is to link these regimes.

### 3. Instruments of implementation

The world possesses both longstanding experience with **international development cooperation** and the respective organizations. During the last 20 years, a long distance has been covered towards cooperation with **non-governmental organizations** in issues of implementation, and new approaches are continuously incorporated, like the **micro-credit** movement. All these processes and experience can be built upon.

### 4. Funding instruments and distribution

For decades, a debate has been going on about **international instruments** of funding for development and the volume aspired. A wealth of experience exists on what is possible, and what is not. Of particular interest for raising funds are new instruments **outside of present government budgets**. In this context, using special drawing rights of the IMF, a Tobin tax on international capital transactions, or a tax with regard to Fair Trade have been discussed for a long time, as have been instruments dealing with fair pricing for exploiting scarce resources, or for induced environmental damages, the latter for example in the context of the Kyoto Protocol.

In the light of the considerable funds which shall be internationally generated and used as suggested in this proposal, the assumption of responsibility for the use of funds, especially with reference to the role of international parliaments, has to be thought through carefully. As far as the funds available with the IMF and the World Bank can be distributed, according to internationally agreed standards, this could be done according to already established mechanisms.

This applies in a similar way to the special drawing rights of the IMF, whose generation has to be agreed upon by the governments and parliaments. Furthermore, a consent is needed about the use of these funds in the context of international development aid on national level - or in this case directly on level of the IMF.

At the same time it would have to be fixed to what extent national parliaments and national authorities can be given influence on the concrete

use of funds in the sense of economic cooperation and overseas development aid (ODA). These details have to be clarified and further developed by the aimed-for EU advisory board for the design of a Global Marshall Plan. The responsibility for the use of these funds is one of the fundamental elements in the puzzle which has to be solved by the international design for better globalization if the Global Marshall Plan is to be successful.

## 5. Legal systems

The various regimes are equipped with legal or arbitrational instruments of differing enforcement power, **enabling the settlement of disputes**. They are also equipped with specific **sanction mechanisms** that can be applied.

### III. What has yet to be done?

All components essential for a viable global governance system already exist, and there is largely congruency between goals, regimes, financing instruments and options for sanctions. What is missing is the **linkage of these different regimes**. In this context, the natural approach is to integrate core standards of the ILO, UNESCO, and central agreements pertaining to international environmental protection directly into the regulatory frameworks for trade at the WTO, and to make them mandatory for the financing of activities and projects by IMF and World Bank.

A consensus of the community of states is prerequisite to this, especially in the context of the WTO boards. Key to achieving such a consensus will once again be that the rich world **employs adequate volumes of co-financing for development** programs. Once the respective standards are implemented on WTO level, IMF and World Bank will act accordingly and adopt these standards as fundamental principles. At the same time, in addition to the **common human rights**, the **social, economic and cultural human rights** (ref. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights) should be incorporated.

In principle, two approaches are conceivable for the concrete implementation:

### The big solution

The core standards of ILO, UNESCO and UNEP will be determined in detail and made universally binding in the context of the WTO. Thus, current sanction mechanisms will be generally applicable, if these standards (in the interpretation agreed upon) are violated.

### An intermediate step

If such an extensive consensus cannot be reached, the following is conceivable as an intermediate step: all states involved with the WTO agree to let a subset of states proceed in the direction described - akin to what is discussed on EU level regarding a Europe of two velocities. A scenario where more or less all highly developed countries and only part of the developing countries participate initially is particularly conceivable. For this subset of WTO members, co-financing in return for adherence to standards could be a legitimate rule for international trade transactions within the WTO framework. Funds from co-financing would then only benefit those countries which are willing to accept the preconceived, maybe development state dependent standards. WTO sanctions in this context would probably be confined to the reduction or cessation of co-financing, if participating (developing) countries infringed the preconceived standards. Any developing country would be free to join into this solution at any time. Before long, this should **create a pull**. This would provide the basis for the big solution.

### IV. What time exposure has to be expected?

The core regulatory framework required for the described processes should be fixable within a few months by persons of appropriate international background. Its length should be manageable. To formulate the linkage of regimes is not the problem. It remains to be seen if there is a **willingness to do so** or, more to the point: if it is possible to find an agreement on **adequate volumes of co-financing**, on how to raise the respective funds, and on implementation procedures. As indicated, the consensus needed on WTO level can take either the form of a big solution, or that of an intermediate step.

Although the central formulation of the global contract will be possible within a document of manageable length, the appendices treating technical subquestions will be longer.

To determine the **financing means** and to codify mechanisms specifying how **the flow of funds will be directed**, and cut off where necessary, will prove substantially more laborious. How is the implementation of standards going to be supported, followed up, and also verified, as the case may be? These are complex questions. A lot of work is required here, and experts will have to invest a substantial amount of consideration.

The same is true for the establishment of a **legal authority of last instance**, which will be necessary. The task of this authority will be to render final judgments in cases of ambiguity as to how the overall solution

will affect the individual regimes included. Experts for the individual regimes should be integrated into the respective legal structures, ensuring professional competence and keeping the **new structure required lean**.

### Summary

Realizing a viable global governance system means to work out a critical element within a complex mosaic. To have correctly identified this issue may be the major intellectual contribution of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative. It has enabled us to state that a "Global Deal" can be accomplished in a manageable timeframe, provided that there is the intention to do so. The idea should be further elaborated by experts. If a respective EU advisory board was established by the end of 2004, the task could be done within 2005/2006. Thus, the Initiative's hope for a start of the Global Marshall Plan by January 1st, 2008 seems feasible at this stage.

The implementation should be kept as **independent as possible of the present international development cooperation**. This Initiative is about **new instruments** of implementation for which new financing volumes are provided. This also implies that the new structures are not intended to undermine the grown structures of development cooperation. Instead, a parallel existence and a close interaction is deemed wise and possible.

## V. Total Financial Volume Required

The Zedillo Report estimates that the financial volume required until 2015 will amount to approximately US\$ 1 trillion. A schedule for implementation deemed realistic on the part of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative is the period between 2008 and 2015. Taking the additional commitments made until now by certain countries into account, an average of US\$ 105 billion in additional funds will be required per year. This is a substantial amount, but it can be accomplished.

15 The Global Marshall Plan aims at the realization of the UN Millennium Development Goals. On questions of procedure and on funds needed on top of those available for development cooperation today, the United Nations have convened an **international high-level panel on Financing** for Development of major international experts. Under the leadership of the former president of Mexico, Ernesto Zedillo, this panel has produced extensive results in 2001 (the so-called **Zedillo Report** [[www.un.org/reports/financing/full\\_report.pdf](http://www.un.org/reports/financing/full_report.pdf)]). The UN Zedillo Report contains precise notions on the financing required for a Global Marshall Plan, akin to the views held by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer **Gordon Brown** in his White Paper for the Earth Summit Rio+10 in Johannesburg 2002 [[www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/ffd/2002/1216brown.htm](http://www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/ffd/2002/1216brown.htm)], and by **George Soros** in his reflections on establishing **open societies** worldwide [108, 109].

**Gordon Brown**,  
British Chancellor of the  
Exchequer

"Just as the Marshall Plan combined enormous help and a unifying vision to help rebuild Europe after World War II, so must today's rich countries transfer the resources necessary to secure a working economy in all parts of the world that would permit the emergency of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist."

A study by the World Bank dating from 2002 produced similar figures [118]. It estimates that US\$ 10 to 15 billion per year are necessary to achieve the Millennium Development Goals

with regard to training and education, US\$ 20 to 30 billion for health issues, and a further US\$ 10 billion for measures concerning water and environment. The report "**Financing Water for all**" [140] by the World Panel on Financing Water Infrastructure from 2003 [[www.adb.org/Water/water\\_financing\\_wg.asp](http://www.adb.org/Water/water_financing_wg.asp)] claims that in 2000, 1.1 billion people had no safe access to water, and 2.4 billion people were without sufficient means of waste water disposal. To accomplish the Millennium Development Goals pertaining to water on the most basic level, US\$ 10 billion per year will be needed until 2015. To achieve a full standard for all people, attainable at best by 2025, more than ten times this sum in additional annual investments would be required in the respective countries, on top of the current US\$ 80 billion per year.

15 These figures are confirmed by a UN report on the status of implementation of the UN Millennium Declaration [128], which takes up on the aforementioned idea of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown on an **International Finance Facility** (topic 70). Attention should also be paid to a text [26] stating on the basis of an analytical model for the World Bank that new investments by the developing countries of annually 5.5 % GDP will be necessary in this context, namely about US\$ 465 billion per year between 2005 and 2010. (This statement refers to the purchasing power-adjusted GDP of these countries, which is higher than the dollar-adjusted GDP. Concerning a GDP calculation based on the dollar, like in this text, this amounts to about 10 % of the GDP of these countries). According to their analysis, the funds should primarily be used for **telecommunications** (US \$ 187 billion), **energy** (US \$ 138 billion) and roads, including maintenance (US \$ 90 billion). The sectoral funds of the financing model listed in chapter VI, table 1 would thus allow to raise about 15 % of the necessary funds through co-financing.

35 As is the case for the Millennium Development Goals themselves, an extensive international consensus exists on the

financial means required, a fact that facilitates the situation for the Global Marshall Plan Initiative at this point. In addition to the funds available for international cooperation at present - approximately US\$ 56 billion per year – the Zedillo Report states that another **US\$ 50 billion** for **general investments** in achieving the Millennium Development Goals, and **US\$ 20 billion** for a **worldwide provision of public goods** for the benefit and security of all human beings will be needed per year until 2015. **UNICEF** also estimates the volume of funds required for the worldwide provision of **basic social services**, corresponding to a progressive compliance with economic, social and cultural human rights, to amount to additional funds of approximately US\$ 70 billion per year. In the context of the Millennium Development Goals, public goods refer specifically to such topics as [55]:

- Realization of fundamental human rights for all, including universal access to basic education and health systems
- Respect of national sovereignty
- Worldwide preventive health care, in particular the fight against transmittable diseases
- Worldwide security, or in other words, a global public area void of crime and violence
- World Peace
- Transfrontier harmonization of communication and transport systems
- Transfrontier harmonization of institutional infrastructures, in support of goals like market efficiency, universal human rights, transparent and accountable government, or harmonization of technical standards
- Concerted knowledge management, including global respect for intellectual property rights
- Concerted management of global natural common goods, in support of their sustainable utilization
- Availability of secure international locations for multilateral negotiations, both between states and between governmental and non-governmental actors

Considering the total sum required between 2002 and 2015, an additional **US\$ 980 billion** have to be raised. UN reports on the status of funds for the Millennium Development Goals state that an additional annual sum of US\$ 12 billion will be available from 2006 onwards, due to commitments undertaken by certain developed countries in the meantime. This amounts to US\$ 120 billion in new funds; **US\$ 860 billion** are still lacking. The proposal developed in this text aims for these funds to be raised between 2008 and 2015. It must be pointed out in this context that in the final stage from 2011 until 2015, this is a matter of an annual co-financing volume of approximately US\$ 180 billion, including the funds presently employed for development cooperation. This amounts to about 0.6 % of the **world gross domestic** product. Then, finally, the world would have reached the long-aspired stage where the developed countries invest about 0.7 % of their GDP in development cooperation. To achieve long-term **eradication of poverty** and **sustainability** on this globe, more funds will likely be needed, and for a longer period of time after 2015. But with a Global Marshall Plan, the all-important step of entrance into a sustainable design would finally have been accomplished.

The funds to be raised by the world community under the terms of a Global Marshall Plan must be employed in a targeted, transparent and **accountable** manner for the goals collectively aimed at, as has already been discussed in this text. The **intellectual design** and **management** of the actual processes present a great challenge. This is why a **sufficiently long process for design and verification** until 2007 is deemed necessary. Implementation could then begin from January 1st, 2008. A step-by-step plan for a chronological implementation, taking up on considerations in [87], will be presented below. With regard to the **Rio+15 World Summit** dated at that stage, the governmental heads of the world could promote the adoption of this plan as a contribution to a sustainable development.



## A proposal for a schedule for implementation of the Global Marshall Plan

### 5 Fall 2004

A campaign for the convention of an EU advisory board for the elaboration of a Global Marshall Plan is launched, targeting the EU Parliament, the EU Commission and the EU Council, the national parliaments of EU member states and selected international organizations. Its tasks would include **objectives, required funds, implementation mechanisms, measures, schedule, partners and actors.**

The convention of such an Advisory Board is the short-term goal of the Initiative **Global Marshall Plan / Planetary Contract**. Simultaneously, approval on the part of the business and the NGOs shall be sought. The activities targeting the EU Parliament and the EU Commission are scheduled for the EU Parliament elections in summer 2004, and the restructuring of the EU commission due later in this summer.

### Fall/Winter 2004

The EU convenes an Advisory Board on the topic, which produces a report. The text at hand and other contributions can serve as input for this task.

### Summer/Fall 2005

The proposal of a Global Marshall Plan / Planetary Contract becomes (hopefully) the EU's official position for all future World Summits.

### 35 2006

A worldwide consensus on a Planetary Contract is achieved (as regards partners, schedule, financial volume, fund rai-

sing, linking to standards, institutional design, implementation mechanisms, compliance and controlling). This also includes ideas on how respective measures will be carried on beyond 2015.

### 2007

Preparations for the implementation of the consensus reached are on the way in all participating international organizations and actors, as is the **adjustment of all implicated international agreements**. A legal authority of **last instance** is established by linking elements of various existing international legal and compliance structures, particularly those of the WTO.

### 2007

Within an appropriate context of **Rio+15**, the implementation of the Global Marshall Plan / Planetary Contract is finalized.

### 2008–2015

Implementation phase.

## VI. Raising and Utilization of Funds – Issues of Central Importance

Institutions already exist that can administrate the transactions necessary for implementing a Global Marshall Plan. It must however be clear that the respective support programs **must not repeat the mistakes of past decades of development**. This applies to the donor countries (large-scale projects, excessive red tape etc.), but particularly to the receiving countries (corrupt potentates, capital flight, the suppression of a socio-economic development which would allow for the formation of a middle class, and a lacking disposition to cooperate regionally). Key to gaining acceptance for a Global Marshall Plan are clear statements on improved support programs and practices, both concerning the manifold experiences and corresponding **further opening of markets** by the rich countries.

**New, innovative approaches** are required for the raising and employment of funds in the context of a Global Marshall Plan, i.e. for both financing and implementation. This is because development assistance programs in the past often  
20 fell short of their potential success. For example, disproportionate enrichment of local elites, or as a priority target, the **employment of experts or companies from the donor countries** occurred time and again, as did support for projects which were not sustainable beyond the cessation of  
25 foreign aid. In this context, the **fight against corruption** linked to an agreement on standards plays a vital role, and should **involve discerning NGOs** like **Transparency International** ([www.transparency.org](http://www.transparency.org)) [122], whose contribution for **facilitating better conditions for development** is extremely important. With regard to the new funds to be raised,  
30 efficient implementation mechanisms are crucial to gain wide-spread support for the proposal of a Global Marshall Plan / Planetary Contract. Respective measures and programs would have to be designed by an **(international) advisory board convened by the EU**. This has already been  
35 discussed in chapter II.

Depending on how the funds are raised, linking with the fund-raising organization named in the succeeding proposal would be reasonable, e.g. IMF or WTO. This would entail repercussions for the future architecture of financial markets and international trade [14, 59, 87, 109, 110, 111]. Programmatically,  
5 funds from a potential tax on world trade could be partly allocated to those **economic sectors** they stem from, and which are **particularly relevant for development objectives**, e.g. telecommunications or energy. Thus, the **raising and allocation of funds is transparently interlinked**, a plausible  
10 method which is likely to significantly increase approval of concerned actors. Under the terms of this proposal, proceeds would primarily accrue at IMF and WTO. In terms of the standards implemented and the respective procedures, the WB, ILO, UNEP, UNDP, UNESCO, UNFPA and others would also  
15 be implicated. Therefore, these partner organizations have to be substantially involved in the formulation and implementation of the respective programs.

In the following, a **proposal** will be presented as a model for  
20 further discussion, exemplifying how the required volumes can be raised and allocated, easily modifiable. To link fundraising to **adequate opening of markets** by the developed countries remains a vital element for a Global Marshall Plan. **Direct governmental payments** to an international coordinating  
25 entity like the World Bank, as practiced in the EU depending on the gross domestic product of the respective country, e.g., will not be aimed for to avoid acceptance problems. Similar effects can be achieved by using **Special Drawing Rights of the IMF**, a proposal initiated by **George Soros** [109]. Also for acceptance reasons, special taxes on  
30 **socially encumbering activities** (e.g. in the military sector) will not be discussed here; nor will specific charges for **disproportionate utilization of resources, or the induction of extensive environmental degradation**, except when  
35 respective world trade activities are implicated in a Terra tax on international trade. These exclusions are due to purely

pragmatic reasons, and are but a suggestion. As mentioned above, there are other approaches with high potential, e.g. the establishment of a Future Fund as **Maximilian Gege** proposes, or the **International Finance Facility** brought forward by British Chancellor of the Exchequer **Gordon Brown**. **H. W. Zillmer** of the "Foundation Children in Africa" suggests the establishment of a "**Global Development Fund**" based on a global CO<sub>2</sub> tax. If it was paid by all countries at a rate of US\$ 5 per ton CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, such a tax would raise more than US\$ 100 billion per year without affecting competitiveness, charging all countries corresponding to their respective stage of industrialization (using the CO<sub>2</sub>-emission per country as levelling rule) [147].

Against this background, the author's proposal should be seen as an example offering manifold options for modification. Any other form of funding would be equally welcome, as long as it supports the aspired goals, particularly the **implementation of the United Nations Development Goals** until 2015.

*Millennium  
Development  
Compact  
[126]*

International financial institutions should put the Millennium Development Goals at the centre of their analytical, advisory and financing efforts for every developing country.

### 1. Fundraising at the International Monetary Fund (IMF)

One of the particularly interesting approaches on raising funds was initiated by **George Soros**, whose book "George Soros on Globalization" [109] offers essential insight into global economical problems by a renowned adept of international financial markets. This approach uses the so-called **Special Drawing Rights** [50]. A country will be granted funds depending on the quota it has paid into the IMF Fund, to use under the terms of the international financial architecture, similar to currency reserves. The "trick" is that developing

countries pay part of their quota in their own often comparatively weak currency, while being disbursed in strong currencies from the Special Drawing Rights' currency basket. George Soros believes such a utilization of **Special Drawing Rights** at the IMF, namely as **Matching Funds for Social Entrepreneurship**, to be the essential approach towards a better organization of worldwide development.

Special drawing rights can in fact be regarded as a (hidden) part of a **direct new generation of money** and loaning it, an instrument commonly used on the national level by the (central) banks of issue **for the financial "mirroring" of economic growth, similar to effectuating inflation by generating and loaning new money**. The same applies to money generation in the private banking sector, which is bound to interest payments to the governments and is reflected in revenue of central banks, for example. In Germany, this revenue amounted to Euro 11.2 billion in 2001, and 5.4 billion in 2002.

The proposal to use Special Drawing Rights for the support of international development is also taken up in the **Zedillo Report** ([www.un.org/reports/financing/full\\_report.pdf](http://www.un.org/reports/financing/full_report.pdf)) and by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer **Gordon Brown**, both in his White Paper on the topic [[www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/ffd/2002/1216brown.htm](http://www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/ffd/2002/1216brown.htm)] and in the document partly quoted above [13]. In the scale discussed here, this proposal would noticeably reduce the respective national options of the developed countries, because of its redistribution effect in favor of the developing countries. Good will assumed, it should still be possible.

**Special Drawing Rights** are an established instrument of the IMF ([www.imf.org](http://www.imf.org)) and have been used in the past. An additional (singular) volume of US\$ **27.5 billion** is in **preparation** at the IMF and has already gained 75% of the votes, but is still lacking the US congress' approval to obtain the

required quota of at least 85% of votes. In this issue the US have a power of veto.

- Concerning the proposal currently submitted to the IMF [109],
- 5 **George Soros** suggests that **this level of Special Drawing Rights** should be generated annually in the future. Under their own agenda, the rich countries should allocate their stake of US\$ 18 billion to co-financing programs for development cooperation, subject to certain conditions. These funds
- 10 could thus be seen as development assistance or direct governmental transfer payments. As has been stressed before, **demographic policy measures regarding reproductive health** are of vital importance for a better future and therefore should play a major part in this context. To this end, dedicated states should mobilize an additional US\$ 3 to 4 billion
- 15 per year as co-financing contribution for implementing the resolutions of the World Summit in Cairo 1994. **In the context of a Global Marshall Plan, this is a manageable sum.**
- 20 Under the terms of the IMF, the poorer countries' Special Drawing Rights are significantly lower, due to the small dimension of their own quotas (about a third of the total volume), but would additionally and directly benefit these countries, e.g. by **enhancing their currency reserves**. George
- 25 Soros [109] also provides many details for a reasonable utilization of these funds, avoiding earlier mistakes; some of these will be discussed below. The proposal made in the text at hand slightly extends George Soros' approach by opting for annual expenditures of US\$ 30 - 40 billion in IMF special
- 30 drawing rights for North-South transfers during the period of 2008 to 2015. If the quota of the developing countries, amounting to about one third of the total volume, was used as additional benefit instead of a contribution to co-financing measures, the total volume of such Drawing Rights would
- 35 have to be increased to US\$ 45 - 60 billion.

To generate the required revenues, a so-called **Tobin tax** on financial transactions is also considered promising within the international debate (refer to [24] and information provided by the Tobin Tax Initiative [120]). **Maartje van Putten** [80] remarks on this:

"That actions are focused on global financial transactions and capital flows makes sense. According to The Economist, the situation is as follows, '...twenty years ago there was very little cross-border trade in bonds or shares. It now accounts for about \$ 600 billion in bonds every day and \$ 30 billion in equities [The Economist, 23 Oct 1999].

Derivative trading amounted to about \$ 30 trillion a year in 1994 and \$ 120 trillion in 2001 or four times global GDP [The Economist, 7 Oct 1995, 18 May 2002]."

*Maartje van Putten [80]*

The proposal at hand takes up on the idea of a Tobin tax, although many argue against it. Most of the counter-arguments find fault in the **restriction of speculation on the currency markets** which is indeed wanted by many in favor of a Tobin tax, or state that to go it alone on a national or European level would be counterproductive for Europe [8, 138]. In our context, however, these arguments are not substantial, as our (primary) **aim is not the restriction of speculation, and our scope is a global one**. Provided that the rich countries come to a respective agreement, uncooperative countries can be forced into participating in a Tobin tax by purely fiscal means. Nor will this tax discriminate international cooperation; on the contrary, global finance transactions provide an attractive **new** dimension of value-adding on which taxes can be imposed accordingly.

A Tobin tax is one of the major requests raised by the globalization designers from the **alliance ATTAC** [31, 32, 38]. Persons and groups active within ATTAC are often defamed by the media as **anti-globalization activists**, against their better judgment (a success of the so-called **Public Awareness Management**), despite the fact that the declared goal of

**Attac** is to organize a globalization that has got out of hand to the advantage of most people. The **organization of globalization** is also a motivation of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative and a central demand raised by the ILO World Commission in their report on the **social dimension of globalization** cited above. George Soros arguments along the same lines.

The Tobin tax is being endorsed more and more as a form of financing. On July 1st 2004 the Belgium parliament decided to support the implementation of a Tobin tax. The law is well designed insofar as it binds implementation to the support of such a tax all over Europe. Concerning the volumes, the proposal goes for a 0.02 per cent amount, as also proposed in this text. The Belgium decision follows support by France, which passed the law in 2001. The growing support in Europe is encouraging. However, eventually a worldwide solution is required.

Again: the objective of a Tobin tax as it is presented here is not what the economist James Tobin ([www.ceedweb.org/iirp](http://www.ceedweb.org/iirp)) aimed for primarily, i.e. restricting speculative transactions; this intention is barely a background motive here. Instead, the objective is to generate investment funds for a worldwide development from those globalization processes which asymmetrically benefit comparatively few actors, both through **new creation of money** (by banks of issue) and **access to credits**, as well as through **global financial markets**. Nor shall this money be spent in the form of classical development cooperation by governments, but according to new, innovative, and particularly **investment orientated mechanisms**, as has already been discussed in this text. All this aims at a **world economic miracle**, and is supposed to make the world richer.

However, the topic requires further analysis. In part due to textual issues, but mainly because of the **massive problem of acceptance** pertaining to this topic. A tender spot in the **prevalent structures of power, property and access** is tou-

ched, a "Holy Grail" particularly for all market fundamentalist doctrines. This area is **taboo** and tends to be almost reflexively defended with a bulwark.

The dimension dealt with in the following requires some clarification. While the world gross domestic product currently amounts to approximately US\$ 30 trillion and world trade to 8.5 trillion annually, **international finance transactions** amount to **US\$ 480 trillion a year**. Thus, a tax rate of merely 0.01% would generate funds of US\$ 30 billion per year, even if the trade volume on financial markets should lapse from the current US\$ 480,000 trillion to US\$ 300,000 trillion as a consequence of this new tax.

**There is massive resistance against a Tobin tax.** Basically because the willingness is lacking to raise these funds for international development, particularly by charging those who benefit most from the globalization of the financial markets and the new value-adding potential they offer. Yet the argument brought forward most often is that the **collective intelligence of the global financial markets** would be threatened. This has been thoroughly and visibly refuted, at the latest since the most recent scandals on the financial markets, and the breakdown of Financial Bubbles like the New Economy. **George Soros** in his exceedingly clear books on the topic fittingly judges the errors in reasoning and the misconceptions by those market fundamentalists who still choose to believe in collective intelligence and stability in the face of obvious **speculation on instability** [107, 109]. Years before the actual fact, the author predicted the unavoidable collapse of the New Economy and its scale, though not the time of occurrence. The whole structure resembled a Ponzi scheme, or a chain letter situation [85].

Another frequently used but equally inadequate argument states that such a tax would interfere with global value-adding. Banks and brokers already impose fees on interna-

tional financial transactions. And if charges on value-adding processes were a fundamental problem, why is it done on the national level? Finally, all arguments denouncing too high administrative expenses are only partially applicable, because

5 **worldwide transborder financial transactions** are already fully electronic. Thus, recording and debiting a Tobin tax would easily be possible, and the administrative and bureaucratic overhead small. However, as part of the formal accounts **only apply to daily balances**, a major part of the chargeable volume would remain unrecorded. This aspect

10 requires further analysis. Funds raised by these means could be allocated directly to the IMF, in interaction with the World Bank, or invested in the context of development programs. Within the framework of a

15 Global Marshall Plan, all future loans granted within a "Global Deal" in the form aspired here would be subject to adherence to core standards of the ILO, UNESCO and UNEP; a substantial change from current policies regulated by the Washington Consensus. Additionally, the IMF could utilize

20 these funds to mitigate **currency crises** better than today, and together with the World Bank and other partners, to help initiating development programs in afflicted or highly indebted countries, in return for the willingness of these countries to implement certain standards wherever feasible. The **Com-**

25 **prehensive Poverty Reduction Process** of IMF and World Bank also prepares **further debt relief for the poorest countries** under certain conditions. A crucial part plays the HIPC Initiative for the heavily indebted poor countries.

30 Of equal importance and under discussion for years is the establishment of **regulated bankruptcy proceedings for states**, and part of the respective funding. In the case of an economic collapse, the private sector could then be involved as a donor with the solution of a problem often enough caused

35 by its support of deficient programs, making the over-indebtedness possible in the first place. Furthermore, the IMF could provide means to the World Bank, at its disposal within

the so-called "**Comprehensive Development Framework**". This would substantially increase the World Bank's scope of means, currently amounting to about US\$ 100 million per year gained from interests.

5 In this context, George Soros mentions the **International Development Association** (IDA) created in 1960 by the World Bank to grant the poorest countries low-interest loans, the **International Finance Cooperation** (IFC) which provides investments and credits to the private sector, and the **Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency** (MIGA) which

10 plays an important role for the Poverty Reduction Strategy of IMF and World Bank. George Soros indicates that the World Bank's support of development has changed towards an integrated approach, partly **following a new, less market fundamentalist logic** [109]. That is a good thing. However, the World Bank can spend only comparatively little of its scarce **free funds for co-financing** on these reasonable new approaches. A decisive step in this direction is long overdue, and could be funded through a Global Marshall Plan. The **financially solid institutions of IMF and World Bank** and the international controls pertaining to them provide the preconditions for allocating new funds in a different, more targeted, more effective

15 and **more accountable way** than today. And in time, this will possibly have a formative bearing on an even better utilization of the current funds for development cooperation. To round off the remarks made in chapter II [109] provides further interesting clues on this topic, aiming at co-financing local projects **competing for support**. Co-financing large private funds facing the worldwide challenges is also taken into consideration, as well as the involvement of regional institutions (in analogy to **EU Structural Funds** procedures),

more than at present - **must reach the local people** facing the problems, instead of financing experts and companies from the donor countries, even if their involvement will always be necessary to a certain degree where their specific expertise is required to solve a problem. This demand has been repeatedly and convincingly pronounced and justified by **George Soros** [108, 109] as well as by **Muhammad Yunus**, founder of the Grameenbank and a major **mentor of the micro credit movement**, [145], and other scientists studying the economy of poverty like **Hernando de Soto** [17] and **Amartya Sen** [104].

## 2. Fund raising within the World Trade Organization

The WTO is a **particularly important international organization** and provides the decisive institutional foundation for world economy today. The WTO's jurisdiction and **massive sanctioning options through the approval of penal duties** deserve special mention here. In contrast to IMF and World Bank, the WTO is significantly more **"democratic"** with regard to the poorer countries' potential to exert influence, because it is based on the **principle of consensus**. Even so, the richer countries can enforce unfair solutions within WTO consensus, by utilizing their **advantages as regards knowledge and organization**, and their potential to punctually apply their **larger economical power** (e.g. by offering local concessions). The recent failure of the **development round in Cancun** proved that the poorer world could nonetheless block further agreements. The blockade of Cancun has to be overcome. An important topic in this regard is the **further opening of markets** by the rich countries for the benefit of the developing, primarily the poorest countries. Experts worldwide agree that **stopping all agricultural export subsidies by the rich countries** is long overdue.

George Soros is generally right in saying that **if it did not already exist, the WTO would have to be invented** [109]. However, the future problem is to enforce not only trade issues, but also those pertaining to global social and ecological concerns. To this end, the **WTO, as well as IMF and World Bank, should be institutionally linked to other regulatory bodies in an intelligent way** [87, 109]. An adequate coupling of all respective international regimes as described above is the main objective of a Planetary Contract. This is why the WTO is of highest institutional importance for the proposal made in this text. The WTO is to be **the core of a global governance system which ensures sustainability**, by which core elements of ILO, UNESCO, and global environmental standards will be made binding for world trade and loans granted for development projects, possibly together with IMF and World Bank, and with the approval of all partners (gained with co-financing offers on part of the developed world).

This would be the **first step towards a worldwide Eco-Social Market Economy** [87, chapter 28], a **Balanced Way**. As demanded on the World Summit in Rio 1992, trade and development must be interconnected, accompanied by high protective standards. Because of the WTO's consensus principle, **win-win solutions** have the best prospects of implementation in the long run.

However, the WTO offers a second starting point for supporting the development of solutions. Besides global financial transactions, international trade with its special potentials for adding value could directly contribute to the funding of worldwide development. To this end, agreements on a tax on global trade (**Terra tax**) should be found within the WTO [21, 87, 96, 110, 111], to be used to **fund investments in development**. This corresponds to the basic idea of the so-called Fair Trade, propagated and organized by NGOs and churches, among others. Suitable solutions have been established for

certain import goods of poorer countries like, e.g., **carpets** and **coffee**, albeit only partly and on a voluntary basis. The proposed **Terra (investment) tax** should extend the scope to world trade in total, and render the principle universally binding. Funds generated by a Terra tax should mainly be employed as **investments** supporting development concerns, but also for achieving a better balance between cultures, and for environmental protection - thus, for achieving **sustainability aims** at large. This concept is fully compatible with the UN Millennium Development Goals, **makes the world a richer place overall**, and will be substantiated in the following. It is important to note that this approach **makes particular sense to private enterprise**. Many companies and first trade associations have already expressed respective ideas. Especially popular in this context is the selective utilization of such funds for investment programs targeting crucial infrastructure areas, e.g. energy and telecommunications.

As has been stated above, **international trade** currently amounts to an estimated annual volume of about US\$ 8.5 trillion including US\$ 6.3 trillion in real assets, US\$ 1.6 trillion in internationally traded services, and US\$ 0.9 trillion in information and communication services. The latter are yet to be associated with the WTO.

States keep detailed **trade registers** because of custom duties and, partly, value-added taxes due at the borders. By using the **administrative structures pertaining to customs or financial management**, the raising of a minor surcharge on international trade with goods could be realized without major administrative effort. This surcharge could then be made directly available for projects, e.g. through the WTO. A tax rate of 0.5 % on world trade would currently raise about US\$ 44 billion annually for the support of worldwide development. Such a 0.5% surcharge is barely noticeable, considering that for most products, import costs are well below 50 %

of domestic sales prizes, in most cases even below 20 %, e.g. for bananas, coffee or petrol. The citizens are used to very different dimensions, i.e. with regard to fluctuations of the Dollar price for crude oil, the additional fluctuations caused by exchange rate changes, and finally the frequent tax increases on petrol. According to the German Federal Statistical Office, prices for mineral oil products increased by 4.4 % in Germany in 2003. This is about **50 times the value of the proposed Terra tax**, as this increase relates to the final price and not the import price for crude oil. The Terra tax would amount to about US\$ 1 per one ton of crude oil. Such a contribution for international development has long been demanded by the president of the Club of Rome, **HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal** [23].

On the part of the WTO, funds could be allocated directly and exclusively to those developing countries which as WTO members actually **implement** concerted core elements of the **ILO or environmental standards**. Simultaneously, the WTO could use the services of the World Bank for implementation tasks, e.g. for programs designed to **overcome illiteracy**, etc.. The same applies to the **bridging of the digital divide and establishing telecommunication infrastructures**. In this case, the International Communication Union (ITU) would be an adequate partner.

The allocation of funds to special market segments, e.g. for funding **investment programs for infrastructure in developing countries**, is of special interest in this context. For example, by imposing a Terra tax rate of 0.5 % on international telecommunications transactions, US\$ 4.5 billion could be raised for respective measures, e.g. the **Digital Solidarity Fund**, demanded, as yet unsuccessfully, by the developing world at the World Summit for an Information Society (WSIS) in Geneva December 2003.



With the Terra tax quota on energy source transfers, the construction of **worldwide energy systems** could be funded, particularly with regard to **alternative energies** [71, 121]. A tax rate of 0.5 % would yield about US\$ 3.1 billion in respective funds. In this context, a possible role for the OPEC has to be further considered.

Concerning **agriculture**, approximately US\$ 2.9 billion are urgently needed for an expansion in the South of the globe (the current volume of development assistance in this area amounts to about US\$ 8 billion a year). This has to be accompanied by a clear **prohibition of all export subsidies on agricultural products** going from the rich to the developing countries, and by concerted further opening of agricultural markets in the North. However, **multifunctional aspects** of the role of agriculture have to be taken into account as proposed by the EU; for an elaboration on this point, please refer to [87, 142]. In some parts, the EU export subsidies have accumulated to 40 % of the EU's budget for agriculture, which itself amounts to 0.4 to 0.5 % of the EU gross domestic product. Thus we are talking about up to 0.2 % of the EU gross domestic product. This is more than half the cumulative development assistance of all EU member states.

It has to be pointed out that **pure free trade is not the right approach to deal with the hardships pertaining to global food issues** [87, 142]. Instead, the social, cultural and ecological standards would have to be globally harmonized and co-financed to begin with, as aspired by an eco-social Global Marshall Plan. Only subject to those conditions will prizes, e.g. **transportation prizes, tell the truth** in the long run. Consequently, the exchange relations between North and South will change, in this case in favour of the agriculture in the North, particularly where goods of low added value are concerned.

Better than free trade is a co-financed system of mutual support and positive interaction in consideration of **multifunctionality requirements**. If the rich countries decline this, **free trade will become the legitimate request of the poor**, which is better than nothing and pedals the rich in terms of justification. For there is an obvious **credibility gap** when it comes to the rich world, namely in the **"dishonesty" of an argumentation** selectively targeting unregulated free trade where this is to its own advantage, while refusing to abstain from protecting its own fields of added value, whenever the developing world turns out to be more competitive.

In any case, the international verdict is that pure free trade would worsen the situation of the poorer countries' agricultural sector and in particular the situation of peasants, whose economic, social and cultural human rights would be undermined. This is also true for fisheries (industrial fishery of rich countries competing with traditional local fisheries), as well as for many **large-scale projects supported by developed countries** or international organizations (e.g. through loans or securities), for example the **building of dams or mining projects**. In many cases, internationally active corporations from the donor countries are substantially involved in these projects.

As mentioned, this has led to a debate within science [97] and NGOs in Germany [139] on the question whether supporting such projects can be reconciled at all with the commitments made by the German Federal Government, e.g. when joining the **International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights** (ICESCR) in 1996. This pact implies a direct duty of the rich countries to help wherever people's rights are directly threatened, even though the scope of this duty is not determined. What this pact entails at any rate, however, is the duty to **refrain from any action that would worsen the situation of the most afflicted**. Yet in the fields mentioned, the contrary is often the case. It has

already been mentioned that the World Bank now addresses this issue [119]. At the latest, the framework of a Planetary Contract should guarantee that if such projects are supported in the future, at least adequate compensations for the people concerned must be ensured, e.g. in the fishing sector. With regard to agricultural exports, the above mentioned **complete cessation of any kind of export subsidies by rich countries must be the minimal target.**

Concerning **pharmaceutical products** (generating US\$ 500 million per year), the objective is to utilize the international health sector funds for the development and short-term disposal of new pharmaceutical products (while allowing for a certain reward for intellectual property rights). In this context, the achievements of the **Gates Foundation** with an annual budget of US\$ 1 billion should be mentioned; these activities could be supported further.

The annual global **military expenses** were estimated to amount to about US\$ 794 billion in 2002 - **a disaster, given the social misery on this globe.** The increase from the previous year was 6 %, i.e. with about US\$ 48 billion nearly as high as the total global development aid. This increase took place mainly in the US. The trend continued in 2003. According to official figures, the export of weapons amounted to (only) US\$ 35 billion. There is no doubt that by establishing a more peaceful and balanced world, **military expenses should be massively reduced** in the medium term. In the meantime, compensation measures should be introduced at the very least . A Terra tax of 0.35 % or 0.5 % levied on the trade flows of all weapons legally traded internationally would raise funds of about US\$ 120 million or 180 million, respectively. This money could be employed globally for reconstruction, support of war orphans and victims of mines, clearing of minefields, and **peace research.** Given the moral issues implied with military goods, a higher Terra quota on these would stand to reason; but for reasons of practicality, this line of thought will not be further pursued here.

Finally, the future design of the **contract of Kyoto** could provide another interesting source of funds for development from 2012, by a fair (equal amount per capita) assignment of pollution rights and their trading worldwide [72, 87, 136, 137]. This topic will be elaborated subsequently. Presently, **the North is "stealing" pollution rights** without paying a compensation, which the South will urgently need at some stage for its future development. If the **North would finally pay for what it continuously appropriates without financial compensation at the expense of the South**, this alone would cover a considerable part of the funds needed for a Planetary Contract (an estimated minimum of US\$ 40 billion per year).

Until such reasoning becomes practicable, the promising **CDM mechanism** of the Kyoto Protocol could already be utilized on short notice in terms of an **worldwide Eco-Social Market Economy.** Unfortunately, this is very rarely the case, but would be possible anytime according to current contracts [87]. In addition to this, the Terra tax could be used to finally adequately fund the UN's **Global Environmental Facility** for financing projects for CO<sub>2</sub> reduction in the South. Of course, funds that may be raised in the future context of a fair trade with CO<sub>2</sub> emission rights could also be used as an additional **source of funds** for worldwide development beyond the year 2015. The text at hand is in favor of this option.

According to the study [148], global **CO<sub>2</sub> emissions** from fossil fuels currently amount to about 25 billion tons per year. Of these, 14.5 billion tons are generated by the North (in this context: the Annex B states of the Kyoto Protocol) with about 20 % of the global population, and 10.5 billion tons by the rest of the states. If the (intermediate) target of reducing total emissions to the status of 1990, i.e. about 22 billion tons, is implemented, and assuming equal emission rights per capita, the Annex B states would be entitled to primary emission rights of about 4.5 billion tons, and thus would have to buy the additional ten billion per year from other states. Incidentally, China by now uses about 75 % of its share, namely 3.4 billion tons, while India with 1.05 billion tons is still at about 29%.I

For the time being, **reforestation programs** and other measures for generating new CO<sub>2</sub> sinks could be realized, and various solutions using **solar energy** could substantially save CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in countries receiving a high amount of sunshine. Currently, such approaches calculate about US\$ 4 per ton saved, a price that can surely be further reduced under market pressure. On the other hand, the reduction potentials available at low cost are limited, and volume pressure will further increase, causing prices to rise again.

For the moment, let us adopt a price of US\$ 4 per ton saved and assume that the North acquires the total amount of additional rights under the terms of a **fair, equal access per capita logic** [87], as also discussed in a **global climate certificate system based on market and incentive mechanisms** [136, 137]. This would raise annually (at least) US\$ 40 billion in payments by the North for the benefit of the South, which could be invested in development. Obviously the situation would become more challenging and the costs incurred substantially higher if worldwide CO<sub>2</sub> emissions were to be reduced even further as is discussed internationally, e.g. to 50% of the level of 1990 (eleven billion tons).

Concludingly, it must be stated that the measures proposed here would require a **substantial increase in staff** at the WTO – long overdue – and significantly more cooperation of it with ILO and particularly with UNEP, as well as other international organizations concerned. This cooperation is already under way but must be increased, especially with regard to the **jurisdiction of last resort** needed within the evolving Global Governance System. The judicial and **sanction options of the WTO** should provide the anchor for this.

## VII. Scope of Funds 2008 to 2015

The funds required for a Global Marshall Plan can be clearly itemized, and they are attainable. Strains are minimal and, above all, have to be regarded in due proportion to the achievable benefits - less as costs than as investments generating proceeds.

In addition to many other projected measures, the **Zedillo Report** proposes that on top of the current US\$ 56 billion per year,  $14 \times 70 = \text{US\$ } 980$  billion should be raised within the period 2002 to 2015 for international development. As mentioned, this view is shared by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer **Gordon Brown** in his White Paper for the Rio+10 conference in 2003, and by **George Soros** in his report on globalization [109]. Studies conducted by advisory boards of various UN suborganizations come to similar conclusions. The concept at hand hopes for a process of international consensus with the necessary resolutions ready to be passed by 2007, within the timeframe of **Rio+15**.

Implementation then takes place between 2008 and 2015, also preparing for further efforts after 2015. The **framework of implementation for these new funds should be entirely new**, replacing the instruments mainly used within current development cooperation; a measure which is also likely to increase acceptance on the part of the donors.

The annual sums to be raised for an implementation phase beginning in 2008 exceed those that would have been required if activities had started in 2000. To allow for an optimal utilization of the funds and a gradual adjustment of structures, implementation should occur in two phases: from 2008 to 2011, and from 2012 to 2015. Promising approaches like direct governmental transfers, taxes on economic activities impairing the common good, a fair trade on access to resour-

ces and pollution rights, issuance of funds for future-oriented investments, realization of an International Finance Facility, etc. are not discussed here for reasons of practicality. Instead, **three elements** are exemplarily pursued in this proposal:

- transferred **Special Drawing Rights at the IMF** (US\$ 30 billion between 2008 and 2011, US\$ 40 billion between 2012 and 2015),

- a **Tobin tax** (of 0.01 % in 2008 to 2011, with an annual volume of about US\$ 30 billion, and of 0.02 % in 2012 to 2015, with an annual volume of about US\$ 40 billion), and finally

- a **Terra tax** (of 0.35 % in 2008 to 2012, with an annual volume of about US\$ 30 billion, and 0.5 % in 2012 to 2015, with an annual volume of about US\$ 42 billion).

The respective figures are presented below. New commitments to the UN by certain states amounting to US\$ 12 billion from 2006 have been taken into account, resulting in US\$ 860 billion still to be raised until 2015. The level of international co-financing which will have been reached between 2012 and 2015 will provide a good starting point for the transition into a **worldwide Eco-Social Market Economy**, to be targeted for 2015. By then, **at least 0.7 % of the gross domestic product of donor countries should be ensured for development cooperation.**

## Remarks

1.) The sectoral proceeds, namely **investment potentials**, could be implemented directly, e.g. for bridging the **digital divide** or for supporting cooperation concerning food; an option which should be used.

2.) The figures do not include projections concerning future global economic growth and its distribution, to keep things simple and because the general picture would not be affected.

It has to be noted that the total volume of co-financing will amount to more than US\$ 190 billion in 2015, compared to US\$ 56 billion today. This sum corresponds to the **aspired 0.7 % of the gross national product of the donor countries**, yet represents only about half of what the author believes necessary for a positive worldwide development from 2015 onwards.

However, some experts maintain that substantially less could suffice if the funds were properly used, e.g. in a way similar to a **core element of effective EU integration funds**. These **funds for structural support** are in the scope of 0.27 % of the EU gross domestic product [53].

These suggestions are based on the **support of international investments** subject to social concerns, and on **retransfers from international work-related migration remittances** under an improved design. All these possibilities are regarded as a welcome addition here, as the dimension of the task to be tackled is immense and requires contributions from many parts.

For a correct evaluation of the scope of these funds, which is ultimately based on the UN Zedillo Report [[www.un.org/reports/financing/full\\_report.pdf](http://www.un.org/reports/financing/full_report.pdf)], it has to be noted that it



## Concluding Remarks

The schedule for a **Global Marshall Plan / Planetary Contract is ambitious**. However, the worldwide problems do indeed require such an ambitious step. The point of departure is favorable, as many of the respective global measures, agreements and forms of action can almost readily be joined together like the pieces of a **jigsaw puzzle** as soon as the blockades of game theoretical nature are overcome, negotiated applying an eco-social approach.

The latter provides a **novel design** for a future **global governance system**, with further **market openings** by the rich countries, and **co-financing** in return for the willingness to accept standards at its core. While the present individual regimes like the ILO had to be elaborated and many difficult detail provisions made over many years of development, the integration of different regimes to be accomplished now is much easier in terms of design and the **amount of documentation required**. Provided that there is a willingness to make a "deal", this task can be specified and implemented within a short timeframe.

The Global Marshall Plan / Planetary Contract Initiative pursues this goal forcefully. The broad approval from prominent personages from politics, private enterprise, and science, but also from groups from all parts of society, was a great encouragement for all of the involved (for details refer to addendum 2). This approval must be seized and the endeavors must not ease up. A great deal is at stake - the beneficial future of the globe [91].

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## List of Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
DAC	Development Assistant Committee
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEA	Global Environmental Agency
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IFCCC	International Framework Convention on Climate Change
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPWSKM	International compact on the economic, social and cultural human rights
IMF	International Monetary Fund
OESO-DAC	Norms Statistics from OESO and DAC
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Program
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFCCC	UN Convention on Climate Change
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
WB	World Bank
WSIS	World Summit on the Information Society
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WTO	World Trade Organization



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## Addendum 1

### Executive Summary:

#### Considerations on a Global Marshall Plan

As a consequence of rapid globalization, the world is in a difficult situation. Global growth dynamics are sizable, and the rate of innovations is higher than ever. But at the same time, the worldwide situation concerning the environment, poverty and distribution issues, as well as the balance between cultures, becomes increasingly unsustainable. It was against this background that the Initiative for World Peace, Sustainability and Equity ([www.initiative-weltfrieden.org](http://www.initiative-weltfrieden.org)) started the campaign "**Global Marshall Plan**", which aims at changing this unfavorable situation. The reflections on the topic have been inspired by **Al Gore's** "Earth in the Balance" [35], **Mikhail Gorbachev's** "My Manifesto for the Earth" [34], **Hans Küng's** "World Ethos" [62], the document "Crossing the Divide. Dialogue among Civilizations" initiated by **Kofi Annan** [3], and by the Earth Charter [117]. All of these comprehensive reflections and positions contain crucial points of orientation and organizing principles for the positioning of the Initiative for a Marshall Plan for the World.

In the Initiative's view, the already globalized economy has to be provided with an **adequate global organizing frame** for the markets, working towards World Peace, equity and sustainability and allowing for the realization of an **open society** [109]. Today, the contrary is the case. Our long-term perspective is an **Eco-Social World Market Economy** [87, 93] which links markets and competition to high standards ensuring the welfare of all human beings. Key to reaching a consensus on such standards - and at the same time, to overcome worldwide poverty - **are adequately framed co-financing measures** provided by the rich countries for the benefit of the poor. This requires that in return, the developing

countries prove willing to adopt respective standards despite having to give up current competitive advantages. In particular better standards implicate **better governance** structures in these countries, i.e. improved local governance. The approach pursued here corresponds to the logic behind the **EU enlargement processes**, but also to that of the US Marshall Plan for Europe after World War II.

That a respective step is taken for the entire world is deemed urgent and long-overdue by the initiators of the campaign, especially with regard to the incidents of September 11, 2001, the obvious problems encountered by the current US policy, e.g. in Iraq, the devastations on global financial markets and the „Bubble“ of the New Economy, the increasing environmental problems and the ever more apparent collision of cultures resulting from an **insufficiently regulated Globalization of the Economy**. The aim of the Initiative is that the EU convenes an advisory board after the EU parliamentary elections in summer 2004, due to develop a respective position the EU can adopt as its **strategy for future World Summits**, and as its vision for the future of the globe.

A Marshall Plan for the World is regarded as an intermediate step towards a worldwide Eco-Social Market Economy. The material goal currently pursued is the implementation of the **United Nations Millennium Development Goals** ([www.un.org/millenniumgoals/](http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/)) until 2015, which have gained broad international approval. The funding requirements are based on analysis by the United Nations (**Zedillo Report**, [www.un.org/reports/financing/full\\_report.pdf](http://www.un.org/reports/financing/full_report.pdf)), on the European position expressed by British Chancellor of the Exchequer **Gordon Brown** for the World Summit Rio+10 in Johannesburg 2002 [[www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/ffd/2002/1216brown.htm](http://www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/ffd/2002/1216brown.htm)], as well as on the analysis G. Soros provides in his pursuit of an open society (Open Society Initiatives, G. Soros, [www.soros.org](http://www.soros.org)) [109]. According to these sources, additional aid amounting to US\$ 980 billion will be needed

until 2015, on top of the current volume of international development assistance. What is more, these funds would have to be employed through distinctly different mechanisms than today, and in close interaction with world civil society. By virtue of commitments already undertaken from 2006 onwards, this sum is reduced to about US\$ 860 billion. Adequate regulatory conditions provided, and by concentrating initially on cooperative developing countries, from 2008 onwards the funds required per year could be raised by means of, e.g.:

- 10 ■ **Special Drawing Rights** of the International Monetary Fund, initially amounting to US\$ 30 billion, then US\$ 40 billion for the benefit of the developing countries.
- 15 ■ A worldwide tax on financial transactions (**Tobin tax**), initially amounting to 0.01 %, then 0.02 % of the traded value. This should result in annual funds of US\$ 30 billion and 40 billion, respectively.
- 20 ■ A tax on international trade (**Terra tax**) of initially 0.35 %, then 0.5 % of cross-border value of goods within the scope of the WTO. Annual proceeds are expected to amount initially to US\$ 30 billion, then to US\$ 40 billion.
- 25 New forms of implementation are as important as the raising of funds [109]. To this end, the program uses the **World Bank** and the **United Nations Development Program** (UNDP), and cooperates with the UN environmental programs of the **UNEP** as well as with, e.g., **UNESCO** and the **United Nations Population Fund** (UNFPA). These should rely more on local initiatives and NGOs, support adjusted technologies and the accumulation of wealth on site. In addition, the allocation of co-financing measures of these organizations could be made subject to competitive processes where private development initiatives are chosen for funding under the control of an independent jury.
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The **core standards of the ILO** [[www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/gender/newsite2002/standard/](http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/gender/newsite2002/standard/)] and the **Global Environmental Agreements** should be made universally binding in the context of the WTO. This has been frequently demanded for the advancement of the WTO by the developed world, and especially the US; a demand corresponding in particular to the concerns of unions in the developed countries, and to worldwide concerns of environmentalists.

Starting from the aspired initiating step on the part of EU Parliament and EU Commission, the schedule of the Initiative aims at a process leading to a decision on an implementation program from 2008 onwards, to be made at the **Rio+15 conference** in 2007. Thus, the comprehensive considerations of the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio would then come into full effect.

The **design process for a Global Marshall Plan** presents a big challenge. This applies in particular to the new forms of implementing worldwide development cooperation, which are direly needed and a prerequisite for the Initiative's success. Respective ideas should now be developed in interaction between international organizations and governments, internationally operating corporations and non-governmental organizations. In this triangle, the **United Nations**, the **World Business Council on Sustainable Development** and the **Club of Rome** could assume an important coordinating role.

Detail information on the topic can be found at [www.faw.uni-ulm.de](http://www.faw.uni-ulm.de) and [www.globalmarshallplan.org](http://www.globalmarshallplan.org)

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## Addendum 2

### 5 **The Global Marshall Plan Initiative, presented to the public on October 11, 2003 as the Declaration of Stuttgart**

#### 10 **A Global Marshall Plan for a worldwide Eco-Social Market Economy**

##### Global Marshall Plan Initiative

Enabling a new form of economic miracle with a Global Marshall Plan for a worldwide eco-social market economy. After 15 World War II, the United States of America decided to take a historical step: For the duration of four years, the US increased its budget for economic support measures directed at other countries to an average 1.3 % of its gross national product (against 0.1 % today). With this measure, the so called 20 Marshall Plan for a haggard Europe, devastated by the war, was funded. The Marshall Plan made a decisive contribution to the European economic miracle, as well as to an exceedingly successful pacification both in- and outwardly, and to a broad-based increase of wealth in Europe.

25 Today, peace, freedom, prosperity and security are under threat, mainly due to extreme economical disparities. 50 percent of the world's population have to get by with less than two Euro per day, and 26,000 human beings a day die of starvation and lack of safe drinking water. Nor can the still mounting 30 global environmental problems be solved without the prospect of a better world for all.

35 Our appeal today addresses mainly Europe to take the lead in a worldwide movement for a Global Marshall Plan. A Global Marshall Plan is capable of:

- Providing the most solid foundation for a new, sustainable worldwide economic upturn, as the catching up of less developed countries provides an enormous worldwide potential for economic growth, including decisive new impulses of demand for export countries. 5
- Opening a particularly intelligent and efficient way towards a worldwide development which is socially and ecologically sustainable: The example of the EU enlargement demonstrates the ecological, social, democratic and peace-making cycle that can be set in motion by linking co-financing for boosting economy to the enhancement of ecological, social and democratic standards in the receiving countries. 10

The successful European model of an Eco-Social market economy is reflected in the programs of most of the conservative, social-democratic, liberal or green parties in Europe, because it is a plausible concept which could serve as a standard for the framework of a new global cooperation. 15 Without question, a European Initiative for a Global Marshall Plan to promote this success model worldwide would be a historical step capable of ensuring Europe's credit and success for decades to come. 20

25 Therefore, we demand that an advisory board of the European Union is convened for the development of an eco-social Global Marshall Plan.

The contents of such a Global Marshall Plan should be elaborated step by step and with strong involvement of all parts of society, including politics and economy, science and culture, as well as civil society. We consider the following points to be of particular importance: 30

- That the best ecological and social projects in the world are specially scrutinized together with Non-Govern- 35

mental Organizations of global civil society, with the objective of massively increasing the efficiency of support programs for ecological and social change,

5 ■ That small and medium-sized companies and actors receive special support within the framework of this Global Marshall Plan.

10 ■ That those Non-Governmental-Organizations sustaining this Initiative are taken up on their offer to support such a Global Marshall Plan using their full potential.

We are determined to promote this Initiative for as long as it takes to accomplish the aspired objectives.

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For further information: [www.globalmarshallplan.org](http://www.globalmarshallplan.org)

## Extract of Signatories of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative

as of June 25, 2004

Dr. Franz Alt, TV-Journalist, Author

Fernando Sanchez Arias, President Junior Chamber International

Dieter Althaus, Prime Minister of Thuringia

Josip Baotic, President Eco-Social Forum Croatia

Senta Berger, Actress

Dr. Vinod Bhalla, Businessman of the Year USA

Dr. Maritta von Bieberstein Koch-Weser, CEO GEXSI

HRH Prince El Hassan Bin Talal of Jordan, President Club of Rome

Carl-Eduard von Bismarck,

President Federal Ass. for Business Promotion and Foreign Trade (BWA)

Almaz and Karlheinz Böhm, Founder 'Menschen für Menschen'

René Böll, Artist, Publisher

Dr. Helga Breuninger, Director Breuninger Foundation

Dr. Fritz Brickwedde, President Deutsche Bundesstiftung Umwelt

Andreas Bummel, Managing Director Committee for a Democratic UN

Bert Christmann, President Junior Chamber Germany

Sir Arthur C. Clarke, Author

Prof. Paul J. Crutzen, Max-Planck Institute for Chemistry, Mainz

Borbála Czakó, President of Hungarian Business Leaders Forum

Ulrich Martin Drescher, Executive Board UnternehmensGrün

Prof. Dr. Eugen Drewermann, Theologian

Prof. Dr. Hans-Peter Dürr, Club of Rome, Alternative Nobel Prize Laureate

Dr. Peter Eigen, Chairperson Transparency International

Dr. Riane Eisler, Author

Prof. Dr. Duane Elgin, Futurologist

Count Hubertus von Faber-Castell, Entrepreneur

Peter Fernau, Member Board Club of Budapest

Lorenz Fritz, Secretary General Federation of Austrian Industry

Prof. Dr. Johann Galtung, Futurologist, Alternative Nobel Prize Laureate

Dr. Dietrich Garlichs, CEO UNICEF Germany

Prof. Dr. Maximilian Gege, Chairperson B.A.U.M.

Dr. Heiner Geißler, Former Federal Minister (Germany)

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- Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Former Foreign Minister (Germany)  
 Susan George, Transnational Institute, Amsterdam  
 Dr. Anselm G6rres, Green Budget Germany  
 Rosi Gollmann, Founder Andheri Hilfe Bonn e.V., Germany
- 5 Dr. Friedemann Greiner, Director Protestant Academy Tutzing  
 Dieter H6rthe, Federal Ass. for Business Promotion and Foreign Trade (BWA)  
 Dr. Berend Hartnagel, CEO Global Partnership  
 Dr. Volker Hauff, Chairman German Council for Sustainable Development  
 Dr. Bohan Hawrylyshyn, Club of Rome
- 10 Dr. Wolfgang Heidrich, EB Society for Promotion of Transfer and Innovation  
 Prof. Dr. Hazel Henderson, Economist, USA  
 Consul Peter Hesse, Peter Hesse Foundation  
 Prof. Vittorio H6sle, Professor of Philosophy, USA  
 Hans-Herbert Holzamer, S6ddeutsche Zeitung
- 15 Wolfram Huncke, Journalist, Wuppertal Institute  
 Hans Jecklin, Entrepreneur, Author  
 Amod K. Kanth, Founder Children's Fund Prayas, India  
 Prof. Dr. Margrit Kennedy, Futurologist  
 Marika Kilius, Former Olympic Champion in figure skating
- 20 Dr. Joachim Koch, Philosopher, Author  
 Wolfgang K6hr, Federal Ass. of Citizen Initiatives for Environmental Protection  
 Du'aïne Ladejo, Former 400m European Champion  
 Prof. Dr. Dr. Ervin Laszlo, President Club of Budapest  
 Jo Leinen, MEP
- 25 Rainer von Leoprechting, EU Commission  
 Frauke Liesenborghs, Managing Director Global Challenges Network  
 Shu-hsien Liu, Chinese Philosopher  
 Dr. Reinhard Loske, Dep. Chairman, Parl. Party of the Greens, Germany  
 Franz Maier, Managing Director Umweltdachverband Austria
- 30 Sandra Maischberger, TV-Presenter  
 Prof. Dr. Ram Adhar Mall, Society of Intercultural Philosophy  
 Prof. Dr. Reinhard Malz, University of Applied Sciences, Esslingen  
 Reinhold Messner, Environmental activist  
 Dr. Paul E. Metz, Managing Consultant
- 35 Uwe M6ller, Secretary General Club of Rome  
 Lady Fiona Montague, Ambassador Club of Budapest International  
 Helga und Hans-J6rgen M6ller, Project Mariposa

- Karl-Heinrich M6ller, Foundation Hombroich  
 Dr. Robert Muller, Former Vice Secretary General of the UN  
 Prof. Dr. Gyorgy N6gr6di, University of Economics, Budapest  
 Dr. Marcia Odell, Manager Women's Empowerment Program, Nepal
- Dr. Ute-Henriette Ohoven, UNESCO Ambassador 5
- Christian Osterhaus, CEO 'Menschen f6r Menschen'  
 Rajendra K. Pachauri, Chairman of the IPCC  
 Siegfried Pater, Film-maker and Author  
 Maartje van Putten, Inspection Panel World Bank
- Prof. Dr. Dr. Franz Josef Radermacher, Global Contract Foundation 10  
 Dipl.-Ing. Dr. h. c. Josef Riegler,  
 Former Vice Chancellor of Austria, Eco-Social Forum Europe  
 Wolfgang Riehn, Executive Board Yehudi-Menuhin-Foundation  
 Mary Robinson, Former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights
- Bibi Russell, Fashion for Development, Bangladesh 15  
 Dr. Peter Russell, Author  
 Daniel R. Schaubacher, President of People to People Belgium  
 Dr. Dr. Hermann Scheer, German MP, Alternative Nobel Prize Laureate  
 Prof. Ernst Scheiber, CEO Eco-Social Forum Europe
- Friedrich Schorlemmer, Theologian 20  
 Dr. Irmgard Schwaetzer, Former Minister of State, Germany  
 Karl-Ludwig Schweisfurth, Schweisfurth Foundation  
 Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Udo Simonis, Science Center Berlin  
 Peter Spiegel, Secretary General Club of Budapest
- George Starcher, Consultant, Author 25  
 Prof. Dr. Rita S6ssmuth, Former President of German Parliament  
 Jakob von Uexk6ll, World Future Council Initiative  
 Sir Peter Ustinov, UNICEF Ambassador †  
 Beate Weber, Lady Mayor Heidelberg, Germany
- Prof. Hubert Weiger, Honorary President of the Bavarian Section BUND 30  
 Prof. Dr. Raoul Weiler, President EU-Chapter Club of Rome, Brussels  
 Hubert Weinzierl, Honorary President BUND  
 Prof. Dr. Ernst Ulrich von Weizsäcker, German MP, Club of Rome  
 Prof. Dr. Lutz Wicke, Former State Secretary
- Anders Wijkman, MEP 35  
 Dr. Georg Winter, Entrepreneur, B.A.U.M. and INEM  
 Michael Zammit Cutajar, Former Executive Secretary UNFCCC

## Organizations

- AIIESEC Germany
- 5 Club of Budapest  
Committee for a Democratic UN  
Deutsche Bundesstiftung Umwelt (DBU)  
Eco-Social Forum Austria  
Eco-Social Forum Croatia
- 10 Eco-Social Forum Europe  
Environmental Protection Encouragement Agency (EPEA)  
Fairness Foundation  
Federal Association for Business Promotion and Foreign Trade (BWA)  
German Association of the Junior Chamber International (WJD)
- 15 German Association for the Club of Rome  
Global Contract Foundation  
The United World Philharmonic Youth Orchestra  
Umweltdachverband (Austria)  
VENRO - Association of German Development NGOs
- 20 YOIS

This list only shows an extract of the supporters of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative. The complete list is available at <http://www.globalmarshallplan.org>.  
For further information: [www.globalmarshallplan.org](http://www.globalmarshallplan.org)

## Testimonials by Signatories

"This Initiative will help to reduce poverty in developing countries, and will enable them to adopt domestic policies and strengthen institutions that will empower people to take advantage of global markets and thus will sharply increase the share of trade in their GDP. Reducing the debt of the most marginalized countries, especially in Africa, will create opportunities for them to participate more actively in globalization and the benefits it can bring [...]. This will also create more opportunities such as debt relief, which is particularly powerful for those countries that improve their investment climate and social services - thus enhancing the HIPC Initiative effectively. Encouraging investment and creating jobs requires good economic governance - measures to eradicate corruption, better-functioning bureaucracies and better regulation, contract enforcement, and protection of property rights - which will lead to sustainable development, especially in developing nations. I regard the Global Marshall Plan Initiative as a fine integration towards sustainable development and advise other individuals, organizations, institutions, agencies [...] to seek to apply its principles in their formal and informal setting."

**Mr. Akarue Careca Aghogho**  
**CEO Liberty 4 Africa**

"The realisation of the ecological Marshall Plan leads to a more just world, in which a child must no longer starve. That is our goal. Why shouldn't all industrial societies in the next decade achieve what the USA achieved in Western Europe after 1945 with the earlier Marshall Plan? The money is there - but the political will is still missing. Everyone and anyone can assist. Only then will the politics be dematerialised and human."

**Franz Alt**  
**TV Journalist and Author**

"The relationships of nations today are generally presented as conflicts or battles, for example battles over work places or natural resources. I think that this account is misleading. The population must pull together much more in order to tackle the global problems. Global wealth can only be created when all people are in a position to implement an ecological and social economy as well as be able to make use of comprehensive education and the latest technology."

**Thomas Bliem**

Thinking back to Marshall's idea to rebuild Europe, the continent so atrociously destroyed through the dreadful Second World War and the crimes of Adolf Hitler and his collaborators, was not an act of mercy but simply the victors' wish to reinstall Europe as a creative commercial partner. This also led to the introduction of the American economic system, the "debt principle".

The fact that Africa and other colonial nations need support for their development, should not solely be motivated by bad conscience but by the realistic consideration that without these countries - with a quarter of the world's population - without a doubt, there would be an economic disaster of unknown extent. One should not only think about the unimaginable poverty in these countries but especially about the future generations of our rich part of the world. That is the reason why I founded MENSCHEN FÜR MENSCHEN (people for people) and why I fully support ways of thought and action like that of a global economical plan."

**Dr. h.c. Karlheinz Böhm**

**Founder of Menschen für Menschen**

"The Breuninger Foundation is involved with international projects for adolescents to promote global awareness and action. These activities on the micro-level are just as important as the projects on the macro-level. I was convinced by the Global Marshall Plan Initiative's pragmatic approach. Only if we succeed to advance projects on the micro and macro level through

mutual support, will we reach the common goal: To make globalisation more just and ecologically acceptable, so that future generations will continue to have a future on this planet."

**Dr. Helga Breuninger**

**CEO Breuninger Foundation**

"Since the conference in Rio in 1992, the Deutsche Bundesstiftung Umwelt (German Federal Economic Foundation) has formally committed itself to the objectives of sustainability and adjusted its guidelines for funding accordingly. The alignment of its funding guidelines to cross-border and international funding can be seen in the foundation's overseas commitment for environmental protection and sustainability. A multitude of projects was supported in eastern Europe. The objectives of the Global Marshall Plan are in line with the orientation of the DBU. From the point of view of a foundation which focuses in its projects on small and medium-sized enterprises, we especially welcome the Initiative's cooperation with the private enterprise and the civil society considering fundamental entrepreneurial aspects to initiate a "new worldwide economic miracle" which combines a democratic social order, the protection of the environment and fighting poverty."

**Dr. Fritz Brickwedde**

**President DBU**

"Manage in a way that your way of management can be a model for future generations': This is the direction we, as environmentally orientated entrepreneurs, try to follow, especially in the light of unequally distributed economic development chances on a global level."

**Ulrich Martin Drescher**

**Founder of "UnternehmensGrün" Stuttgart**

"Ecology is the Economy of the 21st Century! Until now, socio-ethical and ecological aspects of the progressing globalisation have been strongly neglected. Of special severity are the effects on the climate - something we have already started to

experience. This applies especially when industrialising countries, which are based on dated and environmentally destructing standards, experience a boom.

If we as human beings want to survive this century, we must now join forces globally and invest in a eco-social and sustainable market economy. Money is invested into innovations and projects. That also applies to private financial investment, which can be used to invest in sustainable economies."

**Norbert Drews**  
**eco-best-invest**

"How to teach the Global Marshall Plan?

It is of utmost importance that one wins the hearts of the children and youths with this scheme, and that their enthusiasm is stimulated, since it is their world that we hope to be able to improve in the long run. If the aims of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative are explained properly to these young people in schools and universities, this encouragement can affect the whole human life.

In order to introduce the contents of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative into the educational systems of the various countries and to make the very complicated and extensive fields of knowledge understandable for young people learning for their future life, we will have to enter into strategic alliances. Essential aspects of the argumentation will have to be identified and adapted with help from the experts in that particular field of education. The aim is to create educational programmes (supported by internet, and in numerous languages) and to make the themes comprehensible for different age groups."

**Edwin Ferger**  
**Publishing House Ferger**

"I support the "Global Marshall Plan Initiative" because we are desperately in need of visions and concrete concepts, for which we can all aim in our daily work. The Global Marshall Plan offers such a vision. Finding sustainable alternatives to the past and existing ways of globalization, are also the goals

to which the World Future Council and B.A.U.M. are committed. Only when globalization is sustained, meaning eco-social, will we be able to achieve peace, freedom, security and wealth for all people. It is now essential to develop and implement concrete programs and concepts, which will make it possible to make these visions become a reality and to disperse them worldwide. There the "Global Marshall Plan Initiative" can make an important contribution."

**Prof. Dr. Maximilian Gege**  
**Executive board B.A.U.M. e.V.**  
**Vice President World Future Council**

"[...] that we carry responsibility in these times not only for ourselves, but for all future generations [...]. This example must apply without blinders to the problems. That is the major goal of the Stuttgart Declaration from today, which I support with all my heart, and I wish for everyone here to assimilate and contribute in spreading the word."

**Hans-Dietrich Genscher**  
**Former German Foreign Minister**

"Already the consensus on the goals is not easy - but what is even harder is the consensus on the means. This became evident in the massive rejection of the German "Eco Tax reform", in particular through "petrol populists". At the same time it is clear: the goals of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative are demanding, likewise the goals from Kyoto. The only chance to realize these goals, lies in combining all reasonable and effective instruments. There is no room for infantile competition between the advocates of different instruments, like between the advocates of emission trading and the supporters of the "Eco Tax". It is also evident, that re-routing the economy towards global sustainability can only succeed when the huge steering power of the fiscal system is applied."

**Dr. Anselm Görres**  
**Chairman Green Budget Germany**

"As founder of the German development organization Andheri-Hilfe Bonn e.V., I have been confronted for more than 40 years with the unacceptable injustice in this world. Close partnerships with the poor and oppressed, the disenfranchised and marginalized in addition to alarming experience on site, caused me to be one of the first to sign the the Stuttgart Declaration. The problem of inequality in our world is also a reason for violence, war and terrorism. We cannot accept that silently but instead must raise our voices for all the voiceless sufferers. Therefore for years I have worked intensively with the German group "Eine Welt für alle" and am Creative Member of the Club of Budapest. I am convinced that a new economic miracle can only be achieved when the poor, exploited and the unequal are integrated. For them but not without them! This must be an important principle in this new Initiative."

**Rosi Gollmann**

**Founder Andheri-Hilfe, Bonn**

"The Global Marshall Plan Initiative is a positive program to shift the world towards more equitable, ecologically-restorative, sustainable human development. Renewable energy and resource-based economies can replace today's disastrous competitive, resource-wasting globalization. More democratic, home-grown, locally-based economic prosperity can foster millions of new enterprises and hundreds of millions of new jobs and sustainable livelihoods. This strategy of a new information-rich "globalization" is technologically achievable today."

**Prof. Dr. Hazel Henderson**

"I support the Global Marshall Plan Initiative because current trends in world politics, economics, demography are simply not tenable. Unless fairly radical actions are undertaken on a global scale, humanity is heading towards a disaster. We need improvement in Global Governance, a return towards real multilateralism, significant help to less developed countries on condition of their commitment to adhere to political, administrative, environmental standards, reduction in growing gaps bet-

ween the rich and the poor within counties and between countries".

**Dr. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn**

**Chairman International Center for Policy Studies**

**- Geneva/Kyiv**

"For me, the idea was so easy and through that impressive: to transfer an idea that has already functioned well to today conditions and to ask for its support. As a child I also benefited from the Marshall Plan. Therefore I think it's only just if others - especially children, who are always affected the most - benefit from the new plan. We need to do something along these lines. I have therefore spontaneously decided to support the Global Marshall Plan Initiative as a complement to other initiatives such as Greenpeace."

**Krzysztof Jablonka**

"I wish for a Europe that not only supports the United Nations Millennium Development Goals with words but also with deeds. To be precise: through further opening of markets for poorer countries but also through more public development aid. While working for the IMF, I saw hunger and inconceivable misery, especially with women and children. But I also saw that targeted development cooperation can do a lot of good. For me the humaneness of our world is linked with Africa's fate. Isn't it a question of Europe's self-respect, in the light of our own foundations, values and history, to show honest and generous involvement in Africa?"

**Horst Köhler**

**Excerpt from his inaugural speech as Federal President on 1 July 2004 in the German Bundestag**

**([www.bundespraesident.de](http://www.bundespraesident.de))**

"The Global Marshall Plan represents for me the most convincing and realistic sustainability concept, that can, in the long run, help to overcome worldwide social injustice. With the

implementation of this plan, Europe would have the unique chance to put a world peace mission into effect.

I support this Initiative with all my heart and inner fire, because it has the welfare of all people in this imperilled planet in mind."

**Dr. Manfred Kohlhase**  
**Ecomanager 2002**

"I support the Global Marshall Plan Initiative because it aims at imbedding the global markets in a social and ecological frame of order from the local to the global level and at strengthening the roll of the civil society against the fast developing economy. At the same time, the ecology must not be neglected: There can not be combat against poverty in the South without environmental protection, and there will also be no global wealth without a reduction in the use of resources in the north."

**Dr. Reinhard Loske**  
**Deputy Chairman of the parliamentary party of the Greens, Germany**

"Global Marshall Plan: From Words to Actions! The Global Marshall Plan Initiative is one of the most promising European movements for the necessary step-by-step transformation of our economic, financial and political system towards sustainability. No utopias or ideologies are proclaimed, but feasible, efficient, and effective ways for a worldwide Eco-Social market economy. For me it is the attempt to shake off the ties of the ancients, "saturated" Europe, to overcome the bureaucratic, budgetary and political hurdles, as well as to venture a new start to more peace, wealth and security on this planet. As an environmentalist I am especially concerned about securing biodiversity and the basis for natural foundations of life. The Global Marshall Plan Initiative is the great chance to walk the talk of the many conferences and papers."

**Franz Maier**  
**Director Umweltdachverband (Austria)**

"The world is in a complex crisis on many fields. The main scarcity is Good Governance to manage this situation and prevent increasing chaos. I believe that the Global Marshall Plan Initiative is a constructive force for the promotion of Good Governance by integrating sustainable development into the proces of globalization - which is usually believed to be autonomous, unstoppable and uncontrolable. It is not, and it can be made humane and more productive by creating a high-level playing field of social, ecological and cultural qualities."

**Dr. Paul E. Metz**  
**Managing Consultant INTEGeR consult**

"I consider the idea to promote a Global Marshall Plan excellent and exemplary, for such an Initiative would point out to people in the developing and swelling countries and in war-torn and dangerous regions the way out of the crisis, which would promise a humane and self determined life. We in Europe know exactly what we are talking about, for it was the Marshall Plan which proved a way out for us after the catastrophe of the second World War from ruins, sorrow, tyranny, terror and fear. Without the Marshall Plan, the democracies which were rebuilt in Europe after the war would have remained an unrealised dream."

**Dr. Ute-Henriette Ohoven**  
**UNESCO Ambassadress**

"The Global Marshall Plan commemorates the fact, that instead of "small strategies", "big" comprising strategies were also possible when it was about showing solidarity to overcome the consequences of the second World War. For 50 years, the community of states has not seized the opportunity of an Initiative comparable to the Marshall Plan. When, if not now, is such an opportunity offered - an opportunity to combat the causes and consequences of the World Wars against the natural basis of life?"

**Dr. Dr. Hermann Scheer**  
**MP Germany, Alternative Nobel Prize laureate**



"The Marshall Plan was a visionary plan. The same kind of visionary plan is needed today, not to rebuild once-prosperous countries and economies, but to bring prosperity, economic development, and democratic government to places and peoples who have been denied them too long."

**Jürgen E. Schremp**  
**Chairman Daimler Chrysler**

"In the process of globalization with striking concomitant differences in the development of different regions in the world, the increasing global interdependence must be made public and shaped also with urgent global challenges and questions of peace, security, demographic change, use of resources, protection of the environment etc. It has to be recognized that economic development furthers the set-up of social standards and consequently peace and (international) security - conditions which, among other things, make less people flee and migrate from their homelands. This list of examples for such dependencies could be enlarged endlessly. It is most important that these dependencies are recognised and that it is understood that the sole concentration on national solutions will not solve global problems. Goals and insights of the developed countries shall not lead to the exclusion of the developing countries from global wealth but must contribute to their development.

It is important that we create general conditions, in which the numerous challenges of today's world are addressed and are tackled by us as stakeholders. For that, the various actors such as NGOs, governments, institutions and other initiatives must jointly develop and discuss corresponding strategies.

Coordinated economic development aid helps to share the positive effects of globalization as well as the responsibility for upcoming global problems with all countries and regions of the world."

**Prof. Dr. Rita Süßmuth**  
**Former President of German Parliament**

"The future is most important. For me as a singer, composer and producer (The Globalization Saga - Balance or Destruction) that has become the life motto. Globalization, migration, ecology and electric power are issues with which every person, independent from work and vocation, should be concerned. Therefore I support the Global Marshall Plan Initiative; because we all live in this world and need initiatives like this. When we understand this and act accordingly, life on this planet will be a wonderful never-ending story for us and future generations."

**Solvig Wehsener**  
**Singer / Composer**

"I think that your Initiative harbours one of the greater hopes for humanity in this critical period."

**M. Willemse Stichting**  
**Voedselbank Noord-Limburg**

"What is really remarkable in the Global Marshall Plan Initiative is the visible positive action and stable development step by step! The famous Russian academic Nikita Moiseev (1917 - 2000) wrote in 1996 about the necessity of the New Marshall Plan. I quite agree with Professor Radermacher: a "business as usual" approach can not be ecologically endured beyond some kind of limited irreversible process because it will bring our planet to a state of global catastrophe the responsibility of our generation is to stop and to convert destructive trends and to support positive action!"

**Dr. Vladimir Zolotarev**  
**Noosphere Information Fund (Global Survival)**

## The Author

**Franz Josef Radermacher**, born in 1950, married, 1 son. Holds a PhD in mathematics and economics (RWTH Aachen 1974, University of Karlsruhe 1976). Postdoctoral lecture qualification in mathematics from the RWTH Aachen in 1982. 1983-1987 professor for applied information technology at the University of Passau. Since 1987 director of the Research Institute for Applied Knowledge Processing (FAW) in Ulm. At the same time appointed professor for data bases and artificial intelligence at the University of Ulm. 1988-1992 president of the Society for Mathematics, Economy and Operations Research (GMÖOR). 1990-1993 member of the research council of Baden-Wuerttemberg, 1992-1993 member of the "Future Commission Economy 2000", 1994-1996 member of the "Innovation Council" and 1995-1996 member of the Enquête Commission "Development Chances and Effects of new Information and Communication Technologies Baden-Wuerttemberg (Multimedia Enquête)".

Since 1995 member of the "Information Society Forum" of the European Commission (since beginning of 1997 also director of the working group for "Sustainability in an Information Society" as well as member of the steering committee). Since 1997 spokesperson of the working group "Information Society and Sustainable Development" in the Forum Info 2000 / Forum Information Society of the German Federal Government. 1997 laureate of the Science Prize of the Society for Mathematics, Economy and Operations Research (GMÖOR). 1997 member of the scientific council of the EXPO 2000 AG for the subject areas "Planet of Visions" and "The 21st Century". Since 2000 member of the scientific council of the Federal Ministry of Transport, Civil Engineering and Housing (BMVBW). Since 2000 chairperson of the "Global Society Dialogue" of the Information Society Forum of the EU.

Since 2001 Vice President of the Eco-Social Forum Europe. Since 2002 member of the "Council for Sustainable Development" of the government of Baden-Wuerttemberg as well as member of the jury for the nomination for the German Environmental Award. 2002 member of the "Train Council" of the Deutsche Bahn AG.

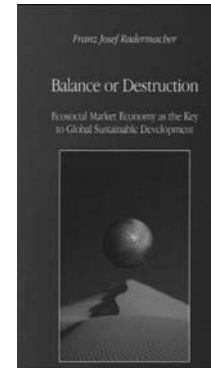
2002 member of the Club of Rome. Since 2002 member of the board of trustees of the Global Contract Foundation. 2003 appointed to the council of "art, science & business" of the Academy Schloss Solitude, Stuttgart. 2003 President of the scientific council of the Federal Association for Business Promotion and Foreign Trade (BWA). Member of the German National Committee of the UNESCO for the world decade "education for sustainable development" 2005 – 2014.

2003 appointed scientific coordinator of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative.

Prof. Radermacher is the author of more than 200 scientific papers in the areas of applied mathematics, operations research, applied information technology, systems theory as well as related issues of research of the consequences of technology and ethics / philosophy; the latter also in relation with global problems. His sociopolitical interest is focused on the changeover to the information society, learning organizations, treatment of risks, responsibility of individuals and systems, environmentally friendly mobility, sustainable development and the problem of excess of population.

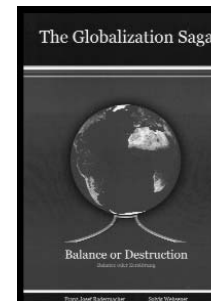
The Research Institute for Applied Knowledge Processing (FAW) is a foundation under public law with the following founders: State of Baden-Wuerttemberg, Compaq Computer GmbH, DaimlerChrysler AG, Deutscher Sparkassen Verlag GmbH, Jenoptik AG, State of Carinthia, Robert Bosch GmbH, Stadtparkasse Cologne, Tecomac AG and ZF Friedrichshafen AG. The institute develops integrated systemic solutions in information technologically demanding interdisciplinary subject areas, especially integrated production systems, enterprise integration, decision supporting systems, environmental information systems, assisting systems, transport, communication systems, industrial software production, autonomous systems, mechatronics; here the development of the environmental information system of Baden-Wuerttemberg is scientifically accompanied.

### More publications of the same author



Radermacher, F. J.:  
Balance or Destruction: Eco-Social Market Economy as key to worldwide sustainable Development.  
Eco-Social Forum Europe, Vienna 2002

Price: 15,- Euro  
To be ordered at [www.globalmarshallplan.org](http://www.globalmarshallplan.org)  
(in German or English)



Radermacher, F. J. and Wehsener, S.:  
The Globalization Saga - Balance or Destruction. Musical Storybook, CD and VHS Video. Ulm, 2003/2004

Individual Price: 15,- Euro  
Two Parts: 25,- Euro  
All Parts: 35,- Euro

To be ordered at [www.globalmarshallplan.org](http://www.globalmarshallplan.org)  
(in German or English)

