



The Federalist Debate

Papers on Federalism
in Europe and the World

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BORDERLESS DEBATE

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Governing Globalization. The Challenge of Protectionism to Multilateralism

Lucio Levi

It seemed that the world had overcome the storm of the global financial and economic crisis of 2007-2008 without repeating the mistakes of the past, first of all protectionism that, in the inter-war period, brought about the collapse of the volume of world trade and destroyed millions of jobs. Instead, now that the EU and the US have taken a step forward towards economic recovery Mario Draghi has warned that growth is threatened by two factors that can be ascribed to the American government – protectionist policies and the weakening of the dollar – aiming to gain competitiveness on international markets. The memory of the crisis of 1929 has not been a sufficient warning to stop Trump. The globalization process, based on the principles of multilateralism and open markets, as we have known it in the past years, is at risk.

From 1948, when the GATT was created, to 1990 the growth of world trade has been close to 7% per year, quicker than in the following years that we are used to consider the golden age of globalization. At the same time, the custom tariffs, that in 1946 amounted to 50% of the value of imported goods, today have dropped to about 3%. The enlargement of market dimension and the expansion of trade relations brought about by globalization has represented a powerful driving force of growth of world economy. It has promoted the industrialization, formerly limited to Western Europe and North America, to the rest of the world. The traditional centre-periphery relations are becoming obsolete and the centre of gravity of world economy has shifted from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The per

capita revenue in the emerging countries has increased impetuously. According to the data provided by the World Bank, the percentage of world population living in conditions of extreme poverty (US\$ 1.90 per day), which in 1990 amounted to 37.1%, in 2015 has been reduced to 9.6% and is concentrated in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.

At the same time, globalization has had highly asymmetric effects, as the gap between rich and poor people has significantly widened. This is because globalization is not governed, but is abandoned to the free play of market forces. Deregulation has not produced the results expected by the ideology of the self-regulated market. Institutions and rules are necessary to oblige market to behave in a way that benefits all. For this reason, politics returns to take the stage. The alternative is no longer between supporters and opposers of globalization, but between different ways to react to the distortions of globalization.

It is not true that everybody benefits from free trade. Protectionism is a policy largely adopted by the developing countries to be prepared to compete in international markets. It was adopted for the first time by the United States at the end of the 18th century to enable the American infant industries to compete with the British industry, then by Germany and Japan at the end of 19th century, lastly by China and India at the end of the 20th century. In the last century, when the centre of the economic and political power shifted from London to Washington and New York, the United States became, like formerly the British Empire, a promoter of international

free trade, the vehicle to assert its political, economic and technological superiority. Today that it is a declining power, the United States defends with protectionism what remains of its predominance.

Owing to their regional dimension, China and India are the developing countries that have benefited the most from protectionism. Connectivity is a cornerstone for regional economic integration through infrastructure networks of trade, transport, ICT, energy. Instead, owing to its fragmentation into 55 member states, the African Union is the most backward regional organization of the world. It is significant that in the very days when Trump ordered new tariffs, the creation of an African free trade area has been promoted by 49 member states. It represents an initiative going against the tide, as it entails the commitment to eliminate tariffs barriers on 90% of the exchanges among African countries. It is the largest trade agreement since the creation of the WTO and develops on the wake of the model of the EU. It can play the role of driving force of the development of Africa through multilateral cooperation between all the states of the continent and the creation of an independent industrial structure.

A defense of the arguments in favour of protectionism has been proposed by two authors whose thought is linked to federalism: Alexander Hamilton, the theorist of the American protectionism, and Friedrich List of the German one. The first was one of the Founding Fathers of the United States of America, the second reached the conclusion that the contradiction between the interests of free-traders and those of protectionists could be overcome only within the framework of a world federal order. Both of them have pointed out that the organization of the world into sovereign states – and the implicit strength relations and conflicts of interest – prevent trade exchanges from occurring in conditions of equality. If the United States and Germany

wanted to avoid underdevelopment, only protectionism would have enabled the newly-born industries of those countries to compete with the British ones. For the same reasons the WTO has provided a differentiated treatment between emerging and developed countries. But, on the whole, those agreements have not penalized the US, which was entitled to provide high subsidies to agriculture. The application of the principles of full reciprocity and total symmetry in the rules of international trade would not offer an equitable solution. It would penalize the developing countries. In fact, it is not easy to define equitable rules when the gap between developed and developing countries is too wide. The per capita revenue in China is still one fifth of that of the US, therefore a differentiated treatment is justified.

But once the most backward countries have emerged from underdevelopment, the problem that remains to be solved is the peaceful coexistence between states. List asserted that “The highest association of individuals now realized is that of the state, the nation; and the highest imaginable is that of the whole human race”. Therefore, “If we assume ... a universal association or federation of all nations as a guarantee of perpetual peace, the principle of free trade among nations would be fully established”. As World Federation is a distant ultimate goal, the problem that the contemporary man has to address is the definition of the stages of the transition towards that target. The starting point for facing the need for regulating mechanisms of market unbalances and distortions is empowering international institutions. The GATT with the most favoured nation clause and the WTO with its dispute settlement body have provided an embryonic regulation for global markets. The progressive answer to those who dream that the right way is entrenching themselves behind national borders is strengthening and democratizing the WTO. The EU’s institutions show the way to follow.

Protection, Prosperity, Progress: A Stronger Euro for a Stronger Europe*

Jean-Claude Juncker

It is a real honour indeed to be invited to give this year's Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa Lecture. I knew of Tommaso even before I met him in the late 1980s. I had read his speeches, studied his papers on Europe's economy dating back to when he was a Director-General at the Commission. Tommaso was never President of the Commission. In order to complete what he was saying as far as the Commission is concerned, I have to quote Jacques Delors. Jacques Delors said: the President of the Commission has no allies at all. That was true during his time; it is true today.

I am delighted that Marco Buti is honouring the long tradition of Italians in charge of economic affairs in the Commission by following in Tommaso's footsteps!

This tradition shows Italy's place is at the heart of Europe and of the euro. And it reflects how much this country has done to build a united Europe. Italy – yesterday as today – deserves respect and trust.

This also sums up my relationship with Tommaso – someone I was proud to call a friend. I got to know him well when he was rapporteur on the Delors Committee in the late 1980s and then spent countless hours with him day and night around the tables of the Eurogroup and ECOFIN.

His European heart, soul and conviction led him to dedicate his career and in fact his life to our Union and our single currency. His legacy lives on today. For him, as it is for me, the economy is always about people and values, rather than statistics and percentages. And for him, the euro was the most powerful symbol of what Europe is about. As he said in 1999:

“our new currency unites not only economies, but also the people of Europe. This represents a profound change in human history.”

Almost two decades on, these words are as true as ever. And as we look to the future, we must never lose sight of what the Economic and Monetary Union is there to do: offer protection, prosperity and progress to Europeans.

Last Friday, we marked 20 years of the European Central Bank. And on the first of January next year, we will celebrate 20 years of our single currency.

It has come a long way in that time and it is a true European success story. Today, 340 million Europeans use the euro every day in 19 of our Member States. And the euro area will soon represent 85% of the overall gross domestic product of the entire European Union.

Across the world, the euro is now the second most used reserve currency, with 60 countries now linking their currencies to the euro in one way or another. We should never underestimate how far the euro has come.

But neither should we underestimate the existential crisis that we have been through. The global financial and economic crisis that started in the United States in 2007 and 2008 hit us hard.

It was by far the worst economic and social crisis in Europe since the Second World War. And it has left deep scars on our political, economic and social fabric, which we are still struggling to address.

This is why when I came into office, I said that we could not simply turn the page as if nothing happened. We could not go back to business as usual. We needed to learn our lessons and

make a change. We needed a kind of new start for Europe.

This is why we made the return of jobs and growth our number one priority.

We launched the Investment Plan for Europe – in former times it was called the Juncker Plan, when it was not sure it would be a success. Those who thought that it would be a total failure wanted to pre-identify the one who would be responsible for the failure. Now it works and it has become European fund for strategic investments, but it is exactly the same. We used the necessary flexibility within the rules of the Stability and Growth Pact.

We supported young people to get into work via an instrument which is known as the Youth Guarantee.

We strengthened our single market in all its forms – and you will discuss the importance of the digital economy throughout the day. The Digital Single Market in fact leads to an added value of EUR 415 billion per year, so it is not a minor dimension of what has to be done in the next coming years.

And we stood up for fair and free trade around the world, which is a source of jobs.

Together with tough decisions taken by Member States, and determined action by the European Central Bank, this has helped to make a difference. Economic growth within the euro area reached a 10-year high in 2017, surpassing the United States and Japan for the last two years. Almost 13 million jobs were created in the European Union since the height of the crisis in 2013. Almost 8 million of those new jobs were in the euro area. I am not claiming that the Commission created 8 million jobs, but if we had lost 8 million jobs I am sure that the Commission would have been held responsible.

As a result, employment is now at a record high, with 237 million people working across our Union. Unemployment is at its lowest level since 2008. And there are many other encouraging signs of improvement. Investment

has finally picked up again. With the Plan, with the EFSI, we expect to have already triggered more than EUR 287 billion in investment, creating 300,000 jobs and supporting around 635,000 small businesses in the process. By 2020, the Plan is expected to help increase GDP by 0.7% and create 700,000 jobs. And we will build on this success story of using scarce public resources to mobilise even more private investments in our next multi-annual budget period.

Another significant improvement is that public finances are in a much healthier state. The public deficit in the euro area has decreased from over 6% in 2009 to as low as 0.7% in 2018. I know that mainly in the northern part of the European Union some are saying that we did not respect the Stability and Growth Pact. But the result is there. By respecting the Stability and Growth Pact, by reading it in economic terms, we were able to decrease the public deficit to 0.7% in 2018.

Our levels of debt also continue to decrease. The ratio of government debt to the gross domestic product is forecast to fall to 86.5% this year in the euro area, down from 94.2% in 2014.

But we know that all these improvements are not enough. We have challenges ahead of us and I see mainly two major ones.

The first is to make sure that our recovery benefits everyone. This means that we must address the root causes of social despair, which were exacerbated over the last decade. Some say this is a matter for national governments or for social partners alone. I say this is a matter for everyone in Europe. This is why we made it a priority to strengthen Europe's social dimension as much as its economic dimension. I think Tommaso would agree. I know that he would agree.

Like him, I believe in the social market economy. I believe in what the economy can do for people, rather than in what people can do for the economy. This is why I am particularly proud of the unanimous proclamation of the

European Pillar of Social Rights by all leaders and institutions last November in Gothenburg. This Social Pillar is not just a poem or a declaration – it is now a key part of the way we monitor our economic progress. In that spirit, we have focused on social priorities in our yearly recommendations to Member States as part of the European Semester.

The agreement on Posted Workers just last week will ensure that equal pay for equal work in the same place becomes a reality for all. And I expect further progress in the months to come on our proposals on fair and transparent working conditions and on work-life balance, as well as on our proposal for a new European Labour Authority which will improve information on rights and obligations across borders. I know that there are people in Europe who do not like this idea. We have a Banking Authority, why should we not have a Labour Authority? These things go together.

Likewise, we are working to put social fairness first when it comes to our single market. Our companies and workers depend on a level-playing field. This is why we have used the tools at our disposal to make sure big companies pay their fair share of tax where the profits are made. And our proposal on corporate tax will also make sure there is a level playing field for all businesses and will help governments crack down on aggressive tax planning.

The second challenge that I see ahead of us is the need to complete our Economic and Monetary Union. And I see no better time to get it done.

Tommaso himself had no illusions of how difficult it is to progress when he said back in 2004: “The road towards the single currency looks like a chain reaction in which each step resolved a pre-existing contradiction and generated a new one”. I believe that this is the time to overcome our contradictions. The future of the European Union is the future of the euro, and the future of the euro is the future of the European Union as a whole.

The good news is that we know what needs to be done.

The Five Presidents’ Report in 2015 and the Reflection Paper on the Future of the Economic and Monetary Union in 2017 set out a way forward.

Although this is not often admitted, a lot has already been done, including by this Commission. Euro area governance has been reinforced through a greater focus within the European Semester, with important discussions every year on the specific priorities of the euro area.

The weaknesses of the banking sector, which were exposed during the crisis, are now being tackled slowly but surely. Our banks are stronger and the ratio of non-performing loans has been reduced by one third since 2014.

And I would also like to welcome the recent agreement between Finance Ministers, two weeks ago, on further risk-reduction measures in the banking sector, which is another important step towards the completion of the Banking Union. More has to be done, including the common deposit insurance scheme. This will not be introduced overnight; pre-conditions have to be fulfilled. But the Economic and Monetary Union will not be complete without this major instrument.

We are also making progress on a Capital Markets Union, to make sure that our businesses get easier and cheaper access to finance, as well as to reduce risks in the financial system.

And I am also proud that we stood up for Greece, which is now growing again and outperforming its fiscal targets. We still have work to do but I believe the successful conclusion of the Greek programme is within touching distance. This would be a remarkable achievement and testament to the efforts of the Greek people.

All in all, I can say that the architecture of the EMU is much more robust than ever before.

This is an important message to pass, but I can also say – without contradiction – that the

job is not complete. We cannot be complacent about what remains to be done.

In December last year, the Commission presented a Roadmap and a series of proposals to complete the job. Last week, we presented two more proposals to make use of the European budget in order to strengthen the resilience of our economies: a Reform Support Programme – EUR 25 billion – and a European Investment Stabilisation Function – EUR 30 billion. These two instruments can be developed over time.

These proposals are part of a coherent package for the future of the EU budget: they go hand in hand with all of our other instruments to boost jobs, growth, investment and convergence across Europe. These include the European Structural and Investment Funds; the future so-called InvestEU Fund, which will succeed our Investment Plan; the future Connecting Europe Facility or the future Research Programme – just to name a few.

But they are also part of a broader agenda to make our single currency the protecting and uniting force that it is conceived to be.

Completing the Economic and Monetary Union is more important than ever. Recent developments are a reminder of the need to make progress now.

I would like us to finally complete, as I said, the Banking Union and have the European Stability Mechanism play the role of a common backstop, as was already agreed in principle in 2013.

I would like the euro area to benefit from a strong budget line within the future European budget, as we propose it, to support their reforms and benefit from the strength of European solidarity.

I would like non-euro countries who wish to join the single currency to be able to prepare

well and be supported on the way.

I would like decisions about our future to be taken collectively, in an inclusive and transparent manner, with strong parliamentary scrutiny at all levels.

And I would like the euro area to speak more firmly and with one voice on the world scene. This is all the more important when you consider that within a few decades, no European country would qualify for the G7 on the basis of its economic size.

Discussions on all our proposals continue. I think we know and understand what is at stake. What we now need is the political will to match.

I will stop there because we know that we will not complete Europe's Economic and Monetary Union within the timeframe of this speech, and especially because you have many great speakers to listen to, including my friend Kristalina Georgieva whom I am delighted to see back in Brussels.

Throughout the day, you will discuss the future of our economy in a changing world around us. As you do so, my message to you is that we must never lose sight of what the Economic and Monetary Union stands for, and how it must continue to offer protection, prosperity and progress to all Europeans. This was the spirit and driving force of Tommaso.

I would like to finish with a small anecdote about him. As a young man Tommaso was asked a question by his teachers. They asked him whether he wanted to understand the world or whether he wanted to change the world. Tommaso replied that he wanted to do both. And this is why he chose economics.

And this is how we should all see economics: as a way to understand Europe and to make it an even better Union. This is how we should continue to honour Tommaso's legacy.

A New Future for the World Federalist Movement?

Fernando Iglesias

From the 9th to the 13th of July, 2018, the World Federalist Movement held its Congress in The Hague. It was the 27th Congress since the WFM's creation, which took place in Montreux, Switzerland, immediately after the Second World War. On this opportunity, last month 37 delegates from 16 countries arrived to The Netherlands to discuss the global political situation and the reform of the movement's rules and governing bodies. The Congress also aimed at finding the best strategies to defend the basic aims that the WFM has promoted since its creation: World Peace through World Law, as the flag over the heads of Montreux delegates showed as early as 1947.

INTERNAL REFORM – This Congress was most certainly not business-as-usual. The internal reform that the WFM members have been discussing for over a decade was on the table, and a series of concrete proposals delivered by a Tasking Group created with this aim by the council were debated, and a grand majority of them, approved. Hence, the WFM has changed its three-body structure (the Congress, the Council and the Executive Committee) into a simplified structure of two bodies, a Legislative Assembly (the Congress) and an Executive body (the Executive Committee). Another important decision radically changed the frequency of the WFM meetings and their powers by establishing that the Congress must meet every two years (instead of every 4 to 6 years) and that it is now vested with complete authority to change statutes, strategies and officials. In short, the changes lead to simplification

and dynamism. This is the change that the Movement discussed during years, and it will allow a better execution of the WFM strategies by adapting its structures to a fast-changing global scenario.

INSTITUTIONAL-BUILDING STRATEGY

– Among the many crucial issues that were discussed during the week, the Congress passed a resolution promoted by Democracia Global in order to better fix the WFM's strategy. Following the original Declaration of Montreal (1947) and current statutes, the 27th Congress concluded and stated that *institutional building* is the WFM's concrete goal, and that this must be better reflected in our activities during the coming years. The Congress also defined four basic campaigns to be funded and empowered as part of the movement's activities:

- 1) the campaign to expand and empower the International Criminal Court by means of the Coalition for the ICC;
- 2) the defense of the European integration process and the deepening of the democratization of the European Union through a close collaboration with EU federalist organizations such as the Union of European Federalists and the European Movement;
- 3) the support of the campaign in favor of the creation of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly, one of the most important federalist initiatives that was developed during the past 10 years by a small group of organizations, which has recently gained the support of the European Parliament;
- 4) the creation of a Latin American and Caribbean Criminal Court Against

Transnational Organized Crime (COPLA); a project that was promoted by Democracia Global-Buenos Aires that is gaining increasing consensus among civil societies and political groups in all Latin-America.

The COPLA campaign has already gained the support of both houses of the Argentine Congress, the Parliament of the Mercosur, the EUROLAT (the Assembly of European and Latin American Regional Parliaments) and prestigious figures such as Mario Vargas Llosa, David Held, Anthony Giddens among others, have stated their support for the campaign. The campaign was also recently undertaken by the Argentine national government as a state policy and the Ministers of Justice, Security and Internal Affairs of the Mercosur have passed a resolution considering its creation as the most appropriate strategy to fight against the scourge of organized crime in the region.

TRANSNATIONAL WORKING GROUPS –

The creation of Transnational Working Groups (TWG) oriented towards promoting federalist strategies for the resolution of emerging global issues was another important reform passed by the Congress. Different areas of interest and expertise were identified and consequentially, five transnational working groups were created: 1- Climate Change and Ecology; 2- Financial Regulation and Global Economy; 3- Peace, Nuclear disarmament and Terrorism; 4- Migrants' and Minorities' Rights; and 5- Regulation of Artificial Intelligence and Disruptive Technologies. These five groups are aimed at promoting concrete federalist proposals among the many global NGOs that work on these fields but lack any federalist approach. To this end, the Transnational Working Groups will connect to the members of the World Federalist Movement who live in distant parts of the world using digital technology.

By analyzing the situation in their respective fields and discussing the most appropriate strategies, these new TWGs should be able

to promote a federal approach to solutions for many emerging issues which the future of human-kind depends on. Much like how the WFM helped Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, No Peace without Justice and other international organizations that were active in the field of International Justice and Human Rights to promote the creation of the International Criminal Court. Meaningfully, these transnational working groups (TWGs) are not only limited to the participation of WFM members. Their participants may be all the individuals who are concerned about the increasing dangers of the global crisis and want global institutions to deliver global solutions in order to regulate and solve them.

AUTHORITIES – Lastly, the Congress elected new authorities for the coming four years: Lloyd Axworthy, Canada's former Minister of Foreign Affairs (1996-2000) and the President of the University of Winnipeg, was confirmed as the co-president of the WFM for the North hemisphere, and I was elected as the co-president for the South hemisphere. In addition, Fergus Watt (WFM Canada) and Florencia Gor (Democracia Global and WFM Canada) were elected as Chairs of the Executive Committee and the Congress, respectively. A whole new Executive Committee was also elected, which stands out for being better gender-balanced, as well as more plural and younger than the previous one.

A NEW FUTURE FOR THE WORLD FEDERALIST MOVEMENT – Hopefully, the 27th Congress will mark the beginning of a new period for the World Federalist Movement. A new period that will empower its best traditions in order to face the challenges imposed by the techno-economic globalization, the rise of populism and nationalism, and the many emerging global issues which the future of humanity depends on. The combination of the internal reform, the definition of new

strategies, the creation of Transnational Working Groups and the renewal of authorities allows us to be optimistic about the future. As President, I hope that our new structure will give way to the diversification of strategies and an expansion to South and East by means of specific campaigns.

Nobody ignores that the principles of international rule of law, world federalism and global democracy are no longer prospering within the existing global scenario. However, it is also getting clear for millions and millions of citizens of the world that international rule of law, world federalism and global democracy are needed now more than ever before in

human history. Whichever the case may be, the political unity of the world no longer seems as unrealistic or utopian now as it seemed during the process of European integration led by Germany and France at the end of two world wars; and the direction that History took from then on is perfectly known to us all. Therefore, we hope that the crucial contributions that federalists have made to the creation and empowerment of the European Union and the International Criminal Court in the past will be followed by similar successes in the future. The World Federalist Movement has changed itself in order to do so, and the future of the world, as always, is open.

Maduro Denounced to the ICC

On 27 September 2018, during his speech at the UN General Assembly, the President of Argentina Mauricio Macri has announced that his government together with those of Colombia, Paraguay, Perú, Chile and Canada will denounce Maduro's regime to the ICC for crimes against humanity. This was the president's statement: *"Intelligent integration is our contribution to the building of a stable and inclusive global order that respects our values: peace, democracy and human rights. This is why I want to express, once again, our concern about the situation in Venezuela. Given its seriousness, Argentina will bring the Venezuelan dictatorship to the International Criminal Court for its crimes against humanity. I call now on Venezuela's government to recognize the existent humanitarian crisis in order to allow international cooperation to address the health and food deprivations suffered by the displaced. Argentina has already received 130.000 Venezuelans. We are part of a regional response that seeks to mitigate the difficulties of millions of Venezuelans by receiving them and integrating them into our societies after the exodus from their country."*

Mobilizing for a Strengthened United Nations

Fergus Watt

It has become commonplace in politics these days to bemoan the impacts of rising nationalism and autocracy, particularly among some of the world's largest and most powerful states. Internationalism, the rule of law and the purposes and principles of the UN Charter have (to say the least) seen better days.

Some governments that have led at the United Nations are no longer doing so. Its most powerful Member State and largest donor, the United States, has withdrawn funding from UN budgets, (including the peacekeeping budget, the UN Fund for Population Activities and the UN Relief and Works Agency), withdrawn from important UN bodies (notably UNESCO and the Human Rights Council), as well as multilateral processes (on climate change and migration, among others). The Security Council too often remains paralyzed with both Russia and the United States casting vetoes to protect their client states. Moreover, Russia and some of its allies run roughshod over major international legal prohibitions on intervention (Crimea) and use of chemical and other weapons of mass destruction. And the current political climate allows China to expand its influence abroad and to restrict even further civic space, including freedoms of association and expression.

And when major powers that have important responsibilities under the Charter shirk their obligations others are tempted to follow suit.

However there is a resilience to the multilateral system, fortified by a widely understood recognition that in the 21st century, the machinery of international cooperation is needed more than ever.

At a time when large powers are doubling-

down on militarism, nuclear weapons and trade protectionism, there are significant numbers of small and medium states that need the kind of rules-based order that depends on a flourishing and proper-functioning UN system. Some promising developments include:

- The determination of Secretary-General Guterres who is doggedly pursuing useful reforms to the UN Management structures, improvements in the coherence of the UN Development System and a reorganization of the UN Secretariat's peacebuilding architecture.
- Outgoing General Assembly President Miroslav Lajčák of Slovakia responded to the current crisis in multilateralism by convening an unprecedented series of off-the-record breakfast meetings for UN ambassadors. Mr. Lajčák successor, Ecuadorean Foreign Minister María Fernanda Espinosa Garcés, will also be someone to watch. Her acceptance speech as incoming General Assembly President last June identified UN strengthening and reform among her promised priorities.
- And importantly, a significant number of governments have called for utilizing the upcoming 75th anniversary of the United Nations in 2020 as an opportunity to further strengthen the Organization.

This latter development responds to some quiet but persistent campaigning by civil society organizations over the past 18 months, calling for an adequately prepared 75th anniversary commemoration for the United Nations in 2020, one that includes a meaningful process

of stocktaking, review and strengthening for the organization. The UN2020 Project is initiated by a coordinating group of civil society organizations including CIVICUS, The Stimson Center, The Workable World Trust and World Federalist Movement – Institute for Global Policy.

UN2020 campaigners had hoped that language mandating a formal intergovernmental process for a 2020 Summit could be agreed in a General Assembly resolution last September. However, opposition from some members of the Non-Aligned Movement (notably Cuba, Egypt and Algeria) prevented the Assembly from reaching consensus.

Nevertheless, the idea of a 2020 Summit is now widely known and has considerable traction at the UN, with expressed support this year from a cross-regional group of states including Brazil, Canada (also on behalf of Australia and New Zealand), Estonia on behalf of the ACT (Accountability, Coherence, Transparency) group of states, Nigeria, Norway, Uruguay and the European Union (in a statement also endorsed by 8 or 9 East European states, and EU candidate countries Turkey, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Albania, as well as potential candidate countries Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia).

Civil society organizations have recognized

the need to capitalize on the opportunity for a 2020 Summit. At the August 2018 67th UN Department of Public Information / NGO (UN DPI/NGO) Conference, over a thousand NGOs called upon Member States to “Advance people-centered multilateralism by developing proposals to revitalize the United Nations on the occasion of its 75th Anniversary in 2020.”

The idea of a “people-centered UN” has become an important framework for the transformation of international politics, and one of the key organizing principles for UN2020 campaigners.

In the face of very real threats to international diplomacy, governments at the UN cannot simply do nothing and “weather the storm.” The idea of a 2020 anniversary summit offers a political space where those committed to multilateralism can push back, through a mandated review and re-commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter, and (hopefully) reforms that strengthen the organization.

Civil society organizations, particularly WFM-IGP are working to build support for such a dedicated preparatory process for 2020, in order that this anniversary moment can be utilized to strengthen the international legal and institutional order, rather than lamenting its continued decline.

A Carbon Tax to Give New Meaning and Renewed Future to Europe

Roberto Della Seta

For decades scientists and environmentalists have been warning about the threat to humanity represented by anthropogenic climate change, caused above all by the ever-increasing use of fossil fuels, which is causing the greenhouse effect to grow. And it is years, at least since the Kyoto Protocol of 1997, that the international community has begun to tackle the problem by agreeing to the binding objectives of reducing carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gas emissions – the main ones responsible, with deforestation, of climate change – released into the atmosphere due to combustion processes (in thermoelectric power plants, motor vehicles) of coal, oil and gas.

Today climate change is no longer just a threat: it is an established reality made of a progressive increase in the average temperature of the earth, multiplication and intensification of extreme weather events (droughts, floods), melting ice and rising sea and oceans levels, of accelerated biodiversity loss. A reality that is causing serious environmental, economic and social damage: just think of the progressive desertification of areas that until recently could be cultivated, which, especially in Africa, deprived of food large rural communities, and fuels the phenomenon of “climate migrants” (tens of millions already today); or the increasingly intense heat waves that hit many metropolis, with a significant number of deaths each year and a greater impact in cities inhabited by a large percentage of elderly population. If there will not be a strong acceleration in the rate of reduction of climate-altering emissions, as required by the Paris Agreement signed in 2016, and the average terrestrial temperature will rise by more than

two degrees compared to pre-industrial levels (it already increased by almost one degree centigrade), the consequences of climate change will become catastrophic: not for the planet, which in its history has experienced even deeper climatic oscillations, but for us humans.

Why a European carbon tax?

The carbon tax is a response to all this, one of the most effective and timely. It is called “tax” but in fact it is not a tax: it is a mechanism that establishes a price for carbon emitted as a result of human activities. A mechanism whereby those who emit carbon would pay at least part of the cost borne by the community for these emissions. Carbon tax has been discussed for some time: countries like Sweden have already successfully tested it, and recently French President Macron has launched the idea of a European carbon tax on all energy uses not included in the ETS (“Emission Trading scheme”), namely on emissions from the domestic sector, transport, agriculture, small and medium-sized enterprises. For Macron, the introduction of the carbon tax should be accompanied by the imposition of a tax at the EU borders equivalent to that paid by the European emitters, to avoid distortions of fiscal nature and consequently risks of loss of competitiveness for European companies or delocalization of production.

The direct benefits of introducing a European carbon tax would be multiple. The first is that it would give the European Union a tax revenue, marking an important step towards a Europe that is no longer just intergovernmental. In the hypothesis of a levy of 50 Euro per tonne, suggested by the High-Level Commission on

Carbon Prices chaired by Stiglitz and Stern, in the coffers of the Union would come about 110 billion Euro, equal to about two thirds of the current Community budget (which is about 190 billion). To these would be added about 25 billion from the tax at the EU borders, and more resources related to the ETS system. In addition, a European carbon tax would allow, on the one hand, funding a program of investment and development geared towards energy innovation – higher efficiency, renewable sources – and in general support for the green and circular economy; and on the other, adaptation policies to climate change, i.e. the measures necessary to limit the social and economic impact of climate change. But the carbon tax would also be a symbolically important choice to give Europe a new sense and a renewed future.

A community in an identity crisis

Today Europe is a continent, a community of peoples and persons, in an identity crisis: it has a very long past of global “hegemony”, but it struggles now in a tiring and perplexed present, and has an uncertain future ahead. We are coming out from a decade that has certainly been the most difficult and problematic since the construction of the European Union started: since the almost visionary will of a small group of great statesmen – De Gasperi, Schuman, Adenauer – has the European dream described by Spinelli, Rossi, Colorni in the Ventotene Manifesto begun to become reality.

Europe has experienced years of unfavorable economic conditions, of job losses, of increasing poverty, of so-called “austerity” policies that, in order to safeguard the balance of public finances, ended up undermining the welfare systems – that together with peace represent the most precious legacy of the last seventy years of Europe – and in some cases, as the example of Greece showed to everyone, have produced social catastrophes. This long cycle, economically and socially unfavorable, has made European

citizens feel a widespread sense of disorientation, of distrust, almost of collective depression, and fueled reactions of refusal towards that model of “open society”, which is one of the most precious “trademarks” of Europe in the last seventy years. Certainly these difficulties were due to global phenomena such as the disproportionate weight of finance, by its nature more “irresponsible”, socially and territorially, than the real economy. Other threats such as the one represented by Islamist terrorism have contributed too, as well as the strong intensification of migrant flows from the southern shores of the Mediterranean (whose perception is decidedly “overemphasized” by the majority of European citizens, but is a further sign of frightened and discouraged communities). And certainly they arise also from the incompleteness of the European construction, in particular from the marked deficit of democratic legitimacy of the community institutions, and then from errors and inadequacies of the European ruling classes: not so much the notorious “Brussels bureaucrats”, often referred to as the main perpetrators of the evils that are shaking Europe, but in actual fact – in the current framework of exquisitely intergovernmental rules that guide the functioning of the Union – the national governments and the political majorities of which they are the expression. But the crisis in Europe does not depend only on the internal dynamics within the borders of the “old continent”: it is an immensely deeper crisis, a profound and even paradoxical crisis, an outcome of the last thirty years of accelerated globalization. Yes, paradoxical: because on the level of social emancipation (notwithstanding the various popular beliefs on the triumphant neo-liberalism and on the “dictatorship of the markets”) the current, “infamous” globalization can already be considered as the most disruptive liberation movement from misery in human history. In the last three decades, despite the strong increase (over 50%) of the world population, the number of “absolute” poor, i.e. people forced to live on less than \$ 1.25 a day, has decreased by

700 million. In China, the poor have gone from over 800 million to less than 150, in India they have decreased by 34 million. In Africa itself, by far the poorest continent, the rate of extreme poverty is constantly decreasing: it was 58% in 1999, today it is a lot less than 50%. Poverty reduction, which also saw the number of “almost-poor”, i.e. those living on less than \$ 2 a day, decrease, was almost everywhere accompanied by a clear improvement in health and socio-cultural indicators: for example, in Brazil, one of the countries symbolizing the globalization process, in the last ten years, thanks to both a formidable economic growth and very intense policies to contrast poverty, child mortality due to malnutrition has fallen by 58%, illiteracy has decreased from 12.3 to 8.4%, the minimum wage increased by 72% and even the gap between rich and poor was reduced.

Where is the problem then, and where is the paradox? They are here, at home. This new season of history, that in global terms has led to a significant redistribution of wealth between rich and poor countries, and therefore bears an objectively “progressive” sign, in the West, and in particular in Europe, produces “side effects” of opposite sign: poverty increases, welfare systems become economically unsustainable.

Europe is getting smaller

In the current debate on Europe, its problems, its divisions and fragmentations, too often the historical dimension is forgotten, and in particular its past history in a medium and a long period of time: the one baptized by Braudel as the “visceral”, structural changes. A more difficult story to discover in the single events and in the short time of politics, often absent from the awareness of the contemporaries: but history influences at the roots events, politics and the life of contemporaries.

In this case, the medium period – not long, because this process is relatively rapid – saw Europe dealing with geography more than with history: due to its “creations” – capitalism,

globalization –, Europe has become ever smaller and closer to its true territorial and demographic dimensions, as far as its economic and geopolitical weight are concerned: an epochal change, after more than a millennium of almost absolute hegemony over the world, and more and more crucial in terms of its centrality in regard to migratory flows, that are registering a continuous and increasing pressure from the south towards the north of the Mediterranean.

Europe accounts for 3% of the landmass of our planet, against 16% of Latin America and 23% of Africa (see Figure 1). As late as 1950, a little more than half a century ago, a fifth of the world’s population and twice the population of Africa were living on our territory; today we Europeans are less than 10% of the world population, and we will be just over 5% at the end of this century (see Figure 2). We are also much older than the rest of the world: one in four Europeans is more than 60 year old, about twice the percentage of over-sixty people in the world, and about 27% are up to 24 years, against 42% of “under 24” on a world scale. As for the economy, the European GDP in 1980 was a third of the world GDP, while today it is about a fifth. In the future, Europe’s weight loss treatment will only increase, both in demographics and in the economy. For example, the Africans, who a few decades ago were half of us Europeans, today are more than double, in 2050 will be more than triple, and in 2100 will be as many as the Asians; so it is expected that, precisely because of climate change, in the coming years hundreds of millions (!) of “environmental migrants” from Africa will be on the move.

These are trends that one can try to govern, but which cannot be stopped. Transmitting awareness of this is one of the main duties of truth and responsibility of the current European ruling classes, and is the indispensable condition for identifying ad-hoc solutions – probably there are none, only partial remedies for our “anxiety of the future”. As Europeans we are immersed in a very difficult passage not only for

the communitarian construction begun seventy years ago, but for the history of European civilization: a changeover, in this sense, even more uncertain than the tragic one experienced in the twentieth century, which saw the convulsions of Europe still within an undisputed framework of global domination. Europe for over 1000 years has been the *"dominus"* of the world; certainly during this long period there were important changes: the progressive shift from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic coast of its economic center of gravity, the emergence and success of new and powerful *"co-owners"*, first North America and then Japan. But only in this initial glimpse of the third millennium did Europe see its centrality fall apart.

So, a first fact to be affirmed with force – a fact that in the current phase of European politics, dominated by sovereigntisms and more or less explicit *"euro-skepticism"*, is not very fortunate – is that Europe is perhaps the only antidote to the risk of an unstoppable decline in the prosperity of us Europeans. If the pace of economic growth in the various parts of the world will continue in the coming decades at the current rates, in thirty years no European country will have the right to sit at the G7 table: no one, not even Germany. *"More Europe"* is the only insurance policy left, as Europeans, on the global scene.

After that, because this evidence shall persuade people in the flesh, a Europe radically different from the current one will be needed: a more democratic Europe in its institutions, much more mindful of the social dimension, of the wellbeing of its citizens, and a Europe that chooses to bet on its best vocations to create true, lasting and sustainable wealth.

Europe, to maintain an important role in the world, must follow two paths that are both obligatory: it shall become more and more a unitary geopolitical subject, and then focus on its talents, among which there is certainly the ability shown in the years to proceed faster than others on the way of an *"ecological conversion"* of the economy.

A *"green new deal"* to keep a leading role

Throughout the world, more and more economic actors, even large multinationals from energy to new chemistry, are taking up this challenge, the challenge of the *"green economy"* and the *"circular economy"*, and are demonstrating with facts that investing in *"eco-innovation"* is not only *"right"* but worthwhile. For Europe, this is not only an indispensable prospect helping to prevent catastrophic consequences for mankind from climate change and other global phenomena of environmental degradation (loss of biodiversity, air and water pollution, risks of depletion of natural resources). It is still an act of *"virtuous selfishness"*, the undeniable condition to remain, at par with the Asian giants and with the United States, a *"big player"* on the world economic and geopolitical scene. Europe needs, as many have been saying for years, a *"green new deal"*, and a European carbon tax can be one of the most solid bases for building it. Europe has all the assets – technological knowledge, cultural sensitivity – to cut first the winning post of a *"carbon-free"* economy. It has all the assets and it would have extraordinary advantages: because we import most of the fossil energy we use, while our renewable energy potential is largely superior to our needs today and tomorrow; and because the green economy to be developed requires much more quality – technology, labor – than quantity – raw materials –, and is therefore a terrain of economic competition particularly favorable to us Europeans. In the European Union, the ratio of renewable sources over total energy consumption is already today close to 20% : it is about 30% in electricity, almost 20% in heating, around 7% in transport. Until a few years ago, Europe was the undisputed leader in the renewable sources race; today there are big countries like China and India that are investing much more than us in energy innovation. A European carbon tax would give a boost to *"renewable"* Europe, but not only: it

would indicate to all Europeans – businesses, consumers, civil society – the only realistic

alternative to Europe’s destiny to become the periphery of the world.

Figure 1: How Much the European Territory Matters (% of total dry lands, excluding Antarctica)

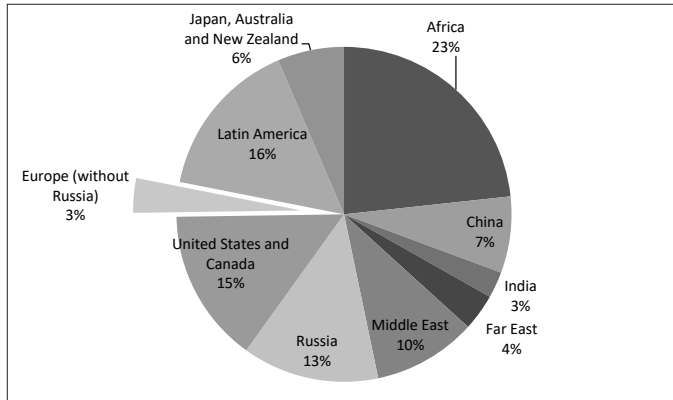
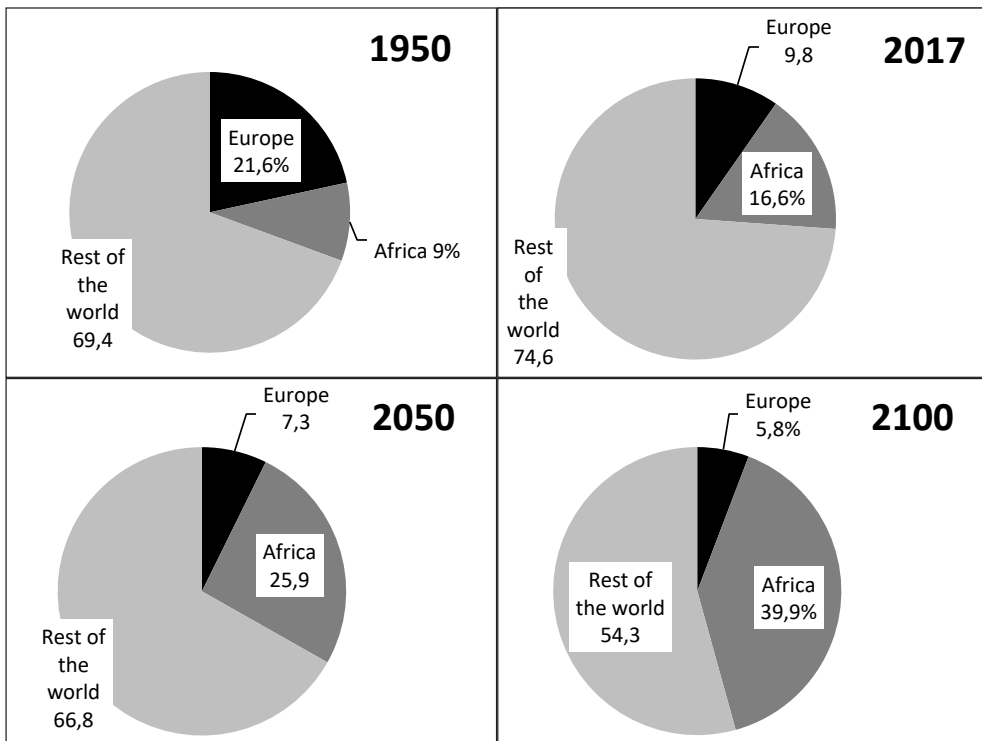


Figure 2: How Much European Population Matters and Will Matter (% of world population in the years to 2100)



Source: World Population Prospects by UN, 2017

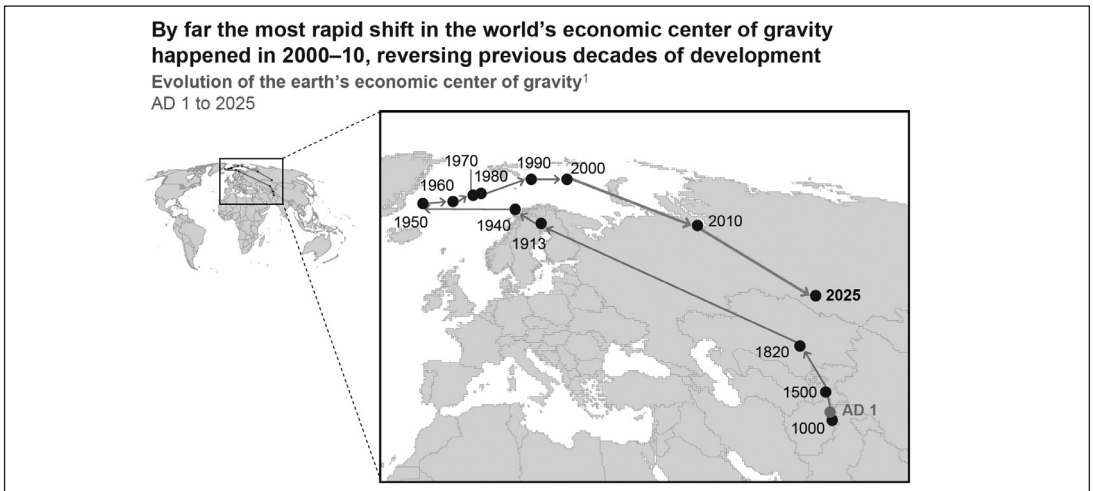
The Shift to East: China, US Dollar, and the New Multipolar World¹

Miriam L. Campanella

“At no time in modern history have so many developing countries been at the forefront of a multipolar economic system. (...) Within the next two decades, the rise of emerging economies will inevitably have major implications for the global economic and geopolitical landscape”².

Geo-economics literature has largely anticipated that the world’s economic center of gravity is shifting East. Yet how quick this seems to be happening, and what geo-political consequences this development is set to generate in the current international system,

still raise surprise and concern. After describing in a glimpse what the shift of the economic center of gravity really means, I will make some observations on why the new economic realities have not yet changed the current financial and monetary international order, which sees the US dollar to still be the king. In a pioneering study (2012)³ on the economic impact of urbanization, the McKinsey Global Institute gauged how the center of gravity, in motion since the year 1AD and likely to move until 2025, is rapidly shifting East, at a speed of 140 kilometers a year, a faster speed than ever before in human history.



Source: McKinsey 2012. ⁴

The most striking aspect of the map is the boomerang-like path of the center of gravity. From the days of the Roman Empire through the middle of the 20th century, the center of gravity moved west.

For centuries, China, India, and southeast Asia were some of the biggest economic powerhouses in the world, and the westward shift only accelerated during and after the Industrial Revolution in Europe and North America.

Since the mid-20th century, with the rise of emerging markets in Asia and elsewhere, the center has begun to shift back to the East and South.

If McKinsey's projections about demographics and growth in the next few years are correct, that shift will only continue and accelerate as emerging and developing markets continue to grow rapidly, while developed markets grow at a much slower pace.

The rapid urbanization in developing countries, in particular China, the advance of local middle classes, and the creation of new "middleweight cities" are identified as the drivers of the shift. In a successive report, McKinsey identifies 600 cities worldwide making the largest contribution to a higher global GDP, covering nearly 65 percent of the world economic growth by 2025. Yet, the most dramatic story within the *City 600* reveals that just over 440 cities will be located in emerging economies.

According to McKinsey, "by 2025 the Emerging 440 will account for close to half of the overall growth. One billion people will enter the global consuming class by 2025. They will have incomes high enough to classify them as significant consumers of goods and services, and around 600 million of them will live in the Emerging 440".

China's urbanization has seen, in just one generation, around 300 million people passing from rural subsistence farming to urban industrial and technology-rich jobs. At least 13 new cities with a population of over 10 millions are new cities and 19 "super city" clusters are underway, strengthening the links between them. HSBC of London expects that 80% of Chinese GDP will come from those cities.

China plays the role of both an accelerator and a role model. A case in point is Shenzhen. In 1980, it was home to 30,000 fishing people. Today, it produces 90% of the world's electronics and is home to over 12.5 million people. It has 3 million registered businesses. It is compounding its growth at over 12% a year, doubling in the last six years. With nearly 70 million people and

\$1.5 trillion GDP, it is economically bigger than Australia or Mexico. Guangdong (in China's mainland part) alone exported \$670 billion in goods last year. Three of the world's ten busiest container ports are in the region.

Connectivity and infrastructure play as key-factors in consolidating and forwarding the growth of the new center of economic gravity. A decade ago, China was still building its first extensive high-speed train line. Today, no country has more miles of high-speed rail in service. At 26,869 km (16,696 mi), China accounts for 65% of the 41,222 km (25,614 mi) of high-speed rail in operation worldwide. In 2015, 800 million riders – or half of the global total – used high-speed rail in China. A further 10,738 km (6,672 mi) is currently under construction in China. That expansion alone is slightly more than the total combined length of the next four longest high-speed systems in the world (Japan, Spain, France and Germany). China's first high-speed rail line began service in 2011. It links Beijing and Shanghai and is 1,318 km (819 miles) long. This connection reduced the train travel time between these two cities from ten hours to just five hours. Its top speed is 350 km per hour. The Chinese government is determined to have its high-speed rail network covering large parts of the country. As of 2014, the Lanzhou-Xinjiang line covers a distance of 1,785 km (1,109 miles) from central China to remote western regions. Lanzhou was historically a Silk Road hub at one time. The trains today travel at up to 250 km per hour and have protection barriers against desert winds (*The Globalist*, 2018)

Additional Remarks

A growing amount of literature confirms that the center of economic gravity is moving East, and the process is strengthening the Asian economies.

Yet, in contrast to the above picture, questions arise over whether the current international financial and monetary system still revolves around the US dollar, which still plays a

dominant role. What are the gravitational forces that still play in favor of the dollar? The response is well articulated in a speech by Claudio Borio. "The dollar exerts a powerful gravitational force on other currencies, as judged from how currencies move in relation to each other. Based on statistical techniques that seek to single out this effect, if one considers the euro and the yen as the other possible reference currencies, and uses GDP as weights, the "dollar zone" was, again, around 60% in 2014, the euro was second at only 25% and the yen a distant third. This gravitational pull, in turn, has a deep influence on the denomination of countries' assets and liabilities and, hence, also on FX reserve composition, as it determines a portfolio's sensitivity to exchange rate fluctuations. There is a clear positive relationship across countries between these shares and the degree to which they co-move with the dollar".⁵ In the end, Borio concludes that the irresistible gravitational force of the dollar comes from foreign exchange reserves and the US' large share of world GDP: "the entire world is still in the *dollar zone*".

The sheer size of the US economy, which is just around 22% of total global GDP, just a notch higher than China's, offers a weaker explanation of the gravitational pull towards the dollar. A more significant feature is likely to come from the US huge trade imbalance, due mostly to the US economy having played as "the consumer of last resort", and the behavior of central banks in emerging economies busy to buy, with their receipts from exports, US Treasury Bonds (T-Bonds). Since the Asian Crisis (1997-98), Asian export-led economies and especially China have accumulated large amounts of dollars, which they have redeployed in US-Treasury Bonds (T-Bonds)

in order to defend the foreign exchange value of their national currencies. Acquiring large amount of T-Bonds, the emerging economies in Asia have generated a strong gravitational force towards the dollar. By sitting on \$3.3 trillion of foreign exchange reserves, China alone is the US largest creditor.

Things, though, are changing. The controversial trade policy initiated by Trump's Administration, aimed at shrinking imports and relaunching America's Manufacturing Renaissance, is set to have critical consequences on the dollar's dominance. It likely will reduce trade deficit, moreover will reduce the circulation and holdings in US dollar. In the end, these developments are set to materialize a multi-polar monetary system.

1. In this context, the moves of the People's Bank of China to internationalize the use of the renminbi (RMB) and its admission into the IMF's Special Drawing Rights, are consequential to the new multi-polar monetary regime. The growth of RMB-based trade and settlements has made the RMB Asia's new reference currency, close to surpass the US dollar. These developments are mostly due to the effects of the financial crisis and have been supported by the region's economic and financial integration. As a reference currency of necessity or choice, the emergence of the RMB in Asia is set to weaken the current global dominance of the US dollar.
2. In conclusion, the growth of the RMB as an international currency, and a stronger circulation of the euro, are pointers of a multipolar currency system, which will balance and distribute responsibilities in a better way than the current unipolar currency regime.⁶

¹ This note draws on the author's presentation "Flussi e centri finanziari: una nuova geografia mondiale" at Collegio Carlo Alberto, Turin (Italy) 18-06-2018. <http://triffininternational.eu/other-activities/conferences/1242-flussi-e-centri-finanziari-una-nuova-geografia-mondiale>

² Multipolarity: The New Global Economy. World Bank Group. Washington DC, (2011)

³ *Urban world: Cities and the rise of the consuming class*, McKinsey Global Institute, (2012)

⁴ McKinsey Global Institute, *op. cit.*

⁵ Claudio Borio, Pluralism, more stability?, Bank for International Settlements https://www.bis.org/speeches/sp160510_slides.pdf

⁶ Miriam L. Campanella, The internationalization of the Renminbi and the rise of a multipolar currency system, ECIPE WORKING PAPER, No. 01/2014

The Israel-Palestine Conflict: A Global and Federalist Perspective

Oded Gilad

The long and violent conflict between Israel and Palestine is a powerful example not only of the evils of nationalism, but also of the profound structural shortcomings of the current international system. In what follows I will share some of my thoughts about the place of this conflict in the wider system of global injustice in which we live, and about the deep relevance of the world federalist perspective for those who seek a comprehensive, effective and just solution.

As an Israeli citizen who is passionately engaged in promoting the idea of a democratic world federation, I often encounter the following challenging question: "Your country holds millions of Palestinians under military rule and oppression; shouldn't you struggle to bring about real democracy at your local level first, and only then talk about fixing the global level?" My reply to this question is that to the best of my understanding the lack of democracy and rule of law at the global level is actually one of the most fundamental underlying causes of the conflict, and that therefore it must be addressed with the highest priority, if we want to bring the conflict to an end.

To understand this argument, it is useful to consider the rationale of the Zionist movement, whose turn to Palestine ignited the conflict. With all due respect to the ancient longing of religious Jews to return to their biblical 'promised land', the main reason that so many (mostly secular) Jews turned to Zionism and immigrated to Palestine from the late 19th century onwards, was the fact that as a minority living in Europe they were too often prone to persecution and oppression, and there

was no institution that held the necessary will and power to protect them. While that was not (and is not) the only and the whole truth, in the sense that in many places Jews were (and certainly are) well protected by the local rule of law, there were enough Jews that were indeed attacked or threatened to make many of them believe in the nationalist creed that a nation state 'of their own' was their one and only hope for survival. Had there been – in the past or today – a supranational federal government holding the democratic power and legitimacy to defend all humans in the world, Zionism and many other national movements would most likely never have become so popular.

Interestingly, in a democratic world federation the Jews of Israel would again become a minority. However, being a minority – for them as for others – would no longer be problematic, because their security and basic rights would be guaranteed by the federal government at the global level. Furthermore, all groups – whether ethnic, national or religious – would similarly turn into minorities. When we consider the entire population of 7.6 billion potential world citizens, we see that even the largest groupings that we know of – such as 'Christians', 'Muslims', 'Chinese' or 'Indian' – would only be large minorities: ~31%, ~24%, ~16%, ~15% respectively. These groupings, of course, are anything but homogeneous and are hugely divided internally into far smaller minorities.

This is an important point, because unlike nation-states, which by design are obsessed with maintaining a national majority in the country (and Israel is an extreme example of that

obsession), in a global federation 'the people' would be composed entirely of minorities. This inherent diversity of the population means that the only social contract that such a polity could be based on would be one that enshrines and protects the basic rights and freedoms of all people and their groups, through effective constitutional and institutional democratic checks and balances.

Furthermore, if some Jews would still want to live anywhere in what they believe to be the territory of the 'Holy Land', there would be no restrictions against that, under the framework of a global federation. The only limitation, in contrast to today, would be that they will not be able to exclude others, for example Palestinians, from coming to live next to them and becoming their neighbours. No land would belong exclusively to any group, and people would be free to live wherever they choose, as is customary within democratic federations.

For those who fear that such global freedom of movement would open up the gates for a gigantic wave of global immigration from poor to rich countries, I would say that their fears are ill-founded. Just as national borders are indeed successful today at preventing such immigration, the divisions they create between national legal systems are even more successful at preventing national tax authorities from getting their hands on the wealth of the world's super-rich. In a world federation, in contrast, whose tax authority would span every corner of the planet, there will be a gigantic wave of redistribution of financial power from the global super-rich to the global super-poor. In such a global 'mixed economy' or 'welfare state' the global poor will suddenly be able to make a decent living in local jobs, providing necessary services and infrastructures to their own communities. Having that option, it is clear that the vast majority will remain in their homelands with their loved ones, rather than tear themselves from their families, friends and cultures, as so many are forced to do today.

The question of priority

Coming back to the narrower question of Israel and Palestine, one might challenge me further by saying: "A world federation is definitely something to aspire to in the long run, but in the meantime the Palestinians are suffering enormously from atrocious injustice, and they cannot wait for global democracy to emerge. The colonialist project of Zionism continues to deprive them of their basic human rights, in flagrant violation of international law, and it is our moral duty to help and protect them first." To explain the flaws in that argument, it is useful to start with a simple analogy: imagine an armed group that bursts into a conference hall and takes all the attendants as hostages. In our domestic national systems, we know it would take much less than 50 minutes before the place would be surrounded with police cars and special forces coming to liberate the captives. Yet in our anarchic international system, Palestinians can live under occupation for well over 50 years and no police force are rushing to help them.

The lesson of this analogy is that while our natural reaction to Israel's occupation is to condemn Israel and Zionism, the more basic problem is with the international system, that has no real mechanisms for protecting victims and restoring justice. For this reason anyone who really cares for humans in general, and the Palestinians in particular, cannot ignore this aspect of the problem, or postpone it until after the conflict has been resolved. This systemic problem can be addressed and must be addressed as a precondition, or at least alongside any effort to find a local or particular solution. Yet today it is mostly ignored.

Whether one thinks that the conflict should end by dividing the land into two nation-states, or by turning it into one democratic state, one must recognize the necessity of an external authority equipped with sufficient force – and democratic legitimacy – to intervene when necessary to enforce such a solution, and

sustain it. Under the current world order, such authority does not exist, and it will surely not just 'emerge' by itself if we continue to postpone the discussion about it.

The United Nations clearly does not possess the necessary power for such intervention. The budget of Israel's army alone is several times bigger than that of all the UN agencies combined. More importantly, the UN does not possess the democratic legitimacy to intervene, as rather than being an organization of 'Nations' it is an organization of the governments who come to rule over those nations, regardless of whether these governments are democratically elected or self-imposed.

It is this characteristic of the UN, maybe more than anything else, which shows the greatest weakness of the movement for Palestinian independence: in today's world there is nothing really unique about the fact that they are oppressed by a government that does not represent them. Openly oppressive governments are perfectly standard, both legally and normatively, in the current world order. One does not need to look far beyond Israel-Palestine to see this plague extending over most countries in the Middle East, and across much of Africa and much of Asia. In fact, two of the five governments holding a permanent seat at the UN Security Council, namely Russia and China, match this definition. Powers that could actually do something to help the Palestinians, namely the USA, Russia and the EU, have no real interest in ending the conflict, and they act accordingly. If the USA wanted to press Israel, it could cut, for example, the \$4 billion worth of military aid that it sends to Israel every year. Yet, if peace in the Middle East suddenly 'broke out', the American arms industry would lose dozens or even hundreds of billions of dollars' worth of arms sales to the whole region. While the local workers in the American arms industries have power in American politics by their vote, and while the global investors in those industries have

an even greater power by funding American politicians, the victims of the conflict have no way to take part in these decisions that impact their lives so heavily.

With similar ease, the USA could also just refrain from using its veto power on almost every UN resolution against Israel, but chooses not to. The real problem, of course, is not the particular policies of the USA government, but rather the Charter of the UN, that endows that government with such tyrannical powers over the lives of non-citizens in Palestine and other places around the world. The problem is not with the special interests that determine those policies behind closed doors, but with the fact that their power is not checked and balanced by an overarching global federal system that holds sovereignty above the US government: a government of humanity, by humanity and for humanity.

Russia is clearly not a beacon of democracy and justice on this planet, but the EU is similarly not really interested in the plight of the Palestinians. If it wanted, it could easily press Israel by putting some trade sanctions on it, but then if you buy natural gas from Putin and textiles and electronics from Xi-Jinping, you might as well also buy some stuff from Netanyahu. And like in the American case, the European arms industries are also making a significant share of their great sales in the Middle East, and would dread the breakout of peace and unity.

Indeed, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has much more to it than Israel and Palestine alone. When we think of it from the broader global perspective, it is also worth reminding ourselves that deep in the cultural history of Europe is the romantic memory of the holy crusades: the long and epic medieval war between Christians and Muslims that centred symbolically on Jerusalem. Being the two greatest monotheistic religions, their fundamental competition was (and to some extent still is) ultimately for dominance over a much bigger territory, the

whole of God's creation - Earth. Against the backdrop of that old rivalry, the 1917 Balfour Declaration that sent the Jews straight to the heart of the Muslim world, to Palestine, was convenient both as a way to clear European soil of the Jewish presence, and as a recipe for igniting a holy war between Jews and Muslims. In this Machiavellian sense, every possible outcome of the scenario seemed beneficial – either, like Oedipus, the war would bring the death to Christianity's parent religion, Judaism, or – like Cain – the war would weaken Christianity's younger and annoyingly successful sibling, Islam. Either way, this conflict became a powerful tool for dividing and ruling Christianity's global competitors. There are many more examples that show the

global nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, that are beyond the scope of this short article. But even the few that I have highlighted here should make us understand that solving it requires a systemic and holistic solution. It is too easy to try to blame this or that player in the conflict for following his own narrow interests, but it is far more important to point to the lack of a global justice system that belongs to us all and protects us all. Our basic choice, in other words, is not between a one-state or a two-state solution for Israel-Palestine, but between one federal state of the world or two-hundred sovereign governments that will continue to divide us. For me, the Earth is our Holy Land, our homeland, our home.

A Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Middle East

Rene Wadlow

In a 26 June 2018 address to the United Nations Security Council, Antonio Guterres, the Secretary-General, reviewed the conflict situations in the Middle East – its profound divisions, troubling currents and the tragic shredding of its diverse religious, ethnic and cultural fabric. As he noted *“In Syria, civilians have borne a litany of atrocities for more than seven years of conflict: sieges, starvation, indiscriminate attacks, the use of chemical weapons, exile and forced displacement, sexual violence, torture, detention and enforced disappearances.”* He called for renewed support for his Special Envoy, Staffan de Mistura, on the Syrian conflict and possible Geneva meetings.

Likewise, he called for support for the UN Special Envoy to Yemen, Martin Griffiths. What was new in the Secretary-General's presentation was to highlight the Helsinki process as a possible avenue for the Middle East. He said: *“During the Cold War, ideological rivals found ways to talk and cooperate despite their deep divides, for example through the Helsinki process. I do not see why countries of the region cannot find a similar platform to come together, drawing experience from one another and enhancing opportunities for possible political, environmental, socio-economic or security cooperation.”*

The Association of World Citizens has for a good number of years proposed a Conference for Security and Cooperation in the Middle East, with full recognition of all States in the region with steps toward a Middle East Common Market, cooperation on water issues and the creation of a trans-frontier special economic zone for the Gaza strip. Such a Middle East Conference is based on the Helsinki Conference of 1973-1975.

When the first phase of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe concluded in Helsinki in July 1973, some saw that seeds to end the Cold War had been planted, but that these seeds would have to be watered and carefully protected. The Helsinki Final Act was still unwritten and even the issues to be discussed had not yet been set out beyond a rather general and vague sentiment that military security and military confidence-building steps were important.

The negotiators moved to Geneva, Switzerland, and discussed from 18 September until the eve of the Summit, to be again held in Helsinki on 1 August 1975. As midnight of the deadline for agreeing on the text of the Helsinki Final Act was approaching, the clock in the meeting room was stopped so that the text could be finalized in the agreed time.

There were diplomats from three groups of States: the Western States, the Soviet Union and its allies, the four neutral States and Yugoslavia as “non-aligned”. The contribution of the neutral States and of non-governmental organizations is what is lacking in the Middle East case.

The four neutrals: Finland, Sweden, Switzerland and Austria, were all “Western” by their value system and had multi-party forms of government, but they were not part of one of the two military alliances. Moreover, all four neutral States had a well-trained diplomatic corps which had participated in difficult negotiations before. They played a mediating role but also championed their own causes. Thus Switzerland pushed the concept of an OSCE Court, that could deal with the

judicial settlement of disputes. The Court of Conciliation and Arbitration, though little used, is now located in Geneva.

Geneva also had a good number of representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) who had consultative status with the United Nations and were concerned with arms control, human rights, conflict resolution and international trade agreements. While there was no formal structure for NGO contributions, through the U.N. there was access to diplomats of the countries involved. Two teaching colleagues of mine at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, Jean Siotis and Victor-Yves Ghebali, have written good accounts of the Geneva negotiations drawn largely from interviews and the vast number of working papers that were exchanged¹.

Some seeds for a Middle East version of the

Helsinki process were planted but have not yet sprouted. The 1975 Helsinki Final Act has a chapter entitled "*Questions relating to security and cooperation in the Mediterranean.*"

The link between security in Europe and the Mediterranean has been formalized, starting in 1994, with the Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation: Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Israel. It is theoretically possible for leadership from these six States to propose an enlargement. Libya and Lebanon can also be considered "Mediterranean". One could also start with a totally new process - inspired by the example of the Helsinki process, but with no organic link.

The neutrals and Yugoslavia, in different ways, played important roles in the Helsinki process. There may be hidden visionaries in the Middle East who could give a start to such a process. Alas, for the moment their voices are mute and the situations grow more tense by the day.

¹ See Victor-Yves Ghebali. *La diplomatie de la détente. La CSCE d'Helsinki à Vienne (1973-1989)*, Bruxelles; Bruylant Editors, 1989

Nafta at 25: the End or Just the Beginning?

Jordan Bankhead

On the hundredth day of his presidency, Donald Trump was prepared to withdraw from the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), signed into law 23 years earlier by Bill Clinton on January 1, 1994. Trump's fiery America-first advisor Steve Bannon urged him to make good on campaign promises in which he pledged to quit NAFTA. Recounting his deliberations over NAFTA, Trump said, "I was all set to terminate (NAFTA)" because it was "a total disaster" and "one of the worst deals ever".¹ As it happened, Trump did not cancel the agreement on day 100 of his presidency and is unlikely to do so. The reason for this uncharacteristic restraint on the part of Trump can be explained by the advice of his commerce secretary Wilbur Ross and Agriculture Secretary Sonny Purdue. Both advisors in a West Wing meeting just prior to Trump's decision told the president not to cancel NAFTA because American farmers, the domestic oil industry, and the businessmen key to Trump's victory would suffer grievous economic harm if the agreement was terminated. After being persuaded by this advice, Trump spoke to the leaders of Canada and Mexico and said he had been motivated by them to give negotiations on NAFTA a chance. In fact, the cost of quitting the largest free trade agreement in the world would have been too high and Trump knew this would jeopardize his chances of reelection. Voters primarily vote with their pocket books, and despite the cries of environmentalists, labor activists, and his own blue collar voter base, Trump is unlikely to cancel NAFTA and will accept a tweaked version of the historic trade agreement that joined a developing

country with a developed country in a free trade agreement for the first time.

The case of the durability of NAFTA, despite the attacks of a populist president with little regard for collateral damage to trade partners, political opponents, the press, or democratic institutions, demonstrates that once a high level of economic integration is achieved by these agreements, undoing them is very difficult and costly. The unfolding saga of Brexit in Europe illustrates a similar principle. A wholesale divorce from the EU by Great Britain would almost certainly lead to economic catastrophe for that country, at least in the short to medium term. This suggests the UK and Europe will find a happy medium to protect both sides, most likely leaving free trade flowing because of the economic damage the undoing decades of economic integration would do. Because the case of the UK may be a special case based on its unique history as an "offshore balancer" and an island nation, it is unlikely Brexit will lead to further fracturing of the EU. On the contrary, it appears Europe is moving toward ever closer union, presently debating the merits of a common foreign and security policy. Leaders of Europe like Chancellor Merkel and President Macron may even feel emboldened to pursue greater European integration given the absence of Great Britain from the negotiating table. And with a renewed commitment to fulfill the so-called third pillar of the EU on security, Europe may be one crucial step closer to full-blown federation.

As global economic competition grows with the rise of China, the United States will find

incentives to rein in its more reckless behavior in fomenting trade war with allies in Europe and North America. Signs of a thaw in trade relations between Europe and the United States are already evident with the public statement from Trump and EU Commission chief Jean-Claude Juncker to not impose additional tariffs and start negotiations on trade cooperation. The leaders issued a joint statement pledging to “work together toward zero tariffs, zero non-tariff barriers, and zero subsidies on non-auto industrial goods”.² The reason for this détente between Europe and the US can be explained by mutual economic gain and a common political culture. On the first point, the US stands to gain by diversifying its trade away from China by exporting more liquified natural gas (LNG) and soybeans to Europe. This bilateral trade relationship also aids Europe strategically by making European countries less dependent on Russian natural gas. Strengthening the case for NAFTA’s durability, US Trade Representative (USTR) Lighthizer testified before a Senate appropriations committee on NAFTA and said he expects a NAFTA agreement to come soon. Lighthizer also said he expected China to be a longer term problem because that nation continues to “take over” American technology and they need to be deterred by a proactive American trade policy.³

The new paradigm of economic nationalism launched by the United States under Trump and other countries like Italy and Great Britain shows no sign of abating any time soon. In fact, the dark side of globalization and free trade has recently caused public opinion to favor more protectionism. The drum beat of doomsday scenarios of corporate malfeasance, environmental destruction, and labor abuse caused by international trade agreements may finally be gaining traction in national electorates. On the 20th anniversary of the NAFTA agreement, this opposition was manifested in the release of a case study by the NGO Public Citizen on “investor-state attacks

on public interest policies.”⁴ The report argued that dispute settlement bodies set up by NAFTA favored corporate and investor rights over local environmental, public health, and labor rights protected by the states. In effect, these dispute-settlement bodies, composed of three corporate lawyers predisposed to corporate interests and interpreting business-friendly NAFTA provisions, were helping multinational corporations exploit local citizens. Of course, the article prescribed a roll back of the NAFTA agreement to right these wrongs, but neglected the possibility of reforming and making the NAFTA agreement more democratic and responsive to local citizens’ interests. The national backlash against trade agreements and other international economic institutions that suffer a democratic deficit can also be seen in the wave of populist nationalist leaders coming to power around the world. Of course, this is not happening in a vacuum, as authoritarian Russia has an interest in western nations dissolving historic alliances like NATO, and the unraveling of post-war international economic institutions like the WTO, the IMF, and the World Bank.

Because the nation-state is still deemed by most as the only force capable of protecting the interests of people abused by global corporations and global elites, the prospects for more international cooperation may seem bleak. This view is reinforced by the daily assault on international and domestic political institutions by populist leaders, who use social media to keep the public’s attention to divide and conquer. Donald Trump takes to Twitter to vent against his political opponents, and other leaders are doing the same. The smartphone has made news instantaneous and increased the rate of uptake of world events by the general public. This has led to a fracturing of public opinion, and with it, a division of the public square into competing and more extreme political fractions. Where this leads cannot be completely predicted, but more

likely than not, the stresses on the status quo will lead to reform and ultimately benefits for the world's citizens. There is even a chance that by attacking international institutions like the EU, NAFTA, the WTO and others, nationalist leaders will provoke a productive debate about how to make those institutions more democratic and responsive to real people's needs and concerns. This is the promise of the current era of pessimism and backlash to globalization. Just as terrorism ultimately will fail as a prescription to the problems of groups whose views are not widely shared, so too will nationalism and isolationism fail in the long run. These ideologies were discredited as appropriate policy prescriptions for at

least the past one hundred years. Predicting the future of NAFTA, the EU, and ultimately the UN, therefore, it can be surmised that these institutions will prove more formidable than their attackers anticipate. As William Faulkner famously mused upon accepting the Nobel peace prize, not only will international institutions survive, but they will endure. But political legitimacy ultimately rests with the people, and as new technologies lead to more transparency and openness, the seemingly invincible walls of sovereignty possessed by the nation-state will give way. The precedent for this is the history of human progress, which typically lags economic innovation but ultimately does catch up for the benefit of all the people.

¹ *The Washington Post*, April 27, 2017, Parker, Rucker, Paletta, and DeYoung, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/i-was-all-set-to-terminate-inside-trumps-sudden-shift-on-nafta/2017/04/27/0452a3fa-2b65-11e7-b605-33413c691853_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.5fb445aaecde

² BBC News, July 26, 2018, *Trump and EU's Juncker pull back from all out trade war*, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-44961560>

³ Marketwatch, July 26, 2018, <https://www.marketwatch.com/story/lighthizer-reports-progress-on-nafta-says-china-to-be-long-term-problem-2018-07-26>

⁴ https://www.citizen.org/sites/default/files/egregious-investor-state-attacks-case-studies_4.pdf

African Continental Free Trade Area: Opportunities and Challenges

Andrea Cofelice

On March 21st, 2018, at the end of the 10th extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union, forty-four out of the fifty-five member states of the Union signed the *Treaty establishing the African Continental Free Trade Area* (AfCFTA).

In terms of the number of countries involved (with a combined GDP that is currently worth over two trillion dollars a year) and the population concerned (1.2 billion people), the AfCFTA represents the main free trade agreement since the foundation of the World Trade Organization. Equally important is the timing of the agreement, as it stands in sharp contrast with an international context marked by a persistent and significant increase in trade-restrictive measures, as well as by a growing resistance (or even hostility) towards the development of regional integration systems.

The main objectives of the AfCFTA are certainly ambitious. By removing tariff and non-tariff barriers on goods and services, member states intend to: facilitate intra-African trade; promote regional value chains to foster the integration of the African continent into the global economy; boost industrialization, competitiveness and innovation, ultimately contributing to Africa's economic development and social progress.

Due to the wide scope of the agreement, the negotiation has been divided into two phases. The first one, which culminated in the March treaty, focused on: phasing out tariffs on 90% of goods exchanged between African

countries; the elimination of non-tariff barriers (that is: excessively long customs procedures, costly sanitary and phytosanitary measures, complex and heterogeneous rules on product standards and licensing requirements, etc.); the definition of rules of origin; a deal on customs cooperation and trade remedies. The AfCFTA agreement is also supplemented by the African Union *Protocol on Free Movement*, with which the signatory states (currently twenty-seven) grant visa waiver, the right of residence and the right of establishment for professional or work reasons to their citizens.

Any decision on the elimination of tariffs related to the remaining 10% of goods, represented by "sensitive products", as well as on other issues such as investments, competition policies and intellectual property rights, has been postponed to the second phase of negotiations, which is expected to start in the coming months

Expected benefits

According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, the implementation of the agreement could increase intra-African trade by 52%, compared to 2010 levels, by 2022, thus reducing the gap with intra-regional trade quotas currently characterizing Asia (51%), North America (54%) and Europe (67%). In the short term, the main beneficiaries of the AfCFTA would be small and medium-sized enterprises, that today account for 80% of the continent's companies. However, in the medium to long term, the benefits will extend to all African citizens, who will achieve a welfare gain estimated at 16.1 billion dollars, especially favoring women (who currently

manage 70% of informal cross-border trade) and young people, who could benefit from new job opportunities. The intra-African economic and commercial growth would mainly affect the industrial and manufacturing sectors, thus demonstrating AfCFTA's potential role in guiding the structural transformation of African countries.

Such "internal" progresses could, in turn, contribute to strengthening Africa's position in global trade. With the failure of the Doha Round and the crisis of multilateral trade negotiations (and ultimately of the World Trade Organization's ruling authority), the latest international trade rules have been fixed under preferential agreements negotiated at bilateral, regional (continental) or trans-regional levels, from which Africa has been almost systematically excluded. The consolidation of African regionalism can therefore prove decisive, on the one hand, to develop an adequate negotiating power vis-à-vis relevant commercial partners (such as the European Union and China); on the other, to promote economies of scale and value chains that can boost African companies to compete on international markets.

The realization of these benefits, however, is conditioned by the overcoming of numerous political, legal, economic and functional challenges.

Adopting a *win-win* approach

At the top of political priorities there is the need to bring into the agreement those countries that are still not part of it, such as Benin, Eritrea, Zambia and, above all, Nigeria, which represents, together with South Africa, the main economic driving force of the continent. In particular, there are two issues that currently hamper the accession process: the concern that the elimination of tariffs could put the survival of national productions at risk; and the issue of compensations for those countries that rely on customs duties to consolidate their (fragile) national budgets.

It is therefore necessary to adopt cohesion policies and *ad hoc* measures to support specific needs of different types of countries and national actors, in order to make AfCFTA an inclusive and mutually beneficial agreement for all. These policies could be built upon three pillars: a) the creation of an adjustment and compensation fund for those countries that will be negatively affected by the structural and regulatory changes introduced by the agreement; b) the promotion of capacity building programs, in order to ensure that all African countries and stakeholders are fully aware of AfCFTA objectives, rules and mechanisms, and are able to exploit its benefits and opportunities; c) the organization of systematic consultation with economic and non-state actors.

Setting-up a law-based governance with a multi-level institutional architecture

After obtaining the necessary political support at the highest decision-making levels, the main objective will be to define AfCFTA technically and ensure its effective implementation. Historically, indeed, one of the main obstacles to regional integration in Africa is represented by the lack not so much of farsighted strategies or ambitious policies, but of their actual implementation.

Accordingly, AfCFTA's success will largely depend on the establishment of an appropriate governance system, based on the rule of law and on a solid institutional architecture, in order to promote, as requested by the African Development Bank, harmonization, consistency and predictability goals.

The agreement provides for the establishment of an AfCFTA Secretariat, with a legal personality distinct from that of the African Union, but governed by the political bodies of the Union, namely the Assembly of the African Union (composed of the Heads of State and Government of member states) and the

Executive council (composed of African trade ministers), supported by a Committee of senior trade officials.

At least two critical remarks can be made in this respect. By largely relying on the institutional umbrella of the African Union, the AfCFTA will also import its main decision-making mechanism, i.e. the rule of consensus among all member states, with foreseeable consequences for the effectiveness of deliberative processes (whose limits are already known in the context of the African Union). Secondly, the agreement does not recognize any institutional role to the Pan-African Parliament within the AfCFTA. Although this body does not have significant legislative powers, it could nevertheless perform important functions of an advisory (acting as a permanent forum for dialogue and confrontation between institutional, economic and civil society actors) and monitoring nature.

AfCFTA's institutional architecture should also adopt a "multi-level" character, and be supported by (sub-)regional and national institutions. In particular, at the (sub-)regional level, the main challenge will be to rationalize and harmonize the different (and sometimes conflicting) regimes of African Economic Communities with the aims and timing set for the establishment of the AfCFTA.

Finally, AfCFTA's institutional framework is completed by a dispute settlement mechanism, which is mandatory and binding for member states, and is clearly based on the World Trade Organization model.

In addition to this mechanism, which is exclusively intergovernmental, it would be appropriate to explicitly recognize the possibility for individuals to assert their rights under the AfCFTA. In this sense, the juridical framework should be developed according to a subsidiarity perspective, consisting in a system of complaints and appeals that should involve national courts, the courts established

by the regional economic communities and, as a last resort, the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights¹, which should be equipped with an ad hoc "trade chamber", also with a view to creating positive synergies between trade law and human rights law.

Strengthening the interlinkage between human rights and trade liberalization

Assessing the distributional impact of the AfCFTA agreement is crucial to ensure the complementarity between human rights promotion and trade liberalization. Such an assessment is even more relevant in light of a general and growing skepticism towards trade liberalization processes, fueled to a large extent by a widespread perception that the benefits of trade and globalization have not been equally distributed. It is therefore necessary to adopt appropriate policies to ensure that the potential benefits in terms of increased productivity and welfare deriving from the realization of the AfCFTA are equally distributed.

In order to make AfCFTA a socially sustainable and inclusive agreement, in addition to the cohesion and adjustment policies, as well as the mechanisms for consultation and access to remedies already analyzed above, it would also be appropriate to: a) adopt a gradual and targeted approach to liberalization processes, in order to safeguard the most vulnerable groups of the population, especially in vital sectors such as food security; b) monitor the impact of the agreement on the economic and social rights of the populations involved, through a systematic "human rights impact assessment"; c) maintain political control over the implementation of the agreement, by abstaining from adopting, in the technical agreements that will be negotiated in the framework of the AfCFTA, any provision that could undermine the institutional capacity to ensure that human rights are effectively protected and respected.

Diversifying financial sources

The creation of the AfCFTA should be supported through strategic investments and funding. The role of international donors will be crucial: the World Bank and the European Union have already expressed their willingness “in principle” to contribute to the necessary funds for the realization of the agreement. As far as the European Union is concerned, this commitment will represent the test to assess its ability to give substance to its ambitious External Investment Plan, launched by the Commission in September 2016.

Looking ahead, however, the funding of the African free trade area will have to increasingly rely on the mobilization of continental public and private resources. Before postulating a system of own resources of the AfCFTA, African governments should first commit themselves to improve and rationalize national public revenues, by making tax systems more equitable, transparent and effective, and by resolutely facing chronic corruption problems, weak institutional capacities, restricted tax bases and a pervasive tax avoidance and evasion.

Conclusions

From the above analysis it is clear that the main challenges to the realization of an African free trade area have an intrinsic political rather than

an economic nature. The AfCFTA represents a window of opportunity for African countries to promote intra-African trade, diversify and structurally transform the continent’s economy, and pursue important human rights and anti-poverty goals. However, the harmonization of national priorities to achieve regional and global public goods will require firm political will, determination and coordinating efforts by African political leaders.

What are the next steps? The AfCFTA agreement outlines only its legal framework. The text will have to be ratified by African national parliaments and will come into force when the threshold of 22 countries depositing instruments of ratification is reached. Subsequently, the second (delicate) negotiation phase will start, where the following issues, inter alia, will be discussed: sources of funding and investments; compensation mechanisms; the definition of “sensitive products” to be exempted from the abolition of tariffs. In the meantime, it is hoped that the Secretariat can be established in order to manage the implementation phase of the agreement.

The above choices and decisions will determine the chance to shape a cohesive regional bloc, which can contribute to Africa’s economic and social development and its integration in the global economy.

¹ In the near future, this Court will be replaced by the African Court of Justice and Human Rights, whose founding Protocol was adopted in July 2008 by the Assembly of the African Union and will come into force after reaching the 15th ratification instrument. To date, six African states have ratified the Protocol: Benin, Burkina Faso, Congo, Libya, Liberia, Mali.

A Compelling Obligation: Creating the Vertical Alliance Africa-Mediterranean-Europe*

Jean-Louis Guigou and Pierre Beckouche

In the present chaotic world where it is difficult to look confidently at the long term, many heads of state are steering by sight. China, however, will complete in 2049 the silk roads that will link Europe and Africa to Asian interests. In Africa, some states give themselves a long-term perspective: Morocco rejoined the African Union last year and is developing major projects such as the highway from Agadir to Dakar along the Atlantic and the pipeline from Nigeria; and Algeria the project of a trans-Saharan road that would connect Algiers-Cherchell to Lagos in Nigeria, that is, 6.000 km of highway with branches to Tunisia, Niger, Mali. Egypt is planning the modernization of the Suez Canal, the gas hub to be built in the Eastern Mediterranean, the large free trade zone, and the “Cape Town to Cairo” road. Ghana’s President declares his will to break with the past and traces the path of an ambitious, autonomous Africa, linked to Europe in a balanced relationship.

President Macron spoke of his vision of anchoring France to Europe, Africa and the world in an address to the French ambassadors, on August 29, 2017: “the strategy that I want to implement is to create an integrated axis between Africa, the Mediterranean and Europe. We must link together, at last, the European and the African continents across the Mediterranean; therefore, the Maghreb will remain a central priority for France. It is in Africa that the future of the world will be in large part decided”. He reaffirmed again the need to tie up the two continents in

Ouagadougou and Abidjan, on November 27, 2017.

We adhere with deep conviction to this vision of a common AME axis, because it is both ambitious and realistic:

- Europe is already the largest investor in Africa and its largest customer. More than three-quarters of the international trade of the EU countries is carried out with Russia, the southern Mediterranean countries and Africa – even if Europe’s commercial positions in Africa are losing ground in the face of the Chinese offensive.

- The internationalization of exchanges leads to globalization, but also to a regionalization of certain activities which benefit from the advantage of geographical proximity and economic complementarity. For example, the NAFTA has brought the economies of the United States and Mexico closer together, and the North and South America countries as a whole now make 56% of their exchanges between them. Also, the integration of the East Asian countries has increased their exchanges in 30 years from 30% to almost 60%. In the absence of a regional North-South integration, Europe will be stifled by the China-US G2, and Africa will be dominated by the former.

- With 500 million aging inhabitants, Europe must make the choice of an accelerated development of Africa, which will count 2.5 billion inhabitants in 2050. The markets are and will be more and more to be found in the South. It’s not just about business: developing an economic and industrial partnership with

Africa, thanks to the active contribution of diasporas, with the aim of transforming locally its immense natural and human resources, is the best way to contribute to its development.

- Finally, this vision is realistic in view of our common challenges such as terrorism, uncontrolled immigration, global warming and the defense of common moral values, that require the sharing of objectives and approaches.

The strategy to be put in place must draw on a number of mechanisms and institutions that were proved successful in East Asia and the Americas .

First there must be a foundation that brings together experts, intellectuals, representatives of civil society and business leaders working to accelerate interconnections, technical networks (water, transport, electricity), financial and cultural aspects (recognition of university degrees, student exchanges...). To date, there is nothing between Europe and Africa comparable to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC, 700 researchers, \$ 40 million per year) for the Americas, or the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA, 15 laboratories and \$ 30 million per year) for East Asia.

There must be also an institution with the

financial instruments for development, already available in the Americas (Inter-American Development Bank-IDB) and in East Asia (Asian Development Bank-ADB and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank-AIIB), to ensure the North-South mobility of capitals, of which the ADB and the European Investment Bank-EIB could be the model platforms. The third mechanism would be an economic partnership between the countries of the North (EU) and the countries of the South (AU). Finally, there should be a venue for political consultation comparable to the Organization of American States (OAS) or the East Asia Summits, with a charter expressing the firm will to break with and get rid of the predators and the debris of the past, and expressing the desire of a strong, autonomous Africa linked to Europe in a relationship of common activities. All of these four tools should take the form of a new treaty between Europe and Africa, that would replace the Cotonou agreements which expire at the end of 2020. This "New Deal" would give a meaning to the future of Europe; and it would provide a vision to the youth of both continents and satisfy the African and European civil societies, that expect from Europe and Africa new and innovative responses to the challenges of today and tomorrow.

* A version of this text has been published in the newspaper *Les Échos* on June 8, 2018.

The ECB Is Not Enough. A Federal Budget for the Eurozone*

Domènec Ruiz Devesa

Introduction

The long debate about completing the European monetary union with a fiscal pillar has revived since the near-collapse of the single currency in 2010-2012 as a side effect of the mostly speculative attacks on Italian, Spanish and Portuguese government bonds. Federalist authors have been engaging intensively in these discussions¹, while the Eurozone budget remains a key demand of the Union of European Federalists². Unfortunately, to this day, the Council of the European Union has not endorsed this proposal even if it has the support of all European institutions, Commission, Parliament, and even the European Central Bank.

Is the ECB not enough?

It is possible to argue that at least since 2012 the policies of the ECB have indeed guaranteed financial stability and encouraged economic growth, through a set of non-standard monetary measures such as the bond-buying program and the ultra-low interest rates. So can the ECB not just keep this policy mix in place for ever? In theory, yes, as far as the ECB continues to fail to attain its informal inflation aim of close but below 2%. However, when inflation returns to “normal” levels, interest rates will rise and the purchasing of Eurozone government bonds will stop³, unless the ECB changes the current “legal base” of the bond-buying programme (transmission of monetary policy) to, for instance, maintaining financial stability.

But this will be heavily disputed by conservatives who consider that the ECB has

already exceeded its mandate with the current Public Sector Purchases Programme.

Thus, in the event of economic crises affecting some Member States in a 2% inflation environment, the only reliable tool would be a common Eurozone budget with which countercyclical investments and transfers can be financed to offset sudden drops in economic activity. The crisis has shown the problems of an incomplete economic union, so the debate about the setting up of a Eurozone fiscal capacity has been back, for a while, even though already in the 1970s the McDougall Report⁴ called for a community budget of 5-7% of GDP in order to deal with economic shocks. More recently, the so-called Five President’s report of the 22nd June 2015⁵, called for the establishment of a fiscal facility for the Eurozone, while the Commission proposed it back in 2012⁶, and again, in May 2017, in a Reflection Paper⁷, and again in December 2017 with a set of draft legislative proposals on Economic and Monetary Union reform, and a policy proposal on the Euro area fiscal capacity⁸. Finally, the legislative proposal on a stabilisation function for the Eurozone was published in May 2018⁹. We will review the Parliament’s position first and then the different Commission’s initiatives on the matter.

The Commission’s proposals

The May 2017 Reflection Paper summarizes the original Commission’s view on the matter¹⁰. It offers a clear diagnosis of the situation of the euro, which is well known, i.e

the need to complete the monetary union with the financial and fiscal pillar, and therefore proposes an agenda based mostly on the Five Presidents Report and the positions of the European Parliament. Originally, the Commission proposed a timetable for its implementation, which is fundamentally aimed at completing the banking union in this legislature, as a precondition to address the fiscal capacity of the Eurozone in the Period 2020-2025.

In the short term, that is to say until 2019, the Commission considered that the European deposit insurance should be culminated. This scheme will receive contributions from banks throughout Europe, thereby gradually replacing national funds. This will ensure equal protection of depositors irrespective of the Member State in which they reside. The Commission also intended to establish a “fiscal backstop” in order to give greater credibility to the fund for the liquidation and re-structuring of banking institutions. The current European Stability Mechanism (ESM) could perform this function through a permanent credit facility in favor of the Single Resolution Fund, which as well draws on contributions from banks. At the same time, structural reforms, through financial incentives, and improved coordination of economic policies in the euro area should continue to be pursued during this period. Finally, also before 2019, the single external representation of the euro area should be agreed upon in international financial institutions such as the IMF.

In the medium term, from 2020 to 2025, the Commission considered necessary to provide an anti-cyclical Eurozone stabilization fund vis-à-vis asymmetric macroeconomic shock. However, since the European Deposit Insurance Scheme remains blocked in the Council by the German government, the Commission has decided to move ahead with a legislative proposal on a Eurozone

stabilisation function¹¹. Initially, the fiscal capacity proposed in December 2017 included an investment fund targeted to increase the rate of growth and a European unemployment insurance to lessen the budgetary impact of the unemployment subsidy (think that in Spain at the peak of the crisis it came to an annual cost of 30 billion euros). According to the said proposal, this fiscal capacity could have been financed through the ESM, national contributions or through a fraction of taxes such as VAT or corporation tax. In the longer term it could take the form of a real permanent budget. In any case access to this financing would be conditional on meeting criteria for convergence.

However, the legislative proposal of May 2018 is limited to a mechanism to protect the level of investment during recessions, through loans and subject to having respected the fiscal and macro-economic recommendations before the crisis, for an amount of 30 billion euros. In comparison with the ESM, this appears to be *past* conditionality as opposed to *present* conditionality, i.e. policy conditions set in order to access funding. Furthermore, the interest rates of the loans are to be subsidized by annual national contributions made on the basis of the monetary income allocated to their national central banks¹².

The Commission has also anticipated the legislative proposal on the pseudo European Safe Asset¹³, originally planned for the 2020-2025 period as well, in which the issuance of a “light” Eurobond was envisaged in the Reflection Paper, which would be jointly issued but not jointly guaranteed (each Member State would still be responsible for paying its proportionate share of the issue). This instrument would increase the range of financial instruments available and help diversify Bank portfolios, excessively concentrated in the public debt of the country where the financial institutions are domiciled.

This would be the first step in issuing the Eurozone's publicly-traded public debt, under the name of European Safe Asset (ESA), a question on which there is no agreement to date. However, the German government would like to see the national public debt no longer considered risk-free, precisely in order to diversify the banks' debt acquisitions, which could only be done after a very careful analysis of its consequences and linked to the issuance of this ESA, which in a way would act as a risk-free federal bond. The Commission is quite right in linking both issues. The status of sovereign debt must not be reduced unless a European debt bond that is legally risk-free and comparable to the federal bonds issued by the US Treasury is introduced at the same time. From the governance's point of view, the Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs would have to be the Eurozone Finance Minister, responsible to the European Parliament, and also President of the Eurogroup, so as to ensure full democratic legitimacy of budgetary decisions.

Once integrated into the treaties, the ESM could operate as the European treasury, with the capacity to raise fiscal resources and issue Eurobonds¹⁴.

Conclusions

The Commission Reflection Paper of May 2017 was quite ambitious on the matter of the Eurozone budget, but the actual Commission's proposal tabled in May 2018 is rather disappointing since instead of proposing a real budget or fiscal capacity, another loan-based mechanism is envisaged, albeit with fully subsidized interest rates. Still there is hope that the French and German governments are ready to push for the implementation of this agenda¹⁵, since the German cabinet rather agrees to the Euro stabilisation function, whose cost is known, unlike the unknown

liabilities of the European Deposit Insurance Scheme. In any event, from a federalist point of view, the Eurozone fiscal capacity should be endowed with new own resources of the fiscal type, in particular those coming from the Financial Transaction Tax (FTT), a CO2 tax, a share of the Common Consolidated Corporate Tax Base (whenever it is agreed in the Council), a share of the Value Added Tax (VAT) base, and an air travel tax. These fiscal resources would also allow to issue Eurozone debt, providing additional funding and a truly European safe asset.

The FTT is currently a strengthened cooperation of 10 Member States, so not all Eurozone countries are included. The Council has yet to agree to its implementation. National authorities will be in charge of collecting the tax, which in a way makes it akin to a national contribution. It is worthwhile remembering that the European Coal and Steel Community back in 1951 already introduced the first (and so far only) supranational European tax on the production of these two commodities, which was paid directly by companies to a bank account held by the High Authority. The same system is possible with the FTT (it will be even easier, given the current technology). The original FTT proposal would have raised 30 billion euros per year (the Council may end up excluding derivatives and other financial products from the scope of the FTT, if the proposal is at all adopted).

In addition, as is the case with the U.S. Treasury, the profits from the ECB should also accrue to the proposed Eurozone treasury (in average, 1 billion euros per year). On this last item, the Commission's proposal moves in the right direction, by tapping into this resource in order to finance the interest rate of the anti-cyclical loans. Finally, the Euro area governments could easily take advantage of the still ultra-low interest rates in order to borrow from the

financial markets and set up a European Sovereign Fund, tasked with long term purchases of equity. This will reduce capital inequality and provide additional returns for the Eurozone budget. In conclusion,

we European and World federalists have a lot of pushing to do in order to secure a proper Eurozone budget, the next big step in completing the Economic and Monetary Union in a federal direction.

* This article is based on two presentations delivered at the 34th and 35th International Seminars on Federalism in Europe and the World held in the Island of Ventotene on the 6th of September 2017 and the 5th of September 2018.

¹ See among others Moro (2015), García and Vacca (2016) and Ruiz Devesa (2015), and (2016).

² See the among others resolutions, Union of European Federalists (2017): <http://www.federalists.eu/uef/news/resolution-on-fiscal-union/>, (2016): <http://www.federalists.eu/uef/news/general-policy-resolution/> and (2015): <http://www.federalists.eu/uef/news/resolution-of-the-uef-federal-committee-on-a-genuine-monetary-union-in-a-reforme/>

³ Indeed the ECB has already announced the end of this programme as of 31st December 2018. See the monetary policy decisions of 14 June 2018: <https://www.ecb.europa.eu/press/pr/date/2018/html/ecb.mp180614.en.html>

⁴ See Commission of the European Communities (1977): https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2012/5/31/c475e949-ed28-490b-81ae-a33ce9860d09/publishable_en.pdf

⁵ See European Union (2015): https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/5-presidents-report_en.pdf

⁶ See European Commission (2012): http://ec.europa.eu/archives/commission_2010-2014/president/news/archives/2012/11/pdf/blueprint_en.pdf

⁷ See European Commission (May 2017): https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/reflection-paper-emu_en.pdf

⁸ See the full policy package tabled by the European Commission (December 2017): <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52017DC0821&from=EN>

⁹ See European Commission (2018): See European Commission (2018): https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/budget-may2018-investment-stabilisation-function-regulation_en.pdf

¹⁰ See https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/reflection-paper-emu_en.pdf

¹¹ The legislative proposal was published on the 31st May 2018; see European Commission (31st May 2018): https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/budget-may2018-investment-stabilisation-function-regulation_en.pdf

¹² See European Commission (31st May 2018), p. 3: "The proposed Regulation is accompanied by a draft intergovernmental agreement for Member States to agree among themselves on the transfer of national contributions calculated on the basis of the share of monetary income allocated to their national central banks to the Stabilisation Support Fund established under the Regulation. The main purpose of this Fund, to be endowed with national contributions, is to finance the interest rate subsidies Member States are entitled to. Such interest rate subsidies cover 100 percent of the interest cost incurred on the loans".

¹³ The legislative proposal was published on the 24 May 2018; see European Commission (24th May 2018): https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/better-regulation/initiatives/com-2018-339_en

¹⁴ These two proposals were included both in the May 2017 Reflection Paper and the legislative proposals of December 2018.

¹⁵ See Publius, *European Letter* (2017): <http://www.europeanletter.eu/site/>

From Brussels a Minimum Income as Rossi and Spinelli Dreamed in Their Manifesto

Giuseppe Bronzini

Despite its inefficiencies and often failures, the EU aims not only to combat poverty, but, in a more ambitious dimension, to eradicate the risk of “social exclusion”, that is notoriously based on broader and more demanding parameters of various kinds, capable of intercepting every element of mortification of the dignity of the person according to a more complex approach, transcending the disposable income. This element already points out that the EU is still able to reach very advanced levels of planning (often innovative), but with no results matching what had been conceived. The studies on policies contrasting the risk of exclusion, set up since the end of the 1990s on the basis of the so-called “open method of coordination” (OMC), are clearly very advanced at the global level not only for their approach, that brings back into focus the “indecent”, underpaid, precarious and discontinuous work (of the so-called working poor), but for their thoughtful and properly supranational character, as they methodically compare the various national approaches and try to select the best practices in an attempt to generalize them (through a sort of European moral suasion), while taking into account national specificities where the competence remained to the individual states. What emerges from this comparison, extended to the social actors, can be read in the annual Joint Report on social inclusion, which is at least a documentary path for understanding in broad terms what was to be done and what was actually done. In the debate on the “constitutionalization” of the EU (which led to the Treaty of Lisbon) it was decided to strengthen

the fight against social exclusion, in a double direction: on the one hand, the strengthening of the OMC, through specific provisions of a general competence by the coordinating Union (Articles 4 and 5 TFEU) and, on the other, the establishment of a specific scheme for combating social exclusion (Article 153 TFEU), albeit requiring unanimity and without regulatory powers.

On this basis, in the Recommendations annually addressed to Italy by the EC and the Council, the evident shortcomings of the social protection system and the abnormal number of people living below an income sufficient to guarantee a free and dignified existence and not covered by a minimum guaranteed income (MGI), as required by Art. 34 of the Charter of Rights, have always been highlighted. There is to mention the important attempts to arrive at a sort of soft codification of the principles of flexicurity, i.e. the formula with which the EU wants to ensure an existential security for all (December 2007) and the launch of a new general strategy called Europe 20-20, which introduces the new target to reduce by 20% in ten years the number of those at risk of social exclusion; furthermore, in the TEU (Article 3), the fight against social exclusion is one of the objectives of its policies. This is a complex, non-trivial plan, if we also remember Art. 34 of the Charter of Rights, which exerted considerable pressure on the countries lacking effective tools to fight poverty (those in Southern Europe) so that they introduce more suitable protection schemes and a certain mutual contamination of social protection models (at least until 2008), also fueled by the functioning of the common market,

whose rules (connected by the Court of Justice to the concept of European citizenship) were leading to an opening up of national welfare systems to the access of EU community's migrants. It cannot therefore be said that the Union has been lacking in terms of elaboration, which remains to this day the spearhead of the contemporary reflection on poverty and on the best ways to combat it. Nor can it be said that no instruments have been sought to put ideas into action in any way: what has prevented success on this front has been the explosion of the international economic crisis, which has manifested itself in the old continent as a crisis of the common currency - the euro - for which the Union had not set up any efficient institutional system in the face of speculation and the risk of default in the weaker states.

Germany has imposed the adoption of new institutions such as the European Stability Mechanism (ESM), together with strict rules for keeping in check the most exposed states (above all the Fiscal Compact). European policies as a whole have been vigorously redirected towards deficit-reduction targets through an austerity philosophy, that ends up aiming at reducing social spending (anyway this has been the choice for all the countries assisted by the ESM or close to default). The EC has never explicitly claimed that MGI measures (in the short term the only tool capable of eradicating poverty) should be reduced and no lightening of the "homework" burden was allowed for such particular social purposes; Germany also excluded any socialization of national debts. Some countries like Portugal or Ireland have not reduced their MGI schemes, but overall the cuts in social spending in all the countries in difficulties constituted the dominant recipe, creating further poverty and social hardships, and annihilating the idea, until 2005 rather widespread, that the Union could guarantee a prosperous future for all its member countries. The solidarity promised in the Treaties seemed even symbolically trampled upon in an Athens deprived of food, medicines and even money, until its surrender to the Brussels institutions.

Thus the very idea of a European policy (i.e. shared and implemented collectively) to combat poverty through effective instruments, to be subjected to the control and verification of the Brussels institutions, has been sacrificed. The countries who were in a position to, have continued their flexicurity policies; the countries of the North are in agreement with the 20-20 Strategy scheme, the unemployed are at a minimum, and the weakest are protected by MGI systems, in some countries quite generous. Even the pressure on the less virtuous ones seems to have been turned off; the reproaches to Italy, that, the only one among the 28s, does not have an MGI system minimally coherent with supranational indications (60% of the median income in dependent work) and that only in 2017 has introduced a meager subsidy for extreme poverty, conditioned to harassments and humiliation of all kinds for the lucky few (with a very low uptake), are by now very mild.

Italy has doubled the number of its absolute poor since 2008, which reached the shameful number of 5 millions; but social hardships have worsened in all the most "indebted" countries, creating a menacing fracture within the Union and the belief that Europe is not so much a resource but rather the problem. A counter-plan would be needed to regain the trust of Europeans through common but also direct and therefore visible measures, through a shared budget (possibly of the Eurozone) and own resources from supranational taxes capable of supporting realistic projects, quite important on a symbolic level for making people talk once again about a European solidarity. The most influential European social-policy scholars have for some time highlighted as virtuous examples those of a single system against unemployment and of the (at least partial) funding of a European-wide MGI system (a euro-dividend); should a minimum income for the excluded arrive from Brussels (as Rossi and Spinelli dreamed in their *Manifesto* of 1941), perhaps we could go up the slope again.

Remember Toshio-San

James Christie

My late father was not much by way of being a vulgarian. A notable exception to that rule was his designation of the washroom and toilet facilities of the family home as the "Reading Room." He claimed to enjoy his quietest and most reflective moments while being sequestered from the rest of the household and the rest of the world in the quiet repose of the water closet. The library contained therein as a child included the ubiquitous Reader's Digest magazine. In those long ago and halcyon days of the mid twentieth century, each monthly issue contained a story under the broad rubric of "my most unforgettable character". Sometimes these brief articles chronicled personal memories of the great and the good; sometimes only the good.

One of the greatest joys of an increasingly long life, well over half of it spent as a world federalist, is the number of extraordinary people I have been privileged to meet and know. Sometimes these individuals were of great renown, including the likes of Mme. Justice Louise Arbour and the late, great Sir Peter Ustinov. Far more often these, to me, unforgettable characters were hardly household names. They were, rather, those indispensable and often humble visionaries whose useful and engaged lives were dedicated to achieving what the great federalist philosopher H.G.Wells named in 1928, the Open Conspiracy: the open conspiracy to achieve a just and well governed world.

One of the most memorable was Toshio Kozai of Osaka, one of the great unsung saints of our movement. He was 96 when he died this summer. I was away from my usual haunts and did not receive the news until it was too

late to attend his funeral. I would certainly have made every effort to be there and to bid him farewell had I known. Kozai-san, humble, funny and wise, was the very model of a world federalist: proud of his Japanese culture and heritage; equally proud to be a citizen of the world, proud of his more than 7 billion brothers and sisters around the globe.

I wish that I could have known him in all the myriad facets of his life, but distance and, in some measure, the generations rendered that more than a little challenging. But I did know him as a federalist. We met at our annual gatherings around the world from 1987 in Philadelphia until shortly before his death. Often, not always, he was in the company of one or other of the illustrious Miyake clan.

Each meeting was, on the one hand, a joyous reunion with a long missed elder brother; and yet it always seemed as though we had been together just the day before. Toshio had a gift for friendship, and a talent for living fully in the present.

After serving in the Japanese Imperial Navy during the second world war as a communications officer, Toshio returned to his life as a citizen of a Japan deeply committed to the rebuilding of a war devastated, nuclear targeted country. He was convinced that what had transpired in Japan and globally should never be repeated.

He engaged in the peaceful, postwar renewal of the Shinto natural spiritual tradition, and sought a practical expression for his beliefs in the world federalist tradition.

He was a translator for his fellow citizens abroad, a host for federalist visitors to Japan,

and an unofficial ambassador for a vision of Japan as an economic player and a peace builder among the family of nations.

He travelled widely, made friends universally, and was much beloved. Our youngest son, Nicholas, was elected to the Executive Committee of the World Federalist Movement as Policy Review Chair last July in den Haag. His involvement was in no small measure a result of Toshio's friendship and implicit tutelage since Nick's childhood.

There are so many stories to tell, so many moments to remember. Aside from his quiet, non-anxious presence at Congress and Council meetings over decades, and his gracious and patient practice of his talent for translation, he was, quite simply, good company.

I remember his good fellowship in back street noodle shops and saki bars in Kyoto. I shall never forget his warm welcome and generous hosting during a lecture tour to Ayabe City in the beautiful western mountains in Japan. I will be ever grateful for his patient translation

of my complex and metaphor laden English lectures to unilingual Japanese audiences, who, thanks to Toshio, seemed to leave the lecture hall with a greater understanding and enhanced commitment to a justly governed global community.

Compared to my Scottish-gened six feet two inches, Toshio was but a wee lad, standing quietly in the background with his ever-present cigarette and impish smile. But behind that impish smile and self-deprecating manner, was a will of iron, dedicated to a world much better than he found it. If we are closer than ever to our goals, even in a world in apparently greater disarray almost daily, it is because of the quiet militants in our movement of the calibre of Toshio Kozai.

Federalist par excellence, mentor, friend: Toshio was a giant, and on his shoulders, and the countless other shoulders of the open conspirators for a federal world, we shall continue to build. Requiescat in pacem. Thank you Kozai-san. I shall never forget you.

Awaiting an Unpredicted Historical Turning Point

Joseph Baratta

A World Parliament: Governance and Democracy in the 21st Century, by Jo Leinen and Andreas Bummel, is the book, looking forward to world federal government, that I have been waiting for. It builds on Andreas Bummel's work for years on behalf of a U.N. Parliamentary Assembly and on MEP Leinen's practical experience in the European Parliament. I was grateful to see my history, *The Politics of World Federation*, cited and also many others, such as David Wylie's global municipal assembly, the young Luis Cabrera's dissent at the anti-globalization rallies in Seattle in 1999, and Paul Ray and Sherry Anderson's *Cultural Creatives*. Fifty million people changing the world is about the right order of magnitude for what we need (50,000,000 was the target for United World Federalists in 1947, according to radio announcer Raymond Gram Swing). Thank you for what is called in the book the "long prehistory" of the Great Transformation to a democratic union of humanity.

The book is written from a central European point of view, which is refreshing since I tend to see only those from the Atlantic community. But what particularly encouraged me was to find German language scholarship so much in agreement with the Western history, sociology, economics, psychology, philosophy, law, and international relations that the two authors cite so abundantly. They also cite the best work of the United Nations, such as the proposal of a third generation world organization of Maurice Bertrand, and the many resourceful and ingenious proposals of various high-level expert panels. That saves us the need to comb through so many sanitized and ambiguous

U.N. documents. Leinen's references to the European Union's history are invaluable. They complement our recollections of *The Federalist* of Madison, Hamilton, and Jay.

Part II on what many call the global *problématique* – the global problems beyond the capacity of sovereign states to solve alone – seems to me to be virtually a handbook for action in the next decade – probably the next century. I was cheered to see Lord Boyd-Orr's World Food Board remembered, for it could solve the problem of distribution of food at stable prices. This part was hard reading since the global problems are so novel and intractable. Much has changed from atomic fear and early apprehension of global injustices by the world federalist movement of the 1940s. This is the part that surviving world federalists need to study. The historical conditions for world union have changed.

Part III (actually chapters 22–28), on the transition to the necessary common government of the world, seems vital and helpful. The writing maintains a calm, rational tone, especially when dealing with the opposition – realists, governance scholars, post-modernists, the cynics awaiting world war to motivate a new round of international organization. An Article 22 subsidiary organ of the U.N. General Assembly makes sense as a practical next step toward the ultimate goal. The book apparently was written mostly before Brexit and the post-2016 return to nationalism, if not fascism, but that's fine. The authors offer a long-term vision.

Nevertheless, I do feel that Part III is the weak part of the book. It is resolutely thought out,

but the politics of the transition is almost unimaginable. A UNPA could be established by a simple majority vote of the GA, without the Big Five, but why would the U.S.A. or other principal powers tolerate an innovation that basically threatened to revolutionize the system? They might well withdraw from the U.N., as Japan, Germany and Italy did in the 1930s. A wiser course might be to start with the United States, since the American Union has a democratic heritage and already acts as the world's government, as Michael Mandelbaum argues. It is possible that the "change in values and consciousness" that is hoped for in the book as the core of the democratic transformation, might pave the way, but signs of new leadership are hard to find these days. The last U.S. Congressman who went out on a limb to support the U.N. that I know of, was Representative James Leach (R, IA), who produced a work on U.N. reform in 1993, *Defining Purpose*. Another figure in the executive branch with something like such a consciousness is Strobe Talbot, as in his book of 2008, *The Global Nation*. The politicians some of us admire here are Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren, and Denis Kucinich (D, OH), but none of them is on record for changes in the institutional structure of the United Nations. I myself think that many millions are "ready" for the changes we see as necessary, but the evidence the authors cite for the change in values and consciousness seems to me still slight. The real test of public opinion is not a poll, but an election campaign on a world government plank. The only figure to run such a campaign was Henry Osborne in Birmingham in 1945 and 1950. Henry Wallace had a world government plank in his Progressive Party challenge to President Truman in the 1948 election. Since then in politics, not a peep. The *Occupy* movement failed for lack of a legislative goal. Enlightened people here cannot even pass a rational gun control bill. Similarly, a broad public in the world cannot

abolish nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, I am impressed with the patient, resolute arguments in favor of a revolution from below, rather like the public lobby of United World Federalists, and the revolution from above, as in the first U.S. Progressive movement (1890-1916, 1933), in which even Big Business saw the necessity of Federal regulations to stabilize the economy. But for the future, a great crisis will be needed. It could be the abandonment of the E.U. or the U.N. You may imagine it in the form of another international banking crisis, or the melting of the Greenland ice cap, or the democratization of China!

What is lacking in the great transformation is a coherent, exhaustive historical account of trends toward a global parliament or even federal government of the world. Trouble is, the historians do not generally see this coming. I have found only seven historians who deal with the efforts so far: by Paul Boyer, Wesley T. Wooley, Joseph P. Baratta, Lawrence S. Wittner, Mark Mazower, Richard Mayne and John Pinder. The world historian, Arnold Toynbee, did come to conclusions that world government would be the creative response of Western civilization, among the seven surviving civilizations, to the challenge of war. H.G. Wells before him was also quite eloquent about the coming of federal world government. "Human history" – Wells famously said – "has become a race between education and catastrophe." But steadily, historians have become more pessimistic. Wells' last book, *Mankind at the End of Its Tether* (1946), saw only catastrophe. We will see what Jürgen Osterhammel and Akira Iriye produce. ("Big History" is basically evolution.)

Eric Hobsbawm, whose four volumes of world history I have finished reading this summer, never mentions world federation, and cites the "supranational" E.U. only once or twice. His last chapter in *The Age of Extremes* ends darkly with reflections on the decline of the state and even of democratic politics in the future. What

contemporary national leader would dare tell the business elite and the general public that taxes must go up, not down? Who would advocate a UNPA where decisions binding on Americans could be made by other people, even to arrest global warming? Are the people going to accept the hard truths that regulations of economies or taxes will be necessary to fund common solutions to global problems? Will they lead in demanding them, say, in a UNPA or a global parliament? Yet Hobsbawm concludes: "The common people have entered history.... We are at a historic crisis. The future cannot prolong the past or present. It must change." It is realistic to await one of those sudden, unpredicted historical turning points as forces accumulated for many years burst forth in a flood of change, like the end of the Cold War, or decolonization after WWII (or the Great War in 1914).

I have a small project to advance history after my retirement from teaching next year. I would like to trace how American policy makers after WWII decided to create the international institutions that produced what Hobsbawm calls the Golden Age of prosperity and order. When I am down with disappointment for the revolution to establish politically the brotherhood of man, as young Harris Wofford once put it, or establishing the rule of world law, as Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn did, I think of Norman Cousins' words near the end of his life, as he visited China soon after Deng Xiao-ping opened the Central Kingdom to foreign tourists. Cousins photographed a very old woman and added this reflection: "A life, no matter how long, is too short if the mind is bereft of splendor, the passions underworked, the memories sparse, and the imagination unlit by radiant musings."

A World Parliament in Our Future?*

Ronald Glossop

We who live in the 21st century are living during one of the most exciting times in all of human history. Might we even witness the creation of a World Parliament as part of the United Nations? But how could that happen given the improbability of the UN Charter being amended to permit that?

Nevertheless sometimes totally unexpected good things happen. How many observers anticipated the end of the Cold War and the tearing down of the Berlin Wall? How many observers anticipated the quick ratification by 60 countries of the 1998 Rome Statute that resulted in the creation of the International Criminal Court only 4 years later in 2002? How many people know that a proposal to create a World Parliament as an advisory body to the UN General Assembly has even been endorsed by the European Parliament, the Pan-African Parliament, and the Latin-American Parliament? How many people know that that kind of change would not require an amendment to the UN Charter as long as the World Parliament is created by the UN General Assembly as a subsidiary organ to itself under Article 22 of the UN Charter? How many people know that a somewhat similar procedure was used to create the European Parliament in 1967, to authorize the direct election of its members in 1979, and then to make it the legislature of the European Union in 2007? All of this amazing history is described on pages 369-370 of the recently published book *A World Parliament: Governance and Democracy in the 21st Century* by Jo Leinen and Andreas Bummel.

In his impressive book *The Meaning of the Twentieth Century* published in 1964 the brilliant economist Kenneth Boulding made

the point that the significance of the 20th century is that it marks the time when the industrial revolution, what he calls the second great transition in the life-style of humans, spread beyond a few “developed countries” to most of the nations of the world. He notes that this second great transition has occurred much more rapidly than the first great transition, the agricultural revolution. That first great change in how humans live started about 12,000 years ago and hasn’t yet reached a few remote places in the world still considered to be “uncivilized.”

The industrial revolution greatly changed not only the way that goods are produced but also the kinds of goods that get produced. New means of transportation (bicycles, trains, cars, airplanes, and jet engines) changed the distances people could and would travel. New means of communication (telegrams, telephones, radios, films, television, the internet, and cell phones) changed the ways people can communicate with each other. As is often noted, “Modern technological developments in transportation and communication are making the world smaller every day.”

In the 21st century another great transition is occurring, from inter-nationalism to globalism. What exactly is the difference between *inter-nationalism* and *globalism*, this new transition taking place in the 21st century? The difference between these two outlooks is one of viewing the world as made up of a collection of nation-states versus viewing the world as a single planet where national boundaries are relatively insignificant. The appropriate image for inter-nationalism is a map of the world or a traditional globe where different countries appear in different colors, each one bordered

by a solid black line. On the other hand, the appropriate image for globalism is the photo of Earth from space where there are no national boundaries and the unity & solitariness of the planet in space are evident.

The word "inter-nationalism" comes from Latin and means "between" or "among" nations. In this framework people do not relate directly to each other as individuals but usually interact with each other as citizens of different nations and in formal settings by means of national representatives. Crossing a national boundary usually means getting inspected, being subject to different laws, using a different language, and using different money. Although it is not possible to point to some single moment when the transition from inter-nationalism to globalism begins, it seems that a significant event relevant to this transition was the photographing of the Earth from space done in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Everyone could see that national boundaries are purely human constructions and definitely not part of the natural world.

Our 21st century is viewed as the "age of globalization." That term "globalization" is often taken to refer to the domination of the global economy by transnational corporations. That situation is certainly a major factor in the way that our global society is changing. These corporations more than any other institutions are operating in a world where national borders are less and less relevant.

But we are also witnessing globalization, in another sense, the progressive diminution of the importance of national borders in all facets of human life: disease (avian flu, HIV/AIDS, pandemics across national borders), the internet, music, science, education, athletics, tourism, crime (drug trafficking, smuggling people & weapons across national boundaries, pirating patents & copyrighted material), and so on. Consider how a growing proportion of people are even marrying across national

borders. Is there anyone who doesn't know at least one such couple?

Another indication of globalism is the growing concern for preservation of the environment of the whole Earth. When we think of problems such as global warming, depletion of the ozone layer, the growing disparity in the average standard of living in different countries, and unrestrained consumption of non-renewable resources, it is obvious that national governments focused on limited geographical areas and acting separately in terms of national interest are not likely to deal successfully with these problems which are global in scope.

In inter-nationalism the primary loyalty of individuals is still to their national governments. International policy-making organizations such as the League of Nations, the United Nations, UNESCO, the World Health Organization, the Universal Postal Union, & the International Atomic Energy Agency may be created to deal with international problems, but these organizations aim to assist cooperation among the national governments, not particular individuals. Creating a World Parliament as an advisory body to the UN General Assembly would give individuals an opportunity to influence national governments on international issues. In order to go further toward globalism another important change could be made. The primary loyalty of individuals could shift to a real global government, a democratic world federation which would be over the national governments, similar to how the U.S. national government is over our state governments. The global community could follow a path similar to what the USA did when it went from the Articles of Confederation and Continental Congress to the U.S. Constitution and a national federation with a national parliament. Planet Earth would be going from the confederal United Nations to a democratic world federation.

Is it possible that such a change in our global political institutions could occur? Nations continue to compete with each other economically and for status in all areas (science, entertainment, sports, art, literature). The two world wars were motivated by struggles for status between Britain & Germany, between Japan & China, and between Russia & Germany while the Cold War was a struggle for top status between the Soviet Union & the USA. Similar struggles for status are now occurring between the USA & China and between India & China. *Nationalism* is not a spent force.

Nevertheless globalism is alive and having some influence on how people think. A substantial proportion of people worldwide now say that

they view themselves as global citizens and are as concerned about what is good for the world community as they are about what is good for their nation-state. During the “Global Week of Action for a World Parliament,” October 19-28, 2018 citizens and civil society groups around the world will organize activities and events to call for the establishment of a world parliament. If you would like to know more about the movement to support the creation of a World Parliament to make the UN more democratic and the argumentation about it, I suggest you look at the 407-page book *A World Parliament: Governance and Democracy in the 21st Century* by Jo Leinen and Andreas Bummel or search “World Parliament” online. Yes, this struggle for a World Parliament is a central issue for our 21st century. I hope it succeeds.

* Speech held on September 2, 2018 at the 1st Unitarian Church of St. Louis, Missouri, USA.

A People’s Assembly Will Emerge from the World Masses An Appeal by the World Citizens

On September 1948, Robert Sarrazac, a former soldier engaged in the French Resistance and founder of the “Human Front of World Citizens”, constitutes a Solidarity Council to support the cause of Garry Davis, a voluntarily countryless activist who took refuge at the Trocadero in Paris, then a territory temporarily under the jurisdiction of the United Nations.

On November 19, 1948, the two men solemnly interrupted the UN General Assembly held at the Palais de Chaillot to read the statement attributed to Albert Camus: “We, the people, want the peace that only a world government can give. [...] If you miss this task, step aside, a People’s Assembly will emerge from the world masses”. This act, according to Sarrazac, “poses to the General Assembly of the United Nations and in front of public opinion the problem of the election of a People’s World Assembly, directly elected, not only to express the will for peace of the world masses, but to give substance and power to world sovereignty, of which they are in fact the sole owners”. In 2018, the need for a “People’s Assembly” is more evident than ever. The world’s economic, social and environmental challenges require world democratic institutions with the highest legitimacy. We appeal to each of you to make a commitment today to prepare the events of November 17-18-19, 2018. Registration and information on the sites

- <http://cdm70.com>
- <http://pangee200.com>
- <http://citoyensdumonde.fr>

European Lawmakers Call for a UN Parliamentary Assembly and a 2020 UN Reform Summit

Andreas Bummel

In a resolution adopted on 5 July 2018, the European Parliament called on the EU's governments to advocate "the establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly" (UNPA) and to support a "UN 2020 summit" that will consider "comprehensive reform measures for a renewal and strengthening of the United Nations."

According to the European Parliament, a UNPA should be established "within the UN system in order to increase the democratic character, the democratic accountability and the transparency of global governance and to allow for better citizen participation in the activities of the UN and, in particular, to contribute to the successful implementation of the UN Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals."

The directly elected parliament of the EU's citizens called on the EU's 28 member states represented in the Council of the EU to advocate the creation of a UNPA at the upcoming 73rd session of the United Nations General Assembly which will start in September.

European parliamentarian Jo Leinen (S&D) who had initiated the call for a UNPA said that "the UN urgently requires more openness and stronger democratic foundations." He added that "the European Parliament therefore calls for the establishment of a Parliamentary Assembly within the United Nations system" and that "the European Union and its member states should now play an active role in the implementation of this innovation."

The European Parliament's rapporteur on this year's recommendations on the EU's UN policy, Eugen Freund (S&D), said that since he first encountered UN reform forty years ago "unfortunately, not much has changed." He added that "the General assembly has more members now, but it is still a body of unelected diplomats. Therefore, the idea of eventually complementing them with elected parliamentarians is a very appealing one. They would certainly be closer to the populace and thus would have to regularly answer to their constituency. Whether that would also streamline the decision-making processes remains to be seen.

Other supporters of the call for a UNPA in the parliament's committee on foreign affairs included Elmar Brok (EPP), Soraya Post (S&D), Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D), Helmut Scholz (GUE/NGL), and Andrey Kovatchev (EPP).

The European Parliament's resolution was welcomed by Ivone Soares, a parliamentarian from Mozambique and a member of the African Union's Pan-African Parliament. "With resolutions passed by the European Parliament, the Pan-African Parliament and the Latin-American Parliament, the time has come for progressive governments in these three major world regions to consider the creation of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly," Soares said.

Daniel Jositsch, a member of the Swiss Council of States commented that "the escalating

crisis in international cooperation shows that new ways must be found to combat global problems. It is therefore very positive that the European Parliament is calling on the European states to speak out in favour of the creation of a UN Parliament. It is important that they will not simply pay lip service to this goal, but that concrete implementation measures are being taken."

"From the many initiatives in favor of a more peaceful, fair and democratic world the creation of a UN Parliamentary Assembly is the decisive one. The recent support given by the European Parliament to this proposal shows that the members of the most important supranational parliamentary body are ready to work for its creation", commented Fernando Iglesias, a member of the Chamber of Deputies of Argentina.

Jo Leinen, Ivone Soares, Daniel Jositsch and Fernando Iglesias are co-chairs of the parliamentary advisory group of the international Campaign for a UNPA which has been endorsed by over 1,500 elected

representatives worldwide. The campaign's secretary-general, Andreas Bummel, said that the European Parliament's call for a UNPA was "a bold and important step at a time when multilateralism is under attack." "Governments interested in defending and strengthening the UN and democracy worldwide should urgently work for the democratisation of global institutions and a UN Parliamentary Assembly is a key to achieve this", he added. Recently, the Irish foreign minister Simon Coveney stated that Ireland was "open minded" relative to proposals for a UNPA.

The European Parliament's resolution on the EU's UN policy also recommended, among other things, the establishment of "an open and inclusive intergovernmental preparatory process under the auspices of the UN General Assembly for a UN 2020 summit, on the occasion of the UN's 75th anniversary" that would consider "comprehensive reform measures for a renewal and strengthening of the United Nations."

70th Anniversary of the European Movement

On 24 and 25 May, 2018, the European Movement International celebrated its 70th anniversary in The Hague with the two-day event 'Sharing Europe'. Citizens, policymakers, trade unions, civil society and business came together to discuss the main issues facing Europe today, including: sustainability, migration, security, labour rights, new economic models and democracy, in over two days of panel debates and agora sessions. The second day of celebrations took place in the Ridderzaal in the Dutch Parliament, where the 1948 Congress of The Hague was held, which laid the groundwork for the establishment of the European Movement and the foundations of the European Union itself. During her keynote speech, European Movement International President Eva Maydell, MEP, stated: "Now more than ever we need to stand up for what we hold dear, we need to speak up for what we consider to be true, we need to come forward and be the change we want to see in the world around us. If this gathering is to do anything, it must be to remind us that Europe is not just institutions or nations, politicians or politics. It is each and every one of us, citizens of Europe." Minister of the Interior and Deputy Prime Minister of The Netherlands, Ms. Kaja Ollongren also told the audience: "The ambition demonstrated by that Congress of The Hague in 1948 is still highly relevant. We too must now dare to look ahead. To the Europe of our children and our grandchildren. We need to decide what kind of Europe we want them to live in. And with that vision of Europe before us, we should take concrete steps to make it a reality." The two days also served as a discussion arena for the Declaration of The Hague, written and released by the European Movement and partners.

Based on the discussions and debates among citizens and stakeholders, in the Declaration we are calling for:

- a European democracy that encourages the full participation of all citizens and boosts transparency of decision-making, supported by increased investment in education
- safeguarding our open societies, defending the rule of law and strengthening the judiciary and free press
- a deeper economic and monetary union, based on an inclusive and fair economy, more ambitious when harnessing technology, focused on sustainable investments
- a social model that addresses widening inequalities, prioritizes investment in education, culture, R&D and skills for the jobs of the future
- the promotion of European heritage and identity, while building on our cultural diversity
- strong efforts in a transition towards sustainable renewable energy, decarbonisation and the circular economy, reversing biodiversity loss, combating air and water pollution, eliminating toxic chemicals and promoting sustainable agriculture
- a more holistic approach to migration, addressing its root causes, offering protection to those in need and pursuing the social, cultural and economic inclusion of refugees and migrants in Europe in order to seize the opportunity of the diversity brought by these new Europeans
- a joint response to current geopolitical challenges, in particular when addressing difficulties with Russia and the rise of extremism and terrorism
- a common European defence policy and closer security cooperation, supported by a close partnership with the EU's immediate neighbourhood.
- a steady involvement and implication of the candidate countries and the countries in the Eastern partnership with whom we will share a common future
- the full participation of women and young people to ensure that no one is discriminated against, both in the economy and in society as a whole. (*p. f.*)

MERCOSUR Ministers of Security, Justice and Interior Assess the Viability of COPLA

On 8 June 2018, within the 47th Meeting in Paraguay of Ministers of Justice and the 41st Meeting of Ministers of Interior and Security of MERCOSUR and Associated States, a declaration was signed in which the Ministers committed to assess the viability of a Latin American and Caribbean Criminal Court Against Transnational Organized Crime (COPLA). This initiative could be an alternative in the fight against organized crime which affects these countries.

The declaration was signed by Germán Garavano, Minister of Justice and Human Rights of Argentina, and his Peruvian peer Salvador Heresi Chicoma; Ever and Ariel Martínez, Minister of Justice and Interior of Paraguay; Torquato Lorena Jardim, Minister of Justice of Brazil; María Julia Muñoz, Minister of Education and Culture of Uruguay; Nelson Cox, Vice Minister of Justice and Fundamental Rights of Bolivia; Juan Pino, diplomatic representative of the Republic of Chile and Javier Alberto Flórez, Ambassador of the Republic of Colombia.

In the document, the need was expressed to approach the main issue of MERCOSUR from a coordinated inter-sectoral perspective, that enhances its logistic, human and cooperation resources. A “MERCOSUR free of drug trafficking” and a “MERCOSUR free of organized crime” are the two main claims that are part of the Organization’s agenda and that appear in the joint declaration.

It is in this framework that Germán Garavano said that it is important to carry out an inter-agency and multidisciplinary approach to fight transnational crime, while Ever Martínez pointed out the need to implement mechanisms to allow confiscated assets to be returned to society.

In this way, the signing of this joint declaration in the Republic of Paraguay constitutes a progress and an important endorsement to the COPLA campaign, which today counts more than 3000 signatories and 40 institutions from all over the world. *(c.l.b.)*

EUROLAT Endorses COPLA Initiative

On July 16/17, 2018, the Co-Presidents of the Euro-Latin American Parliamentary Assembly (EuroLat), the President of the Latin American Parliament Elias Castillo and the Member of the European Parliament Ramón Jáuregui Atondo, in accordance with Article 17 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly have stated:

“The EuroLat Parliamentary Assembly calls on the international community and in particular the EU-CELAC States and the United Nations to address new solutions to the problem of drug trafficking and organized crime. Among these new solutions, the EuroLat Assembly supports the creation of a Latin American Criminal Court for the prosecution of crimes related to drug trafficking and organized crime, among others.”

After the two chambers of the Argentine Congress and the Parliament of the Mercosur, this is the fourth parliamentary chamber that endorses the COPLA initiative. *(f.i.)*

Fake News, Citizens' Simplism and the Dangers to Democracy

Grazia Borgna

Tom Nichols

*The Death of Expertise: The Campaign
Against Established Knowledge and Why it
Matters*

Oxford University Press, 2017

When we see a big family on a festive day at the restaurant and we do not hear any conversation going, but we see everybody, from grandparents to the smallest child, compulsively hacking on smart phones, we feel that a reflection is needed.

Just as when in front of the Mona Lisa we see that the majority of visitors, instead of pausing to admire her beauty, of wondering who this woman was, in what time she lived, who was the artist who portrayed her, limit themselves to a hurried selfie and away they go.

We wonder, without wanting to dramatize, how citizens, especially young people, can possibly acquire an objective, critical, but above all well-reasoned understanding of the world in which they should take part. How can they, if their vision comes mostly from the internet and social networks, contribute to the formation of a new society and get the maximum benefit from the advancing revolution? How, instead of suffering its negative effects and remaining on its margins, can they become its main actors?

These and other questions are the ones Tom Nichols, an American intellectual, posed himself observing and analyzing the evolution of the current American society in a very detailed and documented way.

In his recent book entitled *"The Death of Expertise: The Campaign Against Established Knowledge and Why it Matters"*, looking at the deep crisis that is engulfing American society, he tries to identify the behaviors that can aggravate it, endangering the survival of the democratic system. But he also tries to give an answer: what is necessary to do concretely to counter this dangerous involution.

He observes that, in American society, there is a new trend, in his opinion very dangerous, which, if not stopped or at least countered with force, can seriously endanger democracy. In the last fifty years, social changes have broken the old barriers of race, class and sex. But instead of producing an increase in the level of education and competence, in the United States a cultural involution has occurred whose most evident effect is a highly critical attitude, a detachment from experts, intellectuals, scientists, seen as enemies. A rejection of hierarchies and skills, an attitude present especially among the new generations.

This opposition of the "laymen" to the "experts" does not recognize the role and opinions of the latter, to which they oppose theses and solutions based on feelings and fears, rather than on real data. The importance of formal education and experience is challenged: *"disinformation drives knowledge away"*.

Nichols states that the relationship between experts and citizens has always been based on trust. If this collapses, democracy goes into crisis. Everyone can intervene. Everyone has the right to be treated on an equal footing. Aspirations are placed in the context of a more general "rejection of inequalities". A problem that, to find a solution or at least a mitigation, must be tackled on a political level and set itself the goal to pursue, at a global level, a different

distribution of wealth between States and, at a national level, a more equitable distribution of income.

Nichols provides many examples to support his statements.

He points out that, at the political level, the criticism of the experts was at the center of the electoral campaign which, with very devious arguments, led Trump to the presidency of the United States. A similar phenomenon occurred in the propaganda for Brexit.

At European level, Pier Cauch and André Zilberberg in a recent book on *"Negationism. Why more scientific rigor is needed in economics"* (Bocconi University, Milan, 2018) reinforce Nichols's arguments with their own analyses. They note that too often we are witnessing the construction of truths not based on the results of the scientific community. They quote the false truths expressed in the electoral campaigns by Marine Le Pen, Trump, Salvini and Di Maio. They observe that, despite all of them were based on the systematic denigration of experts and on falsehood, they have become part of the political debate and are very difficult to unmask. The denigration of experts has also been at the center of other campaigns that Nichols cites. For example, those on the refusal of vaccinations, or against the consumption of eggs, or for the consumption of raw milk, and also the "conspiracy" campaigns.

These promote with arrogance questionable opinions and grotesque scenarios, as the idea that there is an elite plotting against the citizens. All those campaigns deny the data provided by scientists of the most prestigious organizations in the world, and express instead opinions that exploit fears, the return to traditions and "popular wisdom", or make use of unfounded beliefs and in some cases on opinions of experts thinking differently from the main Organizations (the most famous statements are the denial of AIDS, that climatic crises do not depend on pollution, that the earth is flat, the sun goes around the earth,

the Americans have not gone to the Moon, the attack on the Twin Towers is the result of a Bush government's conspiracy, that vaccines are not necessary and can be very dangerous, that immigrants steal jobs from the natives and bring diseases, that foreign aid is a waste of money, etc.).

The fact is that the less people are competent, the less likely is for them to realize that they are wrong. Having difficulty to realize the complexity of contemporary life, citizens have increasingly less realistic expectations of what their political and economic system is in a position to offer. They are thus easy prey to the crusades against any established power (to be replaced with what?) and are defenseless in the face of data manipulation.

If search engines' information can alter the perceptions of political reality on the part of citizens, this, says Nichols, is a major problem. For example, serious dangers of vote conditioning are coming to light.

Nichols notes that some pro-Brexit politicians, after the victory, have publicly admitted that they used false data and arguments during the election campaign. But these admissions did not generate indignant reactions from voters, who tend to side uncritically in support of their "camp". An attitude which contributes to increase political polarization and to make the confrontation harsher.

These facts, in the opinion of the author, testify to the progressive decline of the cultural level of US citizens, and are closely connected with the distorted use of the new information and communication technologies. Nichols denounces the sharp increase in fake news, especially on the net. He notes that the information that is spread on the Internet on the most varied issues and problems, with no check on their reliability, have created in the citizens the illusion that they can understand, in real time, all the issues and are entitled to pass judgment even on very technical issues difficult to decode.

The “experts of everything” tend to look on the internet and on social media for the news that confirm their beliefs, according to the irrational mechanism of the “confirmation bias”. Confirmation of any idea, even wrong and dangerous. Everything becomes a matter of opinion. But “if everyone is an expert, nobody is an expert”. One risks a unilateral, intransigent and dogmatic vision of reality, based on consolatory news that confirm one’s own desires. A subtle trap into which refined intellectuals also fall.

This does not mean, says Nichols, that we must give absolute credit to the specialists, who are sometimes in the pay of Lobbies. A reasoned skepticism is essential not only for science but also for a healthy democracy. Experts too have made mistakes (remember Thalidomide, Vietnam, Iraq, etc.). But mistakes are rarer because on the data produced by experts, intellectuals, scientists there is an institutional control that reduces the margins of error. It is not enough to be passionate or interested, the credentials must be provided by accredited institutions that guarantee rigor with respect to the scientific community and the general public. Experts work to understand phenomena and produce useful generalizations, which help to decode complex situations. The laymen often produce stereotypes that should not be confused, says Nichols, with the drive towards innovation and the overcoming of old mental patterns. They are just the opposite. The conclusions they draw are based on prior judgments, therefore they accept nothing that contrasts with their vision of the world.

In the network there are also authoritative and good-quality sites belonging to study centers, Universities, Think Tanks, but there are also millions of superficial sites and fake news. There is no way to distinguish them from the others. Moreover, they are not always easy to understand, because they use a technical, difficult language.

Citizens need to have access to tools that

allow them to navigate the immense universe of news that storm them 24 hours a day and that lead them to intervene in talk shows. The public debate also is strongly masterminded. Rarely based on a fair confrontation, it hosts shouting matches against those who do not share the same convictions. A dramatic show that does not aim, through an in-depth analysis and a civil confrontation, to arrive at rational conclusions.

It often happens that in such confrontations experts are confused with politicians, generating a misunderstanding about their respective roles. This confusion is misleading because while the experts, says Nichols, have the task of providing studies, statistics, research, politicians have to make decisions, that could take into account some opinions but will not necessarily share all of them.

The sense of inadequacy in the face of the complexity of contemporary life, leads citizens to the frantic search for certainties on the internet, where they can only find limited pieces of information that often generate mistrust and aversion to experts.

Nichols is convinced that this situation could represent a danger for democratic institutions, that could degenerate into a technocratic direction or into forms of power management based on the so-called digital democracy. A plebiscitary trend that would seriously endanger the liberal regimes based on Constitutions and Charters of Rights, on the division of powers and on parliamentary representation. He says that the gravity of the situation requires experts to react and make their voices heard more loudly, starting with strategic sectors such as universities and schools of journalism.

The progressive worsening of these two important sectors is one of the main causes of the incompetence of citizens, especially of young people. In contemporary journalism, the author notes, the increase in internet access and university education has come

about at the expense of experience in the field, and has strongly contributed to a lowering of the competence level. The search for ever new fundings and striking advertisements of university offers have been winding up on themselves, contributing to both lowering the level of culture and increasing the distance between citizens and experts.

Nichols says that complaining is no longer enough to reverse the current trend. In his opinion, we need a strong reaction from those who want to counter this trend, which must start from the causes of the progressive decline of the skills of citizens, and especially of young people. The cultural downfall of both universities, the sources of knowledge, and journalism, the source of information, must be remedied. The current vision that reduces the cultural and educational offer to merchandise and showbiz must be fought and overcome. They are "more customers than students".

Young (under the age of thirty) people's disengagement from public issues is a very serious fact for the future of democracy. Privileging competence in university and journalism studies can contribute to generate a trend reversal. It is necessary to offer more serious, in-depth and profession-oriented studies, and to educate students to critical thinking. But we need to act simultaneously on managers, professors and journalists with regular checks on the quality of services offered and better access to continuous training.

What is needed, concludes the author, is to create a new sense of responsibility in the citizens who, should they take back their destiny and their care for public affairs, will lay the foundations for a new democracy capable of dealing with the emergencies of the 21st century. It is necessary to overcome the gap between one's level of education and the rate at which changes in the world occur. It is a very complex operation.

This change will not happen, Nichols warns, unless a 360-degree turn, a greater assumption

of responsibility will take place in people, whether simple citizens or experts. Without a collaborative attitude, open to a serious in-depth analysis, a dialog between different points of view and based on mutual trust, it is not possible to fully exercise popular sovereignty, i.e. democracy.

With this book, Nichols touches very topical problems and provides data and news that help us understand them better and accept his invitation to not endure them passively, but face them. Even if the author examines above all the American situation, the thesis he supports can be applied to other realities, above all to the European Union and the whole world.

However, among his shareable arguments, which highlight important aspects of our world, some statements appear, in my view, unconvincing.

The first concerns the statement that: "*the Smoot-Hawley law (which aimed at reducing the American armed forces) ... contributed to the great depression, to the collapse of the League of Nations and allowed the rise of fascism and the outbreak of the world war*". It could be argued instead that it was the rise of fascism that led to the world war and the collapse of the League of Nations.

The second statement concerns the definition of the United States regime: "*It is a republic, not a democracy*". The author does not take into consideration the fact that the cultural decline, but above all the decline of the democratic participation of American citizens, is also attributable to the fact that the USA, which was born as a federation, is undergoing a centralization process. This is certainly one of the causes that drive citizens away from power, because it makes it difficult for them to participate in public affairs. In a federal state, instead, the distribution of competences and powers between different levels of government is a factor that promotes participation in political life.

Finally, Nichols does not sufficiently emphasize the worsening of the political struggle, which at a world level some governments are pursuing, consisting in heavily interfering in the internal issues of other democratic states. Recent investigations are bringing to light the very serious interference put in place by, for example, the Russian Internet Research Agency based in St. Petersburg, created to unsettle Western public opinion by issuing news with a strong political impact. It intervened on social media with thousands of false news in the American, Italian and French elections, and not only to support candidates welcomed by the Russian government, but with the aim of destabilizing and inflaming the political climate to discredit pro-European and democratic political figures.

Translated by Lionello Casalegno

Einstein and the Construction of World Peace

Lucio Levi

C. G. Anta

Albert Einstein. The Road to Pacifism
Oxford, Peter Lang, 2017.

Einstein's dominant passion was the exploration of the mysteries of the universe and the attempt to discover the laws of nature. But another cause occupied his mind over the whole course of his lifetime: the abolition of war and the construction of world peace. The fascination of his figure goes beyond his

extraordinary contribution to the advancement of scientific research. His cosmopolitan ideas, his commitment to peace, his aversion to violence, his contempt for nationalism have provided the contemporary man with a reference point and a real teacher of life. His commitment to peace was not an occasional passion, but an enduring objective he sought to achieve throughout his life.

His reflection on war and peace is rich of teachings for the future of humankind. For this reason, Claudio Giulio Anta's book devoted entirely to Einstein's thinking and active commitment to peace is to be welcomed. Anta has given important contributions to the studies on federalist thought and European unification. His previous books were devoted to Jacques Delors, the Founding Fathers of Europe, Winston Churchill, the review *Coenobium* and Lord Lothian.

Einstein's active commitment to peace began after the outbreak of WWI, when a *Manifesto to the Civilized World*, signed by 93 German intellectuals, was published supporting Germany's entry into the war and endorsing the alliance between German culture and German militarism. Einstein tried to organize a reaction to that initiative. He drafted with Friedrich Georg Nicolai, professor of physiology at the University of Berlin, a *Manifesto to Europeans*, an appeal against nationalism and irrationalism. But the climate of public opinion was not in favour of pacifism. Only two other intellectuals signed it.

At the end of 1914, Einstein was among the founders of the New Fatherland League whose mission was the establishment of a supranational organization in Europe to prevent future armed conflicts. The first pamphlet published by the League was entitled *The Creation of the United States of Europe* that showed the clear federalist inspiration of the organization. In 1915 Einstein contributed to a collection of writings of scientists on the war, promoted by the Berlin Goethe League, with a short article, titled *My Opinion of the War*. His

vision of peace and war combined a traditional form of pacifism with a clear idea of the role of political institutions in the construction of peace. What is extremely significant is the fact that, while he adhered to the principles of pacifism – he declared that he was seeking “the citizenship of a country that will in all likelihood not force me to take part in a war” –, at the same time he asserted, in keeping with federalist theory, his conviction that “a supranational organization in Europe that prevents European wars, just as now war between Bavaria and Württemberg is impossible in the German Reich”, was not only necessary, but also possible. At the time, the institutional framework of his design was still rather vague, since the only supranational institution he advocated was a court of arbitration, an institution that will be embodied within the League of Nations. This idea remained a predominant theme of his political commitment for the rest of his life.

After an initial endorsement of the League of Nations, Einstein became convinced that it had “neither the energy nor the good intention to fulfil its great cause.” Shortly after having accepted the invitation of the League of Nations to become member of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Einstein decided to resign. He realized that the League’s Court, without a police force capable to enforce its rulings, was ineffective. The League of Nations was not a supranational organization, as it was subordinate to the member states. His opinion on the League of Nations was influenced by the changing succession of the cycles of international politics. The last time his hopes for a lasting peace were kindled was on the occasion of the agreement between Stresemann and Briand based on the Franco-German reconciliation, the prospect of the admission of Germany into the League of Nations and the plan for a European union. But after the Stresemann’s assassination in 1929 these hopes quickly faded away.

It is important to recall the exchange of letters

occurred in 1932 between Einstein and Freud on the theme “*Why War?*”. They agreed on one point: that it is impossible to extirpate the aggressive and destructive compulsions inborn in human nature. But while Einstein confirmed his idea that war is rooted in the division of the world into sovereign states and that the peace can only be ensured by a legislative and judicial supranational power, Freud expressed his skepticism on this idea and placed his trust in the improvement of human nature and its capacity to keep in check the aggressive compulsions.

It is worth mentioning that, when Einstein was asked to define his political position on war and peace, he described himself as an internationalist, not a federalist. He clarified his viewpoint in an interview to the *New York Evening Post*: “Internationalism, as I conceive the term, implies a rational relationship between countries, a sane union and understanding between nations, mutual co-operation for mutual advancement without interference with the particular customs of any nation”.

The word internationalism is derived from Latin and refers to the interaction “between nations”. According to this approach, the primary sense of belonging and dominant collective identity are connected to national governments. The internationalist viewpoint does not perceive the organization of the world into nation-states as an obstacle to the achievement of world peace. On the contrary, it is the utopia of peaceful relations between sovereign states. It is a variation of the theory of spontaneous harmony of interests applied to international relations and conceives international cooperation as the vehicle of peace. Therefore, unlike federalism, it does not question the state-centric vision of politics, international anarchy and the legitimacy of the organization of the world into nation-states.

The coming to power of Hitler represents a real watershed in his conception of peace.

Anta writes that “With the establishment of the Third Reich, Einstein was forced to gradually

realize that absolute pacifism would not work". Therefore, he became aware that "dictators could only be stopped by force of arms". The first decision he made was to migrate to the United States, where he was invited to teach theoretical physics at the Princeton Institute of Advanced Studies.

Einstein's commitment against military service and his radical rejection of violence, witnessed by his signature in 1926 of the *Manifesto against Conscription and the Military System*, should be classified within the category of pacifism. But this position assumes a different meaning if framed within the context of a larger idea: the federalist design. In fact, when he addressed the problem in 1934 after the victory of nazism, he clearly stated: "I stand firmly by the principle that the real solution of the problem of pacifism can be achieved only by the organization of a supranational court of arbitration, which, differing from the present League of Nations, would have at its disposal the means of enforcing its decisions". At the same time, he added: "Starting from this basic conviction, I favor any measure I consider likely to bring mankind closer to the goal of a supranational organization". However, in the countries governed by fascist regimes, "refusal of military service means martyrdom and death". And concluded: "In the present circumstances, I do not believe that passive resistance ... is a constructive policy". In a letter to a Belgian conscientious objector he wrote: "Were I a Belgian, I should not, in the present circumstances, refuse military service". Definitely, Einstein was convinced that fascist governments could only be defeated by force. In the course of time his institutional design has become more precise and more closely in keeping with federalist theory. A decisive influence was exercised by the political and cultural environment of the United States, especially his friendship with Emery Reves, the author of *The Anatomy of Peace*, the federalist book that had the largest circulation in the 20th

century, and his familiarity with the federalist institutional model encapsulated in the US Constitution and illustrated by the *Federalist Papers*.

In 1939 Einstein expressed to President Roosevelt his fear that Germany might be working to build nuclear weapons. This warning boosted the US nuclear programme. For this reason, Einstein was accused to be the father of the atomic bomb. But the fact is that he remained out of the Manhattan Project. He argued: "Had I known that the Germans would not succeed in producing an atomic bomb, I never would have lifted a finger".

The epoch of world wars ended with the nuclear explosions on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. That event marked the beginning of a new era in which humankind has acquired the power to extinguish its own species and interrupt the continuation of life on earth. Einstein, early in the Nuclear Age, grasped the novelty of the change occurred. He famously said, "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking and we thus drift toward unparalleled catastrophe." Nuclear weapons are a different type of armament. They are not weapons in the traditional sense of the word. In an article published in 1945 he argued: "The release of atomic energy has not created a new problem ... As long as there are sovereign nations possessing great power, war is inevitable ... What has changed is the destructiveness of war".

One World or None is the title of a book published in the United States in 1946 collecting contributions by several intellectuals and scientists, including Einstein, whose purpose was to illustrate the dramatic alternative looming on mankind's future. In spite of the efforts by many distinguished scientists – first of all Einstein – to raise awareness of nuclear danger, no progress has been made regarding the plan to abolish nuclear arsenals, except the plan concocted by Gorbachev. It was only partially achieved, but when the latter was

removed from power, his plan to eliminate all nuclear weapons by the year 2000 was stopped. However, in spite of the circularity of the nuclear deterrence doctrine, – threatening the extinction of humankind in order to avoid the extinction – so far, no nuclear power has dared launch the first strike.

Einstein was aware of the limits of the UN, which he compared to the Confederation of the United States, the first form of union between the 13 original republics established after the War of Independence. In an *Open Letter to the General Assembly* he defined the UN as an extremely important institution, provided that it is understood as “a transitional system toward the final goal, which is the establishment of a supra-national authority vested with sufficient legislative and executive powers to keep peace”. He actively advocated a world federal government as an organization capable of preventing an atomic war and ensuring peace. More specifically, he advocated the democratization of the UN: “The moral authority of the UN would be considerably enhanced if the delegates were elected directly by the people”. Moreover, he claimed the subordination of the Security Council, – “especially while that body is paralyzed by the shortcomings of the veto provisions” – to the General Assembly. Taking into account that the Soviet Union was opposed to the idea of world government, Einstein proposed that the other countries should create “a partial world government comprising at least two-thirds of the main industrial and economic areas of the world”. He recommended to leave the organization “wide open to any nonmember – particularly Russia – and prevent it to act as an alliance against the rest of the world”. The core of this organization would have been an Atlantic Union, a project promoted before WWII by Clarence Streit in his book *Union Now*. This plan was sharply criticized by Philip Morrison and Robert R. Wilson, who remarked that instead of “one world” it promoted “half a

world”, i.e. the acceptance of a divided world. The hard reality produced by the bipolar world order and Cold War was the UN paralysis, brought about by the cross-vetoes of the superpowers. Only when the bipolar world order began to decline at the end of the last century, the entente Gorbachev-Reagan opened the prospect of stopping the armaments race and reducing the mass-destruction weapons. It is a prospect that Gorbachev dared link to the federalist design to be achieved both at the regional and global levels. But it vanished soon after the collapse of the communist bloc, when George Bush Jr. decided to pursue the megalomaniac dream of transforming the US into a world empire with the disastrous wars against Afghanistan and Iraq.

Einstein perceived as a personal drama the fact that his scientific discoveries were used not for the improvement of human condition but for strengthening the destructive potential of war. This is why he multiplied his efforts to disseminate the new thinking to face the risks of the atomic era and to promote initiatives for building a world without war. In 1946, he became chair of the Emergency Committee of the Atomic Scientists, but the start of the Cold War postponed the prospect of world government to a distant future. The scientist’s movement collapsed and the international control of the atomic energy still remains a task for the future. A similar crisis underwent the movement for world federal government, that was actively endorsed by Einstein. The last document he signed just one week before his death in 1955 is the so-called *Russell-Einstein Manifesto*, that described the terrific power of the H-bomb, tested by the US in 1952 and the USSR in 1953; it invited the superpowers to stop the armaments race and called for a world government.

In conclusion, it is worth quoting this sentence, which summarizes the meaning of his political commitment: “the greatest of all causes – good will among men and peace on earth”.

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