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The Federalist Debate

Papers for Federalists
in Europe and the World

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*The problem of establishing a perfect civil Constitution
depends on the problem of law-governed external relations among nations
and cannot be solved unless the latter is*

Immanuel Kant

The Federalist Debate

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Editorial

Globalisation and the Democratic Reform of the UN

A Comment on the Millennium Forum

Lucio Levi

The Millennium Forum was held from 22-26 May at the UN Building in New York. Representatives of more than one thousand Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) participated, coming from more than one hundred countries. The assembly was the living expression of the new course of world politics, whose most meaningful trend is the overcoming of the gap between national and international politics.

Until just a few years ago the States were the only actors in international politics. Today, driven by the globalisation process, new subjects have emerged onto this stage. The most dynamic ones are the NGOs, the global civil society movements, which for one week were sitting in the UN General Assembly hall, where the representatives of the governments normally meet. Thus the Millennium Forum represented the recognition of the role of civil society movements. One year ago at the Peace Congress in The Hague, the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan defined them as «an essential partner of the United Nations»; at the opening ceremony of the Millennium Forum he said: «You NGOs will become the superpower». These wordings reflect the impetuous growth of global civil society movements and the strong emotion, shared by those present in the vast and crowded General Assembly hall, of those participating in the achievement of something new in history. For the first time in history the United Nations hosted an assembly which was claiming for itself the ambitious aspiration to re-

present the peoples of the whole planet. It is really a complete novelty in history, and not just in the history of the United Nations.

If it is true that the Millennium Forum represented the first babble of global democracy, it is likely that its institutionalisation may well come about, so that it could «meet at least every two or three years in the period leading up to the annual session of the General Assembly», as the final Declaration reads. Awaiting the formation of a parliamentary body and of political parties at the world level (are the NGOs not movements anticipating political parties?), the permanent Forum of Global Civil Society may well represent a vehicle able to voice the expectations emerging from international civil society, and to transmit them to the UN.

However, the limits of such an assembly must be pointed out. It is lacking real democratic representativeness, being the expression of civil society movements and not of the will of the people, which can only come from an election based on a free competition among political parties. It can be compared to the medieval parliaments, in which the orders were represented, not yet the people. And as these had the function of limiting the power of absolute sovereigns, likewise the Forum of Civil Society will limit the absolute power of the sovereign states ruling the UN. That is, as the medieval parliaments are distant forerunners of the contemporary ones, likewise the Forum of Civil Society may be an institution anticipating a World Parliament.

* * * * *

The Millennium Forum split into six working groups:

1. Peace, security and disarmament
2. Eradication of poverty
3. Human rights
4. Sustainable development and the environment
5. The challenge of globalisation: equity, justice and diversity
6. Strengthening and democratising the UN and international organisations

The message that the Forum wanted to carry through to the world is of the unity of mankind, the rejection of any discrimination on the basis of gender, race, religion or nationality, and political coexistence based on the principles of democracy, justice and peace. Of course behind such statements of principle there are the worries aroused by the globalisation process, as it weakens the ability of states to carry out their essential functions, with very serious consequences such as the widening of the gulf between rich and poor, environment devastation, the rise of new forms of international crime, and the erosion of human rights.

Kofi Annan, in his welcoming address to the NGOs, many of which had participated in the WTO protests in Seattle, stated: «Whatever is the cause you are supporting, the cure does not lie in protesting against globalisation».

The answer came in the Millennium Forum's final Declaration, which represented an occasion for maturing and growing up politically for the global civil society movements. They no longer contented themselves with using vague formulas such as «UN democratisation» or «international democracy», but chose to accompany these claims with precise institutional proposals, for instance that of instituting a Parliamentary Assembly within the UN. Thus they showed they understood that democratisation processes have to pass through institutions and more precisely through the institutional reform

of the UN.

This is the main road to be followed by those pursuing the objective of stripping the governments of their monopoly of decision-making power over the great world-related choices.

There is no doubt that in the maturing of global civil society awareness the important role of the WFM must be acknowledged. As a matter of fact, since 1992 it has linked the concept of the democratisation of the UN with the proposal for instituting a Parliamentary Assembly, regarded as a first step towards the establishment of a World Parliament. It is significant that the European Parliament model was present in the minds of those thinking of the UN democratisation question. The well-known American political scientist Richard Falk, in a lecture delivered on the occasion of the Forum, defined the European Parliament as «the laboratory of international democracy».

Another aspect of the democratisation of the UN deals with the reform of the Security Council. This is the body which more than any other reflects old power-hierarchies. In particular, the Forum called for gradually pursuing two objectives: overcoming the veto and ending the discrimination between permanent and non-permanent members. In the documents worked out during the Forum about this problem, there is a trace of a typical federalist thesis, according to which the main road towards overcoming the hierarchical structure of the Council is that leading to representation on a regional basis. This reorganisation will allow both the veto and the distinction between permanent and non-permanent members to be overcome. Those dealing with this problem also had in mind the debate taking place in Europe about the concept of a single representation of the countries of the Union within the Security Council.

It is not possible to analyse here the proposals brought up by the Millennium Forum. I shall

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confine myself to report that the need has emerged to create the UN's own resources through taxation tools, like the Carbon Tax (on fossil fuels) and the Tobin Tax (on international short-term financial transactions). In addition, the formation of a rapid-intervention international police force has been requested.

From a more general perspective, the final Declaration notes that the challenge of controlling globalisation cannot be met through too many international organisations, which are weak, dominated by governments, lacking democratic control, and disconnected among themselves, each having its own, sectorial competence. It is then necessary to bring the Bretton Woods institutions and the WTO under UN jurisdiction and to increase UN powers in the fields of the economy, society, and the protection of human rights and the environment.

This means strengthening the powers of the UN system rather than setting the UN against the international economic institutions or using one institution to weaken another.

Finally, it must be remarked upon that alongside proposals which are shared and promoted also by the federalists, in the Forum's documents there are also echoes of old ideas of an internationalist flavour, expressions of the survival of a nationalistic culture in the new era of world politics. This is proven by the fact that in the Forum's final Declaration homage is paid to the ill-famed principle of peoples' self-determination, to which the leaders of ethnic-based national movements have resorted, and in the name of which they have committed atrocities that bring us back to the darkest years of our century.

* * * * *

Let us ask ourselves in conclusion which are the main visions for the reform process sketched in the Forum's final document. We cannot pretend to ignore that proposals such as those for instituting new bodies with a democratic vocation (the Forum of global civil society or the UN Parliamentary Assembly) meet the opposition of formidable hostile forces, like the governments of the United States and China. These do not accept any limitation of their power by part of the emerging forces of the global civil society. But they can be defeated, as it already occurred in Rome in 1998 in the confrontation that led to the institution of the International Criminal Court. What happened in Rome shows that the alliance between the

coalition of the NGOs and that of the progressive States must be re-established, and in order for this to happen, two conditions must be met. First of all, it is necessary that Europe strengthens its unity, transforming the Union into a Federation. This is the essential condition which will allow Europe not only to resist the United States' efforts to divide it, but also to get the necessary influence to push America to support the process for the democratic reform of the UN. The other condition is the growth of the global civil society movements' awareness: they must better define their political objectives, put them in a scale of priorities and improve their organisation. On both issues federalists have a big role to play.

Debate on the European Federal Constitution

Roberto Palea

The current significant devaluation of the euro relative to the dollar has increased the burden of the "energy bill" for all of the euro-area states and is seriously threatening the current European economic recovery. States are realising that the euro without a (federal) State is a currency left to itself, the currency being nothing but a tool of a State's economic and foreign policy.

On the other hand, the States of the EU are realising that the democratic deficit of the EU institutions is no longer acceptable and that the EU cannot cope with the challenges of enlargement (which will double the number of its members) if decision-making mechanisms are left as they are.

So all over Europe debate has started over the future of EU institutional arrangements. In this debate, the German foreign minister Joschka Fischer stated that it is time to abandon small-step political incrementalism and to start «the transition from a union of states to a European Federation». «That means,» he added, «nothing less than a European Parliament and a European government, which really do exercise legislative and executive power within the federation». This will not eliminate the national states, but on the contrary it will safeguard their autonomy and will strengthen their ability to operate. According to Alexander Hamilton's telling definition, a Federation is «an association of two or more states into one state». Fischer also made it clear that, in order to bypass the veto power of those staying in the Union but willing to obstruct its development, the six founding countries (France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, The

Netherlands and Luxembourg), plus those willing to join, should agree among themselves «a constituent treaty which lays down what is to be regulated at European level and what has still to be regulated at national level». This federal core shall constitute itself within the Union and be open to all other member-states, so as to gradually achieve the unification of the whole of Europe in a single great Federation.

Taking part in the debate, French President Jacques Chirac, albeit expressing his reservations about the federal model, was in agreement with Fischer on three essential issues: an «institutional re-founding of Europe» is necessary; it must be based upon «the first European Constitution»; and a vanguard of «pioneer States» shall open the way in this direction. The French President has also suggested a constituent procedure that, on the model of the Convention which is preparing the Charter of fundamental rights, should involve the European Parliament, the national Parliaments, the Governments and the European Commission.

Clearly this is an extraordinary step forward by the French towards the idea of a political supranational union, and therefore their avowed preference for the confederal model represents, if one considers it carefully, just a verbal, not substantial, concession to a taboo peculiar to the oldest and most illustrious national state in Europe as far as its policy regarding Europe is concerned. And, more generally, it is also clear that in the political class of the two most important states of the EU, an awareness is emerging that either a supranational democratic sovereignty

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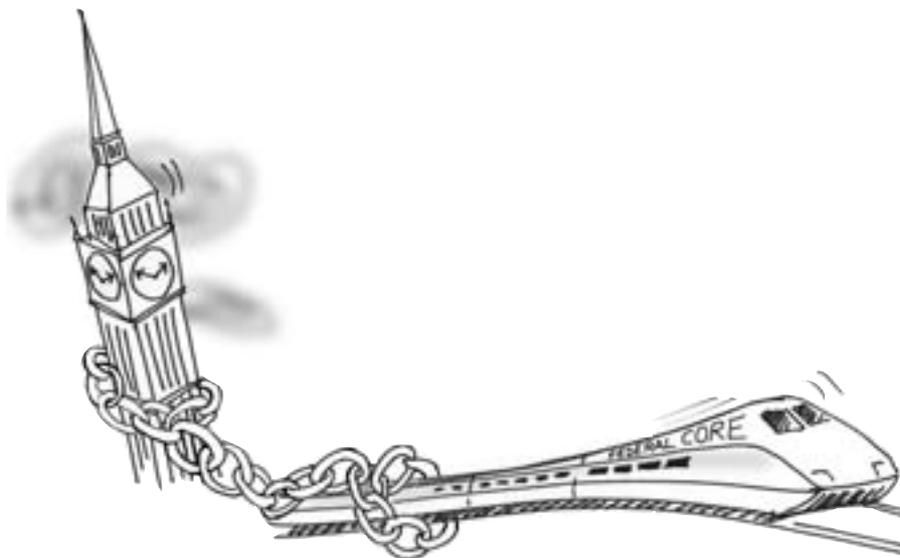
is created - and then it is unavoidable to start, as it happened with the Schuman Plan, from a vanguard core - or the building up of Europe, and its extension to the whole continent, is bound to fail.

The proposal of Germany's Foreign Minister also holds potential of incalculable proportions. Fischer is right in claiming that there is no institutional model simpler, more rational, efficient and democratic than the federal one to organise and govern a political union among European states, respecting the rights of all people and every nation. Only the federal model allows for unity to be created out of diversity, and autonomy and solidarity to be reconciled at the different government levels. Federalism can also be implemented inside the states by giving the European government the exclusive responsibility over currency and security and by distributing the other responsibilities among various administration levels, from Europe to local communities (States, regions, provinces and cities), in a competitive scheme based on the subsidiarity principle.

The decisions that will be taken today are of cru-

cial importance; Italy (whose Prime Minister Amato received Fischer's and Chirac's positions with «subtle» scepticism) can and must play a major role. It must draw inspiration from its historical federalist tradition. Since De Gasperi, a sound supranational unification has been considered in the country's main and most authentic national interest. In fact, the 1989 referendum saw 88% of Italians voting in favour of a constituent mandate to the European Parliament. The most authoritative representative of such a tradition is today the President of the Republic, Carlo Azeglio Ciampi. His stance in favour of a European federal Constitution and of a vanguard core describes the goal towards which a truly reformist project of the State and the society must converge.

The European federalists look forward to a positive Franco-German-Italian initiative. A constituent process should emerge from the Inter-Governmental Conference in Nice. By involving the European Parliament and the national Parliaments, this process could eventually lead to the drafting of a European federal Constitution by the year 2003 (when presumably the enlargement of the European Union will begin).



A Free Trade Area for the Near-East

A Common European Security and Defence Policy and the European Constitution

Christian Glöckner

European integration is a great success, even if it is still progressing. The Union's institutions have above all shown the unprecedented ability of its member States to co-ordinate, synchronise and harmonise policies. They have even demonstrated, in the Balkans and Kosovo crises, that consensus can be reached on common actions in the crucial field of military engagement. The Euro-Corps' Commanding General in Strasbourg is the leader of NATO and other allied troops in this dangerous phase of peace keeping and guaranteeing.

But this is only a partial aspect of a general phenomenon: Europe needs a stronger economy and rapid reforms in order to become the global player it could be. This is even more true when the enlarged EU relatively soon will have half a billion inhabitants. This global player, a giant economically and politically, needs an open and peaceful international order that will allow its economy and even its competitors' economy, like the USA, to flourish continuously.

The EU has the political know-how: the European ideal. After a disastrous World War in which 55 million people died, Europe has shown its amazing capability to guarantee peace and welfare for its member nations during the second half-century just passed, in spite of tensions, contradictions and even open struggles among them. The EU has proved itself a structure of institutionalised compromise. If the EU ever had and now has a self-centred interest, it is the one to help other people, nations and regions follow, in one way or

another, the peace-guaranteeing model and example of European integration after the War.

With our common currency, the time has come for a CESDP worth its name. The new political commitment to pursue EU defence and security, in the wake of the traumatic Balkan war, must not be wasted.

Even more clearly it has to be said that neither the USA nor any other power in the world has had the same successful experience of bringing together former enemies and establishing a new international order after a disastrous war. Mention should be made of the revolutionary action of men like Schuman, Adenauer, De Gasperi, Spaak, Besch, Werner etc., to combine our forces and create the embryo of what today we call the EU. The EU now has to play a leading role in the world in creating a peaceful, wealthy and fair family of nations.

But our CESDP has to be led by certain principles that should be anchored in a future European Constitution, whose basics have to be stated in a Charter of Human Rights and Duties. These principles appear to me as being the ability to prevent conflict, keep the peace and, if necessary, re-establish it.

Conflict prevention

The main effort of the EU should be to help establish wherever possible respect for human rights and democracy. This means, taking the appropriate example of former dictatorships in

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Greece, Spain and Portugal, to help develop a political culture and an awareness of democratic behaviour wherever they are needed. It is up to the EU to assist the reinforcement of pluralistic groups of society and in the underpinning, direct or not, of the growth of democratic structures. In several countries, former Yugoslavia for instance, democratic opposition is still looked upon as an enemy of the State, not as a future partner for long-term positive development.

A parallel effort of the EU should be to establish the bases for economic welfare and business. A market economy, for instance, is not the normal case in countries having big problems. The historical experience of the EU to bring together centrally administered and free economy elements are unique in the world.

This economic welfare development is the undeniable basis for social justice, poverty reduction, fair distribution of resources such as water, for instance, education for all people, adult women as well as all young people, inter-regional and international trade. As an example, I refer to the Near-East with its dangerous accumulation of military capacities, including nuclear weapons, social, religious and ethnic tensions. The EU has paid a lot of money just for the creation of an infrastructure, especially to the Palestinians, but the peace game is more or less exclusively played by the USA. The EU should have an active role also in this area as a middleman, more neutral than the USA can ever be.

Why not develop a strategy according to our own historical experience, starting with a vision as strong as the one of Schuman and his partners: why not propose an international status for Jerusalem, surrounded by a Free-Trade Area between Israel, the Palestinian State, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, etc? New governments and younger leaders in some States of the Near-East offer a good chance.

So Europe may assist not only in the reduction of tension but also in the creation of a fair system for the distribution of vital resources such as water. It is only this European policy which opens the horizon to sustainable and peaceful development.

Peacekeeping

The EU is still characterised at the moment by great differences in respect to strategic priorities and interests such as, for instance, nuclear forces, missile defence, conscription, size of forces and the inclination to intervene.

But the Kosovo crisis showed very clearly quite another deficit in our military capacities: the European Union leaders had enormous problems when they decided to move, over a distance of only 2 to 3000 kms, the relatively modest force of 35,000 men and women, first to Macedonia and Albania and then into Kosovo. According to sources of the London International Institute of Strategic Studies, only one to two percent of the 1.9 million soldiers under arms in Europe are rapidly deployable to distant trouble spots.

Also, the necessary armament, the industrial capacity to produce high-tech material, the long-range communication systems such as satellites, the cargoes for air-lifts and the sustainability of long time endurance in the trouble spot regions are almost completely lacking.

With regard to the costs of those necessary investments, the European nations are wasting money by *double emploi*, above all in the field of heavy armament such as artillery, tanks and aircraft. The demand for a peace-maintaining capacity like in Kosovo, to be mentioned in a future European Constitution, should include the demand for the greatest possible standardisation of crucial heavy armament. Billions of euros would be saved automatically.

Peace re-establishing

Unfortunately, the *ultima ratio* of failed prevention and peacekeeping efforts is to make war in the complete sense of the word. Also in this case the Kosovo/Yugoslavia example is illustrating.

The most unfavourable factors for European defence are of a political and even institutional nature. Also, discrepancies among the EU nation members and shortage of organisational and planning capacity are of high importance in this context.

A problem not yet mentioned is the attitude of the so-called neutral members of the EU. In spite of being obliged by the treaties creating and developing the EU to defend the respect for humanity and democracy, they try to stay aside when it comes to the most serious decisions on peace or war. Nobody ignores the discussion that is going on in Austria, Ireland, Sweden and somehow in Finland. But it must be made clear that those who joined the Union and signed all treaties cannot ask for full rights and reduced duties when the solidarity of the EU is demanded as a whole.

This is one of the points where the intergovernmental logic of the present EU policy shows its

full absurdity because you cannot split up duties and privileges within member states. Europe *à la carte* should be avoided. A future European Constitution, based on the full respect for fundamental human rights and democracy, and establishing a parliamentary democracy for the EU, cannot admit "neutrality" when it comes to defend itself against criminals like Milosevic, Karadzic and Mladic. It is a shame that they are still free and not yet subject to prosecution in The Hague.

A future European Constitution should certainly not speak of concrete figures and percentages. But it should make clear that all member states are obliged to vote in favour of the budgetary, industrial and military capacities that the EU needs, in order to accomplish at least three tasks of a CESDP: prevention, peacekeeping and peace re-establishment, possibly within the UN framework.

In conclusion, it can be said that the CESDP is a crucial subject for a future European Constitution and the Charter of Human Rights and Duties. Nowhere else does the intergovernmental logic lead so clearly ad-absurdum as in this field. Europe's peace and welfare keeping role in the world asks imperatively for a Federal State, for the United States of Europe.

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The Possibility of Peace

Antonio Mosconi

The possibility of peace depends in the first place on the democratic and institutional strengthening of the European Union. A political Europe is in fact the underlying condition for the stability of the economic and political Europe; without the strengthening of its institutions and democracy, the Union's enlargement would be impracticable. A common European determination is also the necessary condition for sharing with the United States the task of providing the global economy with a democratic world government. But the possibility of peace requires also other mandatory steps: the strengthening of the EU-USA alliance by rebalancing the relations between them; the enlargement of the EU to the East; the restoration of the unity of the West; the West renouncing any imperialistic temptations and adopting instead a policy of co-operation with other regional powers, to be realised by yielding to the UN some exclusive responsibilities regarding safety, human development and the safeguarding of the future of the planet.

It can be assumed that in Europe today the conditions are more favourable for the establishment of a federalist behaviour than in the United States, and hence that Europe should take upon itself greater responsibilities in guiding the political integration of the world. The European Union, the first trading power of the world, has cosmo-political and peaceful interests, inclinations and behaviours, and the same can be said regarding the settlement of class struggle. Community-oriented behaviour comes out of the widespread participation of individuals in tech-

nical and scientific progress and in the distribution of its benefits; it is threatened by exclusion, which is more apparent in the United States than in Europe. As a matter of fact, the most recent economic and political studies by American authors confirm a greater exposure in the United States, relative to Europe, to class struggle and power politics, always closely intertwined¹. Federalism is ailing in the US due to the increase of bureaucratic centralism there, caused by its imperialistic ambitions.

European economic and monetary unification has given a dramatic acceleration both to the demand for democracy in Europe and to the necessity of tight economic and monetary integration between the dollar area and that of the euro. I have treated this matter elsewhere². The economic and political conditions exist for the convergence of American and EU interests (which may find an institutional expression in the reform of NATO and in forming a kind of Atlantic Monetary System), so that they can play for the unification of the world a similar role to that played by the Franco-German directorate for European unification. The United States must have the time to become a "normal" country, meaning a country with a political and military weight proportionate to its population and its economy. It is necessary to protect its back during the retreat and this task can be fulfilled only by the European Union.

All countries are involved in processes of regional integration and almost all of them participate in various kinds of international organisations,

but not every grouping is equally close to reaching the conditions necessary for forming federal unions and for participating in the political direction of globalisation. The West has less than 28% of the world population (see table attached). However, although the East-European countries, the ex-USSR European Republics, Mexico and Latin America heavily contribute towards lowering it, its average income is more than 69% of the world one. Of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, four are Westerners. The most populated countries do not want to put their destiny in the hands of the richest ones, while these do not want to depend on the rule of «one man one vote». On the other hand it is not possible to ensure a minimum of political direction of globalisation by intergovernmental and contractual methods only.

To come out of this *impasse*, the method of the "Maastricht parameters" could inspire some more elaborate and progressive constitutional formula at the world level, which should balance out the numerical weight of peoples, the economic and/or military power of states, and also the reliability of their behaviour with regard to the values of peace, human development and environmental conservation. This could imply automatic and/or negotiated adjustments of the decisional weight of each state or grouping of states, whenever some pre-set goals are met. In order to reach "the most revolutionary objective of our time", that is the democratisation of the UN by the creation of "a world bicameral parliamentary system (composed by a Chamber of the Peoples and a Chamber of the States) and a government accountable to Parliament", in the first phase, votes should be weighted rather than counted. The gradual transfer of world power from the United States of America to all the peoples of the world could not occur peacefully otherwise.

The lower Chamber, the present General

Assembly, should be elected by direct universal suffrage on a proportional basis by all of the peoples of the world. A direct election should favour the formation of political line-ups at the world level on matters that can find a solution only at the global level.

But it would not be practical to propose such a democratic criterion for the election of the higher Chamber, which should replace the Security Council. On the other hand, should a criterion based merely on wealth be adopted, the EU and the USA alone would have an absolute majority in the Senate of the States and this would be unacceptable for the two other states already members of the present Security Council, the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation. Moreover it would frustrate the demand to participate in world decisions from those great nations which are presently excluded. An intermediate mechanism could be conceived, which provides for the participation of states or groupings of states in the higher Chamber on the basis of a mixed criterion, taking into account both population and wealth. In this case, the trend towards a reduction of disparities in income, which the world government should encourage, will automatically produce a reduction of disparities in power.

Within the higher Chamber, a few states should exert political direction over the globalisation process. The European Union, the Russian Federation, the United States, China, India and Japan could initially ensure, with no insurmountable difficulty, the representation of 80% of the population and 95% of the wealth of the world. Their first objective should be to help the economic development and political unions of the Arab and African regions, allowing them too to express as soon as possible legitimate unitary representations in world institutions.

The International Court of Justice and the new World Criminal Tribunal for crimes against

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humanity should make up a World Supreme Court, independent from the legislative and the executive powers, responsible for settling conflicts of competence among the powers and levels of government, and for passing judgement on violations of international law and human rights. It would also be in a position to certify the states' observance of human values, for which the United Nations Organisation has been instituted. The Court's neutral evaluations should have the same value with respect to the states' democratic convergence that the Maastricht parameters had in Europe with respect to financial convergence. "Revolutionary" as it may be, a UN reform like the one presented above would represent only a first step towards the political unity of mankind and towards peace. Hence the importance of making the successive steps as automatic as possible, re-evaluating the wearing "collective method".

Mario Albertini did not limit himself to drawing up a theory and then fitting political events into it, or to correcting the theory when it was in contrast with events. He was constantly looking for those areas of freedom which may allow human action to mock historical determinism. At the beginning of the Eighties, he was the first to perceive that the European currency, essential for preserving the single market, would force national governments into ever-increasing transfers of political sovereignty. The European Federalist Movement fought with all its energies towards this goal, with success. It is less known, outside militant federalism, that at the beginning of the Eighties, when he launched the slogan "Uniting Europe to unite the world", Albertini's thoughts were turning to "post-Europe" times. In order to be an example and a motor for world co-operation, Europe would have had to decide unilaterally to entrust its nuclear defence to the (reformed) UN, keeping only a professional army and training civilians to defend their territory "home by home", according to guerrilla tactics.

After the fall of the Berlin wall, both Russia and China may become members of NATO. In this case the decision-making structures of NATO and of the UN (after having both been reformed) would in practice coincide. NATO could then set itself up to become the UN's Ministry of Security, as the WTO could be that of Trade, and so on. The coincidence of the strategic decision-making structure with the political one, although in itself not sufficient to assure peace, which would require the total subordination of the monopoly on violence to a world-embracing democratic power, would allow the generations which have memories of war to entrust at least the platform and the scheme of a pacified world to the new generations.

At the top of the world's agenda is security. The political directorate of globalisation would have to assure security to individuals and states in a lawful system, human development compatible with the conservation of the planet's natural resources, and the equity and efficiency of the monetary and financial system. The prospect of the break-up of the Soviet-American alliance, which had allowed the warding off of the nazification of Europe, led Einstein to express to Roosevelt his opinion that "a partial world government" was not advisable, unless the Soviet Union was part of it⁴. The greatest military power opposing NATO, Russia, is now engaged, within the NATO-Russia permanent Council (1997), in jointly managing the problems regarding security. Some of its former European satellites have already become members of NATO. Japan is an American protectorate. The only great military power still outside the NATO defence system is China; in order for Beijing to overcome its old anti-NATO feelings, NATO's transformation from a US-dominated defensive system into an organisation for global security must be made credible. Without rebalancing NATO, Russia's claim of a sort of veto right over its decisions cannot be countered, nor can it be prevented that NATO or

some of its members feel free to set up military operations without UN approval, nor even can it be proposed to China to become part of the world security system. Moving from the unilateral American dominance to a multipolar management of the Alliance is the logical consequence of the transformation of its aims from anti-Soviet defence to collective security. Is this just a task for generals, having nothing to do with federalists' action?

In order for security to be stable, it is necessary that the historical and social conditions for settling power politics and class struggle be realised. The agenda of the political direction of globalisation should therefore include as one of its objectives a more balanced human development, to be pursued without causing an exponential waste of natural resources. Squaring the circle between demographic growth, exploitation of resources, human development and environmental conservation is within the possibilities of our technical and scientific knowledge, of peoples' aspirations and governments' initiatives, provided that the institutions necessary for deliberating the decisions and for implementing them are set up.

As the UNDP points out, world global consumption is today six times that of 1950. However the first quintile of the world population, that is, the 20% living in the countries with the highest income, accounts for 86% of the total expenses for private consumption and for 53% of emissions of carbon dioxide, while the poorest quintile accounts for 1.3% of expenses and for 3% of emissions. Germany enjoys a per capita income higher than that of the United States, but its per capita emissions of carbon dioxide are half the American level. Bio-economics' harsh reminder of the second law of thermodynamics, according to which "in a closed system all types of energy are gradually transformed into heat and at the end heat is so dissipated that man cannot utilise it any more"

must not be interpreted in a nihilistic sense. Being aware that "the only certain destiny of mankind is the same as that of all other species, extinction" (Haldane) does not prevent us from striving hard to avert such outcome; on the contrary it compels us to do it in the short term, because "in the long term we will all be dead" (Keynes) and because we are vested with a "responsibility principle" towards future generations (Jonas). Competition in the markets and among states is causing a devaluation of the stocked energy, hence encouraging its exponential exploitation and making the investments aimed at controlling the flow of energy unattractive, so as to burn the future in today's consumption. The UNDP is proposing goals and action plans that certainly cannot be carried out by intergovernmental methods. It is urgent therefore to give the "new UN" some exclusive authority regarding human development and environmental protection. Is this just a task for bio-economists, having nothing to do with federalists' action?

At the first severe test which the market's ability to regulate globalisation by its own mechanisms (without stifling inter-dependence) was subjected to, again capitalists have been calling loudly upon the states so that, as usual, a cycle of socialisation of losses follow one of privatisation of profits. The game however escaped from the hands of individual states. Then from unusual circles, not above suspicion, suggestions are made about how to manage international currency. Monetary reform in fact represents, together with security/lawfulness and human development/environmental protection, the third pillar of a new world order; but it must aim at assuring a non-inflationary financing of the first two pillars, not at giving back to capitalism its conviction (*moral hazard*) that it is always in a position to charge the states, ultimately, for the costs of foolish investments, of speculations turned against the states themselves and of embezzlements. Once the euro has

Comments

been created, it is time to set out again towards the distant goal of a world currency, treasuring what we have learned and what we have accomplished in preparing our next theories and actions. From the theoretical point of view, there is but to resume from the Keynes-Triffin positions. From the practical point of view, the institution of the euro makes necessary a strong co-ordination between the two issuers of international currency, the FED and the ECB. The outcome of this process should remain

anyway the creation of a World Central Bank (making use of the structures of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Bank for international settlements). The WCB's objective should be to adjust the means of payment to the full exploitation of the factors available for attaining the goals of security/lawfulness and human development/environmental protection. Is this just a task for monetary economists, having nothing to do with federalists' action?

¹ Lester Thurow, *The Future of Capitalism*, New York, Basic Books, 1996. Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard*, New York, Basic Books, 1998

² Antonio Mosconi, *The Euro and the Dollar. Towards a World Monetary System*, in *The Federalist*, 1, 2000

³ Lucio Levi, *The Unification of the World as a Project and as a Process. The Role of Europe*, in *The Federalist*, 3, 1999

⁴ Otto Nathan and Heinz Norden (eds.), *Einstein on Peace*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1960



WORLD DATA

	Population (millions)	GDP (\$ billions)	%World Population	%World GDP
European Union	372	8.586	6,4	29,5
Other 21 European Countries (1)	200	1.000	3,5	3,4
Ex-USSR European Republics (2)	214	441	3,7	1,5
EUROPE	786	10.027	13,6	34,4
United States	270	7.263	4,7	24,9
Canada	30	578	0,5	2,0
Mexico	93	316	1,6	1,1
NAFTA	393	8.157	6,8	28
Central America and Antilles	69	118	1,2	0,4
Venezuela & other Atlantic States	24	70	0,4	0,2
Andean America	80	174	1,4	0,6
Southern Cone	219	1.160	3,8	4,0
LATIN AMERICA	392	1.522	6,8	5,2
PACIFIC ISLANDS	26	460	0,4	1,6
WEST	1.597	20.166	27,6	69,2
GREATER CHINA (3)	1.260	1.160	21,8	4,0
SOUTH ASIA (4)	1.247	427	21,6	1,5
EAST ASIA (5)	680	6.000	11,8	20,6
EAST	3.187	7.587	55,2	26,1
WEST ASIA (6)	257	890	4,4	3,0
AFRICA	738	500	12,8	1,7
CRITICAL ZONE	995	1.390	17,2	4,7
WORLD	5.779	29.143	100	100

Notes to World Data

- (1) Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Malta, Norway, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Switzerland, Turkey, Yugoslav Federation
- (2) Belarus, Moldova, Russian Federation, Ukraine
- (3) China, Hong-Kong, Macau, Mongolia, Taiwan
- (4) Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri-Lanka
- (5) Cambodia, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, North Korea, Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Thailand, Vietnam
- (6) Azerbaijan, Afghanistan, Arab Emirates, Armenia, Bahrain, Cisjordan, Gaza, Georgia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Yemen

Comments

Jerusalem, a World City?

John Roberts

The peace process in the Middle East is a world issue. From 1948, when the Jewish state was inaugurated, until now, there have been three wars between the two, each leading to great complications for the whole of the Middle East which, in turn have led to repercussions affecting countries around the world. The present impasse may prove to be no different.

But there is another reason why the fate of Jerusalem is of concern to more than the two protagonists. For 500 million Christians, the city has a significance above any other. It is the site of the events that, historically, led to the founding of the religion and consequently its fate is one that excites interest around the world. The facts are less important than the way people view them. In history, myths generally have more power than mere facts and they stir people to action when the simple truth may leave them cold. The Jews believe that Jerusalem is their city and that they have not only a special spiritual claim to it, but also that they should have physical control of it. Yet it survived for several centuries under Roman, then under Turkish and afterwards under British rule, without great harm coming to the city or to Jews as a result. Equally, although Arab Moslems feel that they have the right to the city that they controlled for over 1300 years, it has come to no particular harm during the century that they have not been in control of it.

There have been gross offences against humanity, against liberty and against both Israelis and Palestinians. The Jews who observed the slaugh-

ter of millions upon millions of their fellow-believers in Europe before 1946 have endured these. But the ensuing dispossession of millions of Arabs from their homes in Palestine was in no sense justified by that slaughter and the subsequent degradation of 50 years in refugee camps is a crime connived at by Arab rulers and foreign politicians as much as by the Israeli conquerors. It is certainly time to make a new beginning and Jerusalem could be the best place to start.

The past struggles of the Palestinians and Israelis will not prevent them living in peace, nor will their current disputes, but what exacerbates and continues to bedevil their differences is the involvement of other, stronger, states in their quarrels. Above all, since the Jewish vote and the strategic demands of the military have so large a part in American decision-making, the US government is the key player. On the one hand, because of their close ties with Saudi Arabia the Americans have to appear judicious and non-partisan. On the other, their continued subventions to Israel, both private and public, have enabled the Israelis to maintain the most effective army and air force in the region. But to balance this, the Americans are also compelled to subsidize the Egyptian armed forces to a ridiculous extent, thereby permitting Arabs a modicum of 'security' in the face of striking Israeli military superiority.

One result is that Arafat and Barak advance and retreat in negotiation, knowing that their paymasters and allies are behind them scheming for different ends while both of them have also

to gauge the reactions of their own political supporters. Jerusalem is a key item in the struggle but in terms of the strategic and political concerns of the others most concerned it is important above all for its meaning to the religious believers, although this term includes those often lukewarm adherents of the faiths who attach political and social meaning to the city along with the deeper concerns of others.

Viewed strictly from a view of the history of the city then, it seems unlikely that any problem will necessarily arrive if it does not revert to either Jews or Moslems. And since both are determined not to relinquish claims to a special position in the city—'sovereignty' in fact, it may be better to seek an alternative way and one that does not affront the claims of either by giving in to the rival. It might be that it is the turn of the Christians to lord it over Jerusalem, but that would be objectionable to both Jews and Moslems. A better solution could be found by refusing to give sovereignty to any one of

the three religions. Instead, it would probably be preferable to make Jerusalem a 'world city' with sovereignty reserved for the citizens and the dwellers surrounding, both Jews and Arabs, whether Christian or Moslem. That could avoid some of the incessant bickering that is certain if one side or the other of the present conflict gets control.

So how can conflicting claims be reconciled or at least neutralized? Thus one way that seems at least worth trying is to give Jerusalem the status of the first 'world city'. Let it be proclaimed as a city dedicated to the three world-religions that have for several millennia occupied the hearts and minds of hundred of millions of believers across the globe. Further, let it be inaugurated as a centre for the reconciliation, not merely for the two local groups but for believers of all faiths, as a place that can begin the task of making the 21st century the one, not of the common man, but of the world citizen, man or woman.



Comments

Misguided Fears about an International Criminal Court

Benjamin B. Ferencz

After the horrors of World War II, the U.S. government inspired the world by its proclamations at the Nuremberg trials that never again would aggression, crimes against humanity such as genocide or major war crimes go unpunished. Yet today, powerful conservative American voices threaten to sabotage the new international criminal court now being created to uphold the Nuremberg principles. Legislation introduced by Republican leaders on July 14 would bar U.S. cooperation with the proposed war crimes tribunal that has been endorsed by the vast majority of nations including many of our strongest allies. Those who oppose the court insist that the U.S. military must be exempt from prosecution - that somehow the effectiveness of American humanitarian military interventions would be hampered if the new court begins functioning. Such fears are unfounded and undermine America's credibility and security.

U.S. Supreme Court Justice Robert M. Jackson, our chief representative at Nuremberg, and his successor General Telford Taylor, made plain that law must apply equally to everyone. "To pass these defendants a poisoned chalice", warned Jackson, "is to put it to our own lips as well". The innocent need never fear the rule of law. Surely, the Pentagon does not deliberately engage in activities that it knows to be criminal. Criminal intent must be proved before guilt can be established. If international laws are ambiguous, they should be clarified by the international community. Appearing as a bully that wants to be above the law diminishes rather than enhances our influence. Without an inter-

national court operating under rules established by the world community, captives are at the mercy of their captors. Binding law offers a protective shield to all who are in military service.

It is clear beyond doubt that the jurisdiction of the new international criminal court - unlike the special tribunals created by the U.N. Security Council to deal with atrocities committed in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda - will not be retroactive. The new court, after it has been ratified by 60 nations, will build a regime of law to safeguard all nations in the future against the outrageous abuses that continue to plague humankind today.

Opponents of the new court frequently ignore the fact that the international criminal court will be completely subordinate to national courts. It is only where the national courts are unable or unwilling to grant a fair trial to the accused that the international court can intervene. Almost all war crimes by U.S. nationals can be tried by U.S. courts, thereby preempting the international court.

A recent article by a highly respected military judge, Professor Robinson Everett of Duke University, suggests a more comprehensive way of ensuring absolute priority to American courts by enacting U.S. legislation assuring that U.S. courts will have jurisdiction to try any American accused of violating the law of nations as laid down in the Statute for the International Criminal Court. This would guarantee American defendants all their Constitu-

tional rights in every possible case and, if the trial were fair, would completely exclude any prosecution by the international court. It is hoped that the U.S. negotiators will not insist upon the right of the United States to conduct sham trials in order to evade international justice. The ultimate decision about the adequacy of national trials rests with the international court but there are adequate safeguards to prevent abuse.

Many provisions were written into the Court's statute to protect American servicemembers from unfounded or politically motivated accusations. The Prosecutor is subject to supervision by several carefully selected judges and an Assem-

bly of States. There are many budgetary and administrative controls. The new court has no independent enforcement mechanism and must rely upon the international community if it is to be effective. A biased or incompetent court would soon cease to exist.

In supporting an improved world order for the next millennium, we should recall the words of Tom Paine who inspired the American revolution: "We have it in our power to make the world over again". The U.S. military must be ready to take a chance for peace - for their own sake and for the sake of all of us. In this thermonuclear age of instant universal communication we must never forget that law is always safer than war.

Comments

The Realistic Idealism of Federalists

Harold S. Bidmead

World government is an ideal, but it must be democratic if we are to avoid a totalitarian super-state. For the same reason it must be federal, meaning that there must be constitutional guarantees that the common government for common affairs does not interfere in matters that are of legitimate national concern.

Federalists are idealists in the sense that they realize that this is a distant ideal (not too far distant if we all work together) and that every move made by the world in the sphere of international or interpopular organization must be a step toward this end. Steps away from this ideal, such as the creation of defence *blocs* lacking adequate control by a democratic legislature, must be opposed.

But federalists are realists in the sense that we recognize that the present world, judging if only by the membership of the so called "United" Nations, is not a democratic community. It is no wonder, therefore, that it has created a debating society (the UN) whose democratic deficit is practically 100%.

Its formation was not a step away from world anarchy, but an attempt to legalize and constitutionalize world anarchy. The very existence of the UN has thus delayed for more than a generation the formation of a genuine peacekeeping organization based on the principle of democratic government. As Vernon Nash pointed out in his *The World Must be Governed*, "In both war and peace, anything less than enough soon proves to be the equivalent of nothing... The mere existence of a world organization, however inadequate, may cause too many to trust it just one day too

long, and we may never have another chance".

Federalists are also well aware that the self-professed democracies are not worthy of the name because, although they constitute a community, they have not established among themselves the seal of democracy, namely a common legislature to deal with their common affairs. This should be the next concrete step towards ultimate world democratic government.

Among the steps that are being taken away from the idea of world federal government are efforts to improve, or what is called "strengthen" or "democratize", the United Nations, that stronghold of national sovereignty, the virus of war.

The UN's former Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali told President Clinton: "The UN is not, and never could become, a global government" (*San Francisco Examiner*, June 27, 1995).

As regards strengthening the UN, we ought to heed the warning uttered two centuries ago by the federalist pioneer Alexander Hamilton in his efforts to persuade his fellow Americans to abandon their *League of Friendship* in favour of the federal constitution that exists to this day: "... the project of conferring supplementary powers on the League: the machine, from the intrinsic feebleness of its structure, will either moulder into pieces in spite of our ill-judged efforts to prop it up, or, by successive augmentation of its force and energy we shall entail upon posterity one of the most execrable forms of government that human infatuation ever contrived" (*New York Packet*, Dec. 14, 1787).

A Magazine on Federalism in Luxembourg

Harold Bidmead¹ is a contributor to *Flashes-Contacts-Echanges*, "bulletin libre de communication cosmopolite dans l'esprit d'un fédéralisme mondial démocratique" (<http://www2.vo.lu/homepages/fce>). This review is published quarterly in Luxembourg partly in French and partly in English. Together with Joseph Pechon, Executive Editor of the magazine, he wrote *Some Approaches*, a short leaflet on federalism in which you may read: "... Federalism is a counter to war, in the sense that for the first time in history a political movement adopts peace as

the ideal to be followed, just as liberalism, democracy and socialism adopted the ideals of liberty, equality and social Justice ... Having regard to the vital nature of current ecological and territorial problems, federalism is more than ever involved in the inextricable ties existing between global and local levels, between cosmopolitan and community polarities; its institutional objective is defined, we repeat, as a structure sub-divided and de-centralised into numerous levels of government, down from the world neighbourhood level" (*f.f.*).

¹ the author of the previous article

Financial Capital in the Globalized World Market and the Crisis of the Nation-State

Francesco Pallante and Anna Viterbo

The globalisation of the economy

The global economy, based on the free exchange of goods and services and on the free movement of capital, has characterized our times. It created a capitalistic system in which financial capital influences not only the general economy, but also the political and institutional conditions of each country.

The liberal capitalistic system has found its theoretical basis in "the free market". According to this ideology, developed by the neoliberalists, the free market maximizes growth on a world scale. An attempt to control and regulate the market

would be bound to have negative effects, because it would reduce the growth of profits and, as a consequence, would prevent the maximization of the growth rate.

Evidently, there's a link with the theories of the neo-classical economists Friedrich von Hayek and Milton Friedman, according to which the most important aspect is the total amount of wealth produced and not the way in which it is accumulated and distributed. But the deriving ideology is nowadays criticized even by liberal economists like Paul Krugman and Jagdish Bhagwati, and financial operators like George Soros.

Comments

Only with the international financial crisis of 1997-1998 investors became aware of the risks linked to the lack of controls on investments and on the flow of international financial capital. According to Eric Hobsbawm that crisis was serious and underestimated and had, in some countries of South East Asia, consequences comparable to the effects of the Wall Street crash of 1929. Even the staggering Russian capitalistic system was shaken to foundations; and the Federal Reserve had to act to support the Long Term Capital Management to protect the stability of the American financial system.

The capitalistic system is said to have two great limits: one is the imperfection of the market mechanisms, largely due to the instability typical of the financial markets; the other is due to the fact that the political world is unable to adopt the tools required to govern the globalisation process and so it is unable to exercise an institutional control.

Such a situation developed rapidly. The crisis of 1929, with the consequent crash of the American bank system, led to the adoption of a restrictive regulation, both of the stock exchange and of the bank activity. After WWII deregulation and globalisation of the financial market have evolved together, feeding each other. As national regulations weakened, an international system of control was introduced: the two Bretton Woods institutions (the International Monetary Fund and World Bank) were created to help international exchanges, but also to keep them under control. Then restrictions were gradually abolished and only at the end of the '80s, with Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan and after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, neoliberalism started to become the widespread ideology.

The loss of powers and functions of the Nation-State

Having developed in the economic field, the neoliberalist theories had remarkable political implications, contributing in a decisive way to overcome the concept of Nation-State. In a tra-

ditional sense, the expression "Nation-State" means a territory in which the people who live in it, the Nation, (without considering any ethnic or cultural diversity), have the political sovereignty. The modern, and partially contemporary, Western history is the history of the construction and of the progressive reinforcement of territorial States. Nowadays, however, we can see an inversion of this century-old trend. During this time, firstly we had a citizenship ensuring civil and legal aspects and rights, later a political citizenship and finally a social one. After WWII and through the impulse by the ideology of neoliberalist Governments, the role of the State began to weaken, first in the economy and then, in a general way, in all its functions.

It's anyway in the economic field that the State decline is preponderant; and it's not only due to the greater role of the financial markets. Another very important consequence of the globalisation process is the end of the State entrepreneurship and of the affirmation of the neoliberalist theories. Privatizations, started in the early '80s by Margaret Thatcher, have given the private capital access to the most important companies in strategic social sectors that previously were under State control. This way we had a revolution in the international entrepreneurial environment.

Moreover less State control leads to capitals moving to countries in which taxation is lower: the so called "tax havens"; and this results in acting outside any conditioning or in direct conflict with national States. In this new context, some private enterprises reached sales values exceeding the Gross National Product (GNP) of many developed countries: for example compare the General Motors' sales to Denmark's GNP, Ford's to South Africa's, Exxon's to Norway's, Toyota's to Portugal's. The cash flow of these enterprises is often higher than the fiscal income of States, even of the more developed ones: and, above all, it's even higher than the reserves of the Central Banks of most countries. Globalisation has overtaken national markets,

once the traditional basis of the Nation-State power, making national capitalism obsolete, and has diminished the public powers' role. National governments, in fact, are loosing the control of any tool fit to intervene over the economic trend: while the eleven European States have given up the symbol of their economic independence, the national currency, a growing number of countries is trying to stabilize their currency by pegging their exchange rate to strong currencies considered dominant on international monetary markets.

In this context we can assume that globalisation is not piloted by the States and that in fact they are loosing more and more their prerogatives in favour of big corporations and financial concentrations. Furthermore, the globalisation process tends to produce a loss of connection between the economic field and the world of politics. Globalisation is, in fact, a mainly economic phenomenon: from a political point of view the world remains pluralistic, divided in territorial States.

This dichotomy explains the present weakening of the Nation-State: some States haven't stood up to the unsettling impact of globalisation over their fragile institutional structures. This way in many regions the State has nearly vanished, having been put in a difficult position by a mixture of events in which globalisation and the end of the bipolar balance have the role of leading actors. Undoubtedly, the traditional concept of Nation-State is nowadays inadequate to comprehend the State role in the new political and economic international context.

The federalist dialectical synthesis

In this context, and with an increasing force, the necessity of a reflection about the State

organization (in view of a radical change of national and international political institutions) is becoming more urgent. The current challenge consists in creating a society capable of following the globalisation process, rather than being overwhelmed by it. This involves, at local level, the need of greater efficiency, rapidity and transparency in the public decisional processes, in defence of the national economy competitiveness. At the same time this also implies the need of a supranational organization capable of enforcing social requirements against the growing power of multinational companies. The reorganisation of State institutions should be inspired by the subsidiarity principle: power and responsibility have to be as close as possible to the problems; this way the resort to superior levels can be acceptable, when problems can't find a more rational and effective solution at a lower level.

Federalism seems, therefore, the most adequate answer because of its postulation of an institutional organisation based upon a multilevel distribution of the political power, so as to foster the exercise of power by the body being closer to the concrete needs. Sustaining the institutional solution proposed by the federalist theory is, in the end, a way to reaffirm the supremacy of politics over the market. Therefore today we have to face the urgent need of realizing a new dialectical synthesis: this synthesis will allow us to get civil freedom and social solidarity, contributing to the carrying out of the new concept of a responsible freedom. This ideal and political spur should lead to a complete reform of the State in a federal direction, in the wider context of a decisive and unequivocal turn towards the objective of a European Federation and an integration of its Member States, not only economic but also political.

Comments

A Parliamentary Assembly for the WTO

Fergus Watt

At the World Federalists of Canada national conference, June 2 to 4 on Parliament Hill, one of the panel presentations reviewed recent developments concerning the proposed Parliamentary Assembly for the World Trade Organization (WTO PA). Speakers included WFC Executive Director, Fergus Watt; Senator Lois Wilson; and Gerald Schmitz, Senior Analyst with the Parliamentary Research Branch. Erika Mann, a member of the European Parliament, was unable to join the panel; Mr. Watt included in his introductory remarks a statement submitted to the conference by Ms Mann. The following summarizes the main points emerging from the presentations and discussion which followed.

The proposal for an assembly of parliamentarians attached to the WTO was framed within a context of the desirability of a number of reforms which increase the WTO's accountability. These include enhancing NGO roles at the WTO; and "coherence issues", i.e. bringing the WTO into closer relationship with other international organizations.

Canadian support

The proposal for a WTO PA has been supported by the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade (SCFAIT). The official Canadian government response which came in November was broadly positive about an active parliamentary role, though not more explicit than that. In Seattle, SCFAIT Chair Bill Graham participated in a meeting of 150 parliamentarians from 30

countries. That meeting supported the creation of a "Standing Body of WTO Parliamentarians" by February 2001. Subsequently, Canadian Trade Minister, Pierre Pettigrew has said: "I have no problem with this idea. Such a body would not only bring public concerns to the WTO; it would also help publics to understand the work of the WTO". Canada's Trade Ambassador, Sergio Marchi has also been supportive of the idea, while noting reservations expressed by representatives of many developing country governments.

The View from Europe and Beyond

Some of the European statements as well as from inter-parliamentary bodies, have been more explicit in backing the idea of a WTO parliamentary body. For example, the EU's Trade Commissioner Pascal Lamy told the European Parliament on January 25, 2000: "I would like to reiterate my conviction that members of parliament must be more closely involved in the deliberations taking place within the WTO in order to strengthen the democratic control of this work. Since December I have put forward more precise ideas on this matter. A way of strengthening this contact in the immediate future would be to hold an annual meeting of members of parliament from the Member States of the WTO. At a later stage, we could envisage the setting up of a consultative parliamentary assembly at the WTO, as has been suggested by parliamentarians from the WTO member states present at Seattle".

WTO Director-General, Mike Moore has public-

ly welcomed the initiative of parliamentarians gathered in Seattle. He has written articles on a WTO PA in the January 2000 issue of *The Europeans*, the newsletter of the Parliamentary Assembly of the 41-nation Council of Europe (which is a body devoted to human rights and democratic principles), and in the April 2000 issue of *The Parliamentarian*, the journal of Commonwealth parliaments. In March he told a Committee of the European Parliament: "Our agreements must be agreed by governments and ratified by Parliaments. We all need to be more accountable. Parliaments and Congresses sustain governments. Public opinion sustains governments. Elected representatives are the main expression of civil society. Their support is measured, they are accountable, they need to be more involved".

A meeting of the world's largest parliamentary association, the Geneva-based Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) took place recently in Bangkok, Thailand on the occasion of UNCTAD X (UN Conference on Trade and Development). In a final declaration adopted on February 11, the IPU stated: "We call on parliaments and their members to become more closely involved in the international negotiating process on trade, finance and development issues. As members of parliament, we speak for constituencies that cut across the divide of rich and poor, capital and labour, the public and private sector, and corporate and small-scale enterprise. We express concerns that encompass many single issues championed by various lobbies and pressure groups".

The topic, "Creating an international parliamentary voice in WTO decision-making" is on the agenda at this September's meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. This is significant in light of the North-South composition of the Commonwealth. At the WTO, Southern governments have largely opposed broader linkages of trade matters especially to environment and rights issues. How will Commonwealth parliamentarians

assess the desirability of forum such as a WTO PA, which would necessarily address these linkages?

Difficulties to overcome

Many of these international statements simply gloss over the difficult issues to be addressed in establishing a credible WTO PA.

- How would a WTO PA be perceived by NGOs and world public opinion? Who really speaks for "civil society"? How would a WTO PA, as a consultative body, prove itself as a forum that is truly independent of the WTO and more than an occasional junket for parliamentarians?
- Representation. How should a WTO parliamentary body be established so that it truly represents all citizens of member states and is not dominated by delegates from powerful rich countries? Will powerful states be prepared to accept a developing country majority?
- Functions and powers. Should a WTO PA remain a consultative body, as the Seattle meeting suggests? Even as a deliberative body, what relationship would it have to other organs of the international system? How would it relate back to national parliaments?
- Who pays? How will all this be financed?

In the question period, a few delegates went beyond these difficulties to question the desirability of a WTO PA. Said one delegate: "If you were to start from scratch and set up a system of global governance, you wouldn't make the trade rules body strong, with enforceable powers, and the rest of the system weak. But that's what we're up against with the present WTO. Why would we want to legitimize this distorted and unjust system of governance by building on a parliamentary assembly?"

Some other delegates expressed the view that the UN is the body which should be strengthened with the addition of a Parliamentary Assembly.

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A possible next step

The meeting also included discussion of further practical work on a WTO PA which could be undertaken in Canada. Perhaps Canada could host a preparatory meeting, in advance of the inaugural meeting of parliamentarians (possibly as early as February 2001) which was discussed in Seattle. Many international meetings succeed or fail on the basis of effective advance preparation. Any effort to add a parliamentary component to the WTO will be closely

watched by a critical public. Canada's middle power role and reputation as a supporter of multilateral institutions suggests this country might take a lead, in collaboration with European efforts and engaged NGOs, in convening a meeting of key actors from North and South. There are a number of difficult legal and political questions to be addressed in order to constitute an Assembly of Parliamentarians for the World Trade Organization which would be credible and effective, and contribute to addressing the WTO's "democratic deficit".

Let's Rebuild Citizens' Trust in the WTO

Erika Mann

At the Ministerial Conference in Seattle at the end of last year, a meeting of all parliamentary delegations present at the conference was convened. This meeting had been initialized by Senator William Roth Jr., Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, who chaired the parliamentary gathering. The delegation from the European Parliament was chaired by Carlos Westendorp. The meeting was also addressed by the Director General of the WTO, Mr. Mike Moore, who expressed his strong support for such an initiative. About 150 members of Parliaments from 30 different WTO Member States were present. Under the pressure of the manifestations in the streets of Seattle, organized by non-governmental organizations, the democratically elected representatives from WTO Member Countries felt the obligation to complement the institutional set-up of the WTO which is up to now an intergovernmental organization, by a parliamentary component. The creation of a Parliamen-

tary Assembly was, moreover, already a demand of the socialist group of the European Parliament, which had been included in the Report on the EU Approach to the WTO Millennium Round.

In the European Parliament the discussion about the Parliamentary Assembly is still an issue of priority. As a first step we propose to have a conference with parliamentarians from WTO Member States. The conference shall take place next spring to elaborate the establishment of a parliamentary dimension within the framework of the WTO. At this stage we are trying to achieve a budget-line in order to financially support such a conference. Your further support for this initiative would really push the idea forward. It is crucial that parliaments as the only directly elected bodies are integrated in the whole process of defining a new strategy for world trade. Transparency is essential to rebuild citizens' trust in WTO process.

Geneva Opens the UN's Door for Civil Society

Jeffrey J. Segall

"Geneva 2000: The Next Step in Social Development" was the overall title for companion conferences of representatives of States and of Civil Society, on June 25-30, "to move social development forward". The Swiss Government and Geneva authorities had proposed Geneva for the UN General Assembly's Special Session for reviewing the Copenhagen Commitments made by the 1995 World Summit for Social Development, and for hosting a linked Civil Society Forum. Governments of 130 countries were represented in the Special Session, and over 6000 people participated in one or both events.

The Special Session was held in the *Palais des Nations*. General Assembly President Dr Theo-Ben Gurirab, in his welcoming address, expressed the spirit of Geneva 2000 in these words: "we must agree on a future plan of action that brings together governments, business, parliaments, NGOs and civil society into a constructive partnership". Secretary-General Kofi Annan, in his Opening Address, highlighted two related propositions: that sustainable economic growth "requires investment in people – their health, education and security", and that "a healthy society takes care of all its members, and gives them a chance to participate in decisions that affect their lives".

The Special Session's Final Document reaffirmed the will of the Governments to implement the ten Copenhagen Commitments, and included further actions and initiatives. Notably, it calls for halving extreme poverty and achieving free and universal primary education by 2015; reducing trade barriers affecting developing countries;

ensuring gender equality in pay for equal work; and increasing debt relief.

The Geneva 2000 Forum was held in the International Conference Centre of Geneva and the nearby Varembe Conference Centre, plus venues in the buildings of five UN Agencies. There was also a "village" near the Centres, open to the public, for booths, exhibits and relaxation. Social and cultural events, including a meet-the-people evening along Lake Geneva, free bus passes and shuttles, and volunteers everywhere, demonstrated the warmth of the welcome to the participants. Geneva, the international city, acquired a new dimension by encompassing civil society. In tune with this, Kofi Annan, in the Opening Ceremony, said: "we have all learnt from the experience of the 1990s that no Special Session of the General Assembly, and indeed no major United Nations gathering of any sort, is complete without the vital contribution of civil society".

The Forum provided a model for a Civil Society "best practices" partner of the UN General Assembly: "a neutral space where differing opinions and approaches can be freely expressed", wrote Daniel Stauffacher, Swiss Ambassador to the UN in Geneva. Each day there were about 40 meetings of varying size from which to choose, put on by national and international civil society organisations and by UN Agencies and Programmes. For example, the UK Network for a Civil Society Link with the UN General Assembly (UNGA-Link UK) held two 2-hour sessions, respectively on the issues for establishing an annual Civil Society Forum linked with the

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General Assembly, and on how that Forum could contribute to social development. Each attracted about 30 participants, and produced animated, in-depth discussions. All the organisers were invited to contribute a summary of their meetings for the Forum's Final Document: there was no unrepresentative drafting committee to produce a document conforming to the views of a managing leadership, as is usually the case in civil society's international events.

Forum Coordinator Bruno Romazzotti commented at the end that "we could not have hoped for more", but went on to say that "ultimately it is the action that follows Geneva 2000 which will count, and that means bringing people together to plan

and prepare for the next step". Mandat International, an NGO which facilitates civil society participation in international conferences, has proposed a World Conference of Civil Society in Geneva on 16-20 July 2001. The venue would again ensure a neutral secretariat and inclusiveness; and the dates would help participation by delegates both from developing countries and representing indigenous peoples, who will be in Geneva at that time for their specific concerns. This proposal for civil society's "next step" towards democratic global governance deserves the support of federalists no less than that of non-federalist "world citizens". (Further information on this "next step" is available from sziegler@mandint.org)



Borderless Debate: Regional Integrations and the UN Reform

Regionalisation and Globalisation

Keith Best

The French Presidency of the European Union recently gave its priorities to the promotion and protection of human rights, conflict prevention, peace-keeping and peacebuilding, the establishment of the International Criminal Court, disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the environment and eradication of infectious diseases: all among the main UN programmes so the European Union is at the heart of the international debate.

Just as Solferino gave birth to the Red Cross consequent on one man's horror of the carnage so the Second World War spawned a group of international instruments and the creation of the world's first regional coalition of states since the American Revolution - not the kind of international alliance between states, often secret, which had characterised the 19th Century or the groupings of states under a dominant one such as the Holy Roman Empire or the Prussian unification of Germany but the creation of an entity based on equal rights and supported by an institutionalised bureaucracy which owes its allegiance not to one state but to all.

Europeans were determined to minimise the possibility of such another conflict and to have internationally accepted standards applicable globally: regionalisation occurred in Europe because the political climate, historic experience and unfolding of events was right for it. Could this regionalisation evolve also elsewhere in the world?

The lesson of European integration is that there needs to be a shared historic experience or common interest or a common threat or all three for there to be an imperative for a group of states to combine. That was true also of the birth of the United States of America. Moreover, states need to have sufficient self-confidence to surrender

some sovereignty – it is not for the nascent nation-state which has just achieved self-determination.

Many parts of Europe are becoming multi-religious, not free from tensions, but there are now Muslims living within European states whose tradition is Judaeo-Christian. There may be many reasons advanced against Turkey with its 62 million Muslims becoming a full member of the European Union, such as its human rights record, but religion is not one of them.

Neither are different languages and culture a bar to integration. The proliferation of different European languages within the Union may pose technical problems in the European Parliament but they do not prevent integration as such. It is true that Europe has a common heritage of Greece and Rome, of art, architecture, literature and music but the importance of this common culture was the shared values it provided – about justice, the emergence of the concept of individual liberty and the underpinning religious imperatives, the values of the Age of Enlightenment. They enabled political leaders to work with one another but they were not essential. They did not prevent conflict – opposing armies had gone into battle calling upon the same God. They may have facilitated the creation of the EEC but the economic motivation backed by the political vision of making further armed conflict unthinkable were more important factors.

If other combinations of states are possible, are regional integrations part of the road to global structures and global governance or are they inimical to it?

The European Union as a whole shares over 30 per

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cent of the world's total gross national product and is contributing 36.5 per cent of the UN budget. The group pays more than 39 per cent of UN peace-keeping expenditures. It has two out of five permanent members of the Security Council - that represents a powerful regional lobby in the world. Without a radical political and economic global realignment it is unlikely that any other regional group of states, even if as integrated as a federation, could challenge such pre-eminence. The scenario we must face, therefore, if other groups of states pursue the European model, is one of considerable imbalance between regional groups. Would this inhibit the growth of global governance? The short answer is "no." Global *governance* is not the same as global *government* - to which many of our supporters subscribe as an ultimate goal (see the report by the Commission on Global Governance "Our Global Neighbourhood - the basic vision" page 7).

Global governance, therefore, is the pragmatic approach - looking at what global mechanisms we have already and adapting them and building on them incrementally - for example, bringing the Group of 8 into the UN system, but subject to the mechanisms we would like to see rather than what we have, making it more democratically accountable to the world as a whole and ensuring that there is a process whereby, as the world's economy changes, so the membership of this nascent Economic Security Council changes to reflect that.

This demonstrates the need for constant change and adaptation in global institutions to ensure continuing relevance. Any organisation which does not carry within it the capacity to adapt to changing circumstances is destined to face the fate of the dinosaurs - extinction.

The adaptive and incremental approach towards global governance is where the European Union model sets an example: from a forum for improvement in trade to an institution having all the hallmarks of a federation. The vision of Altiero Spinelli and other authors of the EEC was to have

a political union as well as an economic one yet for many the idea was sold as an economic rather than a political vehicle.

What this tells us is that a regional group of states can become institutionalised even where there are differences in understanding and emphasis between them. The difference between the Kohl-Mitterand approach to closer union and the Thatcher approach to the strict maintenance of national sovereignty never undermined the principles underpinning the European Union: it was, of course, Mrs Thatcher who signed the Single European Act which established even more institutionalisation and even gave the name itself to the Union. The word "union" can have only one meaning in terms of integration - it goes way beyond mere economic co-operation. 150 years ago a bloody civil war was fought not, as some surmise, over the emancipation of America's black slaves but over the nature of the political union and whether states had the right to secede from it. We know what a union means.

The European Parliament is perhaps the best example of the incremental approach from an Assembly of nominated already nationally elected politicians to monitor the workings of the two treaties it developed into a fully fledged transnational Parliament, directly elected, with powers to dismiss the Commission and reject the Budget.

Will other regional groupings of states form and adopt the European model and its evolution? NAFTA includes environmental and labour agreements but is dominated by one country and there is little likelihood of political union.

Far too often, however, we adopt a Euro-centric view of the world. In reality there are already regional groups of states, even though none may be as sophisticated in their integration as the European Union. What is common is the catalyst of economic co-operation that has brought them together rather than other reasons, although these may also be present, except for those alliances that have been formed specifically for

mutual defence such as NATO.

The Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation Group (APEC) aims to establish a free-trade zone by 2020 and ASEAN in 1992 agreed to set up the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) to be implemented by 2003.

In 1995 Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay agreed to set up a Common Market (MERCOSUR) and they, with thirty-one other states, are also members of the Organisation of American States (OAS) which in 1994 in Miami contemplated the creation of a free trade area. CARICOM came into being in 1973 to achieve economic co-operation through the Caribbean Common Market.

The great enigma is Africa. There has been little evidence of pan-African co-operation on any major issues despite the establishment in 1963 of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), now with fifty-three members, which has been hampered by budgetary problems. Nevertheless, in 1991 the Assembly of heads of state adopted an African Economic Community Treaty for an economic community once two-thirds of its members ratify, in 1993 it established a mechanism for conflict prevention and resolution and a peace fund and on 12 July this year in Togo the leaders signed an accord that will transform it into a union modeled on the European Union lines: a pan-African parliament, court of justice, central bank and an African monetary fund. Once again, this will require two-thirds of the states to ratify and the one year in which it is expected that this transformation will take place is too optimistic.

Regional groupings, therefore, are far more likely in parts of Africa rather than in the whole. Although South Africa is not part of the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA) of twenty states intended to promote regional, commercial and economic co-operation, it does belong to the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) of twenty-four states which is a free trade zone and customs area

having common external tariffs.

Sixteen states belong to ECWAS, which aims to eliminate restrictions on trade and the movement of people and capital between member states as well as harmonization of policies on economic, industrial and infrastructure matters: its 1993 revised Treaty includes the prevention and control of regional conflicts as well as a community tax and the establishment of a regional parliament, an economic and social council and a court of justice - much has been taken from the experience of the European Union.

Although we cannot yet gaze into the crystal ball with clarity and know how some of these regional groups of states will develop in the future, there is a real prospect that many of them having found common cause in trade and economic matters may look for greater political co-operation as well.

Regionalisation will not amount to a threat to greater global governance: they will continue to move together in tandem.

The development of human rights law is a good example. There is now no serious debate about the global applicability of international instruments on human rights, on crimes against humanity or even on civil and political rights. That battle has been won. These values are now norms or standards. The International Criminal Court (ICC), with which the World Federalist Movement (WFM) has been closely associated, has achieved global support and much from the European Union.

Neither the global institutions nor the people of the world have any reason to fear regionalisation of states. For the less developed countries regional groupings will give them a greater say in global discussions, just as the Non Aligned Movement has had an impact on many matters so disproportionate to its economic and military strength. Conflict prevention and resolution are often dealt with more effectively at the regional rather than global level. We in the World Federalist Movement should give our support as well.

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Reflections on Middle Eastern Regional Integration

Yossi Amitay

For quite a long while I have been following the debates on issues related to the processes of globalisation and regionalism, of which Europe is the key-player. I must confess I have been observing those discussions with more than a bit of envy. For me, the vision of one, united world system that consists of regional groupings, transcending ethnic, religious or lingual fanaticism, whereby every group or human association be granted optimal self-expression, is a long desired ideal. The EU is but a milestone in this historical process, and is by no means its final destination. But even as it functions nowadays, the EU is supposed to serve as a model for similar processes which, at some given future, will hopefully take place in other regions, including the Middle East. "Hopefully", I said. But do actual processes that have been taking place in the Middle East over the last few decades really substantiate these hopes? Is present-day Middle East really situated at the threshold of regional integration, the major features of which are voluntary reduction of the sovereign authority of individual nation-states in favour of joint regional groupings, and replacement of particularistic local interests by shared regional ones? Are the peoples of the Middle East really ripe for such a transformation?

Let me indicate in advance that there are no ready-made, unequivocal answers to those questions and to many others, related to the issue under discussion. Every direction is possible, be it an optimistic approach, detached from realities on the ground, or a pessimistic approach, reflecting a static perception of current realities, and overlooking interactive dynamics of historical developments. It seems to me that in order to

shape a balanced outlook on that issue, a brief survey of relevant developments in our region over the last decades would be appropriate.

Many scholars of Middle Eastern studies share the concept that the most significant process that has been taking place in the Region since World War I is the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of a new regional order. The most meaningful manifestation of that new order was the birth of particularistic nation-states that replaced what previously used to be a single, all-embracing political entity, namely the Ottoman State. That state was heterogeneous in its ethno-cultural composition, and homogenous in its shared dual source of authority: Islamic belief and state-system on one hand, and loyalty to the ruling dynasty on the other hand. While it is true that the Ottoman State collapsed on account of being a member of the defeated coalition in WWI, it is also true, in retrospect, that that collapse came as no surprise, since accumulative domestic and external processes that culminated in that downfall had already been there many decades before.

The emergence of Arab nation-states in the wake of WWI reflected a concept characteristic for the international community at the time, which consisted of liberal and democratic values but also comprised an inherent contradiction. That concept endorsed the right of all peoples to national self-determination, alongside the dominance of the strategic, economic and cultural interests of the colonial superpowers, primarily Great Britain and France. That dualism, in addition to some fundamental contradictions that had been inherent in the Arab societies in the first place, set

stumbling blocks on the road to development of the newly born nation-states. To mention some of them: firstly, the traditional leading social groups were considerably weakened, but they were still holding their traditional legitimacy and authority, whereas the alternative groups, representing the liberal and constitutionalist trends, had not yet gained sufficient strength and momentum. Secondly, the very setting-up of those Arab nation-states, the delineation of their border-lines, and the shaping of their domestic power structures, all were products and initiatives of European superpowers that divided between themselves influence zones and areas of direct domination. It took the Arab societies quite a long period of time to adjust themselves to the new reality, which was almost entirely different from any socio-political reality they had ever known. Thirdly, the emergence of social and political institutions in the new nation-states took place concurrently with national liberation struggles against foreign domination, and, to a lesser degree, against local traditional rulers.

Those struggles set for those societies a distinctive agenda and a list of priorities that hindered domestic social struggles and blocked mobility tracks of new social forces. Fourthly, the emergent Arab nation-states were caught, from the very start, in an ongoing debate, between themselves and within themselves, over the issue of pan-arabism versus distinctiveness of each Arab people. This debate is still going on nowadays, though it seems to have lost much of its original intensity. It has bred many internal and inter-Arab tensions. Fifthly, the emergence of the Arab nation-states took place, from its very inception, against the background of the historical confrontation over Palestine, between Jewish and Arab national movements. For quite a long period those two national movements were considered mutually exclusive. This conflict, that culminated in the Palestinian tragedy of 1948, cast a huge shadow on the socio-political development of the Arab societies for many years.

It is not the purpose of this paper to provide a detailed chronicle of the major processes and events that occurred in our region over most of the 20th century. It rather aims at shedding some light on the background of the problems the region is facing nowadays, given the accelerated processes of globalisation and regionalism in other parts of the world, primarily in Europe.

What is the present situation?

Some of the above-mentioned historical realities, which were depicted as obstacles blocking the development of the Middle East Societies, have undergone essential transformations which must not be overlooked. First and foremost, all countries in the region, with the sole exception of the Palestinians, are now free from foreign domination. Those countries have witnessed the growth of new social groups which had been almost negligible in the wake of WWI. Many countries in the region underwent a liberal experiment in the 1920s and 1930s, which, by and large, reached a dead end in the early 1950s and was replaced by radical military regimes. Those regimes entertained messianic nationalist visions, but eventually failed to secure stability and prosperity. It was a frantic historical stage, in which one military regime was soon to be toppled and replaced by another, until some of them ultimately managed to survive long enough, as transitional stage towards the re-emergence of a civil society. Liberal democracy has not been implemented yet in any Arab country, but a long road has been taken towards the emergence and growth of social groups that are possessing both the skills and the desire to push for a broader scope of democracy and human rights. The nation-states in question, in this sensitive stage of transition from military authoritarianism to civil society, have been acutely challenged by radical pan-Arab groups on the one hand, and radical Islamist groups on the other hand. So far the nation-state, as a political structure, has shown a remarkable viability, which for

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many observers had been unexpected, given the messianic fervour of Islamist and Pan-Arab movements.

Last but not least, over the last decade or so, the Region has undergone a peace-making process, which may eventually terminate the Arab-Israeli conflict. The process is still on the move, and is far from reaching its end. It seems that such a deep-rooted conflict, touching so many sensitive nerves and interrelated issues, cannot be solved instantly. The process can be likened to tango dancing, with dancers moving two steps forward, one step backward. We may witness many ups and downs in the foreseeable future. However, the general direction of the process is very clear. It should be mentioned, though, that completion of the peace-making course between Israel and all her Arab neighbours does not necessarily imply an immediate change of hearts. Peace accords, whenever attained, will be very fragile, and their implementation will face many difficulties on the ground for some years to come. Formal peace agreements, those that have already been reached and those that are about to be, are not a sufficient condition for creating a new fabric of human relations, but they are an indispensable one.

To speak from a very personal perspective, one modest by-product of the peace process, as far as I am concerned, is the fact that I have been privileged to serve as Director of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo for the last three years. This small achievement, which is not devoid of hardships and obstacles, is for me a dream come true. Over the years I have had many open talks with Egyptian friends and colleagues, and it became evident to me that the often-heard slogan in Cairo and other Arab capitals, that peace for the Arabs is a "strategic choice", does reflect something that is very real and solid. Firstly, peace orientation has made Egypt and other Arab countries an attractive target for massive investments on the part of the international business community. Hence it is certainly a leverage for economic

growth, which provides a better setting to cope with traditional evils in those societies, namely poverty, illness and ignorance. Secondly, some circles in Egypt, and probably in other Arab countries as well, do believe that broadening the scope of peace and cooperation in the region will positively contribute to broadening the scope of democracy, political participation and human rights in their respective countries. In turn, these changes will have positive bearings on the development of the economy and human resources, and so on and so forth.

This does not necessarily imply an Arab acceptance of Israeli negotiating positions or vice versa, but it certainly is an indication of a pragmatic approach to peace, and hence of a good chance of laying foundations for regional cooperation.

I would like to devote my final comments to the prospects of setting up a regionalistic system in the Middle East, in view of what has so far been said. Seven years ago, following the conclusion of the Oslo Declaration of Principles (DOP) between Israel and the PLO, Israeli leader Shimon Peres, the architect of that agreement, voiced the "New Middle East" slogan. Peres was undoubtedly affected by the EU precedent, and by the spirits of globalisation that were then blowing worldwide. The slogan Peres raised was not warmly welcomed, neither in Israel, nor in the Arab world. Although everybody understood that peace and reconciliation are historically inevitable, the immense hardships on the short and medium range have given rise to all kinds of fears and apprehensions regarding what the future has in store.

Is the Middle East region, which is in most part Arab and Islamic, but comprises also entities that are neither Arab nor Islamic, currently heading for a regional setting? The potential is apparently there, but there is still a long way to go. The countries of the Region must first undergo an accumulation of necessary processes in terms of economic accommodation and changes of political culture, both within each of those countries

and in relationships between them. The ripeness and viability of the nation-state concept in leading states in the Region lend us some hope. It seems that a certain "critical threshold" has yet to be crossed, regarding levels of economic growth, per capita income, rules of the democratic game, collective and individual human rights, etc... I, for one, share the view that the key to such progress lies with the completion of the peace process in our area, and the long-awaited historical reconciliation between the Arab world and Israel. Paradoxically, such a reconciliation may contribute to resolving inter-Arab rivalries, and to placing the entire regional set of relations on a complementary rather than a competitive basis.

One final comment, regarding the possible European role in this process. In view of ongoing and predictable hardships in creating joint regional frameworks for Israel and her Arab neighbours, it seems useful to encourage, as a transitional stage, the setting up of a joint Mediterranean framework, shared by all Mideastern and North African countries, together with European countries located along the Mediterranean basin. Such an interim stage will not only absorb the shock of the reconciliatory encounter between the Arab states and Israel, but will also provide an inspiration for a new political culture shared by all future participants in the new Middle Eastern regional grouping.

Paper presented at the Annual Seminar of the European Federalist Movement, Ventotene, Italy, 2-8 September 2000.

Vicente Fox for the Strengthening of NAFTA

Vicente Fox, the neo-elected President of Mexico who defeated the virtual-one party rule running for more than 70 years and who is going to take office on December 1, outlined in July his strategy and goals for the North American area. Fox imagines a long term project (20, 30 or perhaps 40 years) which would result in an association similar to the European Union (maybe with a common currency as well) and which should go beyond the concept of trading. In his discourse, held at the beginning of July, he said he will try to deepen NAFTA in several ways, first of all by enabling financial infrastructure projects for his country, second by investing in human capital so as to end migration problems. Now, the barriers raised by the US contribute to an increase of the illegal immigration

from Mexico, while the ideal solution is the creation of jobs and the narrowing of differences among the three countries involved. Furthermore, Fox's purpose is the strengthening of the relations with Canada in the fields of education, environment and natural resources, in which the country is strong, in order to bring Mexico towards development. We hope that his words will become concrete projects and that US and Canada scepticism will fade away. It is clear that this is the only solution which could bring to an end the tensions along the northern border of Mexico. Integration would certainly give more effectiveness to Mexican democracy and would open the way to the creation of a North-American federation (c.s.).

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Confederal Europe Slows Down Africa's Political Unification

Domenico Moro

The 36th Summit of the Organization for African Unity (OAU), held in Lomé on July 10-12th, 2000 and attended by 33 of its 50 member countries, approved the proposal discussed in the previous Summit in Syrte to proceed in replacing the OAU with an African Union. This agreement will come into force when two thirds of the members ratify it. It is anticipated that this procedure will conclude within one year, and that starting from 2002 the African Union can then come into force. That said, we must also consider the content of the agreement, the contending positions and the possibility of it actually coming into force.

The Summit, as already noted, did not see the participation of all OAU members, but only of about 60% of them. This figure alone could indicate that the event was not perceived by all of the OAU to be an occasion bound to change the continent's future: the absences, and the opposition to the agreement, make one think that although widespread support for the continent's unification still exists, resistance to this goal is apparent, and testifies to the difficulty of this undertaking. As to the content of the agreement, it draws its inspiration, by explicit declaration of some Heads of state or government present in Lomé, from the European model. In fact it provides that a Conference of Heads of State or Government be instituted as the highest decision-making body, and that a Council of Foreign Ministers will form an executive council; a Secretariat for African Union, to be called the Commission, will be placed alongside the Council. The Treaty also provides

that the African Union will have a pan-African Parliament, a judicial Court, a Central Bank and an Investment Bank. It is easy to see that the Lomé Summit's proposals largely reflect, mainly in the area of its executive bodies, the confederal stage in which Europe itself has become stuck.

However, in spite of the agreement's limitations, a heated political confrontation has clearly taken place over how far to proceed toward African unification. On the side of those willing to accelerate the process of political unification, there were the francophone African states and Qaddafi's Libya. His support for swift African integration, to function as an anti-European and anti-American force, certainly did not help the collection of countries supporting deeper integration; moreover, Qaddafi even went further in his proposals, insisting that Africa adopt the Arabic language and asking that the capital of the future African Union be established in Libya. On the side of the more lukewarm countries, there were the anglophone states (Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda, etc.) and the rest of the North-African Arabic states.

In fact the gulf between the Arab countries of North Africa and those of sub-saharan Africa, as well as the difference between the francophone and the anglophone countries represents an obstacle, if not a division, among the OAU countries, and make one think that the route to regional integrations may well be an intermediate stage towards the African continent's unification. (It must be noted that in

effect the first countries to have signed the Lomé Treaty all belong to the CFA franc area, linked by a fixed exchange rate with the euro, and hence more open to regional integration processes and to ties with Europe).

Taking also into account the results of the Cairo summit (held on April 3rd-4th, 2000) between the Heads of state or government of the African countries, and of the European Union, and also the miserly European policy for African development resulting from the new (also so-called Lomé) Convention signed in Cotonou (Bénin) on June 23rd, 2000, one must be somewhat sceptical about the possibility that the Lomé Treaty will come into force in the timeframe anticipated by the OAU. In fact, many African newspapers, mostly anglophone, did not fail to remark that the Abuja Treaty of 1991, whose objective was supposed to be to set up an African Economic Community by the year 2000, has yet to come into force.

Despite all these difficulties in the way of unifying the continent, at the same time many people insist on following the road to regional integration. For instance, during the recent meeting of the Interparliamentary Committee of the African countries associated in the West Africa Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), one of the two CFA franc areas currently linked to the euro has proposed the institution of a single Parliament of the associated countries. At the same time, the WAEMU has proposed to the larger Economic Community of West Africa States (ECWAS), of which Nigeria is a member, to constitute a Monetary Fund of the ECWAS, as a first step towards the creation of a single monetary area.

Timid progress is being made toward regional integration also in Eastern and Southern Africa. At the same time as the 36th OAU Summit,

Tanzania, following Kenya and Uganda, ratified the Treaty instituting the East African Community, replacing the East African Co-operation (EAC). When the Treaty comes into force, on July 1st, 2001, an EAC Parliament will be formed, composed of 27 members, 9 for each associated country, nominated by the respective national Parliaments. These representatives will eventually be involved in the Free Trade Treaty, approved around the end of August by the 14 member countries of the South African Development Community (SADC). In fact Tanzania, which, like Uganda, was a member of the Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa, has left this association to become only a member of SADC.

However without the European example, and without European policy supporting African unification (which only the political unification of Europe could both make possible and become a template for) it is very hard to see that this new Free Trade Treaty will be put into effect, even just in its confederal form. And so, in order for a European policy towards Africa to have any chance of success, it is necessary that on the European side there is only one counterpart organisation for those growing regional associations. Such a situation does not exist today, as the European Union does not have any power in economic, foreign policy and security matters. The opportunity given to us by the revision of the Amsterdam Treaties to establish a true and proper European Constitution is not only in the short-term interest of the European citizens, but also in their long-term interest, because in the timeframe of the next generation the population of Africa will reach a billion people, becoming much greater than Europe's. If Africa remains largely undeveloped, it is easy to see that the immigration waves coming from that continent could not possibly be managed by Europe as it is now.

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Only a True Multipolar System Will Lead to Global Security

D. Gert Hensel

From a bipolar through a uni-multipolar system...

One of the best critical observers of the global political behaviour of the US government and its administrative bodies is Samuel P. Huntington; in his publications *The Lonely Superpower*¹ and the new *Dimension of Power* his opinion is this: "Global politics has ... moved from the bipolar system of the Cold War through a unipolar moment - highlighted by the Gulf War - and is now passing through one or two uni-multipolar decades before it enters a truly multipolar 21st century". Contemporary international politics, he says, is at present "a strange hybrid ... uni-multipolar system with one superpower and several major powers". "The United States - Huntington does know first hand - would clearly prefer a unipolar system in which it would be the hegemonic state and often acts as if such a system existed". Within this global state of intellectual confusion and political deadlock "none of the principal power-wielders in world affairs is happy with".

"The importance of regional economic blocks is likely to continue to increase in the future" - Huntington predicted in 1993, and "civilization-consciousness is increasing. For the relevant future, there will be no universal civilization, but instead a world of different civilizations, each of which will have to learn to coexist with the others". He calls the notion that there could be such a universal civilization "a Western idea, directly at odds with the particularism of most societies and their emphasis on what distinguishes one people from another". In 1999 he depicts as the other "major regional powers that

are preeminent in areas of the world without being able to extend their interests and capabilities as globally as the United States": Europe, Eurasia, East Asia, South Asia, Southwest Asia, Latin America and Africa.

"Political and intellectual leaders in most countries strongly resist the prospect of a unipolar world and favor the emergence of true multipolarity. At a 1997 Harvard conference, scholars reported that the elites of countries comprising at least two-thirds of the world's people - Chinese, Russians, Indians, Arabs, Muslims and Africans - see the United States as the single greatest external threat to their societies. They do not regard America as a military threat but as a menace to their integrity, autonomy, prosperity, and freedom of action".

Huntington's advice still stands unheard: «(a) it would be necessary for Americans to stop acting and talking as if there were a unipolar world. It is not - (b) American leaders should abandon the benign-hegemonic state illusion that a natural congruity exists between their interests and values and those of the rest of the world. It does not". As a multipolar system emerges, he tells his readers "the appropriate replacement for a global sheriff is community policing, with the major regional powers assuming primary responsibility for order in their own regions».

... towards a global multi-polar political balance

As the most important step towards a multipolar balance of power within the world of tomorrow, Huntington cites the formation of the

European Union and the creation of a common European currency. The emergence of a European Security and Defense Identity shall challenge and change the old political structure of at least the past 100 years, labeled somewhat rightly "the American Century".

Multi-polar politics as a global path to betterment also is a belief of Lucio Levi (in *Regional Unifications and Reform of the United Nations Security Council*), who thinks that "the missing link, the factor which would allow the world to move decisively towards a peaceful order" is "a Europe that is able to act as a single subject". Before going into depth about the formation of the various regional entities, the following has to be quoted from L. Levi's article: "the taking on of regional dimensions is proving to be the way to create the economic space required for the development of ... real independence from the great powers. If the European Union ... can be seen as a pilot project, it is foreseeable that the other ten large regions which are taking shape in other parts of the world may, in the future, become the protagonists of the new world order of the post-bipolar era". As geo-political areas Lucio Levi recognizes: Latin America, North America, the Commonwealth of Independent States, the European Union, Africa, the Arab world, Asia, Southern Asia, South East Asia and the South Pacific Forum. The pictorial overlap with what S.P. Huntington has published is evident. This paper should foster the debate over the nine global areas around the world coming to grips with what could truly be named a civilized policy after all.

The two authors quoted and all others debating similar issues will hopefully agree on the existence of nine entities; this scheme implies only small differences from the groupings that I first described in 1991³, together with a slightly different look at these geo-political areas and at their difficult socio-cultural structure. The possibility of new, non-violent relations among them could lead us to believe that there will be no "clash of civilisations", but instead and at last, a basis of common respect and cooperation, brought

about also by the institution of a new global UN Organisation and Security Council.

Huntington's eight areas and Levi's ten both list: [1] the European Union / Europe, [2] Africa, [3] Latin America, [4] America / North America, [5] Eurasia / Commonwealth of Independent States. The Arab world [6] is considered only by Levi, who in addition has four areas - Asia, Southern Asia, South East Asia and the South Pacific Forum - instead of the three Huntington names: East Asia, South Asia, Southwest Asia. The scheme of the nine areas detects and defines in this part of the world merely three global areas: [7] Indo-Asia, corresponding to Levi's Southern Asia, grouped around India (SAARC), and Huntington's South Asia; [8] Asia, corresponding to Huntington's China and potentially Japan in East Asia, and Levi's China and Japan, "likely to be driven by the recent economic crisis in Asia to seek greater integration with the surrounding area"; Korea, finally united, and Mongolia will join most likely this eastern Asian region, creating one global area with many systems, thus enlarging Deng Xiaoping's idea of "one country - two systems" in relation to the newly-defined status of Hong Kong as part of China. The [9]th global grouping in existence can be found in the South-East Asia arrangement called ASEAN, linked together by economic, cultural and political treaties and ties.

A new globally structured Security Council

"The current state of the United Nations could be summed up in three words - 'indispensable but flawed' - and our goal in five - 'fix it to save it'". These are words of Richard C. Holbrook, the US permanent representative to the United Nations, during his statement on April 3rd, 2000, addressing the members of the Open-Ended Working Group (OEWG). "Two facts are clear: the UN needs the United States and the United States needs the UN" - Mr Holbrook was saying as well - "a strong and efficient United Nations is in the US national interest".

The overall goal of making the United Nations

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Organization and specifically the Security Council fit for the future has been proclaimed on the occasion of its 50th anniversary as "to give the 21st Century a United Nations equipped, financed, and structured to serve effectively the people in whose name it was established". The Assembly and the Security Council in their statements are declaring that "the United Nations must be strengthened and revitalized" and that "the representative character" of the Council should be enhanced, as well as "its working efficiency and transparency" improved. The Anniversary Declaration notes that the will of all the UN member states is to "strengthen consultations and cooperation between regional arrangements or agencies and the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security".

"The emerging world order will have to be based on some concept of equilibrium, at least some concept of balance among its various regions", Henry Kissinger in 1995 told the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, when at that time the world comprised of six or seven major global players. Ending up now with nine, each of these entities should be represented at the new globally structured Security Council with one seat and one voice; the Secretary General of an adequately transformed UN Organization shall fill in the tenth seat.

This is in line with what for instance the Italian Parliament and federalists have promoted since 1997, when the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Italian House of Representatives concluded a study on the United Nations, approving a document which calls for the EU to be assigned a permanent seat in the Security Council. And Dini, then Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, confirmed that this proposal had the support of the Italian government. A similar but less ambitious parliamentary initiative in Germany in 1993 only produced a lukewarm request, asking the government to pledge, as part of a reform of the Security Council, a possible representation of regional groupings of states like the European

Union. The German official policy since then looks somewhat contradictory - on the one hand the effort to gain a German seat in conjunction with the one designated to Japan, on the other hand the pragmatic although at present unrealistic qualified basic idea: one voting voice to the European Union. This has been identified as a future political aim even in the report of a special working group set in motion by the UN Secretary General and chaired by the elder statesmen Moeen Qureshi and Richard von Weizsäcker on reforming the Organization - and such is the position Chancellor Schröder enunciated during an interview in spring 2000: "if there is a possibility to create a European mandate within the Security Council it would please me very much".

This truly is the "missing link" and what else is needed is, according to the argument of Lucio Levi, first of all "to encourage regional groupings to emerge and strengthen their cohesion within the General Assembly, so that they can be represented within the Security Council". A clearer picture and a common understanding of the importance of recognizing the existence of 9 greater geo-political regional arrangements will finally give chapter VIII of the UN Charter the appropriate determination together with the power to really "strengthen consultation and cooperation between regional arrangements or agencies and the UN in the maintenance of international peace and security", as has been proclaimed in the *Declaration on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the United Nations* and incorporated into so many other declarations and resolutions.

National States transformed into Regional Federations

The political establishment and the federalists in the end may be able to agree upon this concept of nine global areas as the eligible entities and equitable representations of distinct mixes of cultures and civilizations, each of them to be given one seat and one voice in the Security Council. By then they may have abandoned the term

"international" as obsolete and replaced it with an understanding of the "global" matter of human politics at large. All this may happen - or perhaps the politicians and the federalists will continue to disagree over this new realistic world view, because as long as there is a policy "in the national interest", the traditionally-trained political establishment will supersede any federalist design of new larger regional areas and arrangements.

The reason may evidently be the clash of centralism and federalism. This is in fact the antagonism between the nation-state or *la nation une et indivisible* vs. the regional federations, operating with political power-sharing and cooperation on equal terms at all levels of social, cultural and economic action, applied to many diverse societies and peoples. As long as metropolitan States, as described in the UN basic documents, with large territories administered or governed by them, still exist, change will be difficult, although not impossible. Within a federal union of small entities, with borders that are not national iron walls but open to overlapping alliances of common interests, there is no need for any sovereignty of their own nor administrators vested with immunity and discretionary functions. Within such a system NGOs and other common interest organizations will be partners with political parties in parliaments or working together at different levels with administrations, as can be seen at the UN Organization.

A systematic study of the structure of the nine global areas will disclose there is already a vast

compliance with the movement towards federal arrangements or at least groups with such a desire among peoples living under rules and regulations of old-fashioned metropolitan States, as demonstrated inter alia by the struggle for equal rights in Indonesia. Without any further details at global level, the example of a EU with its historical problems being overcome out of "a theory developed in the context of the European Westphalian system established in 1648" is the best example of the transformation brought about by the concept of molding independence into interdependence.

The pilot project of a European Federal Union is at last well on its way and closely watched by all other regional cooperative groups around the globe. The more our courageous and confident political decision-makers keep marching on the path towards such a European Union, the more the transition in all parts of the world from the dangerous uni-multipolar phase of international affairs to a true multi-polar balance of global management is growing in strength. It will be the special duty for federalists, primarily for the World Federalist Movement, to foster the concept of regional groupings and to promote their emergence and their association in global areas, as the very best way to ensure future peace and security and forget about still lasting ideas of supremacy of one empire governing all men on earth. "The final attainment of this great synthesis," H.G.Wells anticipated a hundred years ago, "has an air of being a process independent of any collective or conscious will of man, as being the expression of a greater Will".

¹ Samuel P. Huntington: "The Lonely Superpower"; *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 78 No.2, March/April 1999, p. 35-49; see also - Vera Palea: "Comments on 'The Declining Superpower'", *The Federalist Debate*, Year XII Number 1-3, Nov. 1999 - New Series, p. 20-23

² Lucio Levi; *The Federalist - a political Review*; Year XI 1998 Number 1, p. 26 - 37

³ D. Gert Hensel: "Menschenrechte der Eingeborenen / Naturvölker - ein Problem für die Vereinten Nationen", *Schweizer Monatshefte* 6/1991, p. 441 - 446; "Von Minderheiten und Menschen / Der schwere Weg der UNO in eine neue Ära", *Schweizer Monatshefte* 10/1993, p. 784 - 791; "Ideen zur Zukunft der UNO", *Schweizer Monatshefte* 7/8 1994, p. 9 - 12; "Multi-polare Ordnung für die Welt / Von politischen Erkenntnissen und Problemen der Umsetzung", *Schweizer Monatshefte* 11/1997, p. 9-11

Borderless Debate

The Reform of the Security Council

Lucio Levi

One of the most significant consequences of the end of the bipolar world order is that the present composition of the Security Council has become anachronistic. Hence the need to enlarge and transform it from the five big powers' directorate into a more representative body. This problem can be tackled in two different ways. The traditional one is to open the Security Council doors to the strongest states that have risen to prominent positions in the world hierarchy of power. There are three variants to this proposal. The first is to bestow a permanent seat on Germany and Japan. The second proposes the enlargement of the Security Council to five new permanent members (in addition to Germany and Japan, three states belonging respectively to Africa, Asia and Latin America); but the right of veto would not be given to the new members, and furthermore the number of non-permanent members would also be increased. The third, promoted by Italy, proposes to add to the present two categories of Security Council members, a third one composed of ten semi-permanent members, selected from a list of thirty states representative of the big world regions, which should alternate more frequently (one out of three two-year-periods).

What these projects have in common is the intention to enlarge the Security Council composition to the strongest states and to entrust to them the representation of the interests of the smaller states belonging to the same region. So Germany would represent Benelux, Scandinavia and Central-Eastern Europe, Japan the Far East, South-East Asia, the Pacific area, and so on.

The states that are most actively committed to

changing the composition of the Security Council are those defeated in the Second World War. It must be remembered that Japan, Germany and Italy, just because they are classed second, third and fifth among the states contributing most to the UN budget, are asking for the recognition of a status corresponding to their contribution. The proposals trying to modify the Council composition to these states' advantage are proportioned to the ambitions respectively of the two big economic powers (Germany and Japan), and to those of a medium power, like Italy, which cannot aspire to a permanent seat.

The plan to assign a permanent seat to Germany and Japan, which corresponded to the objective of reaching a quick solution to the problem of the Security Council reform (the so-called *quick fix*), supported by the United States, proved to be not very realistic, and was dropped. It would have strengthened the supremacy of the North over the South of the world and would moreover have given Western Europe three seats and hence an entirely disproportionate weight. Similar difficulties beset the second project, now supported by the United States, because the Latin American, Asian and African countries are not willing to let the biggest countries of their respective continents represent them.

All these solutions (including that regarding the institution of the semi-permanent members category) arouse the hostility of those left out, particularly of those most qualified to a seat in that assembly. They reflect the principles of

domination and inequality that have shaped the present Security Council structure, but are by now inadequate to meet the present needs of the world and incompatible with the objectives of equality and justice that are becoming paramount in international relations.

The best way to achieve an equitable reform of the Security Council is that involving the formation of regional groupings of states. The reorganization of the world order on the basis of these groupings of states represents not only an alternative to the power hierarchies determined by the difference between states of varying sizes, but also to the world fragmentation into a cloud of small states and statelets, contrasted with very large states.

In fact, the huge disparity in the size of member-states represents the biggest obstacle to the good functioning of the UN. The constant increase in the number of member-states (there are currently 185, more than three times as many as in 1945) shows an alarming trend toward fragmentation and anarchy. It is necessary to let these regional groupings form within the General Assembly, and increase their cohesion, so that they can later express themselves in the Security Council.

The growing cohesion of the European Union as a player in the UN is closely correlated to the degree of advancement in the unification process. A recent survey on the voting behaviour of the European Union member-states within the UN showed a cohesion rate of 86%. Therefore the European Union already acts in the great majority of cases as one single subject in the UN. This means that the conditions to bestow on it a permanent seat in the Security Council are maturing. In September 1997, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Italian Chamber of Deputies carried out an inquiry into the UN, approving a document that recommends assigning the European Union a permanent seat in

the Security Council. The Foreign Minister Dini, in his speech to the General Assembly on September 25, 1997, made reference to this proposal, preparing the ground for a solution different from the one so far supported by the Italian government. But the objective of the European seat in the Security Council is now part of the German government programme and of the programme worked out by the European People's Party for the European elections in 1999. This means that the most influential German parties now share this objective. The growing agreement around this prospect is a consequence of the birth of the euro, this novelty whose significance the whole world is wondering about; it will greatly increase the capacity of the European Union to intervene in the world economy and will bring nearer the moment when Europe will speak with one voice on the political level also. The weakness of Europe's international role is due to the fact that its political decisions on foreign and security policy are to be made unanimously. This is the vacuum that has to be filled to make possible the entrance of Europe into the Security Council. This would make it possible to recognize the right of every member state to be represented in the Security Council without discrimination between permanent and non-permanent members, and at the same time to solve the problem raised by Germany's pretensions. Admitting Germany into the Security Council would be an incentive for it to develop an independent foreign policy with respect to the European Union and hence a spur to the revival of German nationalism.

The European Federation, precisely because it represents the spearhead of the regional unification processes now developing in the world, can take the initiative to reform the Security Council along regional lines. With its entrance into the Security Council, the European Federation will become for the rest of the world the model of reconciliation among nation-states

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and the vehicle to transmit to the other continents, still divided into nation-states, the impulse towards federal unification.

In conclusion, this solution offers four advantages: 1) all states (not only the strongest ones, as happens now) could be represented in the Security Council through their respective regional organisation; 2) the hegemony of superpowers and inequality among states could be progressively overcome by the reorganization of the UN into groupings of states with equivalent dimensions and powers, and in particular the developing countries of Africa,

the Arab World, Latin America, Southern Asia and South-East Asia could find in their political and economic unification the way to free themselves of their condition of dependence; 3) the unjust discrimination between permanent and non-permanent members could be finally overcome by replacing the right of veto with the majority vote; 4) in the long-term, the Security Council is destined to play the role of a Higher Chamber or World Senate, accountable jointly with the World Parliament (the directly elected General Assembly) to the World Government (the transformed and strengthened General Secretariat).

The United States of South-America, the Dream

The United States of South-America remain a far distant dream, but not unreachable. First, however, an improvement is required in democracy and economic integration, as well as an increased independence from the influence of the USA. The first meeting of the Heads of State of South-America was held in Brasilia on 2 September 2000. The Clinton "Plan Colombia", which addresses issues like the drug trade and terrorism, was generally kept at a distance, considering what Brazil's President Cardoso declared. Only the Colombian leader Pastrana endorsed it. The Venezuelan President Chávez, *enfant terrible* of the continent, tried to introduce the subject of political integration but the Brazilian President explained that the so-called "Group of Rio" is already working on it. Brazil, which represents half of the territory, population and economic weight of the continent, is

reluctant to consider the creation of a supranational authority.

That is why there was no mention in the final document about an ideal of the United States of South America. Large emphasis was put instead on the commitment to the construction of a free trade area in the Americas but starting first by building a larger economic space in the Region. As far as democracy is concerned, the case of Peruvian President Fujimori, elected for the third time through suspect elections, was handled by sending to Peru only an indirect message which stressed the importance of elections being free, periodic and transparent. Finally, the existence was mentioned of a "colonial situation in the South-Atlantic" as far as the question of the Falklands/Malvinas is concerned and Britain and Argentina were asked to start negotiating again on the subject (*l.f.*).

Federalist Action

Nice 2000 European Citizens Summit

General programme of the European initiatives on the occasion of the Heads of State and Government European Council (Nice, 6-8 December 2000)

Wednesday 6 December 2000

- (morning) Round table of the Centre International de Formation Européenne on:
"European governance, world-wide governance"
(Tel.: +33-4.93 97 93 97)
- 2.00 pm – 4.30 pm Demonstration of the European Trade Union Confederation
on the Charter of Fundamental Rights
(Tel.: +32-2.224 04 27)

Nice Citizens Summit

- Co-organisers:* International European Movement, Permanent Forum
for Civil Society, European Trade Union Confederation, Young European
Federalists, Platform of European Social NGOs, Union of European
Federalists, ...
(Tel.: +32-2.508 30 88)
- 5.00 pm Opening session
- 5.30 pm – 7.30 pm Crossroad: *"A Europe of fundamental rights: the Charter"*
- 8.30 pm – 10.30 pm Crossroad: *"A Europe of all Europeans: the enlargement"*

Thursday 7 December 2000

- 9.00 am – 11.00 am Crossroad: *"A Europe of democracy: the Constitution"*
- 11.00 am – 1.00 pm Crossroad: *"A Europe of solidarity: the social Agenda"*
- 9.00 am – 1.00 pm **European Youth Convention: "Say yes to a Europe of the People!"**
Organisation: Youth Committee "Nice 2000", Youth Forum, JEF, etc.
(Tel.: +32-2.512 00 53)
- 2.00 pm – 4.30 pm **European Citizens Demonstration**
Main organiser: Committee "Nice 2000" (Tel.: +32-2 508 30 30)
Platform: Appeal "Nice 2000" *For a European Citizens Summit*
Participants: European citizens, organisations of the civil society,
and their elected representatives
- 2.00 pm **Gathering and organisation of demonstrators**
- 2.30 pm Start of the demonstration
- 4.00 pm At arrival, "European Podium" and contributions of spokesmen
of the organisations of the civil society, MEPs, MPs, elected
representatives on regional and national level, and various personalities
- 4.30 pm **End of the demonstration**

Draft programme as of 26.09.00; non-exhaustive and to be confirmed

Federalist Action

A Two-Year Campaign for the ICC

Jayne Stoyles

On 17 July 2000 the Coalition for the International Criminal Court announced the launch of a two-year campaign to complete the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC). The Coalition, comprised of more than 1000 civil society organisations throughout the world, is also calling upon the United Nations to designate July 17 as International Justice Day. On July 17, 1998, in Rome, 120 nations voted in favour of adopting the ICC treaty and only 7 – including the US, Iraq and China – voted against its adoption. Government and civil society representatives met in Rome to mark the anniversary at a conference organised by No Peace Without Justice and the Italian government.

The ICC will be the first permanent international criminal court which will have the ability to bring to justice individuals who commit the most serious crimes of international concern, namely genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. The treaty has now been signed by 112 nations and ratified by 21. Sixty ratifications are required to trigger the creation of the new world court and a fundamentally enhanced system of international criminal justice. "We realise the great challenge it will be to secure the necessary ratifications in the next two years, but we believe it is essential to achieve this goal", stated William R. Pace, Convenor of the ICC Coalition.

The ICC is widely heralded as a momentous milestone in the codification of international law and the protection of human rights. It will have jurisdiction over crimes occurring in both international and internal armed conflicts and over cri-

mes against humanity such as 'disappearances' that occur in the absence of conflict. Pace said, "This is the 'never again' court, not in the sense that it can guarantee that such crimes will never occur again, but because it will never again be possible for a Hitler, Pol Pot, Idi Amin, or Pinochet to commit such crimes with impunity. And law and justice do deter crimes, thus this court will save millions of lives in this century if we can complete its establishment promptly". The new court will also provide redress to victims.

The Coalition believes that although some powerful nations, such as the United States of America, continue to oppose the Court, overall support in the international community is overwhelmingly favourable. "Because of the USA opposition to the Rome Statute, the importance of continued unanimous support by the European Union, and the importance of the wide support of the Council of Europe members is greatly heightened. Therefore meetings like the European Intergovernmental Conference sponsored by the Italian government and No Peace Without Justice are very important", added Mr. Pace. The Coalition estimates that 30 additional nations are working to complete ratification within the next year.

The following achievements have been obtained since the adoption of the treaty on July 17, 1998:

- 21 countries have ratified the Statute to create the ICC, including, in reverse order: Gabon, Sierra Leone, Botswana, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Lesotho, Mali, Canada, Belgium, France, Venezuela, Iceland, Tajikistan, Belize, Norway, Ghana, Fiji, Italy, San Marino, Trinidad & Tobago and

Senegal

- Approximately 30 other countries are well advanced in their efforts to ratify the Statute
- 112 countries have signed the Statute
- The following governmental groups have expressed support for the ICC publicly: the 15 members of the European Union, the 13 nations comprising the Southern African Development Community, the 34 member states of the Organisation of American States, the more than 120 members of the Non-Aligned Movement, the 54 Commonwealth States, the 14 members of the Caribbean Commu-

nity and the 14 states comprising the Economic Community of West African States

- On 30 June, 2000, the two most important instruments to accompany the statute — the Rules of Procedure and Evidence and the Elements of Crimes — were successfully completed after five Preparatory Commission meetings
- Countries are now ready to address issues such as the financing of the Court, the relationship between the ICC and United Nations, and the definition and elements of the crimes of aggression at upcoming Preparatory Commission meetings.

South Asian People's Summit

On 8-11 December 2000 in Colombo, Sri Lanka, South Asian Partnership International and The Civil Society of South Asia will organise the South Asian People's Summit.

"The heads of our Governments", say the organisers, "have postponed the SAARC Summit at a time when it is most crucial to meet and discuss the innumerable issues that need to be addressed on a war footing at this point in time.

While the whole world watches, our leaders are just letting time fritter away which will only precipitate our problems and take us further away from the solutions".

The People's Summit is a campaign and a conference that seeks to make eradicating poverty and providing a good quality life to all South Asians a reality (*j.a.*).

JEF Demo for Joschka Fischer

On July 6, the German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer was in Strasbourg at the European Parliament. He presented his views on how to "move from a European Confederation to a European Federation" to the Commission for Constitutional Affairs of the European Parliament.

An international delegation led by the President of UEF Jo Leinen and the President of JEF

Paolo Vacca – with about 20 JEF and UEF activists from France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, Germany, with banners and flags – was there, at the entrance of the European Parliament, to show him our warmest encouragement.

Joschka Fischer, accompanied by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, stopped to talk to the JEF and UEF delegation, who delivered him a letter by the two organisations (*p.v.*).

Books Reviews

The Critical Reactions to *Our Global Neighborhood*

René Wadlow

Errol E. Harris and James A. Yunker (Eds.),
Toward Genuine Global Governance: Critical
Reactions to Our Global Neighborhood,
Westport, CT - Praeger, 1999

World Citizenship. Not a new idea, but a powerful one, that will grow in importance as the planet moves towards its inevitable unity. World citizenship is, in fact, the only adequate and satisfactory alternative to racism and nationalism for the 21st century.

John Roberts

This is a collection of essays by people most of whom have been active in world citizen/world federalist movements and who are generally disappointed by the quality of the report of the Commission on Global Governance *Our Global Neighborhood*. As co-editor James Yunker, Professor of Economics at Western Illinois University writes "Even its admirers must concede that the Report of the Commission on Global Governance is a very cautious, conservative, and limited document. It endorses the basic structure and operations of the existing United Nations, explicitly rejects world government, and proposes that primary reliance toward the objective of enhanced international security and further human progress be placed on the gradual development of properly enlightened, tolerant, humanitarian, and cosmopolitan attitudes among both the general human population and its political leaders".

The basic debate which this book highlights is

the debate on the relative importance of leadership or structures. *Our Global Neighborhood*, no doubt, in part because the Commission was composed of individuals who have held positions in government or intergovernmental agencies, places its emphasis on the quality of leadership. The report stresses that "The world needs a new vision that can galvanize people everywhere to achieve higher levels of co-operation in areas of common concern and shared destiny". Yet a leader, no matter how clear sighted, cannot move too far beyond the general view of the people who have elected him or the government which appointed him to a post. Therefore, there is a need to develop a wide and active constituency in all countries who are world-minded, cooperative and concerned with ecologically-sound development. The report stresses the growth of a global civil society – a multitude of institutions, voluntary associations and networks. Without a world-minded base, liberal leaders will continue to find themselves faced with the rejection by the US Senate of the long-negotiated treaty on nuclear tests.

The position of the bulk of the world federalist authors is well stated by co-editor Errol Harris, "We cannot, therefore, afford to wait for any long, leisurely process of development to improve our methods of global governance" – a phrase that simply disguises the prevalent power politics that pervades international relations. "As long as states remain sovereign and independent and give precedence in consequence to their national interests over those of the global community, there will be no hope of solving

world problems; and the one and only remedy is the establishment of a World government under a democratic federal constitution". Harris' position is developed in a long critique both of *Our Global Neighborhood* and of the structure of the UN in general by Philip Isely of the World Constitution and Parliament Association who has long been pushing for the ratification of the *Constitution for the Federation of Earth* drafted by world citizens in meetings held in 1968, 1977, 1980, and 1991.

There is a good bibliography "For Further Reading" which lists most of the major books on world government from Emery Reves *The Anatomy of Peace* (1945) on. Errol Harris adds to this

a brief overview of the movements for world federation and world citizenship with an emphasis on those in the UK and the USA. There is also the summary "A Call to Action" of *Our Global Neighborhood* which had been widely distributed to encourage people to read the whole book.

While *Toward Genuine Global Governance* is useful, especially for those who have not read other world federalist literature, I feel that the political debate between an emphasis on leadership or an emphasis on structures has not taken place. Each side repeats a fixed position: "We need good leaders" – "We need institutions which can impose democratically-made decisions". After reading the book, I did not have the feeling of a deeper understanding of the currents of the world society.

Planet Champions

Barbara Walker

Jack Yost,
Planet Champions,
Portland, OR
Bridge City Books, 1999

A recent publication of potential interest to readers of *The Federalist Debate* is worthy of note. Jack Yost, former Director of WFM's New York Office (now WFM Headquarters) brings us *Planet Champions*, setting out promising new strategies for transforming global politics and links them with his own self-discovery.

For those of us who knew Jack only for a brief

period – during his work for the world federalists – he leaves a fitting memorial for us in his chronicle of *Planet Champions: Adventures in Saving the World*. Intertwined with his descriptions of these champions we get a sense of Jack's own course through his all-too-short life span. He started at age 14 deciding to attend a Benedictine Monastery in Switzerland. Studies took him to Belgium, Canada and finally to Oregon where he encountered a conference called "Peace, Justice and World Order".

Yost founded a small peace education group in Oregon in 1982, this work eventually leading him to the United Nations. In the process, he describes the activities of many individuals and groups working to transform global politics and econom-

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ics. Among initiatives the book explores are a strategy for abolishing the arms trade, ways to make the environment a top priority and the growing movement to share the earth's resources equitably. He cites telling examples – the land mines campaign and the campaign for the creation of an international criminal court – to demonstrate the powerful impact groups and individuals working together can have. Jack himself was one of these as he worked during his

tenure as Head of the World Federalist Movement's United Nations Office to convene the initial discussions on implementing an International Criminal Court.

Jack was inspired by and carefully listened to his planet champions. His dearest wish was to write about them and thus further his quest for peace, justice and world order. Jack fulfilled his mission and leaves us with a wonderful legacy to support our planet's champions in reaching their goals.

Politics Have not Gone Far Enough

Antonio Mosconi

Dani Rodrik,
Has Globalization Gone Too far?,
Washington, DC
Institute for International Economics, 1997

There is a great deal of research purporting to offer an economic explanation for the tensions that exist between globalisation and the abiding fragmentation of national politics. Among many admirable efforts in this direction, Rodrik deserves special attention for bringing together an economic argument of scientific meticulousness with an intellectual honesty that leaves the political issue — the only relevant one — essentially unresolved in the case in point.

Rodrik's scientific meticulousness emerges clearly in the way he sets out his main arguments, which are that: 1) there is a strong probability that reduced barriers to trade and in-

vestment will widen the gap between mobile groups which can cross national boundaries (i.e. financial markets, outsourcing, high-level professional services) and those which cannot (i.e. middle managers and low-skilled workers); 2) globalisation has an impact on national regulatory and institutional frameworks - in other words on processes and not just products; and 3) the demand for social insurance is growing hand in hand with international vulnerability, as nations are becoming increasingly unable to offer benefits under the pressures of international competition.

Rodrik starts out by observing that in the late 19th century economies were more open than today, but merely to emphasize the differences between then and now: then workers were as mobile as markets, while today immigration is more restricted. Then, trade primarily involved raw materials and manufactured products, while now there is significant competition

within the same product/market segments; then, governments were not as committed as they are today to ensuring wide scale social welfare.

In this new scenario, globalization has to be properly "managed" to ensure consensus over free trade. There are subtle and not so subtle yearnings for neo-protectionism. Trade with low-income countries raises the premium on skilled workers in wealthy countries as it further impoverishes workers with low-skills. The demand for labour is more elastic than for wages, so employers can increase the proportion of non-wage costs with which workers are saddled. Greater inequality, greater insecurity, lower wages and longer-term unemployment hit workers hard and weaken trade unions. Though trade between wealthy nations hardly influences the relative demand for low-skilled workers, it nevertheless contributes to generating greater elasticity in the demand for labour. International trade, moreover, makes it more costly to maintain different social models and thus places pressure on national regulatory systems and institutions, eventually jeopardizing acquired standards of social protection.

Therefore, in order to preserve free trade it appears that a certain degree of convergence is necessary in national legislations. Rodrik regards European unification as an example of how difficult it is to strike a balance between economic integration and social regulation. He interprets the strikes of 1995 in France as a revolt against European monetary union, supported by that part of the population which refused to give up social protection for free trade. Not just social policies, but also legislation covering job safety, the environment and fair business practices can tilt the competitive balance, in trade as well as in the localization of investments.

Just as the open sea appears far more perilous

than a puddle, so people are demanding that their governments provide adequate insurance against what they perceive as a high risk situation. Rodrik argues that the greater the exposure to external risk the higher the level of public spending. The welfare state is the other side of the open economy. Nonetheless, once high levels of economic integration have been reached, a serious conflict erupts between free trade and the political consensus required to perpetuate it. This is because international competition demands that government spending be reduced and/or restructured at the expense of consumption and social spending; and at the same time the burden of taxation shifts from the market to workers. Globalisation, higher perceived risk, and greater demand for vanishing social insurance: this is the picture that could well undermine consensus over an open economy and unleash protectionism.

This trend must be opposed, but how? Rodrik's solution is not much help: "We need some creative thinking on how to provide social insurance and thereby foster stability in the new global economy". Having raised our expectations with his excellent analyses, Rodrik's forays into creative thinking are somewhat disappointing. Here are some of his most significant suggestions.

Those who control mobile resources are breaking away from their local communities and only the financial markets are free of political control. So must the price of economic integration be social disintegration? Rodrik appears to believe that restricting private contracts in contrast with local social legislation is legitimate and that some control over the movement of capital should be restored. In other words, instead of allowing economic governance to be market-driven, he still believes it is possible to confine it in national cages.

The US leadership that has ensured the world

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economic order in the post-World War II period, is now in crisis. What will replace it? Rodrik does not see any chance of alternative "leaderships" emerging, though paying lip service to the possibility that who knows, Europe might one day ... But no mention of a world government.

Turning back the clock is not an option either, since the advances in transportation and telecommunications technologies have brought about irreversible changes in the global economy. It's a real conundrum. But Keynes, the "practical visionary", offers a helping hand here, with his pragmatic recipes for deficit financing rearmament against Hitler, and after his defeat, for creating a world legal tender to prevent America from monopolizing the creation of international liquidity.

Few will undoubtedly be as willing as I am to dip into Keynes, but Rodrik mentions him without ever referring to the indispensable supranational restoration to which his theory should be subjected. Rodrik goes so far as to admit that "some taxation of foot-loose factors at the global level, with revenue sharing among nations, may be worth considering", but carefully avoids pointing to the institutions he believes could bring about this supranational redistribution.

All Rodrik asks of the "international institutions" is that they cooperate with governments

to acquire the information required to combat tax evasion; encourage the convergence of policies and standards; create space for disengaging from multilateral agreements, when complying with them turns out to be too burdensome - but who says so? The countries themselves?

In conclusion, Rodrik's book is an example of the growing vacuum between economics and politics. Most economists have a "national" background: the rest of the world is studied *en-bloc* as "international economics", and there is even a tendency to overlook macroscopic evidence that the bigger a national or federal state becomes, the less sensitive it is to international trade.

The European Union's external debt is less than half that of the average of its member states. A hypothetical world federation would have zero foreign trade, unless trading partners materialize from outer space. The only real foreign trade would clearly be between human economics and the energy and environmental resources that we use. If markets are more global than politics, politics are already more global than economic science. Only the development of a "federalist economic policy" could eventually get in our way. This is one of the many hopes that my generation places in the young, having earned the irrefutable merit of creating the problems that it will be up to our children to solve.

The Return of Depression Economics

George Lingbour

Paul Krugman
The Return of Depression Economics,
New York-London
W. W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1999

Paul Krugman, professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is one of the most reputed and prolific researchers in the field of international economics and one of the commentators best known to public opinion, thanks to his brilliant and unprejudiced style.

In *The Return of Depression Economics*, Krugman starts from the crisis which hit Asian economies in the summer of 1997, primed by the devaluation of the Thai baht, in order to find out possible solutions in the short run to what he defines as "the Great Recession", and to try to prevent such a crisis from occurring again in the future.

Krugman describes well the economic scenario of the nineties: after the collapse of the Soviet Union, in the "New World Order" brought about by rampant capitalism and fostered by information technology and globalization, concepts like recession and economic cycle were viewed as obsolete. Also, the developing countries, or "emerging markets", mainly in Asia, had largely benefited by this success, because in these countries export-driven economic growth had allowed a large part of their population to improve their living standards.

The first jolts, apparently just local, came from Mexico's monetary crisis, the so-called "tequila crisis", and from Argentina's difficulties with its financial stabilization project. Meanwhile, on the other side of the Pacific Ocean, Japan, after decades of steady growth, was also stuck in the con-

sequences of the outburst of the Stock Exchange speculative bubble of the eighties. A worrisome situation of "growth depression" had been produced, with internal demand stagnation, even in the presence of huge state-funded programs.

The outburst of the Asian crisis in July 1997 started, as I said, from Thailand: a relatively small economy which had known years of impressive growth, first endogenous, and later sustained by the inflow of resources from abroad. This favoured a huge credit expansion which caused, in the presence of a stable exchange rate, a sustained rise of imports and of speculative investments. Such investments found a fertile ground, in Thailand like in other Asian countries, in a system of "crony capitalism", in which a restricted oligarchy practically controls all of the main political, economic and financial decisions.

But how could the crisis of such a small country produce such a widely disruptive shock wave, which in a few weeks hit Malaysia, Indonesia and South Korea? Everybody knew that panic (as well as euphoria) may propagate unchecked but no one seemed to be fully aware of how powerful that mechanism could be in modern, liberalized financial markets, mostly in the presence of new, sophisticated tools like the "hedge funds". And, paradoxically, the countries involved were more vulnerable, as Krugman underlines, just because "[they] were, by all accounts, following *better* policies than they had in the past", based on free-market economy.

What might the appropriate macroeconomic policy be? The International Monetary Fund's compass in the Asian crisis was the "confidence" of foreign investors. But in the face of speculative

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attacks and devaluations, Krugman points out, the markets enforce a sort of "double standard", by which they give First World countries the "benefit of the doubt" (it was the case of Great Britain in 1992 and of Australia in 1998), whilst to developing countries the route of controlled devaluations is precluded. In this situation, the policies usually imposed by the IMF lead to a vicious circle through high interest rates to hold back the flight of investors, overvalued exchange rates and economic recession.

Krugman considers a single world-wide monetary policy unworkable and, anyway, not desirable; he is very cautious about the introduction of the euro and considers the impossibility of discriminating between "good" and "bad" international transactions to be the main limit for capital controls; he is in favour of it, anyway, and points at the example of China, sheltered from the Asian crisis by its currency's non-convertibility. He deems the fluctuation of exchange rates to be the least of evils and very cautiously estimates the possible alternatives on a case by case basis, even against the current orthodoxy. As far as Japan is concerned, for instance, he thinks that the only way out of stagnation is by the "inflation heresy", which means recurring to increase the offer of money so as to create expectations of future rises of prices, hence inducing people to consume now.

The book was written at the beginning of 1999: so it leaves many questions open in an international context in which the risk of "the Great Recession" seems to be totally removed. Yet for Krugman the real change which sprang from the 1997-98 crisis is the awareness that the scarcity of demand has become again a remark-

able problem. The return of depression economics is still possible and, if this could happen in Japan, it can happen also in Europe and in the United States. The remedies for coping with this danger are well known, as the American Federal Reserve has shown many times. Different is the case of developing countries: in the presence of a financial crisis their governments "must do something of decisive" and all routes — floating currency, resort to a currency board, control of capital movements — appear to Krugman to be better than those proposed recently by the IMF.

From the work of the MIT economist, an implicit invitation comes out to redefine the role and strategies of the international institutions, first of all the IMF. Such ideas are in line with his view of economic analysis as "a way of thinking, something that allows you to craft new responses to an ever-changing world". Yet Krugman doesn't treat the political implications of the current international monetary and economic framework and he doesn't completely analyse the possible responses: the search for a new strategic Euro-Atlantic equilibrium, the stabilisation of the euro-dollar relations, the possibility of creating a transatlantic free-trade area.

It is a book "produced in mid-crisis", hence little inclined to middle-term settings. However, just because it looks for non-ephemeral responses in order to avoid crises in the future, it is desirable that Krugman's intelligence and creativity devote themselves to the investigation of the above themes. The strengthening of the international role of the euro and the accomplishment of a federal Europe will certainly provide a powerful, even intellectual, incitement in that direction.

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The International Organisation of Anti-Globalisation Sorts Out the Balance of the Seattle Action

(*Le Monde*, August 30, 2000 after an article from Hervé Kempf)

The International Forum on Globalisation (IFG, created in 1994) gathers the "thinking brains" of some fifty organisations from all over the world. It is little known, even though it has been the catalysing force behind the Seattle demonstrations against the WTO. Its Managing Council held its last meeting at the end of August in Cévennes, France.

Strategic questions were posed at this meeting, with the aim of going beyond the position of just criticising the status quo to proposing alternative solutions. IFG will soon publish a report to explain the principles of a proposed economic system different from the one that the promoters of WTO dream about. A pillar of this alternative is the "principle of subsidiarity", by which one does not delegate to the upper levels (national or international) anything except the decisions which cannot be taken at the local community level.

In a less theoretical fashion, the Council has chosen to sustain and reinforce the United Nations (UN) in opposition to the WTO. Certainly the UN is weak and presently has several defects, but its potential the IFG hopes to revitalise.

As explained by Victor Menotti, Director of the IFG environment program: "We need to bring the institutions created by the Bretton Woods agreement (the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and what of WTO has now become) back to a position subordinal to the UN, as it was meant at the time of their foundation"(j.-f.b.)

Echelon: the Information "Big Brother"?

The Echelon system was brought to light by author Nicky Hager in his 1996 book, *Secret Power: New Zealand's Role in the International Spy Network*, in which he interviews people who have worked at intelligence services and are involved in the use of Echelon. After a large public opinion debate on the media, and at the request of the European Parliament Committee on Civil Liberties and Internal Affairs, the STOA (Scientific and Technological Options Assessment of EP) has presented two studies: the earlier, entitled *An Appraisal of Technologies of Political Control* published in January 1998, has been followed up by another, entitled *Development of Surveillance Technology and Risk of Abuse of Economic Information*, published in October 1999. The first study reported that within Europe all fax, e-mail and telephone messages are routinely intercepted by the Echelon global surveillance system. Furthermore actually, and in spite of the STOA and EP Panel, Nicky Hager's book appears to be the only evidence of the Echelon existence: in fact no reply came from the USA.

During the cold war, the major English speaking nations (USA, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand) made a secret agreement (the UKUSA agreement) to conduct collaborative operations as "technical and intelligence information derived from foreign communications by other than their intended recipient": the Echelon system is supposed to be an electronic spy system designed for primarily non-military targets, intercepting very large quantities of communications by use of computers and keywords to identify and extract sensitive messages from the mass of unwanted ones.

Nowadays almost all economic information is exchanged through electronic means; the

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importance of information and communication systems for society and global economy is intensifying with the increasing value and quantity of data transmitted. The use of surveillance technology systems, like Echelon could be, represents an abuse of privacy and of economic information. Today the European Parliament appears incapable of protecting against unlawful interception one of the fundamental human rights, the privacy of communications (art. 8, *Protection of Personal Data*, in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU): the weakness of the European Union is clear and only a European Federation could succeed in obtaining from the USA the right and necessary warranties about the dismantling of Echelon (*an.v.*).

Two Noteworthy Speeches in the Millennium Summit

From 6-8 September 2000 some 150 heads of state and government gathered in New York to participate in the Millennium Summit, an opportunity to debate about the challenges facing the United Nations in the new century. Among the speeches pronounced during the summit, two statements are particularly noteworthy: the first by the president of the Republic of Albania, for its criticism against the principle of self-determination and the concept of nation state; the second by the president of the Czech Republic, for the proposal for a democratic UN reform.

Rexhep Meidani criticised the old concept of classic independence. Going back to the establishment of nation states with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, and analysing the current Balkans situation, the President of Albania told that "A pure nation-state is difficult to find in the real world". Therefore, he stated "I believe

that instead of the old concept of classic independence we must apply a new concept of interdependence. I think this is the path in Europe and Balkans to make compatible the principle of self-determination with the principle of interdependence within the United States of Europe. Such a path does not mean the dissolution of national sovereignty, but rather the sovereign choices nation states are making to devolve more power to local and regional authorities or to pool their sovereignty within supranational authorities. That is the way to make compatible the concept of national sovereignty with the concept of globalisation and its sub-phenomenon regionalisation".

Vaclav Havel expressed his view on UN reform. He wished that over the course of the forthcoming century the UN should be transformed, "From a large community of governments, diplomats and officials into a joint institution for each inhabitant of this planet". The new UN should rest on a bicameral system: an assembly of equal executive representatives of individual countries, and a parliament directly elected by the globe's population, with a number of delegates for each individual nation proportional to the size of the nation. These two bodies "would create and guarantee global legislation" through an executive organ, the successor of the Security Council, deprived of the right of veto and endowed with its own permanent military and police force (*s.r.*).

World Government is Coming

In an article, published on 17 January in *The New Republic*, Robert Wright points out how the specter of world government has become a key issue throwing together on the same side of the fence people as different as Pat Buchan-

an, the Seattle protesters, Ralph Nader, militia-men, traditional leftists, and centrist and right wing free-traders. Indeed, all of them sense that much of the power traditionally bestowed on the nation-state is starting to shift towards international institutions and warn against such an alarming concentration of power.

Even though it is highly unlikely that in the near future we will witness the establishment of a true world government, "World government of a meaningful if more diffuse sort is probably in the cards. It follows on basic technological trends and stubborn economic and political logic. And, what's more, it's a good idea" – he argues. After a brief but profound analysis of such an unavoidable consequence of economic globalisation, he goes on wondering what kind of world government we should expect. Probably, the sort of global governance now shaping up won't get as firm, broad or taut as national governments; it will never inspire strong patriotic fervor; and it is likely to be rather diffuse, made up of many partly overlapping different institutions; nevertheless — he concludes — world government is coming and we will have to deal with it (*m. s.*).

A World Environment Organisation Proposed

The United Nations should create a World Environment Organisation to ensure that member countries respect ecological commitments they have made, French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin said on June 26.

The organisation, a body that would be similar to the World Trade Organisation, would help countries to gain control over globalisation by creating international regulations on the environment. According to Jospin, the proposed

organisation would work with existing UN agencies such as the United Nations Environment Programme.

France should launch this initiative during its presidency of the European Union (July 1 - December 31). Jospin, a Socialist who has frequently said that governments have to respond to globalisation with more world-wide regulation, added that "The time has come to tackle the problem of the architecture of global regulation" (*ff.*).

Genocide Research Center Launched

On July 21 in London scholars from across the globe launched a genocide research institute dedicated to finding the cause of mass killings so that the crimes are not repeated. The Genocide Prevention Research Initiative, billed as the world's first such institute, will bring together scientists and scholars to research the causes of genocide. "Every time, we say it must never happen again – but we are still no nearer to understanding when and why genocide will recur", said Stephen Smith, co-founder and director of the Beth Shalom Holocaust Memorial Center in Nottingham, which led the drive to create the institute.

The institute will provide information to governments, politicians and individual groups so trouble spots can be tackled early.

"During the 20th century, millions of people were systematically slaughtered just because they belonged to particular ethnic groups – Armenians, Gypsies, Jews, Rwandans are just a few examples", Smith said. "Preventing genocide must be better than looking for palliatives after the event".

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The Center has high-level backing, with Nobel Peace Prize winners Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa and Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel serving as patrons. The institute was launched during a one-day seminar in central London, organized by Remembering For The Future, a British organization that aims to increase worldwide knowledge of the Holocaust (*a.b.*).

The Human Cost of Environmental Protection

Anthropologists say that the efforts made by international aid organisations to protect wild landscapes and to create national parks have come at considerable human cost. According to World Bank statistics, about three million people were forced to move between 1986 and 1996 as a result of development and conservation projects. Most of them were extremely poor indigenous people.

Since the creation of the world's first national park (Yellowstone in 1871), in Kenya, Tanzania and Madagascar, in order to create national parks or big game parks, thousands of residents were forced to move or were killed in conflicts with the Army and with colonial authorities. More recently expulsions have continued at big parks in Kenya, Botswana, Indonesia, Sri Lanka while Guyana extinguished the rights of local residents by enlarging Kaieteur National Park. Environmentalists say they now recognise local co-operation is essential. In Nepal, for example, local residents are now allowed to enter the forest, which it was previously forbidden, and collect grasses and plants as long as they don't use mechanised tools (*a.s.*).

Emergency Refugees

Humanitarian organisations have estimated that 1999 saw more than 22 million refugees everywhere in the world. Africa is the continent most affected because of wars, hunger and thirst. Eritrea, Somalia and Sudan count at least 6 million people without a place to go and in Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Burundi and Angola the situation is not much better (with more than 6 million refugees and evacuated people).

The trend is worsening year after year and Europe is in the middle of this horror as well because of the Balkans where the Dayton Agreements have not solved the problem of ethnic tensions. 1.5 million people lost their homes during the 1992-1995 fighting and today they are still waiting to return. Furthermore, the war in Kosovo has left thousands of people without a roof and in bad condition from the point of view of safety. In Colombia recent disorders, according to UNHCR data, have caused the flight of almost 1 million people, while Afghanistan has generated the highest number of refugees (2.6 million people). Iraq's old wounds still take people away from their lands and in East Timor things are not so good: the killing of three UNHCR operators near the centre for the refugees by the anti-Independence Army is very recent. Finally, in Sri-Lanka humanitarian organisations have not been able to help the civil population. All of these data show that the time of war has not come to an end yet.

The plague of the refugees has been augmented by another kind of problem: it seems that the Kosovo drama has brought a concentration of humanitarian aids to that area while other areas with a greater number of refugees have been ignored. Are we facing first and second class refugees? In order to find a solution, it is necessary to analyse the problem at its roots and understand that refugees are the product of international anarchy. The control of territory becomes fundamental when there are wars among states or civil wars and this means that the first losers are from the civilian population (*c.s.*).

Interview

William R. Pace, WFM Executive Director

How do you assess the collapse of WTO's Ministerial Conference in Seattle? Do you think that it has shown the lack of international democracy and the need of a new and reformed UN system?

The World Federalist Movement's response to globalization, and in particular the impacts of the growing power of the World Trade Organization, World Bank and other multi-lateral financial institutions is rooted in our principles of promoting international democracy. WFM does not support the movement to make the WTO and Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs) the new locus and focus of global governance.

WFM advocates greater democracy and transparency in the decision-making processes of the International Financial Institutions, including promoting consultative parliamentary mechanisms for these institutions. However, WFM believes that the trade and finance ministers must not be given the power to determine global policy on human rights, environmental protection, advancement of women, labour rights, and other social and economic standards. The trade and finance ministers and "ministries" must be held accountable to international law standards for these issues.

WFM recognizes that global treaties are unevenly ratified and the regimes often reflect conflicting standards. We believe that only the UN General Assembly (UNGA), as the only legitimate universal body in the international system, should resolve and harmonize the differences. Which is why WFM is so committed

to strengthening and democratizing the UNGA to improve its effectiveness and accountability.

Two of the main reasons the WTO Ministerial in Seattle failed were, in fact, the lack of transparency and absence of democratic principles in its decision-making processes. I believe it is important that WFM be careful in its participation in the global efforts opposing the WTO. Many opponents of the WTO are extreme nationalists and xenophobes – these groups' anti-internationalism is in direct contradiction to our philosophy. WFM should build links to others who oppose the current structure and harmful practices of the WTO, but who share our goal for the need to promote just regional and global economic and financial institutions and policies. Our principle of subsidiarity – a boring sounding word for one of our most important basic principles – of addressing governance challenges at the most appropriate and local levels of society, offers a philosophical framework that I believe many groups will endorse.

Some recent events, such as the joint gathering of the UEF and the WFM in Montreux (September 1997) and the association of UEF to the WFM deliberated by the UEF Congress in Bonn (April 1999) seem to show that the slow rapprochement between the world's largest federalist organizations is proceeding today with renewed energy. Do you agree with this statement? What are the reasons for this speeding up?

While the Italian and a few other European

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federalist organizations maintained support in both the regional and global federalist movements between 1947-1997, from the first Montreux conference most European federalists could not conceive of approaching world federalism without first establishing a "European Union". Their arguments were that the two world wars ignited by Europe, the Holocaust, and political reality demanded this step.

Though some world federalists opposed regionalization, I believe history is proving the European Federalists right.

However, even though the European Federalists are pressing for a strong constitutional basis for the European democracy, the mandates for developing other progressive policies and institutions to address global challenges have increased tremendously, as evidenced most clearly by the Kosovo and other Balkan disasters. Continuing challenges to maintain international peace and security, and challenges emerging from ever greater forces of global economic interdependence are bringing UEF and WFM into our closest collaboration ever.

What are, in your opinion, the principal similarities between the Union of European Federalists (UEF), the World Federalist Movement (WFM) and the Young European Federalists (JEF), and what are the gaps to be filled?

At its root is a shared idealism and believe in humanity, community, citizenship, fundamental individual rights and just and constitutional democratic governance. We share a concern about the future, and we share the conviction about the need to prevent regional and world wars if civilization is to survive. UEF and WFM are the world's preeminent and clearest proponents of international democracy – for five decades. We share a fear and opposition to unilateralism and hegemony. We are both convinced in the ability to achieve radical reform of age-old political institutions and prejudices.

Do you believe that the reshaping of The Federalist Debate as a body of permanent discussion among different federalist trends can contribute to strengthening this process?

As I have often quoted, from HG Wells, I believe, "History is a race between education and catastrophe". Education and dialogue are the lifeblood of our idealistic movements and *The Federalist Debate* must itself be renewed and reinvigorated to serve this high purpose.

The new format of The Federalist Debate envisages a section devoted to opinions from exponents of NGOs and representatives of civil society wishing to discuss European and World federalism with us. Taking into account the decline of political parties and of voter turnout, what role can these political entities play in the process of European and world unification?

It is a fact that NGOs of global civil society are, in large part, serving the same role as political parties in international intergovernmental decision-making. It is one of the great mysteries and tragedies that national political parties have failed utterly in taking progressive positions on global issues and international matters. I am afraid it is still unclear whether national political parties can overcome nationalism.

Do you think that the commitment of the European federalists to build a European Federation can help the world federalists to achieve a World Federation?

Absolutely. Example is not the main way you influence others, it is the only way. The development of international democracy in Europe and the steady growth and strengthening of the European democracy are themselves the most powerful contributions. The European Federalists remain stalwart to this process. Powerful democratic (and non-democratic) powers in every region of the world view with

envy the way Europe has been able to unify and promote social and economic progress among its members. The Europe of 2000, the Spain and Portugal of 2000 are respectively much more democratic and prosperous because of the growth of European democracy. Similarly, the United Kingdom and France are less unilateralist towards other nations and towards international organizations because of the positive effects of European democratic processes. The European Union is directly and indirectly promoting stronger regional and global governance throughout the world. The EU has replaced the USA as the primary provider of humanitarian assistance, a critical contribution in our troubled world. There are literally hundreds of ways the European democratic federative forces are influencing nations in every region.

What initiatives could a European Federation take to expand international democracy into other regions of the world and to promote the transformation of the United Nations into a World Federation?

The most obvious is the expansion of the EU itself into Central and Eastern Europe.

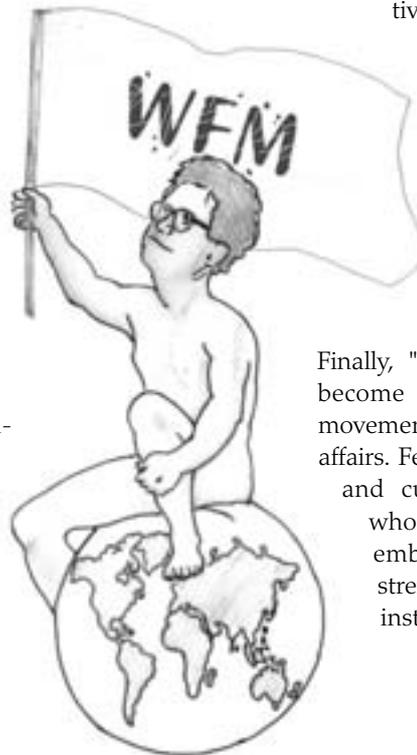
I can think of two major contributions the strengthened EU could take. One is to seriously consider the African Union proposal and convention advanced recently through the OAU. If the EU

assumed a long-term policy of strong support for federation initiatives in Africa, at the regional and continental levels, one of the great steps towards world peace could be achieved. European colonial policies – past and present - continue to be one of the major causes of conflict in Africa. Economic and political unions in Western Africa, Southern Africa, etc. could result in an historic expansion of the rule of law, democracy, social and economic progress. But, EU economic, political and technical assistance will be vital.

Second, the adoption of a common EU policy of progressive reform of the United Nations could result in the breakthrough necessary to finally break the log-jam on this long-sought goal. This policy should include strengthening and democratisation of the General Assembly,

establishment of a democratic, effective and accountable consultative parliamentary assembly, critical improvement of peacekeeping capacities, establishment of a firm and equitable base of financial support for the International Organization, among other things.

Finally, "localization" will, I believe, become as important a force and movement as globalization in world affairs. Federalism is the only historic and current political philosophy whose principle of subsidiarity embraces and encourages the strengthening of local and global institutions simultaneously.



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