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International Conference on Federalism 2002 August 27–30, 2002, St. Gallen, Switzerland

Federalism in a changing world – Learning from each other

Final report

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1. Introduction

The International Conference on Federalism 2002 took place from the 27th to the 30th of August 2002 at the University of St. Gallen. This event brought together 600 participants from some 60 countries to discuss federalist models for problem-solving, in a learning-oriented dialogue. Some 150 of those present were Swiss. In addition, 55 young practitioners and researchers in federalism from 36 countries took part in a complementary program in which they discussed the themes of the conference in greater depth.

The conference, a joint project of the Swiss Confederation and the cantons, looked at the following three themes in federalism: "Federalism and foreign relations," "Federalism, decentralization, and conflict management in multicultural societies," and "Assignment of responsibilities and fiscal federalism." The content of these themes was developed according to a concept tailored to the conference. This concept included recently developed methods to promoteboth political dialogue and the learning process.

This report is divided into ten chapters describing the organization of the International Conference on Federalism 2002 project from its historical background through to a final assessment. The report includes a complete file (*appendices*) of all important documents and objects related to the conference.

2. Historical background

The first International Conference on Federalism took place in October 1999 at Mont-Tremblant, Quebec, Canada. Organized by the Forum of Federations, a Canadian NGO, it brought together 500 people from 25 countries. The conference dealt with the many challenges to federal systems posed by the declining importance of political borders. Speakers included President Bill Clinton of the United States, President Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico, and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien of Canada.

At this conference, Switzerland volunteered to organize the next one, scheduled for 2002, a decision to which the cantons gladly offered their cooperation. The project was organized on an equal basis by the Confederation and the cantons (*see March 2000 Federal Council Decree [FCD], appendix 2*). The Confederation collaborated with political authorities via the Federal Department of Justice and Police and the Federal Office of Justice. The secretariat of the Conference of Cantonal Governments undertook, on behalf of the cantons, coordination among cantonal governments.

Switzerland was chosen to organize the International Conference on Federalism 2002 for a number of reasons. One of the oldest federations in the world, Switzerland has lived a long and successful experiment in federalism, and is extremely multicultural, with four different linguistic regions within its small area. Switzerland's small size and its historic, cultural, and religious diversity have given Swiss federalism a unique character. Its rich federalist tradition and its commitment to international discussion made Switzerland an appropriate place to hold the International Conference on Federalism. Organizing the conference gave Switzerland an ideal occasion to contribute to democracy and peaceful cohabitation of peoples, in perfect accordance with its foreign policy objectives.

After a selection process from among 14 cantons, the Federal Council decided in December 2000 (*see appendix 3*) that the canton of St. Gallen would host the International Conference on Federalism 2002 and that the University of St. Gallen would be the conference site.

3. Themes of the conference

In its March 2000 decree, the Federal Council listed as themes for the conference three problematic subject areas of particular relevance: federalism and foreign relations; federalism, decentralization, and conflict management in multicultural societies; and assignment of responsibilities and fiscal federalism. In cooperation with the Leading Houses, the Office divided each of the three main themes into four sub-themes:

- Federalism and foreign relations

The distinction between internal and foreign policy is now obsolete. Changes both on the international scene and within states have brought about a trend away from the traditional doctrine of "unity towards the outside, diversity on the inside" and towards diversity visible from both the inside and the outside. The institutionalization of international politics has moved the locus of decision-making away from national (federal) networks to international organizations. There is thus a propensity to seek more and more centralized solutions. In consequence, federated entities are seeking to reinforce their influence on international relations, demanding the right to more effective participation in the federation's foreign policy, developing their own foreign relations with other countries and federated entities, and in particular trying to federalize international and supranational organizations from below.

This subject was discussed in four sub-themes:

- 1. Foreign relations of sub-national units
- 2. Participation of sub-national units in the foreign policy of the federation
- 3. Implementation of international and supranational law by subnational units
- 4. Federal structures and foreign policy of international and supranational organizations

- Federalism, decentralization, and conflict management in multicultural societies

Ethnic conflicts are the chief threat to peace in multicultural societies. In this regard, the legitimacy of the state has a central role: if the state holds no legitimacy in the eyes of the minority or the majority, good governance alone will be unable to resolve the problems stemming from the cultural division. The central question is who should govern whom, and which majority should govern which minority. Consequently, institutions, theories, and principles that take diversity into account must be developed. This theme has two main points. First, it must be determined to what extent and in what circumstances federalism can provide solutions to the challenge of legitimacy and conflict management in multicultural societies. Secondly, it must be shown that most conflicts in multicultural societies are affairs of state, and cannot be reduced to problems of human rights or minority protection.

This subject was discussed in four sub-themes:

- 1. Constitution-making and nation-building
- 2. Decentralization and good governance
- 3. Communities civil society and conflict management
- 4. International and regional action with regard to conflicts in multicultural societies

- Assignment of responsibilities and fiscal federalism

Decentralization in assignment of responsibilities and conventions of financial equalization are a fertile source of topics to discuss, because in both industrialized and developing countries, sub-national entities are trying to weaken the central government's monopoly on decision-making in this field. To make the decentralization process proceed more smoothly, the roles and responsibilities of the various levels of government must be rethought. The theory of fiscal federalism is an important aid to understanding the central problems, though it does not systematically propose correct solutions. At the same time, a number of comparative studies on several subjects in various states are a rich source of information on varied national experiences. Such information is of great value in reworking basic conceptual and theoretical structures. With a modicum of political will and reason, it should be possible to harmonize the economic and political fields.

This subject was discussed in four sub-themes:

- 1. Fiscal decentralization in transition economies and developing countries
- 2. Fiscal federalism and political decision structures
- 3. Problems of equalization in federal systems
- 4. Fiscal competition

4. Concept of the conference

In the rapidly changing modern world, federalism is increasing in importance as a political idea that promotes a peaceful relationship between unity and diversity in a political system. Globalization and the transition from an industrial to a knowledge-based society both promote this trend. Although the convergence of common objectives of subordinate institutions (shared rule) and regional self-determination of subnational governments (self-rule) lead to certain structural commonalities among federations, there are many variations in the practical realization of the federal idea. Consequently, one must consider the interaction between society, the constitution, political institutions, and procedures.

As society quickly evolves, federal systems are likewise in transformation. It is therefore wise to share experiences and learn from one another about dealing with common problems. For this reason, the project organizers gave the International Conference on Federalism 2002 the title "Federalism in a changing world: Learning from each other." Following this notion, the conference was planned as a "forum for learning." Knowledge was shared in three different stages, as a "knowledge spiral," via the three main parts of the Conference (for more detail, see Blindenbacher/Watts in the conference book, and the transparency of the conference schedule, appendix 4).

In the "combination stage," prior to the conference, participants were encouraged to familiarize themselves with the latest developments in the areas covered by the conference. In order to provide reliable bases, well-known experts in federalism were asked to prepare very concise working documents on the three themes of the conference (see ch. 3). Each of the chosen themes was divided into four sub-themes, on which internationally renowned experts prepared in-depth briefings and highlighted related issues. During a preliminary conference, which took place at Glion/Montreux between February 14 and 16, 2002, these texts and issues were discussed in detail, reworked, and summarized in a Conference Reader (see appendix 5; for the preliminary conference, see the Federal Council's March 2002 information sheet and transparency of the preliminary conference schedule, appendix 6). The Conference Reader, prepared exclusively for the conference, was sent to the participants two months before the beginning of

the conference. The themes themselves were briefly presented during a plenary session on opening day.

In order for the participants to be prepared from the beginning of the conference for the idea of a forum for learning, the Conference Reader was accompanied by a Conference Preview (*see appendix 7*). This document briefly and clearly explained the concept for the conference as well as the whole organization of the project.

The second stage on the knowledge spiral is the "internalization stage," in which, the participants deductively analyzed their own practical reality in light of the theoretical knowledge they had gained. In this step, participants attended two worksessions, each $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours long and devoted to a particular sub-theme. These worksessions encouraged multinational dialogue among equals, in order to develop innovative and exemplary solutions based both on themes and on cases. A total of 24 worksessions were held over two half-days, and were summarized in writing (see conference book, appendix 8).

The final stage was for each individual to share what he or she had learned with the other participants through an inductive process. This step, the "externalization stage," consisted of round tables and plenary sessions. The round tables were an interactive space, with the participants organized into small groups without a specific division into speakers and audience. The participants in the four worksessions on one theme then met in a room, divided into groups of seven to twelve people, and were seated at large tables. The participants then shared what they had learned during the workshops. The information shared around each discussion table was noted by the moderator, presented at the end of the day during a plenary session, and finally summarized in writing for the conference book (appendix 8). The externalization stage also included presentations to the plenary sessions at the end of each day, in which important figures, such as federal presidents or prime ministers, presented their vision of federalism. The texts of these speeches are also reprinted in the conference book.

The conference's success was mainly due to the participation of people from all walks of life (a triangulation process), especially young people, who took part in a complementary programme designed to help them understand the topics of the conference more deeply. The 55 young people from 36 countries chosen to participate in the conference were practitioners and researchers in federalism aged between 20 and 30. In groups of four, they wrote papers on one of the themes or sub-themes of the conference, describing the future challenges to federalism in that area and sketching out possible solutions. The youth program began one day before the conference, with a presentation and discussion of these papers. After the conference closed, the young people spent an extra day critically reexamining these papers in light of their experiences at the conference. The result of this work is included in the youth conference book, which was also provided to the

other conference participants (see concept, schedule transparency, and book in appendix 9).

5. Mandate and organization of the project

In its December 2000 decree, the Federal Council, with the agreement of the cantonal governments, assigned the preparation, realization, and oversight of the conference to the project organization team, made up of the Project Office and Project Directorate (see project organization chart, appendix 10). The mandate specified in particular that the conference was to serve as a platform for constructive exchange of experiences and information on federalism between key figures and decision-makers from around the world. The idea was to develop new federal models for problem solving taking global change into account, in a learning-oriented dialogue. The conference thereby aimed to contribute to peace and stability in the world. The Federal Council also insisted on the importance of actively involving interested youth in the conference.

The Project Office was responsible for strategy for the whole project. It set the general concept for the conference, planned the academic preparation for it, and coordinated all people and organizations involved in working on it. The Project Office was composed of the chairman, former federal councillor Arnold Koller; the federal representative, Prof. Luzius Mader, vice-director of the Federal Office of Justice; the cantonal representative, André Baltensperger, represented by Canisius Braun after September 1, 2002; and the project director, Raoul Blindenbacher (non-voting). The Office met a total of 32 times (see minutes, appendix 11).

The Project Directorate was responsible for the operational aspects of the conference, including development, planning, budget, and organization, as well as practical collaboration with outside people and organizations. The Directorate regularly advised the Project Office of the progress of work and finances.

The three thematic working groups, named Leading Houses, were assigned the academic preparation for the conference. These three groups worked closely with Swiss and foreign academics. Each Leading House named a coordinator responsible for its organization. This coordinator could, if necessary, attend Project Office meetings as a non-voting observer. Also, Prof. Ronald L. Watts of Canada made himself available to the Project Office as an academic counsellor of worldwide prestige, a service he had provided for the first International Conference on Federalism.

The International Students' Committee (ISC) of the University of St. Gallen was resonsible for the logistical organization of the conference on site. The ISC advised the Project Directorate during the operational preparations for

the conference; 200 students actively contributed to the conference's operations. Canada's Forum of Federations and a special consultative committee set up for the conference provided advisory support. The consultative committee met three times and served as a contact office for groups interested in the conference (see minutes, appendix 12).

6. Organization and logistics

The project team was the pivot and cornerstone of the conference. During the conference, it consisted of 11 people, six of whom had come together from the beginning of the project in November 2000, and the rest of whom had joined in the second half of the year before the conference began. After the conference, the team was immediately reduced, first to five, then to two in spring 2003. Four project leaders were each responsible for one of four areas of the project: organization, project, academic issues, and communication (see organization chart for project directorate, appendix 13). The project team was administratively subject to the Federal Office of Justice. The Federal Department of Foreign Affairs provided office space and infrastructure. A week prior to the conference and for the duration thereof, the project team was placed temporarily under a response organization (see organization chart for the response organization, appendix 14), which included, among others, the ISC and various security organizations. Also, a "local coordination group" was created as a liaison between the project team in Bern and the local authorities in St. Gallen; it met four times (see minutes, appendix 15).

Conference participants were chosen according to specified criteria (e.g. occupation, nationality) and quotas (e.g. 150 Swiss, 200 Europeans, 250 non-Europeans; or 50% from federations, 33% from decentralized states, and 16% from states under other political systems) (see Overview of Participants by Country, appendix 16). Swiss embassies contributed greatly to the search for persons from their respective countries to invite personally to the conference. Using a contact management program (Access), specially developed for the conference, more than 1800 addresses were recorded and as many invitations sent out (see invitation and registration form, appendix 17). In total, 600 people from some 60 countries registered (see participant list, appendix 18). Conference documentation was sent to them in two large mailouts.

Among the well-known people to participate in the conference were Johannes Rau, president of the Federal Republic of Germany; Vojislav Kostunica, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; Amadou Toumani Touré, president of the Republic of Mali; Jean Chrétien, prime minister of Canada; Wolfgang Schüssel, federal chancellor of the Republic of Austria; Guy Verhofstadt, prime minister of the Kingdom of Belgium; George Fernandes, defence minister of the Republic of India; Xóchitl

Gálvez, head of the Mexican Office of the President on the Rights of Indigenous People; Giuliano Amato, vice-president of the European Convention; and Antonin Scalia, associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The conference brought together 5 heads of state or government, 13 federal ministers, 6 leaders of regional governments, 17 members of federal parliaments, 34 members of regional parliaments, and 4 judges in federal constitutional courts (see VIP participant list, appendix 19).

Switzerland was well represented by important figures such as federal councillors Kaspar Villiger, Ruth Metzler-Arnold, and Joseph Deiss, as well as some 15 members of the two chambers of the federal parliament, notably Anton Cottier, Speaker of the Council of States. The Federal Courts, the Federal Chancellery, and the administration were also represented. Nearly half of the cantons were represented by members of their governments, most of whom contributed to the conference by chairing worksessions. The Conference of Cantonal Governments was represented by its former president Peter Schönenberger, president of the canton of St. Gallen, and by its current president Luigi Pedrazzini (canton of Ticino). Cities and communes were also represented at the conference.

The guests were housed in some twenty hotels, both within the city of St. Gallen and throughout the five cantons of the Lake Constance region. To reduce travel times, the guests were chauffeured between the conferences and their hotels in fifteen cars provided by the Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection, and Sports, and 35 limousines sponsored by BMW. For arrival and departure, the Swiss railway SBB provided each participant with a first class Day Card. Each participant received the conference documents in a complimentary bag specially created for the occasion by an Italian designer and manufactured by an Indian women's fair trade cooperative (see complete package in the documentation file). The documents included a Conference Booklet containing a summary of all the essential information for the conference (see appendix 20). Each participant also received a SpotMe, a small portable computer allowing them to identify other participants within 20 metres, consult information on the conference, and send text messages. The conference's corporate identity included a logo representing both the conference's themes and its Swiss location. This logo was featured on all important items, such as the conference's letterhead, publications, pin, screen, bag, etc. (see "2nd floor south" documentation, appendix 21).

The overall conference schedule was designed for participants to get to know the local, national, and international aspects of the region (see transparency of the social programme, 22). To this end, the conference schedule supplemented the official activities with leisure activities before and after the conference. These included a day trip in the region the day before the conference; tours of the city of St. Gallen the morning of the first

day and the afternoon of the last day; and a guided tour of EXPO 02 (in and around Neuchâtel) the day after the last day. On the first evening, participants enjoyed a buffet of Swiss specialties and a performance of Swiss folk music, organized by the ISC and the cantons. The evening of the second day of the conference took place at the St. Gallen theatre, with a show by the Mummenschanz pantomime group and a dinner in the concert hall. On the last evening, the Austrian state of Vorarlberg invited the participants to Bregenz, the state capital, where they enjoyed an international show on a lakeside stage, followed by a dinner (see Bregenz/Vorarlberg invitation, appendix 23).

The ISC was responsible for logistical organization on the conference site. This included all installation and removal of the conference infrastructure (furniture, tents, electronics, etc.) During the conference, the ISC's main task was to manage the various service areas, such as the check-in, the info desk, the transportation desk, the lounge, the permanent buffet, the office centre, the media centre, the banking services centre, the book shop, the changing rooms, the documentation centre, the internet broadcasting centre, and the first aid centre. The ISC also provided all refreshments for the conference site via a catering service. Screens placed throughout the conference site continuously displayed important information on the conference, rebroadcasts of the plenary sessions, and video programs specially produced for the conference consisting of VIP interviews on the subject of federalism (see video programs 1-4, appendix 24).

7. Security

One of the criteria for choosing the host canton was its willingness to pay for conference security (see contest documents, appendix 25). This is why security was not included in the project organization budget. This point was called into question after the events of Seattle, Genoa, and Davos (World Economic Forum), and the September 11, 2001 attacks. It became apparent that the canton of St. Gallen no longer had the material and human resources to provide the necessary security measures by itself.

Drawing on the experiences of the WEF, the St. Gallen cantonal police drew up security arrangements taking the new threats into account (*see basic order on the Conference on Federalism, appendix 26*). The security forces called for by these arrangements consisted of personnel from the police forces of the canton and city of St. Gallen, the police concordat of Eastern Switzerland, the Federal Security Service, the Fortification Guards, and the army. Supplementary expenses for these intensive security arrangements (electronic badges, 24-hour surveillance and lighting, power for baggage X-rays) came to 350 000 francs, which came out of the project organization budget. These expenses are mentioned separately in the March 2003 interim balance sheet (*see appendix 27*).

In conclusion, the security measures implemented by the St. Gallen cantonal police fulfilled expectations. The conference took place without incident, in a relaxed atmosphere that never felt like a fortress despite the appropriately strict security measures.

8. Public Relations

Public relations arrangements had three main objectives. First, they had to provide for the political and media needs of the Confederation, the cantons, and the host canton. Secondly, they had to forestall the spread of negative media rumours before the conference, especially on security measures. Third, they had to inform the national and international public about the relatively unpublicized theme of the conference. This last objective was achieved by the production and publication of a wide and diverse range of documents detailing the conference's topics. These included the Conference Preview (see appendix 7); special editions of Federations (see appendix 28), the Cahiers mensuels suisses (see appendix 29), and Politorbis (see appendix 30); the Conference Reader (see appendix 5); the conference book (see appendix 8); and the youth conference book (see appendix 9). The website was an important communication tool during the conference; essential information was broadcast rapidly, worldwide, to good effect, and at limited expense (see www.federalism2002.ch). Swiss Info's special Federalism page also received wide international exposure: this radio station broadcast the most important parts of the conference on its website. All public relations activities aimed at projecting a harmonious, easily identifiable, and professional image of the conference, with very positive results.

To publicize the event in the print media and on radio and television, five press conferences were held at regular intervals before the event. The first took place on May 8, 2001, at the University of St. Gallen; the second, in relation to the preliminary conference at Glion/Montreux, was held on February 14, 2002, at the Geneva Press Club; the third was on July 3, 2002, in the St. Gallen canton council building; the fourth was on August 14, 2002, in Bern; and the last was on August 16, 2002, again in the St. Gallen canton council building (see press releases, appendix 31).

Whereas the press conferences were open to all members of the media, an accreditation procedure was required to attend the conference (*see Media Accreditation, appendix 32*). A comfortable media centre was set up to accommodate 125 accredited journalists. According to the Argus media watch company, media exposure was excellent, both in Switzerland and abroad. In the Canadian press alone, no fewer than 70 articles mentioned the conference, both during and afterwards. Besides the national media (a dozen articles in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (NZZ) and many reports on Swiss radio

and television networks) and the local media (six detailed presentations and daily reports in the *St. Galler Tagblatt*), detailed articles on the conference appeared in major European newspapers such as the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, the *Wiener Standard*, *La Presse*, and the Italian newspapers *Corriere della Sera* and *La Stampa*. The Directorate is also aware of articles on the conference published in Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, China, India, Mali, Mexico, the Netherlands, Niger, Spain, Sri Lanka, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Yugoslavia (*see press summary, appendix 33*).

The broad national and international media exposure is also thanks to the conference organizers, who made sure that the conference documents were translated into as many languages as possible. The common languages were German, French, Italian, and English, while certain documents were also translated into Spanish and Russian. These six languages were also the official languages for all plenary sessions at the conference.

In order to interest the local population in the conference topics and the speakers, a public forum was organized for the evening of August 28, 2002, at the OLMA convention centre. This forum attracted thousands, many of whom were students. Speakers included federal councillor Joseph Deiss; Reinhold Dreiss, minister of federal and european affairs for the state of Bavaria; Prof. Thomas Fleiner of the Institute of Federalism of the University of Fribourg; and Kathrin Hilber, state councillor of the canton of St. Gallen. To visually promote the conference, a broad advertising campaign was carried out with the help of the Société générale d'affichage (SGA) in the city and region of St. Gallen during the month before the conference (see poster, appendix 34).

The conference ended on June 5, 2003, with a vernissage for the conference book and youth conference book, with the guests who participated specially in the project. A film on the conference was completed in late August 2003. This twenty-minute film gives an overview of the history and importance of federalism, with interviews with several important figures before and during the conference (see description, appendix 35).

9. Finances

Costs for the conference were estimated at 5 million francs. The Confederation put up 2 million francs for the organization of the conference and the cantons put up an equal amount. The balance of 1 million francs was to be financed by contributions from sponsors. The Confederation promised to absorb 1 million francs of deficit (see FCD, appendixes 2 and 3). Financial management, including budget planning, finance control, accounting, and auditing, was done in collaboration with PriceWaterhouseCoopers (PWC) (see PWC documents, appendix 36). Cash

payments were dealt with by the financial service of the Federal Office of Justice, under the supervision of the Swiss Federal Audit Office.

Sponsoring was based on an ad hoc concept (*see appendix 37*). The search for sponsors was difficult for a number of reasons: the recession, the simultaneous EXPO 02, the unique subject of the conference, and the conference's nature as a presentation of the Confederation and the cantons. Nevertheless, three quarters of the budgeted sponsorship funds were found (735 963 francs). More than 30 corporations and organizations contributed to the conference's success by benefits in kind, sponsored events, product placements, or support for a theme or a particular project (*cf. liste des sponsors en annexe 37*).

Each conference participant was charged a fee of 1 500 francs. This included all transportation costs in Switzerland, lodging during the conference, participation in the whole conference programme, and the conference documents and publications. Participants from developing countries could request that their fee be waived (*see application for financial support, appendix 38*). This waiver was granted in 150 cases. Fees were also waived for participants who carried out a specific task during the conference and for youth conference participants.

In accordance with the interim balance sheet from late March 2003 (see appendix 27), the budget had an overrun of some 350 000 francs due to unforeseeable security costs (see chapter 7). The Confederation's deficit guarantee absorbed this amount, in accordance with decisions already made in 2002 (budget decrees). The budget included 220 750 francs for post-conference work up until the end of August 2003.

10. Evaluation

Federal councillor Ruth Metzler-Arnold presented an initial evaluation of the International Conference on Federalism 2002 to the Federal Council in an information sheet dated September 19, 2002 (see appendix 39). This document describes the diverse activities and enriching bilateral meetings between federal councillors and foreign guests. It also describes that the conference went superbly, according to the mandate from the Confederation and the cantons; the discussions were substantial, the ambiance excellent, and the organization very well managed. The cantonal governments agreed with this assessment during the plenary assembly of the Conference of Cantonal Governments on October 3, 2002 (see appendix 40).

The Confederation and cantons' evaluation of the conference was supported by a survey of participants about the preparation, organization, and thematic presentation of the conference. 81% of those surveyed generally evaluated the quality of the conference as "excellent"; the other 19% rated it "good."

The survey also demonstrated the value of the "forum for learning" concept, which, based on a solid presentation of the themes (the Conference Reader), allowed in-depth discussions. 98% of participants described the worksessions as good or excellent, 88% had the same opinion of the plenaries, and 70% agreed for the round tables (see appendix 41). The importance of communicating the conference concept well was frequently mentioned. All participants agreed that for the concept to be put into practice successfully, all participants must understand the concept well and it must be feasible with regard to its content.

The whole conference took place in a relaxed atmosphere that was chiefly thanks to the 200 student volunteers from the University of St. Gallen, recruited and directed by the ISC. Their enthusiasm marked the conference and was greatly appreciated by the participants. The varied overall programme also greatly contributed to the conference's enjoyable environment.

The results at the level of the conference's content are documented in numerous conference publications, in particular the 600-page conference book published by McGill-Queen's University Press. The publication of this book by an internationally known press has given the conference's results exposure to a broader public (politicians, civil servants, and academics). The publishing house plans to reprint the book as part of a less expensive collection, allowing it to be marketed in developing countries.

After the conference, the project organizers received more than 250 letters and e-mails giving personal impressions and experiences from the high points of the conference. Informal networks grew among the participants, allowing informal exchange of knowledge on issues in federalism, as shown by the numerous contacts made on the basis of these networks over the last few months (e.g. fact-finding mission by a delegation from the North Caucasus region; fact-finding mission by a delegation from Georgia; meetings with delegations from the LTTE and parliamentary groups from Sri Lanka; visit by the prime minister of the German-speaking Community of Belgium). The International Youth Federalism Network (cf. FedNet@forumfed.org and appendix 42), founded by the youth conference participants, is another example of this continuing dialogue.

In order to continue the dialogue on federalism begun in Canada and Switzerland, Belgium declared during the conference that it was interested in hosting the International Conference on Federalism 2004. India announced its interest in holding the next one, thereby achieving a desirable result of moving the discussion of federalism into the global south.

The conference uncovered certain needs in the field of federalism, in particular the need to intensify dialogue and cooperation between federalist states. A concrete proposal was the idea of turning Canada's Forum of

Federations (currently a private organization mainly funded by the Canadian government) into an international organization. Canada itself is interested in giving the Forum of Federations greater support. Beginning in February of this year, other countries have been invited to participate in meetings on restructuring the Forum of Federations, including Australia, Brazil, Austria, Germany, India, Mexico, Niger, South Africa, and the United States.

The project organizers believe that Switzerland should be encouraged to take a leadership role in this future international network. Deeper and more continuous cooperation between federated entities would continue the work of the St. Gallen conference and allow the great impetus it gave to the discussion on federalism to come to fruition over the long term.

In sum, the St. Gallen International Conference on Federalism 2002 was an unqualified success. It provided strong support to the international development of federalism. It was also a showcase for Switzerland and the city of St. Gallen, which they used to their greatest advantage, according to the participants. The conference owes its success in particular to painstaking academic and organizational preparation, to its new concept, and to the support of the student volunteers from the University of St. Gallen under the direction of the ISC. But the 600-some participants from 60 countries must share the credit for their solid commitment and enthusiastic participation, applying in all the conference events the slogan "learning from each other."

The organization of the conference benefited by being under an extra-governmental work group. This allowed great freedom in the choice of invited participants (e.g. opposition members, NGOs, etc.) and loosened the restrictions of protocol. However, tighter collaboration with the governments of federalist states (both central and federated governments) in choice of topics and invitations would promote continuity among international conferences on federalism.

Appendices 1 to 42

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- 3 December 2000 Federal Council Decree [FCD]
- 4 Blindenbacher/Watts in the conference book, and transparency of the conference schedule
- 5 Conference Reader
- Federal Council's March 2000 information sheet on the preliminary conference and transparency of its schedule
- 7 Conference Preview
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