Emerging Conflicts of Principle

International Relations and the Clash between Cosmopolitanism and Republicanism

Thomas Kane

EMERGING CONFLICTS OF PRINCIPLE

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To Paula Berman and Michael Mayes.
Two people who deserve happiness and have the wisdom to find it.

Acknowledgements

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Chapter 1

The Return of Principle

The ideological rhetoric of the late twentieth-century was so vitriolic, so ubiquitous and so ominously linked to preparations for global war that it outshines all other international disputes over political principle. Moreover, since the Soviet Union dissolved itself in 1991, the prosperous and militarily equipped states throughout the world have enjoyed an unprecedented level of consensus.[1] Indeed, it has become possible, in popular discourse at least, to characterize the few who openly reject this consensus as mere 'rogues'. These developments make it easy to assume that ideological disagreement has lost its significance as a driving factor in high politics.

From the 1990s onward, well-received works in the field of security studies have assumed precisely that. This is not to say that such writings have overlooked the prospects for other types of strife. Certain thinkers have predicted that what we know as civilization will collapse into anarchy or, at least, some sort of neo-feudalism.[2] The twenty-first century's string of spectacular terrorist attacks and equally spectacular state military interventions has inspired considerable pessimism. Nevertheless, even the Cassandras have paid more attention to atavistic hostilities between cultures, ethnic groups, and other primordial factions than to disputes between those whose reasoning – however flawed or manipulated – has led them to align themselves with opposing ideas about the correct way for people to govern themselves.

These atavistic hostilities, however, have themselves raised ideological questions. Different participants have drawn on different bodies of moral and political thought to advocate different responses. These differences of opinion have concerned such weighty issues as whether or not it was wise and just for the member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to bomb Serbia in 1999, and then whether it was appropriate for the so-called coalition of the willing to overthrow the government of Iraq in 2003. Related disputes over principle affect numerous other ongoing international issues. These other issues have yet to provoke the same level of public passion excited by the 2003 Gulf War, but at least one of them – the international discourse over the correct response to climate change – concerns nothing less than the future of life on earth.

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1 Robert Jervis, 'Theories of War in an Era of Leading-Power Peace: Presidential Address, American Political Science Association, 2001', *American Political Science Review*, 96/1 (March 2002): 1–14.

2 Robert D. Kaplan, 'The Coming Anarchy', *Atlantic Monthly* (February 1994): 44–76.

Key Points and Structure

Reports proclaiming the death of ideology, in short, appear to have been exaggerated.[3] This book's first key point is that, as the first decade of the twenty-first century approaches its close, debates over principle continue to surround issues of pivotal international importance. Having observed the persistence of ideological debate, the author goes on to explore contemporary disputes in detail. Although the antagonists in twenty-first century ideological conflict do not normally base their arguments on explicit bodies of theory, this book identifies distinct ideological movements that consistently lead certain political actors to take certain positions. One is the historically familiar movement of republicanism, which advocates self-rule for particular political communities. Opposing it is a newer movement toward cosmopolitanism, which typically sees international institutions as more legitimate than any individual state.

America has acquired a reputation for advancing republican positions, at least on its own behalf. Russia and the People's Republic of China also take a republican outlook, although Russia in particular has advanced cosmopolitan ideas at the United Nations (UN). The European Union (EU) appears to represent a cosmopolitan vision of transnational relations, although many if its stated political aspirations are, in fact, characteristic of republican thought. Transnational political movements such as the anti-globalization movement and the environmental lobby are more clearly cosmopolitan. One notes that these movements have substantial followings even within apparently republican political communities such as the US.

The fact that specific political actors associate themselves with incompatible principles suggests that there will be recurring patterns of agreement and disagreement among them. This is the author's second main point, and, again, this study explores its implications in detail. The fact that some contemporary political actors are states while others are movements that exist across state boundaries suggests that their disagreements will blur conventional distinctions between domestic and international politics. Although world wars pitting republicans against cosmopolitans remain improbable, deadlock and jockeying for position becomes likely. Among states, this will fray traditional alliances and impede progress on international action of all sorts. Within states, the effects may range from legislative stalemate to violent protest and security service clampdowns.

If the twentieth century disputes between liberalism and various forms of totalitarianism were tidal forces in world politics, the early twenty-first century dispute between republicanism and cosmopolitanism more resembles an undercurrent. Nevertheless, just as a current can gradually shift a ship from its original course, disputes between republicans and cosmopolitans complicate contemporary political actors' ability to navigate the most critical issues of the new century. These issues include the future of European unification, the global response to climate change, the question of how dominant states are to respond when middle-ranking powers seek to develop nuclear weapons and the growing influence of Russia and the People's

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3   Apologies to Mark Twain.

Republic of China. The remainder of this book explores the origins and implications of the twenty-first century's republican-cosmopolitan dispute in detail.

What remains of this chapter orients this work in the academic literature of international relations and strategic studies. The next section documents the point that academics in this field have neglected the role of ideas such as republicanism and cosmopolitanism in contemporary world politics. A later section discusses the problems of analyzing loosely defined political sensibilities such as republicanism and cosmopolitanism, noting precedents for the author's approach.

Chapter 2 notes that state leaders, like their academic counterparts, professed the hope that the end of the Cold War had paved the way for a New World Order of international consensus. Even at the time when American president G.H.W. Bush popularized that phrase, state participants in the New World Order disagreed over the types of issues that later blossomed into the republican-cosmopolitan dispute. The challenges those states encountered during the 1990s forced them to confront those disagreements – and each other – in increasingly dramatic ways.

Chapter 3 turns from the recent history of republicanism and cosmopolitanism to the characteristics of the two sensibilities. This chapter examines early twenty-first century interpretations of republicanism and cosmopolitanism in detail. As this chapter notes, cosmopolitan ideas appear to be gaining influence both among scholars and through a range of influential political movements. A fourth chapter explores twenty-first century cosmopolitan movements further, noting that their proponents have demonstrated a tendency toward the anti-individual, anti-intellectual attitudes that social critic Christopher Lasch describes as populism.

Chapter 5 notes that, despite the potentially unattractive qualities of twenty-first century cosmopolitanism, American and European republicans have embarrassed themselves in ways that prevent them from mounting a persuasive response. Republicans in Russia and the People's Republic of China, by contrast, face fewer obstacles in implementing their preferred policies. Chapter 6 goes on to discuss how disputes between republicans and cosmopolitans continue to influence the outcome of critical issues in world politics. A seventh chapter presents the author's concluding thoughts.

Seeing No Principles, Hearing No Principles

Academics have a history of underrating the role of ideas in international affairs. Arnold Wolfers noted this in the 1950s. Thomas Pangle, writing in 1999, was able to quote Wolfers' points without needing to amend them:

> A cleavage exists between international relations [scholarship] and political theory, and it is a two-way affair. If specialists in international relations with rare exceptions have neglected political theory, the political theorists in turn, departing from older tradition, have paid little attention to what the thinkers of the past – Machiavelli not always excepted – have had to say on international relations.[4]

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4   Thomas L. Pangle and Peter J. Ahrensdorf, *Justice Among Nations: On the Moral Basis of Power and Peace* (Lawrence KS, 1999), p. 1.

The gap between international relations specialists and 'thinkers of the past' was equally apparent between international relations specialists and thinkers of the present. Fred Halliday notes that the very prominence of ideological rhetoric in the Cold War may have actually deterred academics from investigating this critical aspect of the East-West dispute. There were, he notes:

> [f]our broad schools of thought about what the Cold War constituted: a realist explanation – that it was no different from other forms of great power conflict; a critical, 'internalist', school according to which it was not a contest at all, but rather a mechanism by which the dominant groups in each bloc could better control their subject populations and clients; a 'misperception' school which saw the Cold War as a mistake, an exaggeration of ideological differences and international conflict as a result of historical and individual misperceptions; and an 'intersystemic' approach that saw the Cold War as one between two rival social systems, each of which sought, albeit with much exaggeration and, as a result of nuclear weapons, some prudence, to prevail over the other.

> This last point of view was under-represented in most academic literature, partly because it sounded like a Cold War stereotype in taking the claims of the protagonists seriously, and partly because it involved an assertion of the importance of internal political and social organisation for international relations.[5]

Hindsight suggests that late-twentieth century academics' squeamishness about what Halliday calls the intersystemic approach blinded them to the realities which were shaping their world:

> Intersystemic theory argued that the Cold War, while certainly invested with elements of great power conflict, was more than that and about more than that. It denied that the conflict was only the result of misperception. It recognised the importance of endogenous factors, but suggested that each side was fighting over something, albeit within limits, and that the Cold War could only end when one side had prevailed over the other (Halliday 1992b). This is exactly what happened. What broke the will of the Soviet leadership was not an absolute failure or a mass revolt from below, but a comparative historical judgment, that their societies were not like those of the West, and showed no sign of becoming either through a dramatic burst of growth and innovation in the East or through a collapse of the capitalist system in the West. Once this had become evident, Gorbachev and his associates tried at first to reform, while preserving the essentials of the communist political system and of the Soviet political realm. In the end, as events escaped their control, they presided over what was, in effect, an unconditional surrender – and it was this that brought the Cold War to the end.[6]

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5   Fred Halliday, 'The Cold War and its Conclusion: Consequences for International Relations Theory', in Richard Leaver and James L. Richardson (eds), *Charting the Post-Cold War Order* (Boulder, 1993): 20.

6   Ibid.

Historian John L. Gaddis elaborates on international relations theorists' blindness to the factors which drove the Cold War to its conclusion.[7] The theorists are entitled to respond that their critics are judging them by the wrong standards. International relations studies encompasses an exceptionally wide range of theoretical approaches, even by the standards of the social sciences, but many of the most influential schools of thought have set themselves the task of explaining their topic at the highest levels of abstraction. Kenneth Waltz, for instance, rejects studies which focus on particular actors, their distinctive methods of operation and their peculiar ideological claims on the grounds that specific observations, however, acute, tell us nothing certain about anything beyond the case in question. 'Observation and experience never lead directly to knowledge of causes'.[8]

Indeed, 'what we think of as reality is itself an elaborate conception constructed and reconstructed throughout the ages'.[9] Accordingly, Waltz and those who follow his approach are more interested in constructing general theories to explain general classes of phenomena than in the so-called realities of any particular period, including their own. Many of the international relations theorists who differ with Waltz's school of thought would agree that it is dangerous to accept the perceived reality of particular historical eras as objectively meaningful, and, thus, that the general intellectual merits of one's approach are more important than one's success at interpreting a single historical event. Alexander Wendt, who presents his *Social Theory of International Politics* as an explicit alternative to Waltz's *Theory of International Politics* sees this preference for abstraction as a common theme uniting the contending theories in international relations studies.[10]

As a self-described constructivist with an 'idealist ontology', Wendt might reasonably have taken the ontological and epistemological position that people's ideological claims are important – and thus that what Halliday called the intersystemic approach is among the most promising ways of understanding a conflict such as the Cold War. Wendt acknowledges that this might be a productive line of inquiry, but he personally follows a different one. Although he alludes to the possible validity of studying specific political actors and perhaps even their ideological programmes, he focuses his own work on 'the aggregate or population level, i.e. the states system'.[11]

The fact that Wendt puts the word 'system' in the singular is significant. Wendt is interested in the overall patterns of interstate interaction, not in the possibility that specific states or non-state actors might try to change those patterns. 'Like Waltz, I am interested in international politics, not foreign policy'.[12] Having made this point, Wendt elaborates in a loftier tone: 'The question of the appropriate object of

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7   John L. Gaddis, 'International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War', *International Security*, 17/3 (Winter 1992–1993): 5–58; John L. Gaddis and Ted Hopf, 'Getting the End of the Cold War Wrong', *International Security*, 18/2 (Fall 1993): 202–10.

8   Kenneth N. Waltz, 'Laws and Theories', in Robert O. Keohane (ed.), *Neorealism and its Critics* (New York, 1986), p. 30.

9   Ibid., p. 31.

10   Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 5.

11   Ibid., p. 11.

12   Ibid.

explanation, the explanadum, does not really come up'.[13] Another passage reiterates 'although I criticize Neorealism and Neoliberalism for not recognizing the ways in which the system shapes state identities and interests, which might be seen as in the domain of theories of foreign policy, in fact explaining state identities and interests is not my main goal either'.[14] Beliefs and their advocates, in short, remain beyond Wendt's concern. John Ruggie presents a broader concept of social constructivism that might encompass such interests, but notes that it is more of a 'perspective' than an established branch of international relations studies.[15]

When Halliday notes that academics were reluctant to acknowledge the importance of internal political organization or to take the ideological claims of Cold War protagonists seriously, followers of Wendt and Waltz might respond 'and rightly so'. Even if Halliday, Gaddis and Hopf are correct when they suggest that international relations theorists misunderstood the Cold War, Wendt and Waltz may respond that this is irrelevant to their work. No one can expect a general theory to capture all the idiosyncrasies of every case, and the Cold War, for all its importance, is little more than one episode in the long history of world politics. Repeated failures might bring a general theory into disrepute, but as Wendt noted, one cannot use empirical observations to judge such a theory unless one is prepared to conduct these observations over the long term.

One may, therefore, excuse academics specializing in academic international relations theory from dwelling upon particular political actors' attempts to implement particular political ideas. In the early 1990s, however, influential and intellectually respectable thinkers advanced more specific propositions about the future of global affairs over the shorter term. These thinkers addressed their work, not only to academics interested in ultimate questions about the ontological and epistemological basis of our knowledge of world politics, but to policymakers and informed citizens who were presumably more caught up in the day to day business of acting in politics. Despite their focus on specifics, these thinkers tended to dismiss the importance of ideological dispute in world politics as well.

In 1992, for instance, Francis Fukuyama claimed that ideological disputes had lost their significance for world politics because one ideology had won. Liberal democracy, he held, had established itself as the 'end point of mankind's ideological evolution'.[16] Fukuyama cited numerous examples of peoples who had lost faith in illiberal ideologies and dictators who had relinquished power to democratic systems of government. Indeed, he went so far as to say that, outside the Islamic world, all organized opposition to liberalism had disappeared.[17]

Fukuyama went on to suggest that there were inexorable forces which had made these developments inevitable. The first of these forces was the development of

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13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 John Gerard Ruggie, 'What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge', *International Organization*, 52/4 (Autumn 1998): 855–85; Ruggie, 'What Makes the World Hang Together' p. 856.

16 Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (London, 1992), p. xi.

17 Ibid., p. 211.

technology. This gave societies that accepted the scientific method an inherent lead over those that did not. Even peoples who maintained a firm resolve to do without the ease of technological living could not escape the fact that prosperous industrial societies enjoyed an insuperable advantage in war.

Fukuyama suggested that free market competition spurs technological development more effectively than any other method. 'No other path toward full economic modernity has been proven to be viable'.[18] Nevertheless, he finds the relationship between market economics and political liberalization much more complex. In purely economic terms, he ventures, a hierarchical state able to impose unpopular hardships on its people may be more efficient than a country where people have unalienable rights and leaders govern at the pleasure of the electorate.[19] To explain why all human societies evolve toward liberal democracy, he refers to the philosopher Alexandre Kojeve's interpretation of Hegel.[20]

Kojeve emphasized Hegel's principle that human beings have a basic drive to be recognized as human. Indeed, Hegel, Kojeve and Fukuyama tell us, this drive is what distinguishes human beings from other animals. This desire to exact recognition from others has driven people in both economic enterprise and political struggle throughout history. Liberalism embraces the principle that all people are created equal and entitled to dignity simply on the basis of their humanity. Democracy embraces the idea that all people are entitled to equal representation in government.

Thus, by granting equal recognition to all people, liberal democracy minimizes conflict over this most divisive of issues. This form of government is more stable than any other, and will remain when all others have failed. Fukuyama did not claim that liberal democracy had fully taken root, and he accepted that there would continue to be bloodshed and prolonged injustice until it had. Nevertheless, he predicted, there would be no more world struggles, he predicted, because there were no more great issues left to decide.

Despite *The End of History*'s emphasis on theory, Fukuyama did not follow Waltz and Wendt along the path toward abstraction. To the contrary, he based his argument on specific events which took place in the late twentieth century, most notably the collapse of the Soviet Union. Fukuyama also permitted himself to comment on specific foreign policy issues. In his commentary, he specifically criticized the Realist school of thought in international relations studies.

Many, if not most, Realist thinkers aspired to develop a theory which would remain relevant throughout time. 'Human nature, in which the laws of politics have their roots, has not changed since the classical philosophies of China, India and Greece endeavoured to discover these laws', noted Realist Hans Morgenthau, and one must presume that he hoped that at least a portion of his own thought would partake of the same immortality.[21] Fukuyama responded that Realism had helped

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18 Ibid., p. 97.

19 Ibid., pp. 124–5.

20 Ibid., pp. 145–6.

21 Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York, 1948), p. 4.

the United States shake off naïveté during the Cold War, but that the progress of liberalism had made this doctrine irrelevant.

Fukuyama noted that some scholars had suggested that the West should actually help the Warsaw Pact preserve its strength. These scholars argued that a balance of power between rival blocs was an exceptionally stable way to manage international relations. This proposal, Fukuyama wrote, reminds:

> [o]ne of a doctor who, after treating a cancer patient through a long and agonizing process of chemotherapy that finally forces the cancer into remission, tries desperately to persuade the patient to continue the chemotherapy on the grounds that is has been so successful in the past. Treating a disease that no longer exists, realists now find themselves proposing costly and dangerous cures to healthy patients.[22]

Fukuyama went on to suggest a new approach to foreign policy for liberal states in the post-Soviet world. Liberal countries, Fukuyama suggests should found their foreign policies on the knowledge that, just as liberal democracy minimizes conflict among citizens within a state, liberal democracy minimizes conflict among states as well. 'The peaceful behaviour of democracies further suggests that the United States and other democracies have a long-term interest in preserving the sphere of democracy in the world, and expanding it where possible and prudent'.[23] In 1997, Fukuyama re-emphasized these points in a direct appeal to America's political leadership by signing the Project for a New American Century (PNAC)'s *Statement of Principles*.[24]

The fact that the years since 1992 have been bloody ones does not automatically refute Fukuyama's argument. Fukuyama devoted the last five chapters of his book to the question of whether the 'end of history' would genuinely improve the human condition. *The End of History* acknowledges that ethnic rivalries, religious disputes and gross economic inequality may retard some regions in their progress toward the historical end state.[25] One can stretch this qualifier to explain away practically any kind of strife, from genocide in Africa to the nuclear confrontation between Pakistan and India. Nevertheless, if liberal democracy cannot ameliorate these problems in a humanly imaginable timeframe, even Fukuyama's supporters must conclude that *The End of History*'s more optimistic ideas are less than persuasive.

Pessimists may turn to Robert Kaplan's 1994 article heralding 'The Coming Anarchy'.[26] This piece drew heavily on the ideas of military historian Martin Van Creveld.[27] Both authors follow Fukuyama's lead in basing their arguments on the specific issues of a specific time period, and both follow Fukuyama's lead in drawing spectacular conclusions. Nuclear weapons, Van Creveld said, have made all-out war

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22 Fukuyama, *The End of History*, pp. 252–3.

23 Ibid., pp. 280.

24 Project for the New American Century, *Statement of Principles*, http://www.newamericancentury.org/statementofprinciples.htm (11-09-2003).

25 Fukuyama, *The End of History*, pp. 216–17.

26 Kaplan, 'The Coming Anarchy': 44–76.

27 Ibid., pp. 72–4.

between established states too destructive to contemplate.[28] The prospect of nuclear war, he claims, is so daunting that states hesitate to fight even non-nuclear wars for fear that some party to the conflict may resort to desperate measures.

This means, Van Creveld says, that major states only dare go to war when their vital interests are not at stake. As examples of such wars, he cites Lebanon, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Cambodia, and the Iran-Iraq war of 1980–88.[29] This restraint on the part of nuclear powers enhances the already-formidable tactical advantages of guerrillas and other species of irregular fighters. Military superiority, in other words, is shifting away from the armed forces of major states and toward relatively small bands.

This in itself would be explosive, since it means that a much wider range of parties can use violence much more effectively. Extremists, however defined, have increased in power. Although some of these extremists may claim to advocate political ideas of one type or another, Van Creveld does not view these claims as significant. According to this historian, human beings have an inborn tendency toward aggression.

This, Van Creveld holds, explains war and other forms of organized violence. No further explanation is necessary. 'just as it makes no sense to ask "why people eat" or "what they sleep for," so fighting in many ways is not a means but an end'.[30] Those who purport to be fighting for political principles are merely rationalizing something which they would have done anyway, and will go on doing even if they achieve their ideological ends. On roughly these premises, Kaplan concluded that world politics in the future will resemble the chaos he observed in 1990s-era Africa. Van Creveld, somewhat less alarmingly, forecast a future world resembling Europe in its medieval period.[31]

Those who predict anarchy can account for many prominent events of the 1990s and 2000s. Nevertheless, the evidence that chaos will engulf the globe remains as patchy and tentative as the evidence that the evidence that liberal democracy is about to abolish chaos forever. Those seeking a less millennial view of the new millennium might consult Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. This book, in Robert Kaplan's words, 'got everyone angry', but compared to *The End of History* and 'The Coming Anarchy', its vision of the world is relatively modest.[32]

Unlike Fukuyama and Van Creveld, Huntington does not claim to have identified a fundamental force driving the events of our age. Rather, he claims to have come up with a paradigm – a collection of generalizations – that will help us order our thoughts about early twenty-first century affairs.[33] Such a paradigm is, by definition,

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28 Martin Van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York, 1991), pp. 14–15.

29 Ibid., p. 14.

30 Ibid., p. 161.

31 Martin Van Creveld, 'The New Middle Ages', *Foreign Policy*, 119 (Summer 2000): 38–40.

32 Robert Kaplan, 'The Clash of Interpretations', *Foreign Policy* (May/June 2001): 57.

33 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, 1996), pp. 31–5.

an oversimplification. If successful, however, it will help us make sense of real-world complexities that otherwise would have boggled us.

The Realists attempted to simplify international politics by assuming that the decisive events in world affairs took place among states. Huntington argued that, in the twenty-first century, 'civilization identities are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration and conflict'.[34] Although anthropologists may wish to quibble about the problems of deciding where one civilization ends and another begins, Huntington found it sufficient to divide the world into nine geographically bounded cultural zones. These were the West, Latin America, Africa, Islam, the Sinitic region, the Hindu region, the Orthodox Region, the Buddhist region and Japan.[35]

Like *The End of History* and *The Transformation of War*, *The Clash of Civilizations* grounded its argument in specifics. Huntington used anecdotes from 1990s-era world politics to back up his claim that relations among these nine civilizations have shaped contemporary affairs. During that period, he noted, wars had typically taken place along 'fault lines' between major civilizations, ethnic identity had played an important role in state politics, and religion had gained in political importance.[36] Economic integration had occurred primarily within cultural boundaries, not across them.[37]

Arguments over political ideas, Huntington held, had declined in significance. *The Clash of Civilizations* observed that people had come to identify themselves in cultural-geographical terms, such as 'the West' rather than ideological terms such as 'the free world'.[38] The main reason why ideology matters at all, in Huntington's view, is that certain civilizations have embraced certain political systems as symbols of tribal identity. Huntington identifies individual rights, the rule of law and the separation of church and state, for instance, as cultural peculiarities of the West.[39] Unlike Fukuyama, Huntington saw no reason to assume that other civilizations will develop similar customs.[40]

As Huntington analysed the patterns of relations among civilizations, he came up with explanations for both turn-of-the-century trends toward unity and turn-of-the-century trends toward chaos. Huntington's suggestions that people from similar cultural and geographical regions share similar beliefs, that conflict often takes place between areas where people have radically different beliefs and that these factors have played an important role in recent events fit with most peoples' understandings, and his division of the early twenty-first century world into nine regions is more likely to provoke nit-picking than outright rejection. His contention that world leaders should accept their differences and co-operate to avoid global war is well-taken.[41] The test of an effective paradigm is its ability to help people analyse

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34 Ibid., p. 20.
35 Ibid., Map 1.3.
36 Ibid., pp. 19–20; Ibid., pp. 95–10; Ibid., pp. 253; Ibid., p. 55.
37 Ibid., p. 13.
38 Ibid., pp. 19–20; Ibid., pp. 95–10; Ibid., pp. 253; Ibid., p. 55.
39 Ibid., p. 69.
40 Ibid., p. 69.
41 Ibid., pp. 20–21.

potentially confusing masses of facts, and for students of turn-of-the-century events, Huntington succeeds at that task.

Robert Kaplan has praised Huntington's work by noting four instances of cases in which a civilizational analysis illuminates important political dynamics that other conceptual frameworks might have missed.[42] The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has accepted membership bids from countries Huntington identified as Western, such as Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic but proven reluctant to take on the Orthodox nations of Romania and Bulgaria. Tensions between Christians and Muslims have erupted in villages throughout the Middle East. The great corporate mergers of recent years have involved companies from within the Western zone of Europe and America. America's clearest international rival is the civilizationally different People's Republic of China (PRC).

In Kaplan's view, at least, *The Clash of Civilizations* provided a useful guide to the politics of the 1990s. Huntington's book may not have captured all the important themes of that era, but he never claimed that it did. Thought-provoking generalities he promised, and thought-provoking generalities he delivered. Those who wish to understand the present, however, can only guess at how relevant Huntington's paradigm remains. Cultural beliefs have influenced the politics of every era, but this does not tell us who will act on those beliefs, or how.

Civilizations have no dedicated armies, treasuries, diplomats or police. Although civilizations undoubtedly have common ideas, people interpret those ideas in radically different ways. State laws and policies may never be as concrete as their framers would like, but compared to civilizational precepts, they are crystal-clear. For these reasons, even diehard supporters of Huntington's paradigm must concede that formal institutions such as governments, religious organizations and political parties are responsible for putting civilizational politics into practice. Huntington himself allows that nations he calls 'core states' will take the lead in representing their civilizations.[43]

This system of core states and civilizations fluctuates dramatically over even short stretches of history. Less than ten years before *Clash of Civilizations* appeared in print, the core state of Huntington's Orthodox civilization was outwardly committed to the quintessentially Western political tradition of Marxist Communism. If this Eastern adaptation of a Western concept had begun to lose its force, it remained influential enough to break at least five of the other civilizational areas into patchworks of opposing fragments. Less than twenty years before that, Huntington himself could describe the Soviet Union as 'a political community with an overwhelming consensus among the people on the legitimacy of the political system'.[44] At the same time, the core state of the Sinitic world, influenced by a variant of the same Western political tradition, was caught up in a frenzied campaign to destroy every vestige of its former cultural identity.

Twenty-five years farther back, a Japanese regime that defined its culture in terms of a centralized militaristic government that would have been as incompatible with

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42 Kaplan, 'The Clash of Interpretations': 57.

43 Huntington, *The Clash*, p. 169.

44 Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven, 1968), p. 1.

the Japan of the 1960s as it was with the feudal system it had previously abolished was engaged in a bid to become the core state for all four of Huntington's Asian civilizations, while a German regime attempted to impose its own interpretation of the Western idea on both the Orthodox world and the rest of Europe. Given the repeated failures of republican experiments in France, a thoughtful observer might have identified stable liberal democracy, not with the West in general, but with its English-speaking component. If one goes back to the turn of the last century, however, international allegiances shift yet again. Turkey, a clearly identifiable core state of a nominally unified Islamic world, attempted to find its own path to modernization, while a self-proclaimed mahdi preached jihad against the encroaching West. A robust Japanese civilization, prudently cordial with the West, contended with the Sinitic and Orthodox worlds.

In the years since *Clash of Civilizations* appeared in print, aspiring core states within Huntington's civilizational regions have once again differed prominently over matters of general cultural import. These differences once again have the potential to provoke political realignments with corresponding effects on the use and distribution of military power. By 2003, Robert Kagan could write that 'it is time to stop pretending that Europeans and Americans share a common view of the world'.[45] Like Fukuyama, Kaplan, Van Creveld and Huntington, Kagan directed his argument toward the specific political issues of his own time. Kagan detailed the differing policy preferences of Americans and Europeans in a case study beginning with the presidency of G.H.W. Bush the senior and culminating with trans-Atlantic disputes over strategy in NATO's 1999 campaign against Serbia.[46] After this affair, Kagan tells us, the even more spectacular Euro-American disputes of the twenty-first century may be 'unfortunate' but hardly count as 'surprising'.[47]

Not only does Kagan see Huntington's civilizational units dividing and reforming themselves, he sees the participants in this process acting on the basis of consciously developed ideas. Where *Transformation of War* depicted primal instinct, *Paradise and Power* presents articulate dispute, and where *End of History* depicted inevitable conclusions, *Paradise and Power* presents open questions. Kagan attributes some of the transatlantic dispute to simple disparities in power between Europe and America, but he also emphasizes that the two sides face each other across 'a broad ideological gap':[48]

> Europeans, because of their unique historical experience of the past century – culminating in the creation of the European Union – have developed a set of ideals and principles regarding the utility and morality of power different from the ideals and principles of Americans, who have not shared that experience. If the strategic chasm between the United States and Europe appears greater than ever today, and grows still wider at a worrying

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45 Robert Kagan, *Paradise and Power: American and Europe in the New World Order* (London, 2003), p. 1.

46 Ibid., pp. 42–50.

47 Ibid., p. 50.

48 Ibid., p. 11.

pace, it is because these material and ideological differences reinforce one another. The divisive trend they together produce may be impossible to reverse.[49]

Kagan has, in other words, updated what Halliday called the intersystemic approach for the twenty-first century. Like other intersystemic approaches, Kagan's interpretation takes political actors' claims about their intentions into account. Kagan is not naive enough to accept all such claims purely at face value. To the contrary, he is quick to point out occasions in which he believes that political actors have adopted a façade of idealism out of temporary expedience.[50] Nevertheless, *Paradise and Power* adopts the position that ideological argument plays a role in political activity, and thus it manages to sum up the dynamics of politics in the ideologically-charged environment of the early twenty-first century more faithfully than works which treat such argument as settled or arbitrarily discount it.

Kagan has done students of twenty-first century international affairs a service by reviving the intersystemic view of world politics, but he has only begun to explore the potential of this approach. *Paradise and Power* concludes that both contemporary American realpolitik and contemporary European idealism include dangerous blind spots, and that both sides need to learn from each other.[51] Nevertheless, those who hope to explore either side's political ideas in depth may find Kagan's work cursory. Those who hope to explore twenty-first century ideological disputes other than transatlantic moral debates over the use of force may also be disappointed.

Kagan's empirical argument about the contemporary world relies on a handful of examples from a brief recapitulation of the Kosovo campaign. Moreover, his theoretical argument focuses almost exclusively on peoples' reactions to military action. The 'contrast' between America and Europe, in his view, is one of '"strategic culture"' [an expression which Kagan himself places in inverted commas].[52] Kagan explains part of the transatlantic split in terms of America's greater ability to use armed force successfully, and the remainder in terms of Europeans' experience of successful 'negotiation, diplomacy and commercial ties' under NATO protection since the Second World War.[53] Having convinced themselves to rely on such softer methods, Kagan tells us, Europeans find more aggressive approaches psychologically threatening:

> Thus we arrive at what may be the most important reason for the divergence in views between Europe and the United States. America's power and willingness to exercise that power – unilaterally if necessary – constitute a threat to Europe's new sense of mission. Perhaps it is the greatest threat.[54]

Kagan urges his countrymen to empathize with Europeans and their fragile egos. After all, he notes, American military action:

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49 Ibid.
50 Ibid., pp. 9–10.
51 Ibid., pp. 101–3.
52 Ibid., p. 4.
53 Ibid., pp. 27–42; ibid., pp. 54–61.
54 Ibid., p. 61.

[i]s an assault on Europe's new ideals, a denial of their universal validity, much as the monarchies of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe were an assault on American republican ideals. Americans ought to be the first to understand that a threat to one's beliefs can be as frightening as a threat to one's physical security.[55]

When Kagan suggests that this 'may be the most important reason for the divergence in views between Europe and the United States', he allows for the possibility that there may be other reasons as well.[56] As one reviews twenty-first century political controversies, one sees that the other reasons must also be powerful. To begin with, as Kagan himself notes, many Americans – who do not share Europe's military weakness, historical experiences or psychological investment in softer approaches to foreign policy – take characteristically European positions. The Spanish and Italian governments, by contrast, supported the US government's 2003 invasion of Iraq. China possesses capable armed forces and has not committed itself to European levels of international cooperation, but its government has been an articulate opponent of recent Western military interventions.

Meanwhile, the participants in international disputes do not always organize themselves on the basis of geographical origin. To the contrary, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) espousing various principles co-operate across borders in what Kathryn Sikkink refers to as 'principled issue networks'.[57] Moreover, international disputes pitting devotees of 'paradise' against devotees of 'power' go beyond military issues. Trade, the environment and claims regarding universal human rights excite similar debates.

Studying Ideology: The Next Steps

Paradise and Power reminds us of the importance of ideological dispute and helps us orient ourselves in contemporary arguments. Those who wish to understand conflicts of principle in contemporary world politics will remain curious about who is arguing what. Those who wish to understand such conflicts will also be curious about the resources advocates of various positions can draw upon. Often, the principles a group espouses will shape the capabilities it possesses. This work fills in some of the missing information.

Only a genius or a megalomaniac would attempt to sum up all the ideological debates of any era in a single work. This author makes no such attempt. Instead, he continues on the same path as Fukuyama, Van Creveld, Huntington and Kagan, focusing on debates that directly affect relations among the economically and militarily dominant actors in global politics. Although he would not declare the triumph of a liberal world order, he accepts Fukuyama's observation that these actors have recently demonstrated a historically unusual consensus in support of liberal principles, broadly defined. Although he develops his analysis in a different

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55 Ibid., pp. 61–2.

56 Ibid., p. 61.

57 Kathryn Sikkink, 'Human Rights, principled-issue networks, and sovereignty in Latin America', *International Organization*, 47/3 (Summer 1993): 411–41.

direction from *Paradise and Power*, he follows Kagan's lead in paying particular attention to ideological rifts among putative liberals.

Many other twenty-first century ideological disputes demand attention as well. A great deal of Islamic theological debate, for instance, takes place outside the economically developed and ostensibly liberal regions of the world. After al-Qaeda's September 11 attack on the United States, few would deny that the contending interpretations of Islam unite subscribers for politically and militarily significant purposes in much the same manner as Western political ideologies. The People's Republic of China's evolving interpretations of Marxism and Hugo Chavez's more pugnacious opposition to the economic side of liberalism also have implications for world politics. This book will address these ideological movements and others when they touch upon the evolution of the early twenty-first century world order, but more work on non-western political thought cries out to be done.

The author's primary reason for focusing on debates that directly affect the rich and dangerous is that these debates are the ones that appear most likely to influence peoples' lives and futures. Since some of the disputes in question concern ecological issues, certain parties might add that these are also the debates that appear most likely to influence the fortunes of the planetary ecosystem. The author acknowledges that actors that appear insignificant today may prove important shortly, and vice versa. Nevertheless, it seems safe to assume that the United States, Great Britain and the People's Republic of China, to pick three examples of apparently powerful actors, will remain influential for some time to come. The race is not always to the swift, but as Damon Runyon observed, that is the way to bet.[58]

Moreover, one need not be as brash as Fukuyama to suggest that the widespread acceptance of broadly liberal principles at the end of the twentieth century was more than a passing fashion. One need not suggest that today's liberal ideas represent the final stage of humanity's social evolution to suggest that they are worth nurturing, and, indeed, that they touch upon truth. If liberalism has failed to spread prosperity or even basic civil rights as far as its enthusiasts have promised, it currently spreads them farther than its opponents. If liberalism fails to fulfil the full range of human aspirations, it has at least recognized the critical importance of many that its opponents have commonly held in contempt.

The first sixteen years of liberal consensus were more bounteous and less violent than the preceding decade. 'Extreme poverty', the United Nations Human Development Report noted in 2005, 'fell from 28% in 1990 to 21% today – a reduction in absolute numbers of about 130 million people'.[59] The report goes on to add that 'average per capita income growth in developing countries in the 1990s was 1.5%, almost three times the rate in the 1980s'.[60] The total number of conflicts – including civil conflicts – fell between 1990 and 2005.[61] Even terrorist attacks

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58 Damon Runyon, Quotes, http://thinkexist.com/quotation/the_race_is_not_always_to_the_swift-nor_the/203622.html (26-12-2006).

59 Kevin Watkins, *Human Development Report 2005: International Cooperation at a Crossroads: Aid, Trade and Security in an Unequal World* (NY, 2005), p. 20.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

declined in frequency worldwide, although some interpretations of the data suggest that the number of people killed in terrorist incidents did not.[62]

Critics remain free to ask whether liberals themselves deserve credit for these fortunate developments. Contemporary liberalism is certainly vulnerable to searching criticism, but its record in comparison with fascism, absolute monarchy, and the most widespread twentieth-century versions of Marxism speaks for itself. On these grounds, the author identifies the fate of liberal political systems as particularly significant. As it happens, liberal nation-states also control considerable wealth and military power in the early twenty-first century. Thus this study's interest in effective political actors and this study's interest in liberalism point the author's research in the same direction.

Ideology *in vivo*: Problems of Research

Since this study is primarily interested in what political ideas might ultimately prompt political actors to do, it seeks to understand what those ideas mean to the people who espouse them. The author relies on speeches, writings, interviews, policy documents, and, where appropriate, public opinion research for details of what twenty-first century political actors claim to believe. This book refers to academic political theory when it promises to illuminate important points. Nevertheless, the author focuses on the practical implications of current debates, not the more abstractly intellectual ones.

One difficulty in researching the role of ideology in political practice is that even sincere followers of well-established schools of thought disagree about what adherents to their various doctrines are supposed to believe. This principle applies even to belief systems in which formal institutions exist to resolve disputes and promote orthodoxy. The Vatican has conspicuously failed to prevent schisms within Christianity, even when its agents punished heretics with death. Communist parties, for all their talk of centralism, have fared little better.

Where Marxists and Roman Catholics at least aspire to unity and common goals, followers of early twenty-first century political movements commonly disavow it. Most alleged founders of the neoconservative movement 'resisted the label neoconservative', even in the days before commentators held neoconservatism responsible for an unpopular war.[63] Joshua Muravchik of the American Enterprise Institute is happy to defend neoconservatism's legacy, but where followers of other movements might celebrate their cause's glorious past, he finds that 'the history of neoconservatism is less sensational than its current usage implies'.[64]

If neoconservatives are reluctant to portray themselves as members of an organized movement with a clearly-established agenda, so are many on the early

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62 Anonymous, National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism Database, http://www.tkb.org/AboutMIPT.jsp (6-07-2007).

63 Joshua Muravchik, 'The Neoconservative Cabal', *Commentary*, 116/2 (September 2003): 27.

64 Muravchik, 'The Neoconservative Cabal': 32–3; Muravchik, 'The Neoconservative Cabal': 27.

twenty-first century left. As Chapter 4 will discuss, prominent advocates of the so-called anti-globalization movement has made the lack of leaders and lack of doctrine central tenets of their thought. Naomi Klein, whose works have done much to inspire anti-globalization activists, has written at length about why the movement 'doesn't need to sign a ten-point plan to be effective'.[65] In a similar vein, it is the European Union's critics, not its supporters, who suggest that Brussels aspires to unite Europe into a superstate.[66]

Nevertheless, Muravchik consents that there is a 'distinctive neoconservative sensibility'.[67] Klein acknowledges the existence of a concerted effort opposing what she describes as global corporatism.[68] Title 1, Article 1 of The Treaty of the European Union describes that document as 'a new stage in the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe'.[69] Whether or not one chooses to refer to these aspirations as an ideology or the product of 'ever closer union' as a superstate, the Treaty has embraced an ambitious, conceptually intriguing and generally inclusive political programme. The protagonists in early twenty-first century politics commonly talk and act like members of broader movements with tenets and objectives. Despite the difficulties, those who wish to understand them do well to investigate those movements.

Social critic Christopher Lasch offers a precedent for those who would study diffuse political movements of the types that prevail in the early twenty-first century. In *The True and Only Heaven*, Lasch builds on a study of nineteenth-century populism to trace a certain lower-middle class 'sensibility' through several centuries of social and political thought.[70] This sensibility is not a formal doctrine, but a body of 'recurring themes'.[71] Lasch himself defines these themes and argues for their significance.[72] Having done so, he identifies their distinguishing features in the works of a wide range of eminent commentators.

Lasch then explores those commentators' ideas in depth. This allows him to gain a more thorough understanding of what the sensibility entails to those who hold it. Lasch's readings and interpretations also allow him to trace the history of this sensibility. In the process, he seeks to assess its influence upon social and intellectual life.

Lasch acknowledges that he has 'reconstruct[ed]' the sensibility through his own arguments and interpretations.[73] He finds this necessary because, in his view, class

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65 Naomi Klein, *Fences and Windows: Dispatches From the Front Lines of the Globalization Debate* (London, 2002), p. 14.

66 Anonymous, 'Row over "secret EU superstate'," BBC News (6 December 2000), http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/1057090.stm (28-12-2006).

67 Muravchik, 'The Neoconservaive Cabal': 32.

68 Klein, op. cit., p. 14.

69 Anonymous, Consolidated Versions of the Treaty on European Union and of the Treaty Establishing the European Community (2002), http://www.europa.eu/eur-lex/pri/en/oj/dat/2002/c_325/c_32520021224en00010184.pdf (28-12-2006)

70 Christopher Lasch, *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and Its Critics* (New York, 1991), p. 15; Lasch, op. cit., p. 17.

71 Ibid., pp. 16–17.

72 Ibid., pp. 13–39.

73 Ibid., p. 17.

prejudice has made the body of ideas that interest him 'difficult to recognize as such, in major thinkers'.[74] Nevertheless, he maintains that this sensibility is present within and vital to some of the most penetrating social and political writings of every era.

This book draws on Lasch in two ways. First, the author uses a similar method of tracing sensibilities and recurring themes through early twenty-first century political writings. In this regard, his task is easier than Lasch's. For all the difficulties inherent in defining peoples' positions in early twenty-first century political discourse, it is easier to classify writers as neoconservatives, environmentalists or opponents of globalization, to pick three examples, than to establish definitively that they speak for lower-middle class virtues which they have only implicitly embraced.

This book will, however sort twenty-first century ideas into broad categories such as 'republican' and 'cosmopolitan' thought. Relatively few commentators or policymakers think of themselves as republicans or cosmopolitans, except in the sense that many American republicans support the Republican Party. The author attempts to represent contemporary commentators and policymakers' positions accurately, but he introduces his own system for classifying them. In that regard, his work, like Lasch's, relies on a degree of reconstruction.

This work also refers to Lasch in a second and more direct fashion. The themes that interested Lasch continue to recur in twenty-first century political movements. As Chapter 4 will argue, Lasch describes attitudes that distinguish twenty-first century cosmopolitans from the reformers of earlier eras. Thus, Lasch helps clarify what contemporary cosmopolitan arguments imply.

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74 Ibid.

Chapter 2

The Stillborn Consensus

'War', Thomas Hardy noted, 'makes rattling good history'.[1] This is particularly true for those with an interest in disputes over principle in international politics. The wars of the 1990s and 2000s have both raised hopes for an international consensus on ideological issues and then dashed them again. These wars pushed a wide range of parties both to make ethically difficult decisions and to articulate their reasons for acting as they did. Thus, the history of these wars illuminates both the principles that motivate twenty-first century political actors and the issues that have brought those principles to the fore.

The period of perceived ideological consensus began when Iraq conquered Kuwait in 1990. Iraq's conquest hurt or threatened to hurt a wide range of states beyond its immediate victim. Then as now, most of the developed world imported oil from the Persian Gulf. Japan was and is particularly dependent upon petroleum sourced from that region. By annexing one of the Gulf's oil-producing states and improving its ability to blackmail the others, Iraq had put itself in a position to pressure oil-consuming nations throughout the world.

To the extent that there is any such thing as an international community, Iraq had challenged that as well. For all its failings, the United Nations (UN) remains the most tangible manifestation of peoples' attempt to establish common understandings and regular procedures in world politics. The UN Charter recognizes sovereign nation states as the basic elements of the United Nations system and commits those states to refrain from attacking each other except in self-defence.[2] By overrunning Kuwait, a sovereign state and UN member, Iraq had set itself directly against those understandings.

Few will be surprised that other states reacted violently. More significant for those interested in the role of principles in international politics are the facts that other states did so in unison, and that they acted through the mechanisms of international institutions. The United Nations passed a resolution condemning Iraq's invasion within a day of the event.[3] Two days later the European Community imposed economic sanctions against Iraq, and four days after the invasion the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) did the same.[4] Over 33 states contributed troops to the UN-

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1   John Bartlett, Familiar Quotations 10th edition (1919) http://www.bartleby.com/100/611.7.html (31-12-2006).

2   See Chapters 1, 6 and 7 of the UN Charter. This document is available online at Anonymous, Charter of the United Nations, http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/ (6-07-2007).

3   Anonymous, 'Chronology', *Military Review*, 71/9 (September 1991): 65.

4   Ibid., p. 66.

authorized war to restore Kuwait's independence.[5] Not only did this coalition include Arab countries, it included the west's presumed ideological rival, the Soviet Union.

When American president G.H.W. Bush announced the UN coalition's first air strikes against Iraqi forces, he presented this event as a farewell to Cold War ideological divisions and a harbinger of lasting consensus:

> This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order – a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful – and we will be – we have a real chance at this new world order … [6]

Seven months later, the Group of Seven major economic powers issued a document titled 'Political Declaration: Strengthening The International Order'. This paper pronounced the 'EastWest confrontation of the past four decades behind us'.[7] The Group of Seven urged the 'international community to 'build on this new spirit of cooperation not only in the Middle East but wherever danger and conflict threaten or other challenges must be met'.[8] In May of 1991, the Seventy-Ninth American Assembly expressed similar sentiments.[9]

The fact that the majority of the world's nation-states acted together, however, did not necessarily mean that they acted for the same reasons or with the same level of enthusiasm. Whatever the Group of Seven believed, East-West confrontation had not utterly disappeared. An internal report circulated within the Soviet military intelligence service stated that Moscow joined the UN coalition in order to influence it from within, and thus to prevent the alliance's western members from gaining permanent influence in post-war Iraq.[10] Even within the West, European governments took different positions on both Middle Eastern policy. These disagreements frustrated the European Community's attempts to sustain a distinctively European position on the crisis in the Gulf. Scholar Carlos Closa notes:[11]

> The discrepancies among the Twelve [European Community members] were abruptly emphasized in an extraordinary meeting of foreign ministers in Luxembourg on 4 January. The positions ranged from the flexibility of the Spanish, French and Italians to the rigidity of

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5   Anonymous, 'Forces Committed', *Military Review*, 71/9 (September 1991): 80–1.

6   George H.W. Bush, 'Address to the Nation on the Invasion of Iraq' (16 January 1991), http://millercenter.virginia.edu/scripps/diglibrary/prezspeeches/ghbush/ghb_1991_0116.html (01-01-2007).

7   Anonymous, Political Declaration: Strengthening The International Order (16 July 1991) http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/summit/1991london/political.html (01-01-2007).

8   Ibid.

9   George McGhee, *International Community: A Goal for a New World Order* (Lanham MD, 1992), p. 4.

10 WAB (trans.), Soviet Analysis of Operation Desert Storm and Operation Desert Shield, from PDASD/ISP Room 4E817 (Washington DC: Defense Intelligence Agency, 1991), p. 9.

11 Carlos Closa, EPC and the Gulf Crisis (Hull, 1991), p. 17.

the Dutch, who considered that the Community should only make an appeal to Iraq to respect UN resolutions. The Dutch argued vigorously against acting independently of the US.[12]

The French submitted a seven point plan for an EC position on the crisis. Highlights included a demand for Iraq to abide by UN resolutions, a corresponding demand for the rest of the world to practise 'non aggression' if Iraq withdrew its troops from occupied Kuwait and a call for 'active contribution to the settlement of other conflicts in the region, particularly, the Arab-Israeli conflict.[13] 'Although the Council issued an invitation to the Iraqi foreign minister, the Germans and the Dutch in particular considered that any EC-Iraq meeting should be conditioned on a previous US-Iraq one. Italy and Spain considered that Community action should go on regardless'.[14] Iraq spared these states the need to resolve this dispute by categorically refusing to negotiate with the European collective.

Meanwhile, American Secretary of State James Baker informed Europeans that the US found the French plan's language linking the Iraq crisis to the Arab-Israeli conflict unacceptable. Britain and the Netherlands shared the American position, and vetoed the disputed sections of the plan.[15] Italy and Spain remained 'particularly fond' of the linkage.[16] Ten days later, France presented its plan to the UN Security Council with the controversial lines regarding the Arab-Israeli issue restored.[17]

Closa summarizes:

> There was not even an attempt to coordinate the Twelve's response. The plan was supported by Germany, Spain and Belgium. Belgium even proposed to the UN Secretary General the appointment of a mediator with the view to convening an International Conference on the Middle East and to granting further delay in the application of Resolution 678 if Iraq started the withdrawal. On the other hand, the British delegation in the UN rejected the plan on the same grounds as the US: it created a linkage with the Palestinian issue.[18]

Two days later, EC attempts to mediate in the crisis became superfluous when the UN coalition attacked Iraq in a military operation known as Desert Storm. At that point, EC member states put aside inter-European differences and co-operated in the UN military operation. One should not, however, confuse official unity with general enthusiasm. Survey research from the previous October indicates that the citizens of those states may have gone to war reluctantly. When the Gallup organization asked Europeans whether they would support sending their own countries' ground forces to liberate Kuwait, a plurality of 47 per cent answered no.[19]

Just as the governments of different European states took different positions toward the crisis, the citizens of different European states displayed distinctive attitudes as well. The Germans, Spanish and Italians were particularly pacifistic,

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12 Ibid., p. 6.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid., p. 7.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid., p. 8.
19 Ibid., p. 14.

whereas 77 per cent of British citizens were willing to send their country's troops into battle.[20] Despite their government's diplomatic manoeuvring, the French also appeared relatively bellicose. Sixty-two per cent of French respondents were willing to commit France's forces to a campaign against Iraq.[21]

Although the victory of the UN coalition inspired international leaders to celebrate their successful cooperation, many expressed reservations even as they did so. The American Assembly, for instance, praised the 'ideal' of a 'community of peaceable democracies', but it also emphasized that such a community could only survive if its more powerful members were prepared to compromise.[22]

> The United States will need to act in concert with other major powers in order to sustain a stable balance, indeed its citizens will demand that it do so, but it will also need to work with the U.N. and other intergovernmental organizations, showing respect for other sovereign states and their legal rights. Only in extreme cases of emergency or humanitarian need will it be right to set aside the sovereignty of other states … [23]

If the Latin America leaders hoped that their northern neighbours would acknowledge the wisdom of such advice, they were disappointed. In March 1992, the *New York Times* published an internal G.H.W. Bush administration report known as the Defense Planning Guidance document, or DPG. The DPG accorded Washington 'pre-eminent responsibility for addressing selectively those wrongs which threaten, not only our interests, but those of our allies or friends, or which could seriously unsettle international relations'.[24] America's 'first objective', according to the DPG, 'is to prevent the re-emergence of a new rival'.[25]

To summarize, the states that united to oppose Iraq's conquest of Kuwait disagreed over policy from the very beginning. The contrast between such manifestoes as the American Assembly's declaration and the DPG document suggests that those states' decisionmakers understood unity in different ways and valued it for different reasons. In the aftermath of the 1990–1991 Gulf War, few public figures chose to expand upon their differences in public. Even fewer chose to present those differences as basic disagreements over principle. The differences, however, remained, and as time passed, the gaps between the opposing parties came to appear increasingly fundamental.

Acid Tests

Meanwhile, a variety of international actors deliberately set themselves apart from the liberal consensus. One of the most prominent opponents of the status quo remained Iraq. UN forces left Iraq's pre-war Baathist government in place but required it to relinquish certain classes of weapons and prove its compliance by

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20 Ibid., p. 14.

21 Ibid., p. 14.

22 McGhee, p. 4.

23 Ibid.

24 Anonymous, 'Excerpts from Pentagon's Plan: "Prevent the Re-Emergence of a New Rival"', *New York Times* (8 March 1992): 14.

25 Ibid.

submitting to inspections by UN personnel. Iraqi president Saddam Hussein resisted these restrictions, notably by banning inspectors from over 1,000 sites designated as 'presidential palaces'.[26]

After the 1990–1991 war, Iraq's government crushed a series of ethnic rebellions with its accustomed brutality. The United Nations responded by imposing economic sanctions, stationing military forces around Iraq's borders and imposing so-called no-fly zones to prevent the Iraqi military from using aircraft against allegedly disloyal populations in certain parts of the country. This led to a protracted confrontation between Iraq and the UN forces. During that confrontation, Iraq's leaders found neither the desire nor, perhaps, the opportunity to embrace the New World Order.

Simultaneously, the united Communist country of Yugoslavia disintegrated, leaving its peoples to form new states out of its territory. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, commonly known as Serbia, presented itself as the successor to the former regime. In 1991, the province dominated by members of the Croatian ethnic group declared independence. Serbia invaded the breakaway Croatian state to prevent its secession.

Most of the citizens of the FRY belong to the Serbian ethnic group, and FRY president Slobodan Milosevic had bolstered his political platform with appeals to Serb chauvinism. When FRY forces attacked Croatia, semi-autonomous militias of ethnic Serbs living within Croatian territory emerged to support the Milosevic government. Both official and unofficial Serbian forces purged disputed territory of non-Serb ethnic groups. Their opponents responded in kind.[27]

Although the battles and pogroms in the former Yugoslavia horrified onlookers throughout the world, the warring factions proved indifferent to internationally-held sensibilities. In the Balkans as in Iraq, the victors of the 1990–1991 war confronted the question of how to handle violent dissenters from the notional liberal consensus. The crisis in Somalia raised the question yet again. Moreover, dissenters had no need to confine themselves within geographical regions.

In 1993, the widely-read commentators Alvin and Heidi Toffler wrote 'in addition to states, regional "technopoles," corporations and religions, another type of unit is growing in importance: thousands of transnational associations and organizations now springing up like mushrooms after rain'.[28]

> Many of them are highly sophisticated, armed with computers and faxes, and enjoy access to supercomputer networks, satellite transponders, and all the other means of advanced communication. When skinheads in Dresden, Germany trashed an immigrant neighborhood, news of the event was blitzed out over ComLink, an electronic net connecting about fifty local computer networks in Germany and Austria. From there it went into Britain's GreenNet, which in turn is connected to "progressive" networks

26 Chantal de Jonge Oudrant, 'UNSCOM: Between Iraq and a Hard Place', *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Special Issue 2002): 142.

27 Jane M.O. Sharp, 'Dayton Report Card', *International Security*, 22/3 (Winter 1997–98): 106.

28 Alvin and Heidi Toffler, *War and Anti-War: Survival at the Dawn of the 21st Century* (London, 1993), pp. 244–5.

from North and South America to the former Soviet republics. A bombardment of faxes protesting the attack from all over the world deluged Dresden's newspapers.

But transborder electronic networks are not the monopoly of peace advocates who oppose violence. Networks connect up everyone from ecological extremists to biblical interrantists, Zen fascists, criminal syndicates and academic admirers of Sendero Luminoso terrorists, all forming part of a rapidly proliferating "transnational civil society" that may not always act with civility.[29]

Those who recall, for instance, the 19th century Irish rebels who cooperated with American sympathizers to invade British-owned Canada may question whether transnational political activism is as novel as the Tofflers seem to imply. None, however, can dispute that transnational groups have played a significant role in world politics in the 1990s and 2000s. The Tofflers' whimsical remarks about Zen fascists need not distract one from the fact that they were writing at the same time as Osama bin Laden was expanding his network of Islamic militants from Afghanistan to the Horn of Africa and beginning to operate against the United States.[30]

The adherents to the liberal consensus found it every bit as difficult to agree on the proper response to these challenges as the members of the European Community had found it to agree on a response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Moreover, the issues at stake in 1990–1991 had been simple by comparison. Kuwait's people had clearly been victims, but the Croats took their turns as aggressors. Operation Desert Storm had restored Kuwait's independence in one hundred hours, but the first military interventions in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia merely suggested the need for further intervention. In 1990–1991, the British and American governments had taken an unequivocal position against Iraq, but in the decade that followed, they vacillated and intrigued as avidly as their allies.

Thus, at a time when foreign forces might, in the opinion of French general Jean Cot, have stopped the escalating Balkan wars with 'three ships, three dozen planes and about three thousand men', G.H.W. Bush remained aloof.[31] By the time American policymakers had begun to propose air strikes, the French and British had come to favour a more cautious approach.[32] Washington accepted UN requests for military support to a humanitarian operation in Somalia, only to withdraw its troops abruptly after a battle in which 18 of them died. Over a million people perished in the Rwandan genocide of 1994 while the United Nations offered a similarly ineffectual response. The following year, Iraqi Lieutenant General Hussein Kamel defected to Jordan and stated that Saddam Hussein's government had spent the time since 1991 rearming itself in violation of the ceasefire agreement.[33] UN inspectors had provided no warning of Iraq's activity.

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29 Ibid.
30 Anonymous, '9/11 Commission Staff Statement No. 15, Overview of the Enemy', in James F. Hoge Jr. and Gideon Rose (eds), *Understanding the War on Terror* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2005): 31–2.
31 Sharp, 'Dayton Report Card': 106.
32 Ibid., p. 108.
33 Oudrant, 'UNSCOM: Between Iraq and a Hard Place': 142.

Although Serbia and Croatia signed a truce in January 1992, a similar conflict had erupted elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia. The region known as Bosnia declared its independence in March of that year. Once again, both the official FRY army and semi-official Serbian militias attacked the separatists. Although the UNSC recommended the new state of Bosnia for admission to the UN General Assembly in June, it took few measures to help the Bosnians defend their territory.[34] The UNSC did, however, extend the authority of the UN force in Croatia, allowing it to protect aircraft ferrying food, medical supplies and other forms of humanitarian relief into the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo.

The Serbian militias possessed combat aircraft and used them against humanitarian flights. Therefore, the UNSC banned military flights over Bosnia, excepting only air forces engaged in the UN's own operations.[35] This ban, known as Resolution 781, called 'upon States to take nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements all measures necessary to provide assistance to the United Nations Protection force, based on technical monitoring and other capabilities … '.[36] Legal experts dispute the question of whether the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) meets the formal definition of a 'regional organization' offered by Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, but, in practice, it was the 'regional agency' that responded to Resolution 781.[37]

Thus, a second international institution acquired responsibility for attempting to resolve the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. The UN granted this responsibility at a gradual pace. Careful readers will note that Resolution 781 only called on regional agencies to monitor violations of the ban. Another five months passed before the UNSC issued Resolution 816, which actually authorized NATO forces to shoot down violators.[38] Air Force officer Robert Owen notes that, '[o]ver subsequent months' the UN expanded NATO's mission to include 'close air support (CAS) to protect UN personnel under attack, offensive air support (OAS) to punish factions violating [UN resolutions] and suppression of enemy air defenses (SEAD) to protect NATO aircraft flying the other missions'.[39]

Military commanders did not, however, have the authority to launch such missions indiscriminately. Owen notes:

> In June 1993, NATO and the UN adopted a so-called dual-key procedure for releasing CAS and OAS strikes. Drawing metaphorically on the procedural requirement for two individuals to "turn keys" to release or launch nuclear weapons, the arrangement required appropriate officials in both the UN and NATO to turn their keys before any

34 Robert C. Owen, 'The Balkans Air Campaign Study: Part I', *Airpower Journal* (Summer 1997), http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/apj97/sum97/owen.html (31-01-2007).

35 Anonymous, Resolution 781 (1992), http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N92/491/64/IMG/N9249164.pdf?OpenElement (31-01-07).

36 Ibid.

37 Bruno Simma, 'NATO, the UN and the Use of Force: Legal Aspects', *European Journal of International Law*, 10/1 (1999) http://www.ejil.org/journal/Vol10/No1/ab1-1.html (12-04-2000).

38 Owen, 'The Balkans Air Campaign'.

39 Ibid.

NATO aircraft could release weapons against a ground target. For NATO, any military commander, from the CAOC director up, could authorize CAS strikes in response to a UN [peacekeeping force member's] request. For the UN, the decision thresholds were raised one organizational level. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali authorized his special representative, Ambassador Yasushi Akashi, to release CAS strikes, while retaining for himself the authority to release offensive air strikes.[40]

In consequence, CAS and OAS strikes remained rare, to the frustration of NATO fliers. The UN's larger Balkan policy was even more cautious than its rules of engagement for pilots. Since UNSC members had been unable to agree on a plan for arming Serbia's opponents, the Council adopted a Russian compromise proposal. Under this plan, the UN remained neutral but designated certain areas as safe havens for refugees from ethnic persecution.

In 1995, Bosnian Serb forces attacked the safe haven at Srebrenica. Approximately 200 Dutch troops seconded to the United Nations Protection Force were on the scene.[41] Their commanders called on NATO air forces to bomb the advancing Serbs, but Yasushi Akashi refused to authorize such action.[42] Without air support, the Dutch were hopelessly outgunned. Even if they had been inclined toward martyrdom, their orders gave them no clear authority to violate UN neutrality by initiating combat.

Accordingly, the Dutch stood by while the Serbs massacred over 8,000 people. This, along with a series of less tragic embarrassments, prompted US Secretary of State Warren Christopher to convene a meeting of foreign ministers from sixteen countries involved in the Bosnian campaign.[43] Although the participants in this meeting remained as collectively indecisive as ever, the event gave Christopher a forum in which to declare his own government's resolve to meet future Serb provocations with 'decisive and substantial air power'.[44] Christopher also announced that 'existing command-and-control arrangements for the use of NATO air power will be adjusted to ensure that responsiveness and unity are achieved'.[45]

UN Secretary-General Boutros-Boutros Ghali proved sympathetic to Christopher's pugnacity. Up until summer of 1995, according to the American ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Boutros-Boutros Ghali had doubted NATO's resolve. In Owen's summary:

> As in the case of the use of any military force, a halfhearted or incomplete air operation would be indecisive, politically and diplomatically vulnerable to global criticism, susceptible to breaking up what support there was in the UN and NATO for continued intervention and, as a consequence of all other effects, likely to do more to stir up the Bosnian hornet's nest than to calm it. Thus, Ambassador Hunter reported, a large measure of Secretary-General Boutros-Boutros Ghali's unwillingness to authorize CAS operations

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40 Ibid.

41 Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, *Srebrenica: reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a safe area* (Amsterdam: Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, 2003-2004), http://213.222.3.5/srebrenica/ (01-02-2007).

42 Owen, 'The Balkans Air Campaign'.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

in defense of UN troops, let alone to consider a robust air campaign against the Serb targets throughout the area, was due to his belief – through the spring of 1995 – that NATO did not have the political cohesion or commitment to carry such operations to a successful conclusion. The secretary-general made it clear to Hunter that he would never approve of such operations unless he was convinced that the UN would stick them out for their full course.[46]

Ambassador Hunter and NATO Secretary-General Willie Claes followed Christopher's remarks by announcing that the alliance had completed 'the necessary planning to ensure that NATO air power would be used in a timely and effective way' should the Bosnian Serbs ignore the Secretary of State's ultimatum.[47] Later that day, Boutros-Boutros Ghali modified the dual-key system, giving General Bernard Janvier, the UN Protection Force Commander the right to authorize air strikes of all types on behalf of the United Nations.[48]

Although the UN formally retained its role in the process, Janvier sympathized with his NATO military colleagues in a way that Yasushi Akashi had not. NATO went on to execute a considerably more aggressive air campaign known as Deliberate Force. Meanwhile, on 4 August, the Croatian armed forces attacked Serbia to recover territory that had remained under FRY control after the 1991 ceasefire. Under attack from two enemies, the FRY government accepted a NATO peace proposal in December.

Neither Resolution 781's invitation to 'regional agencies' nor Boutros-Boutros Ghali's action in giving NATO a more cooperative partner in the dual-key system appeared revolutionary in themselves. Nevertheless, these decisions redistributed influence among the dominant participants in the New World Order in ways that would eventually force those participants to confront the more sweeping differences of principle among them. Josef Stalin, who laid the foundations for his regime by positioning himself as a 'grey, dull blank' within the Soviet bureaucracy, would have understood.[49] According to American diplomats, the UN and NATO negotiators who designed the original and more restrictive dual key system understood as well. Owens explains:

> The dual-key arrangement, thus, was an overt effort to counterbalance UN and NATO control over air operations. As such, it indicated at least a corporate presumption among the member states of each organization that some possibility of misunderstanding or irresponsibility existed in the way one organization or the other might interpret the standing ROE [Rules of Engagement] and the immediate circumstances of a proposed strike.
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> A question arises here: If the corporate membership of both organizations feared the possibility of an irresponsible or ill-advised use of airpower, who did they think would do it? To a large extent, the evidence available to the BACS [Balkans Air Campaign Study] suggests that the main concern centered around the "Americanization" of the intervention's air option. Since the summer of 1993, and with greater fervor after the following winter, US political leaders were the most outspoken advocates of the punitive

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46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
49 Robert Service, *Stalin: A Biography* (Cambridge MA, 2005), p. 4.

use of airpower in the Balkans. From the beginning of DENY FLIGHT [the name for the NATO operation at that time], NATO airpower in the Balkans was under the control of American flag officers, albeit ones serving as NATO commanders. Moreover, most of the alliance's offensive air strength resided in a powerful American composite wing based at Aviano AB [Air Base] in northeastern Italy. Several European states, particularly those with lightly armed peacekeeping forces committed on the ground, had fears (whether ill grounded or not) that these circumstances could lead to a unilateral, American use of the air weapon in a manner that might escalate the level of violence in the region or the intervention's role in it. Thus, according to Ambassador Hunter, several members of the NAC [North Atlantic Council] proposed the dual-key procedure to both NATO and the UN, in an effort to set up an arrangement that most people believed would preclude any offensive air action. US ambassador Richard Holbrooke shared Hunter's assessment. Part of the dual-key arrangement was about controlling a powerful and politically sensitive "weapon" in the coalition's arsenal, and part of it was about controlling the holders of that weapon.[50]

Not only had the more restrictive version of the dual-key system reduced the frequency with which UN and NATO members used force, it had reduced the frequency with which UN and NATO members had to debate the question of when to use force. Not only had the system constrained the United States, its obscurity and superficial impartiality had permitted all concerned to avoid debating the justice of doing so. After Deliberate Force, these debates would become increasingly public, increasingly divisive, and increasingly broad.

Whose World Order?

Throughout the 1990s, ethnic Albanians in the semi-autonomous Serbian province of Kosovo had carried on their own campaign to break away from the FRY. In 1998, the Albanian insurgent organization known as the Kosova Liberation Army (KLA) accelerated its programme of attacks against Serb police officers. In February and March, FRY Special Police forces fired artillery into villages alleged to be KLA strongholds, killing eighty-three.[51] Both sides carried out increasingly aggressive operations as spring went on, driving approximately 45,000 refugees abroad by early summer.[52]

In March 1998, the UNSC passed Resolution 1160, calling for both sides to resolve their crisis peacefully. The following September, the UNSC passed Resolution 1199, which declared the Kosovo war to be 'a threat to peace and security in the region'. Although this resolution called on all combatants to negotiate, it placed the special onus on the FRY to 'cease all action by the security forces affecting the civilian population and order the withdrawal of security units used for civilian repression',

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50 Owens, 'The Balkans Air Campaign'.

51 Anonymous, *Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: Humanitarian Violations in Kosovo* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1998) http://www.hrw.org/reports98/kosovo/Kos9810-02.htm#P80_1487 (03-02-2007).

52 Ibid.

accept monitoring by international observers and facilitate the return of refugees.[53] Resolution 1199 added that, if the parties to the Kosovo war failed to comply with these demands, the United Nations would 'consider further action'.[54] The war, with its accompanying atrocities and refugee flows, continued, and as weeks passed, it became increasingly clear that Russia would veto any Security Council resolution permitting outside states to impose peace by force.

When Croatia and Bosnia declared independence, other nation-states had promptly recognized their claims. The UN and other well-established international bodies such as the EU quickly followed suit. This meant that the UN and NATO had been able to justify their involvement in the Balkan wars of 1991–1995 on the grounds that they were defending fledgling sovereign states. Few outsiders were prepared to grant the Kosovar Albanians similar status. The UN has since entertained the idea of granting Kosovo 'supervised independence', but this did not occur until 2007.[55]

In the late 1990s, the overwhelming majority of the international community recognized the FRY government's sovereignty over Kosovo. This meant that outsiders had little legal authority to protect the Kosovars by force. Under the terms of the UN Charter, the UNSC could have granted such authority by fiat, but Russia had every right to prevent the Council from doing so.[56] Generally accepted principles of international law would have required states to prevent any act of genocide, but FRY atrocities against the Kosovar Albanians failed to meet the definition of that crime.[57]

The International Court of Justice had ruled that, except under the circumstances noted above, 'the use of force could not be the appropriate method to monitor or ensure … respect [for human rights]'.[58] Accepted principles of international law explicitly forbade states from attacking other sovereign states to prevent indirect effects of human rights violations, such as refugee flows.[59] Legal scholar Bruno Simma sums up the implications of these points by noting that 'these obstacles' to armed intervention in Kosovo 'could only be removed by changing the law of the UN charter'.[60]

Cynics might note that states frequently honour international law in the breach. Nevertheless, states that relate to each other on the basis of a liberal consensus cannot discard generally recognized laws without at least risking broader changes in their relationship. Moreover, most state leaders of the 1990s accepted a duty to abide by international law and expected citizens of their own countries to hold them to it. Simma notes that the German courts recognize a close connection between the permissibility of state policy under international law and the 'democratic legitimacy'

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53 Anonymous, Resolution 1199 (1998) http://www.un.org/peace/kosovo/98sc1199.htm (03-02-2007).

54 Ibid.

55 Richard Beeston, 'Kosovo sovereignty plan raises tensions in the heart of Europe', *The Times* (February 3, 2007), http://timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,3-2568869,00.html (03-02-2007).

56 Simma, 'NATO, The UN and the Use of Force'.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.

of such policy domestically.[61] 'The acuteness and topicality of this question', Simma acknowledges, 'may vary from country to country'.[62]

Nevertheless, numerous Western policymakers, including Germans, were predisposed to intervene in Kosovo.[63] American Secretary of State Madeline Albright, had spent her time as Ambassador to the United Nations arguing for more aggressive action to stop ethnic conflict in the Balkans. Britain's Labour government had come to power, in part, on a pledge to introduce a more ethical foreign policy, and the British Ministry of Defence had duly accepted a commitment to act as a 'force for good' in its 1997 Strategic Defence Review.[64] Moreover, when NATO took the lead in representing the international community in Bosnia, it had set a precedent for itself. Neither the organization nor its members could stand aside in Kosovo without endangering their credibility in all future crises.

NATO Secretary-General Javier Solana acknowledged the symbolic link between the crisis of 1995 and the crisis of 1998–1999 in a February 1999 address to Berlin's Aspen Institute. 'Kosovo is different from Bosnia in many respects. Yet the challenge it poses to the International Community and to NATO is ultimately the same'. Earlier in his speech, Solana had hinted at what the fuller implications of that strategy might be. 'NATO has been successful because at each moment in its history it developed the right political and military strategy to deal with the problems at hand'.[65] This statement implied the corollary that, if NATO should ever fail to adapt to emerging problems, it will fail more generally.

The 'problems at hand' after 1989, Solana noted, were broadly 'to build the new European security structures on the rubble of the Cold War'.[66]

> But can we afford to enter the 21st century without having addressed the unresolved challenges of the 20th century? Should we speak of a united Europe when parts of this Europe remain at war? The sad truth is: massive human rights violations are being committed on our doorstep. The Kosovo crisis may be regional in origin – yet its negative implications are being felt across the entire Euro-Atlantic area.[67]

By the time of Solana's Aspen speech, NATO was already directly involved in the Kosovo crisis. In autumn of 1998, the alliance had drafted plans for an air campaign against Serbia.[68] The NATO Council had repeatedly authorized its secretary-general

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61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 John A. Tokar, 'Vietnam, the Cold War and Kosovo: Irony and Confusion over Foreign Policy', *Parameters*, 30/1 (Spring 2000): 36.

64 Vikram Dodd and Ewen MacAskill, 'Labour drops "ethical" tag," *The Guardian* (Monday, September 4, 2000) http://politics.guardian.cu.uk/economics/story/0,11268,754194,00.html (29-11-2003); Anonymous, *Strategic Defence Review* (1997) http://www.mod.uk/aboutus/defence_matters/info_pages/sdr.html (23-11-2003).

65 Javier Solana, *NATO: A Strategy for the 21st Century* (1 February 1999) http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1999/s990201a.htm (03-02-2007).

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 Anonymous, *Kosovo Chronology: Timeline of events 1989–1999 relating to the crisis in Kosovo* (Washington, DC: US Department of State, May 21, 1999) http://www.state.gov/

Solana to implement these plans if the FRY refused to work toward a peace agreement with the KLA.[69] On 13 October, NATO had warned Serbia that it would strike within 96 hours unless the FRY accepted a ceasefire. The Serbs, after some further delay, had given in.

Four months later, in March 1999, the Serbs rejected further proposals and launched a new offensive against the KLA. In response, NATO attacked the FRY without seeking or receiving UN approval, in an operation known as Allied Force. The Alliance bombed the FRY for almost two months. During that time, the Serbian armed forces prosecuted their campaign against the ethnic Albanian population, driving over one million refugees abroad.[70] Although NATO achieved its ultimate goal of forcing Serbia to accept an international peacekeeping force in Kosovo, it failed to prevent a humanitarian catastrophe in the interim.

Serbia's war with the KLA and NATO's military response also challenged the basic tenets of the liberal consensus. The consensus had formed when a culturally, politically and geographically diverse coalition of nations joined forces under the auspices of the United Nations to vindicate, among other things, the principle of sovereignty. In 1999, a predominantly Western coalition defied UN procedures to override the FRY's sovereign status. German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel's declaration to the Bundestag that NATO's decision 'must not become a precedent' may have been heartfelt, but it was never likely to be effectual.[71]

Kosovo Debated

Representatives of Russia, India and Belarus formally protested NATO's act on 26 March, 1999, when they jointly proposed a draft security council resolution condemning the Western bombing campaign as a 'threat to international peace and security'.[72] This resolution demanded that NATO cease operations immediately. As for the other parties to the Kosovo dispute, the resolution enjoined them to 'urgent resumption of negotiations'.[73] Namibia, Russia and the People's Republic of China supported this resolution, but the rest of the Security Council opposed it, with no abstentions.

Although the Security Council failed to adopt this resolution, the debate over the issue sets out prominent states' official responses to NATO's newer version of the New World Order. Sergey Lavrov, speaking for the Russian Federation, accused NATO of violating Article 2, Article 4, Article 24 and Article 53 of the UN Charter, along with Article 1 of the Chicago Convention on air travel.[74] This, he said, 'not only

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www/regions/eur/fs_kosovo_timeline.html (5-02-2007).

69 Ibid.

70 Vincent J. Goulding Jr., 'From Chancellorsville to Kosovo, Forgetting the Art of War', *Parameters*, 30/2 (Summer 2000): 6.

71 Simma, 'NATO, the UN and the Use of Force'.

72 Anonymous, *Security Council Rejects Demand for Cessation of Use of Force against Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*, UN Press Release 6659 (26 March 1999) http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/1999/19990326.sc6659.html (21-02-2007).

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

destabilized the situation in the Balkans and the region as a whole, but undermined today's system of modern-day international relations'.[75]

Lavrov then elaborated upon the far-reaching consequences that undermining the system of international relations would have:

> What was in the balance now was law and lawlessness; of either reaffirming the commitments of one's people to the United Nations Charter, or tolerating a situation where gross force was the norm. Council members bore the responsibility, not only to their peoples but to all members of the United Nations. Today's vote was not just on the problem of Kosovo, but went directly to the Council's authority, in the eyes of the world community. Council members could not ignore demands to stop the aggression and respect international law. Its capacity to defend the Charter was key for the future of the United Nations. If it could not do that, then no negotiations or talks about reforming the Council would help.[76]

Where Lavrov emphasized NATO's violation of Security Council authority, Chinese representative Qin Huasun emphasized NATO's violation of FRY sovereignty:

> He opposed the use of or threat of use of force in international affairs, and interference in the internal affairs of other States under whatever pretext or in whatever form. The question of Kosovo, being an internal matter of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, should be solved by the parties concerned among themselves.[77]

One notes that Qin's insistence on sovereignty rests uneasily with Lavrov's insistence on collective decision-making through existing international institutions. In subsequent years, the official newspaper of China's Peoples' Liberation Army reiterated this theme even more explicitly. 'Peace loving countries and peoples the world over', the authors opined, must 'resolutely oppose the absurd theory that "human rights transcend sovereignty," and strive to defend their state sovereignty and build a fair and rational world political and economic order'.[78] The authors' implied refusal to recognize the existing world political and economic order as either fair or rational invites reflection.

The Security Council also recorded statements from representatives of Cuba, Bosnia-Herzegovinia, India, Slovenia, the United States, the FRY, Canada, Slovenia, Netherlands, United Kingdom, France, Argentina, Malaysia, Bahrain, China, Ukraine and Belarus.[79] Speakers for Cuba, Belarus and the FRY echoed Lavrov's arguments about maintaining the sanctity of UN procedures.[80] Bruno Rodriguez Parrilla, the Cuban representative, personalized the Russian argument by naming the country he perceived as the 'main promoter of the aggression'.[81]

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75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

78 Zhang Xuebin, 'Two "isms" on the Same Vine', reprinted in *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts* (February 8, 2000): FE/3758 G/2.

79 Anonymous, 'Security Council Rejects Demand for Cessation of Use of Force'.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid.

Never before had the unipolar order imposed by the United States been so obvious. What had been witnessed was the Council going along with actions of international delinquency by the United States and its allies. When the Council did not yield to unipolar might, then what had been seen was that the super-Power acted on its own.[82]

Vladislav Jovanovic of the FRY drew attention to the human consequences of the NATO campaign. 'The NATO, led by the United States', he alleged, 'had engaged in an "orgy of destruction and havoc" against a peace- loving country. It was demonizing those people in a shameless attempt to provide a cover for its aggression'.[83] In so doing, it had:

> turned a sovereign and peaceful country and its proud people into "a killing field and a testing ground" for its most sophisticated weaponry … outperforming even the Nazis, through its animosity and hatred against the Serbian and Montenegro people.[84]

Kamalesh Sharma, speaking for India, supported Jovanovic in deploring what he depicted as 'senseless violence'.[85] Where the Russian representative had noted the broader implications of NATO's actions for UN authority and international law, Sharma hinted at even broader moral and human concerns:

> […] NATO seemed to have taken on the persona and the methods of operation of those whose activities it wanted to curb. Those who took the law into their own hands had never improved civic peace within nations; neither would they help in international relations. [86]

Volodymyr Yel'chenko of Ukraine acknowledged the legal argument against NATO, but opposed the resolution condemning the alliance's campaign on the grounds that the humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo demanded extraordinary action.[87] This was, indeed, the most popular argument in defence of NATO's act. Speakers for Canada, Slovenia, the United States, the United Kingdom, Argentina, Malaysia, Bahrain and Bosnia all advanced it.[88] Peter Van Walsum of the Netherlands added the practical point that halting the NATO operation after it had already begun would not only allow Serbia to continue committing atrocities but quite possibly, encourage FRY leaders to believe that they could go to even greater extremes.[89]

NATO supporters also observed that although the UNSC had not specifically authorized states to use force against the FRY, it had passed numerous resolutions opposing Serbia's policies. Speakers for France, America and the Netherlands enumerated these resolutions in detail. Since Serbia had ignored those resolutions, these speakers argued, NATO was upholding the spirit of the UN Charter. Robert

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82 Ibid.
83 Ibid.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.

Fowler of Canada implicitly criticized the sponsors of the resolution condemning NATO's action.[90]

Van Walsum was even more explicit, thanking Russia for initially helping to pressure the Serbian leadership, but adding:

> Since then, however, at every critical juncture Russia had somehow succeeded in making the pressure less credible, so that in the end NATO had no choice but to make good on its threat, which had initially meant to bring about a peaceful solution to the Kosovo crisis … [91]

Although Lavrov declined to take the floor after the Security Council vote, Sharma did so, and took the opportunity to counter some of the NATO supporters' arguments as follows:

> Those who continued to attack Yugoslavia professed to do so on behalf of the international community, and on pressing humanitarian grounds, he said. They said that they were acting in the name of humanity. Very few members of the international community had spoken in today's debate, but even among those who had, NATO would have noted that China, Russia and India had all opposed the violence which they had unleashed. "The international community" could hardly be said to have endorsed their actions, when already representatives of half of humanity had said that they did not agree with what NATO had done.[92]

For a twenty-first century analyst of international politics, Sharma's positions are ambiguous but potentially intriguing. The NATO supporters tended to present their claim that NATO was responding to humanitarian need and their claim that NATO was, in spirit at least, acting on behalf of the international community as separate arguments. Since Sharma addresses them as a single issue, it is difficult to tell how radically he disagrees with his opponents. If he merely intends to criticize the claim that NATO acted on behalf of an international consensus, his argument is relatively modest.

Even the modest version of Sharma's argument, however, is noteworthy for its premises, and thus for its unspoken implications. Lavrov accused NATO of lawlessness on the grounds that the alliance had violated specific articles of the UN Charter. Sharma accused NATO of defying representatives of the world's most populous countries. Where Lavrov appealed to the existing international system, Sharma implicitly called for a new system recognizing some form of global majority rule.

Sharma refers both to NATO's claim to have acted on 'humanitarian grounds' and NATO's claim to have acted 'in the name of humanity', and it is impossible

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90 'Those who would support the resolution had placed themselves outside of the international consensus which held that the time had come to stop the continuing violence perpetrated by the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia against its own people, he said. Rather than bringing forward that unproductive resolution, in an attempt to divert attention from the fundamental humanitarian issue, those countries might more usefully had directed their energies towards convincing the leaders in Belgrade to stop the violence against their people and to accept the Rambouillet peace agreement' (Ibid.).

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.

to tell whether he equates the two. If he does, his argument becomes yet bolder. Sharma conceives of human issues in a different sense from that which NATO Secretary General Solana, for instance, presumably conceived of them when he described the Kosovo crisis as a 'humanitarian catastrophe'.[93] Solana appears to have been referring to the personal suffering of several million humans. Sharma, on the other hand appears to have been referring to the principle of majority rule within a constituency comprising all of humanity. A considerable body of literature in political theory debates the question of when, if ever, the rights of individuals must take precedence over the collective will of the electorate. The United States of America confronted this issue in both its revolution against Great Britain and its Civil War. In international politics, Sharma suggests, the majority should prevail.

The Debate Subsides

Despite the strong language and provocative ideas of the 26 March debates, the international controversy over Kosovo had few immediate consequences. One reason may be that Serbia accepted a peace settlement within months. Another may be that UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan compromised the argument that NATO had committed an affront against the UN by hinting that he condoned the alliance's action. In January 1999, when journalists asked Annan what sort of approval NATO would need to intervene, the Secretary-General responded that a UNSC resolution would 'normally' be required, thus leaving open the possibility that there might be circumstances under which it was not.[94] After NATO's intervention, Annan continued to suggest sympathy, if not unequivocal support, for the alliance's position:

> Our [The UN's] role in the area of peace and security has evolved significantly over the last decade. Many of the new peacekeeping missions deployed over this period involved the United Nations in situations of internal conflict, where we sought to put an end to senseless bloodshed and often massive violations of human rights. But, as this year's Kosovo crisis showed us, there is as yet no consensus within the international community about its rights and responsibilities in such circumstances.

> There is often a tension between the cardinal principle of sovereignty and the equally fundamental value of human rights, both enshrined in the United Nations Charter. In recent years, there have been interventions in compelling humanitarian situations or where there have been gross and systematic violations of human rights. Our own Charter makes it clear that "armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest".

> But what is the common interest?

> In my speech to the General Assembly in October, I invited Member States to consider this vital question.

> Who defines it?

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93 Simma, 'NATO, the UN and the Use of Force'.
94 Ibid.

Who acts to defend it; under whose authority?

Clearly, the Security Council is the only body with the international responsibility to take such action.

But in the past, on Rwanda, it has been united in inaction, and on Kosovo, it was disunited. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) took action outside the Council's authority.

We must do better than this.

A new consensus must be developed so that the Council acts in defence of our common humanity. I welcome the debate that has begun among Member States on these issues.[95]

Annan's tacit support for NATO becomes clearer when one compares his comments to the alliance's own justification for its deeds. In October 1998, when NATO began to threaten military action, Solana justified his organization's position as follows:

- The FRY has not yet complied with the urgent demands of the International Community, despite UNSC Resolution 1160 of 31 March 1998 followed by UNSC Resolution 1199 of 23 September 1998, both acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter;
- The very stringent report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations pursuant to both resolutions warned inter alia of the danger of an humanitarian disaster in Kosovo;
- The continuation of a humanitarian catastrophe, because no concrete measures towards a peaceful solution of the crisis have been taken by the FRY;
- The fact that another UNSC Resolution containing a clear enforcement action with regard to Kosovo cannot be expected in the foreseeable future;
- The deterioration of the situation in Kosovo and its magnitude constitute a serious threat to peace and security in the region as explicitly referred to in the UNSC Resolution 1199.

On the basis of this discussion, I conclude that the Allies believe that in the particular circumstances with respect to the present crisis in Kosovo as described in UNSC Resolution 1199, there are legitimate grounds for the Alliance to threaten, and if necessary, to use force.[96]

Both Solana and Annan assert that states face an imperative to prevent humanitarian catastrophe. Both Solana and Annan present the stalemate within the Security Council as a dereliction of duty. Neither of them acknowledge the counter-arguments that the Security Council debate was proceeding according to the rules of the UN Charter, that Russia had the right to veto any resolution it chose, and that the UN's founders had presumably viewed occasional deadlock as a price worth paying for the perceived advantages of granting the UNSC's permanent members veto power. One also notes Solana's eagerness to justify NATO's actions in terms of earlier UNSC resolutions, and his partial success at doing so.

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95 Kofi Annan, 'Looking Back. Looking Ahead. The United Nations and Global Challenges', *United Nations Chronicle*, 36/4 (1999) http://www.un.org/Pubs/chronicle/1999/issue4/0499p33.htm (07-02-2007).

96 Simma, NATO, the UN and the Use of Force'.

Moreover, although there was no longer much of a global liberal consensus, there was still a rudimentary consensus among liberals. Sharma would have been entitled to note that the world's most populous democracy opposed NATO's campaign, but most of the other liberal states acquiesced to it. Within those states, public figures commonly associated with anti-war stances acquiesced as well. German foreign minister Joschka Fischer, a member of the Green Party, supported NATO, as did Italy's socialist prime minister Massimo d'Alema.[97] This broad agreement would no longer exist four years later, when the UNSC again declined to authorize states to implement its resolutions by force, and an ad hoc coalition again took matters into its own hands.

Russia Vindicated?

Despite the American founders' avowed 'decent respect [for] the opinions of mankind', makers of US foreign policy have perennially disregarded internationally-held sensibilities.[98] Even as G.H.W. Bush proclaimed a New World Order, as earlier sections have discussed, senior American officials summarily dismissed French proposals for addressing Middle Eastern problems while drafting frankly-worded plans to perpetuate their country's military dominance. The Clinton Administration showed similar tendencies. Not only did Clinton's America join with NATO in exceeding the UN's resolutions, senior Clinton officials did so with an enthusiasm that troubled even their allies.

In 1999, German legal scholar and International Court of Justice member Bruno Simma adopted the position that:

> [W]e would be well-advised to adhere to the view emphasized and affirmed so strongly in the German debate, and regard the Kosovo crisis as a singular case in which NATO decided to act without Security Council authorization out of overwhelming humanitarian necessity, but from which no general conclusion ought to be drawn.[99]

American Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbot, by contrast, did not hesitate to draw general conclusions:

> [W]e must be careful not to subordinate NATO to any other international body or compromise the integrity of its command structure. We will try to act in concert with other organizations, and with respect for their principles and purposes. But the Alliance must reserve the right and freedom to act when its members, by consensus, deem it necessary.[100]

Although Talbott also assured listeners that he was '*not* saying there are *no* limiting factors on what NATO can and should do', his decision to emphasize the words 'not'

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97 Tokar, 'Vietnam, the Cold War and Kosovo': 36.

98 Pauline Maier, *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence* (New York: 1997), p. 236.

99 Simma, 'NATO, the UN and the Use of Force'.

100 Ibid.

and 'no' did little to soften his previously-quoted position.[101] Perhaps as an example of what such limiting factors might be, he noted that '[n]o one is suggesting that we deploy NATO forces, say, to the Spratley Islands'.[102] More formal American statements concerning the Kosovo crisis reflect a similar mindset. The US State Department's paper on *US and NATO Objectives and Interests in Kosovo*, for instance, justifies Operation Allied Force in terms which even NATO's European members might have found inadequate. This document cites Belgrade's human rights abuses, but does not even mention the various UN resolutions that held so much importance for Solana.[103] *US and NATO Objectives* concludes by noting the alliance's need to maintain its credibility, an avowal, that, while most likely sincere, may strike those of loftier sentiments as blunt.[104]

In 2000, George W. Bush succeeded Clinton. The new president's foreign policy was initially conservative both in the sense of being relatively cautious and in the sense of appealing to the political right. Even then, however, Bush Administration actions such as the decision to withdraw from the anti-ballistic missile treaty and deploy national missile defences provoked widespread criticism and analysis. Former French prime minister Lionel Jospin won international attention for his assault on American unilateralism five months before the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 and all that came in their wake.[105]

Journalist and George W. Bush admirer Norman Podhoretz may overstate the case when he writes that 'out of the blackness of smoke and fiery death let loose by September 11, a kind of revelation, blazing with a very different fire of its own, lit up the recesses of Bush's mind and heart and soul'.[106] Nevertheless, in aftermath of the attacks, the American president spoke extensively about his foreign policy goals and the means by which he hoped to achieve them. In September 2002, at the behest of the US Congress, his administration codified these ideas in a National Security Strategy. As the following extracts demonstrate, this strategy committed the United States to an explicit ideological agenda:

> Today the United States enjoys a position of unparalleled military strength and great economic and political influence. In keeping with our heritage and principles, we do not use our strength to press for unilateral advantage. We seek instead to create a balance of power that favors human freedom: conditions in which all nations and all societies can choose for themselves the rewards and challenges of political and economic liberty.[107]

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101 Ibid.

102 Ibid.

103 Anonymous, US and NATO Objectives and Interests in Kosovo (Washington DC: US Department of State, March 26, 1999) http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/fs_990326_ksvobjectives.html (07-02-2007).

104 Ibid.

105 Adam Sage, 'Jospin Plays on Anti-US Feeling', *The Times* (5 April 2001), http://www.thetimes.co.uk (28 August 2001).

106 Norman Podhoretz, 'In Praise of the Bush Doctrine', *Commentary*, 114/2 (September 2002): 21.

107 George Bush, prefatory letter, Anonymous, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington DC, September 2002).

Whether or not one accepts Bush's definitions of freedom or claims to selflessness, these statements have meaningful implications for US foreign policy. Bush's reference to 'economic freedom' indicates that he is referring to a broadly-defined vision of liberty, which others do not share. Where the elder Bush had spoken of a New World Order based on a rudimentary international consensus, the younger Bush presented a single country – his own – as the champion of truths others had yet to embrace. Indeed, he chided others for their lack of moral fibre:

> Nations that enjoy freedom must actively fight terror. Nations that depend on international stability must help prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Nations that seek international aid must govern themselves wisely, so that the aid is well-spent. For freedom to thrive, accountability must be expected and required.[108]

A paragraph later, George W. Bush took a similar tone to America's partners in international organizations. Having affirmed that '[t]he United States is committed to lasting institutions like the United Nations, the Organization of American States, and NATO as well as other long-standing alliances' he warned less reliable nations that '[i]n all cases, international obligations are to be taken seriously. They are not to be undertaken symbolically to rally support for an ideal without furthering its attainment'.[109] Those attuned to nuance will also note that this statement does not acknowledge any hierarchy among these institutions. If George W. Bush is committed to the United Nations, he is equally committed to NATO, the OAS, and an assortment of unspecified alliances.

Later, the president became yet more specific about the universal principles America would advance. 'We will actively work to bring the hope of democracy, development, free markets and free trade to every corner of the world'.[110] Elsewhere, he identifies Russia and the People's Republic of China as targets for US ideological influence. 'America will encourage the advancement of democracy and economic openness in both nations, because these are the best foundations for domestic stability and international order'.[111]

In this cause, the George W. Bush administration reserved the right to act as independently as NATO had acted in Kosovo. The National Security Strategy's chapter on Agendas for Cooperative Action opens with the sentence 'America will implement its strategies by organizing coalitions – as broad as practicable – of states able and willing to promote a balance of power that favors freedom'.[112] One notes that America is to initiate such activities, that America will do so on behalf of its interpretation of 'freedom' and that, although the coalitions are to be 'as broad as practicable', they need never be any broader. Later sections express a 'hope' for

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108 Ibid.

109 Ibid.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid.

112 Anonymous, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington DC, September 2002), p. 25.

agreement with Russia, India and China, but they certainly do not acknowledge any requirement for one.[113]

A wide range of international political actors opposed the George W. Bush administration approach to world politics, also on grounds of principle. The most immediately significant of these debates pitted the United States, not only against allegedly unfree countries such as Russia and the PRC, but against certain liberal democracies in Western Europe. Having identified Iraq as a 'rogue regime', The National Security Strategy promised a 'response' against all such miscreant nations. This response was to 'take full advantage' of, among other things, 'strengthened alliances, the establishment of new partnerships with former adversaries [and] innovation in the use of military forces'.[114]

At the same time that the George W. Bush Administration issued its National Security Strategy, it was negotiating within the Security Council for an agreement to enforce earlier resolutions regarding Iraq more stringently. After the 1990–91 Gulf War, the victorious coalition had compelled Iraq's government to sign a peace treaty accepting the terms of UN Resolution 687, which banned Iraq from possessing nuclear, biological or chemical weapons.[115] Iraq had also agreed to allow United Nations inspectors to monitor its compliance with this agreement. The Iraqi government had resisted such inspections throughout the 1990s. In 1998, it had formally expelled the UN inspectors.[116]

The George W. Bush Administration, along with the British government headed by Prime Minister Tony Blair, favoured firm action to uphold the earlier agreements. Other UNSC members took a variety of positions. In November 2002, the UNSC produced Resolution 1441, which confronted Iraq with a 'final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations' but did not specify what would happen if Iraq did not.[117] Representatives of Russia, France and the People's Republic of China issued press releases emphasising that Resolution 1441 had not authorized UN members to uphold its provisions through force. In their statements, these representatives asserted a principle of international conduct which was to put them at odds with the ideas which animated the George W. Bush Administration's National Security Strategy:

> JEAN-DAVID LEVITTE (*France*) said he believed that the resolution was a good one, because it strengthened the role of the Security Council, which was the main objective of his country during the negotiations. If the inspection authorities reported to the Council Iraq had not complied with its obligations, the Council would meet immediately and decide on a course of action. France welcomed the lack of "automaticity" in the final resolution. Moreover, the resolution gave the IAEA and UNMOVIC better tools to do

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113   Ibid., p. 26.

114   *National Security Strategy*, p. 14.

115   Anonymous, *Resolution 687 (1991)*, http://ods-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/ GEN/NR0/596/23/IMG/NR059623.pdf?OpenElement (30-04-2004).

116   Oudrant, 'UNSCOM: Between Iraq and a Hard Place': 144.

117   Anonymous, *Resolution 1441 (2002)*, http://www.unhchr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca. nsf/TestFrame/f2ea3b325ab183fac1256c8b003c2034?Opendocument (7-09-2006).

their job, and ensured impartiality. The inspectors would, however, have to rely on the full cooperation of the Iraqi authorities.[118]

The first point Levitte makes, and his rationale for judging the resolution as a 'good' one is that it strengthens the role of an international body, the Security Council. Levitte goes on to praise the UN inspection process, not for its commitment to specific ideals such as freedom but for its 'impartiality'. Only after discussing the virtues of even-handed multilateralism for a full paragraph does Levitte go on to talk about 'peace', 'the stability of the region' and the need for Iraqi cooperation.[119] American representative John Negroponte and British representative Jeremy Greenstock, by contrast, opened their statements by condemning Iraq for its recalcitrance and demanding that it surrender its alleged stockpiles of prohibited weapons immediately.[120]

France's position on Iraq, in other words, resembles Russia's position on Kosovo. Levitte presents collective decision-making as a thing good in itself. Moreover, he emphasizes the importance of adhering to the presumably even-handed procedures of international institutions over the outcomes that those procedures engender. The following spring, America, Britain and a coalition of like-minded countries conquered Iraq without UN authorization. The coalition's action provoked sharp opposition throughout the world. Legal scholar Carsten Stahn, writing in October 2003, summed up the opponents' position as follows:

> The wounds are still fresh. The smoke has not quite risen from the ashes, yet there it is again, the ghost of change and transformation that shook the [UN] Charter system four years ago. This time, however, the air is not filled with solemn proclamations of morality or humanitarian dedication. It is poisoned by doubt and bitterness. The damage to the international legal system is all too visible. The future of Iraq is still uncertain. Furthermore, the argument for the use of force against Iraq is open to challenge as long as there is uncertainty over the existence of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction.
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> This is a time of sceptics. They tell us that we are witnessing, finally, the "fall of a monument," the moment when the charter risks being reduced to "a scrap of paper" and the collective security system faces collapse.[121]

Nor is this strong language all Stahn's own. To the contrary, he takes it from such respected publications as *Frankfurther Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Le Monde* and *Foreign Affairs*. Other commentators blamed the American-led coalition's flagrant unilateralism for the UN's impotence in other crises. Journalist Henry Porter cited the coalition's action to help explain why the UN was unable to restrain India and

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118 Anonymous, *Security Council Holds Iraq in 'Material Breach' of Disarmament Obligations, Offers Final Chance to Comply, Unanimously Adopting Resolution 1441* (2002), Press Release 7564 (08/11/2002) http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2002/SC7564.doc.htm (7-09-2006).

119 Ibid.

120 Ibid.

121 Carsten Stahn, 'Enforcement of the Collective Will after Iraq', *The American Journal of International Law*, 97/4 (October 2003): 804.

Pakistan from engaging in what Cold War analysts of US-Soviet diplomacy might have called nuclear brinksmanship.[122] Lavrov might have felt inclined to say 'I told you so'.

122　Henry Porter, 'Wake-up Call', *The Guardian*, G2 (29 April 2002): 2.

Chapter 3

Republic or Cosmopolis?

The fact that so many found the 2003 coalition's presumption in invading Iraq so shocking illustrates a significant development in twenty-first century political thought. Although war is always horrible, the coalition members' decision to take matters into their own hands is not as self-evidently outrageous as its critics tend to imply. Not only have states committed similar acts throughout history, well-respected bodies of political thought suggest that they have both the need and the moral right to do so. The UN Charter itself recognizes the principle of state sovereignty. Although scholars and practitioners of international affairs have defined this concept in innumerable ways, Hans Morgenthau's statement that a sovereign state 'is free to have whatever kind of military establishment it deems necessary for the purposes of its foreign policy – which, in turn, it is free to determine as it sees fit' is compatible with common understandings of the term.[1]

Morgenthau also took it as axiomatic that state governments will act individually to advance their individual interests.[2] If the Classical Realism of Morgenthau has attracted criticism, it has also inspired more recent authors to develop a school of thought known as Offensive Realism, which reiterates these points in starker terms.[3] Even those who deny that Realism explains international relations as fully or as unalterably as its advocates claim frequently acknowledge that Realism explains historically common international phenomena relatively well. Alexander Wendt opens a book introducing his alternative to Realism by acknowledging that 'self-interest and coercion seem to rule international politics' and that this makes the international system a 'hard case' for non-Realists like himself.[4]

Glorifying Unilateralism: The Republican Political Tradition

Other political traditions offer unilateralists such as Strobe Talbott and G.W. Bush even more enthusiastic support. Morgenthau grounded his theory in the need to reconcile oneself to an 'imperfect' world governed by inexorable 'forces'.[5] Since 'moral principles can never be fully realized' one accepts such practices as unilateral declarations of war as an inevitable byproduct of 'the ever temporary balancing

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1   Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York, 1948), p. 231.

2   Ibid., p. 5; ibid., p. 563.

3   John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York, 2001).

4   Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 2.

5   Morgenthau, p. 3.

of interests and the ever precarious settlement of conflicts'.[6] Morgenthau's tone throughout is grudging. The school of thought known as republicanism, by contrast, presents independent initiative as a positive virtue.

Republicans share Morgenthau's concern with chaos and change. People found republics, political theorist J.G.A. Pocock tells us, when they lose their faith in Providence.[7] Those who believe that history unfolds according to a divine plan can afford to leave their affairs in the hands of God. Republicans, on the other hand, conclude that members of their community must take responsibility for maintaining their own moral and political stability in, to use Pocock's expression, a 'stream of irrational events'.[8]

The irrationality that troubles republicans need not be the existential irrationality of meaningless existence in a meaningless cosmos. America's Declaration of Independence, for example, implies that its authors perceived considerable order in the universe. The authors begin by invoking self-evident truths about political relationships. In the process, they refer to a Creator who has endowed men with inalienable rights. Not only do they profess an abstract belief in eternal principles, they observe order – even inertia – in the day-to-day practice of politics:

> [P]rudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light & transient causes, and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.[9]

Rather, republicans are concerned with offences against their own rationality. Republicans resist being under the control of outsiders because, even if the outsiders are rational in some objective sense, there is no guarantee that the reasons that motivate them will also be reasons will similarly motivate you. Outside rulers may, as the American founders complained of King George, refuse 'assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good', make 'judges dependent on his will alone', combine 'with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknoleged [sp] by our laws' and, ultimately, 'bring on' depredations such as those committed by the 'merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes & conditions'.[10]

Republicans admire initiative because they see it as way, first of shaking off such abuses, and then of holding them at bay. The arch-republican Niccolo Machiavelli described the capacity to take charge of events as *virtu*. Scholars have devoted considerable effort to establishing precisely what Machiavelli meant by this concept.[11] The American founders were more specific about what they believed a people needed to take charge of its own destiny:

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6   Ibid.
7   J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. viii.
8   Ibid.
9   Maier, op. cit., p. 236.
10 Ibid., pp. 237–9.
11 See, for instance, Quentin Skinner, *Machiavelli* (Oxford, 1981).

We therefore the Representatives of the United states of America, in General Congress assembled, do, in the name and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is & ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free & independant [sp] states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, & to do all other acts and things which independant [sp] states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.[12]

One notes that, despite the Declaration's early appeal to universal principles, the 'Representatives of the United states of America' act only 'in the name and by authority of the good people of these colonies'. One also notes that they pledge their lives, fortunes and sacred honor, not to all causes right and true, but, more pragmatically, to 'each other'. Thus, John Quincy Adams remained consistent with the Declaration when he warned:

[America] well knows … that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banner of foreign independence, she would involve herself, beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy and ambition … She might become the dictatress of the world; she would no longer be the ruler of her own spirit.[13]

Different political theorists have presented different concepts of republicanism. Different governments have also implemented republican ideas differently in practice. One cannot treat any document – and certainly not the writings of Revolutionary War-era Americans – as universal for all republicans. With that caveat, however, one may generalize that most republicans would share the American founders' concern with achieving self-determination and limiting one's external liabilities. As the earlier reference to Pocock indicates, both themes were integral to Machiavelli's work on the subject.

For those with an interest in the effect of ideas on twenty-first century international politics, republicanism would appear to be a particularly significant body of thought. One reason is that the United States of America has become, Quincy Adams' warning notwithstanding, involved 'beyond the power of extrication' in a such a large number of the world's interests and intrigues. Moreover, most other states also claim to be republics. France, its opposition to unilateral action in Iraq notwithstanding, has a glorious republican heritage. Russia is a republic as well. The governments of both states have proven themselves willing to exercise republican self-determination on issues ranging from nuclear testing in the South Pacific to warfare in Chechnya.

Even states that nominally retain non-republican forms of government encourage republican expectations within their population. Great Britain, for instance, retains its monarchy. Nevertheless, as of 2007, the National Curriculum in British

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12 Ibid., p. 241.

13 Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), p. 185.

schools features classes on 'citizenship' (not subjecthood) education. The British Government's Department for Education and Skills Advisory Group on Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools 'identifies three inter-related components that should run through all education for Citizenship'.[14]

One of these, 'political literacy', consists of teaching children 'how to make themselves effective in the life of the nation, locally, regionally and nationally through skills and values as well as knowledge – a concept wider than political knowledge alone'.[15] This definition of political literacy seems akin to Machiavelli's *virtu*. The report also calls for schools to inculcate what it calls 'community involvement'.[16] 'Community involvement' encourages children to become 'helpfully' involved in 'their neighbourhoods and communities' – not, one notes, any more universal collectivity.[17] The British Crown, in other words, appears to be earnestly indoctrinating its youth in republicanism.

Republicanism with a Universal Face

The most active republicans of the early twenty-first century advocate distinctive variants of republicanism. The United States of America, for instance, has taken its insistence on self-determination to what many of its critics perceive as a dangerous extreme. America's president during this time happens to represent the Republican Party. Nevertheless, commentators typically characterize his administration's political outlook since 11 September 2001, not as republican in the political theory sense of the term, but as neoconservative.

There are tensions between neoconservatism and pure republicanism. One must also avoid the error of implying that all so-called neoconservatives agree on all issues. Nevertheless, with those caveats, one may also note that the versions of neoconservatism that have prevailed in American foreign policy incorporate the essential ideas of republicanism. Joshua Muravchik summed up widespread perceptions concerning the composition of the neoconservative movement in *Commentary*:

> Who makes up this potent faction? Within the administration, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz is usually identified as the key actor, together with Richard Perle, a member and until recently the chairman of the Defense Advisory Board. A handful of other high-level Bush appointees are often named as adherents of the neo-con faith, including Undersecretary of Defense Douglas Feith, Undersecretary of State John Bolton, National Security Council staff member Elliott Abrams and Vice Presidential aide Lewis "Scooter" Libby. The American Enterprise Institute (AEI, where I work), the *Weekly Standard* magazine, and William Kristol's Project for a New American Century – all three rent offices in the same building – are often described as constituting the movement's

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14 Anonymous, 'What Is Citizenship?' online http://www.dfes.gov.uk/citizenship/ section.cfm?sectionId=3&hierachy=1.3, accessed 05-03-2007.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

Washington command center. And then, of course, there is this magazine, crucible of so much neoconservative thought.[18]

Muravchik notes that 'upholders of leftist orthodoxy' initially popularized the term neoconservative to describe their opponents in an assortment of political debates during the 1970s.[19] Nevertheless, Muravchik also notes that most alleged neoconservatives eventually accepted the term.[20] Muravchik goes on to sum up what ideas twenty-first century neoconservatives typically share regarding foreign policy:

> What is that [neoconservative] sensibility? In part it may consist in a greater readiness to engage American power and resources where nothing but humanitarian concerns are at issue. In larger part, however, it is concerned with national security, sharing with traditional conservatism the belief that military strength is irreplaceable and that pacifism is folly. Where it parts company with traditional conservatism is in the more contingent approach it takes to guarding that security.[21]

Muravchik explains this 'contingent approach' by describing how he and his fellow neoconservatives viewed the Bosnian crisis. 'Neoconservatives believed that American inaction would make the world a more dangerous place, and that ultimately this danger would assume forms that would land on our own doorstep'.[22] The idea that one's own immediate community (America) should take the initiative in order to shape events that, if left to fortune and to others, might ultimately threaten oneself and one's close neighbours is inherently republican. Muravchik goes on to note 'another distinguishing characteristic is that neoconservatives put greater stock in the political and ideological aspects of conflict', notably through their 'enthusiasm for democracy'.[23]

American republicanism has, as noted above, historically included a belief in universal moral and political principles. Previous sections have also noted how the American founders phrased their Declaration of Independence to prevent this belief from eclipsing their republican commitment to self-determination. The history of the past two centuries suggests that the founders succeeded in their aim of forming a government that could combine universalistic propositions with pragmatic policy. Nevertheless, the founders accomplished this only through fine argument, if not outright hypocrisy.

When neoconservatives emphasize propagating democracy, they focus attention on this difficult area within American republican thought. To the extent that they ask Americans to, in Muravchik's words, 'engage American power and resources where nothing but humanitarian concerns are at issue', they break with pure republicanism.[24] Neoconservative preaching about democracy also invites critics

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18 Joshua Muravchik, 'The Neoconservative Cabal', *Commentary*, 116/2 (September 2003): 26–7.

19 Ibid.: 27.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.: 32.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

to ask how closely self-described democracies live up to their own standards. In principle, at least, neoconservative writers have welcomed the latter sort of criticism as a moral challenge that Americans should rise to.[25] Pure republicans would prefer to sacrifice moral virtue for Machiavelli's *virtu*.

Muravchik reconciles moralising with American republicanism primarily through his argument that a democratic world is ultimately a safer world for the US itself. Other neoconservative works add a passionate emphasis on America as a distinct state with a distinct heritage and a distinctly important role in world politics.[26] For those who adopt this view, Americans not only have the prerogative to exercise republican self-determination, but may take righteous pride in it. These republican themes of America's need to take the initiative, America's interest in promoting certain ideas and America's special importance in world politics are commonplace in neoconservative writings, including the Project for a New American Century's Statement of Principles and, for that matter, the 2002 National Security Strategy.

Rejecting Republicanism: The Cosmopolitan Sensibility

Although republicanism underlies widely-held political beliefs and inspires some of the twenty-first centuries most influential political actors, its tenets are becoming increasingly controversial. When Lavrov condemned unilateral action as lawless and Levitte praised multilateral deliberation as inherently 'good', they were expressing a sensibility that inspires a growing range of participants in twenty-first century affairs. This book will refer to that sensibility as cosmopolitanism. Although twenty-first century cosmopolitans do not necessarily call themselves cosmopolitans, they have evolved a recognizable set of shared principles. These principles have proven intellectually substantial enough to generate a body of theoretical literature and influential enough to inspire a range of successful political movements.

Broadly cosmopolitan ideas are, if anything, older than republicanism. Ethicist Hugh Harris, writing in 1927, reminds us that 'Akhnaton (pharaoh of Egypt from 1375 to 1338 BC) … regarded himself as owing the same duties to all men, irrespective of race or nationality'.[27] The fact that Akhenaten, as his name is more commonly spelled today, also imposed a controversial new religion upon Egypt itself reminds us that cosmopolitanism went hand in hand with radical political change even then. Later generations of Egyptians reverted to their traditional beliefs and attempted to obliterate reminders of Akhenaten's reign. Harris goes on to note that the natural philosophers of ancient Greece expressed the concept of universal legal principles in terms that remain familiar in the twenty-first century.[28]

Harris follows Greek concepts as they passed through the Cynics and Stoics to such founders of contemporary international law as Hugo Grotius, adding that '[t]he names of such men as Voltaire, Kant and Bertrand Russell are a sufficient

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25 Robert Kagan, 'A Higher Realism', *Washington Post* (January 23, 2005): B07.

26 Ibid.

27 Hugh Harris, 'The Greek Origins of the Idea of Cosmopolitanism', *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Oct. 1927), pp. 1–2 (pp. 1–10).

28 Ibid.: 8.

reminder of the continued connection between philosophy and cosmopolitanism'.[29] One might, however, note that republicans admire many of these thinkers as well. Certainly, many republicans agree with Heraclitus (as his name is now commonly spelled) about the existence of universal moral principles with universal political applications. As early sections have noted, G.W. Bush is an avid universalist, as were the authors of America's Declaration of Independence.

The difference between twenty-first century republicanism and twenty-first century cosmopolitanism lies in Lenin's question of *kto-kogo* – who shall act upon whom? In the republican view, people form states so that they may act upon (or within) the capricious external world. In the words of America's DOI:

> [T]o secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, laying it's foundation on such principles, and organising it's powers in such forms as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.[30]

Twenty-first century cosmopolitans reverse this relationship, looking to the external world to correct the excesses of states and their citizens. Political theorist Andrew Dobson describes this problem of countering collective and individual selfishness as 'cosmopolitanism's heart'.[31] Dobson cites similar statements by such thinkers as Thomas Pogge, Toni Erskine and Charles Jones to show that his point of view is widespread.[32] Moreover, Dobson has little patience with those who hope to overcome selfishness by cultivating peoples' sense of compassion.[33]

Christian teachings fall short of what Dobson and his fellow cosmopolitans aspire to. '[W]e are moved by the story [of the Good Samaritan]', Dobson notes, 'precisely because we recognise the Samaritan's act is an extraordinary one'.[34] Cosmopolitans wish to make altruism routine. Therefore, Dobson prefers to frame political arguments as accusatory demands:

> The reason why we feel especially moved by the act of the Good Samaritan in assisting the poor unfortunate by the side of the road is that the Samaritan was not at all responsible for his injuries: he acted out of beneficence, the kind of supererogation that marks off desirable actions that are good to do from those which it is wrong not to do. If, on the other hand, the Samaritan had been implicated in the man's suffering in some way or another, we would *expect* [emphasis in the original] him to go to his aid and his act of succour would seem less remarkable.[35]

Dobson goes on to note that other prominent thinkers agree with him on these points. Pogge and Charles Jones are also interested in establishing, that, in Pogge's words,

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29 Ibid.
30 Maier, p. 236.
31 Andrew Dobson, 'Thick Cosmopolitanism', *Political Studies*, 54/1 (March 2006): 165.
32 Ibid.: 165–6; Ibid.: 181.
33 Ibid.: 169.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.: 171.

'the citizens and governments of affluent countries' cause poverty and have a duty to make amends.[36] Jones adds that individuals also have a duty to found and support institutions to help them fulfil their other duties.[37] Dobson is quick to respond that institutions may have a role to play, but that people will always have a duty to act as individuals. Pogge supports Dobson's emphasis on individual duty by claiming that 'most of us' bear ineradicable personal guilt for contemporary global ills.

Political theorist Andrew Linklater supports these views, finding that 'cosmopolitan emotions are most likely to develop when actors believe that they are causally responsible for harming others and their physical environment'.[38] Mary Kaldor affirms that we are actively to blame for any wrong we have not actively worked to prevent.[39] Judith Lichtenberg adds that cosmopolitans are free to define cause, effect and thus responsibility creatively:

> Some of the relationships in virtue of which the earth now constitutes one world are so pervasive and far-reaching that they are difficult to pinpoint or measure. There are also actions that may have harmful consequences without any direct involvement between agents and those affected. For these reasons, it is easy to ignore them as sources of obligation.[40]

Dobson, who would not wish to ignore any potential source of obligation, summarizes the promise of Lichtenberg's ideas. 'The idea that action-at-a-distance in a globalising world might be the source of hitherto unrecognised – even non-existent – obligations is a suggestive one'.[41] Indeed, he finds, it is 'central' to his preferred form of cosmopolitanism.[42]

Cosmopolitans typically see states – including and perhaps especially democracies – as a potential obstacle to inducing people to perform their duties. Political theorist David Chandler reviews recent writings on this point:

> Daniele Archibugi and David Held assert that decisions made democratically by citizens of one state or region can no longer be considered truly democratic if they affect the rights of 'non-citizens' – that is, those outside that community, without those people having a say. Held argues that, for example, villagers in Sub-Saharan Africa, who live at the margins of some of the central power structures and hierarchies of the global order, are profoundly affected by the policies made in these global forums.[43]

Moreover, simply giving all affected parties the opportunity to vote would not satisfy cosmopolitan concerns. Archibugi notes that 'the choices of a people, even when

36 Ibid.: 181.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.: 172.

39 David Chandler, 'New Rights for Old? Cosmopolitan Citizenship and the Critique of State Sovereignty', *Political Studies*, 51/2 (June 2003): 347.

40 Dobson, 'Thick Cosmopolitanism': 173.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 Chandler, 'New Rights for Old': 343.

made democratically, might be biased by self-interest'.[44] Chandler draws on the works of theorist Mary Kaldor to explore the implications of Archibugi's position:

> In this framework a small minority may be more 'democratic' than a large majority, if they have an outlook attuned to cosmopolitan aspirations. Kaldor … draws out the implications of the argument when she suggests that the international community should not necessarily consult elected local representatives but seek to 'identify local advocates of cosmopolitanism' where there are 'islands of civility'.[45]

Although twenty-first century cosmopolitans typically agree with Archibugi's position that '[t]he governments of states do not necessarily represent global interests', they doubt that a global state would do any better. When Chandler reviews the writings of cosmopolitan theorists and policy analysts, he finds overwhelming opposition to the idea of world government.[46] Chandler summarizes the type of international system that most cosmopolitans would prefer:

> Cosmopolitans argue that there is still and important role for the state and for representative democracy, but that these institutions can not have the final say in decision-making. In certain circumstances … it must be possible for sovereignty to be overridden by institutions which are 'autonomous and independent … '[47]

Chandler and Archibugi alike refer to theorist Mary Kaldor for an explanation of how political relationships in such a world might work:

> [T]he term cosmopolitan, when applied to political institutions, implies a layer of governance that constitutes a limitation on the sovereignty of states and yet does not itself constitute a state. In other words, a cosmopolitan institution would co-exist with a system of states but would override states in certain clearly defined spheres of activity.[48]

David Held develops similar points, emphasizing that cosmopolitanism goes beyond earlier concepts of international law and international organization. Chandler summarizes:

> For Held … the framework of global governance is 'cosmopolitan democratic law' a 'domain of law different in kind from the law of states and the law made between one state and another, that is, international law'. This law 'transcends the particular claims of nations and states' and would be upheld by a framework of 'interlocking jurisdictions … While there is no world state that is constituted politically, there are international and transnational institutions that have the authority to undermine sovereignty when the need arises regarding an issue of 'global concern'.[49]

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44 Ibid.: 344.
45 Ibid.
46 Chandler, 'New Rights For Old': 335.
47 Ibid.: 334.
48 Ibid.: 344–5.
49 Ibid.: 345.

These transnational institutions may be self-appointed. Chandler points out that NATO justified Operation Allied Force in cosmopolitan terms.[50] Jody Williams, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and leading figure in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, notes that NGOs can spontaneously intervene in international moral issues as well. During the early 1990s, when state negotiations to regulate the use of landmines had stalled, NGO members 'did not wait for anyone to appoint them leaders on the issue – they saw that a critical problem had to be addressed and they took it up'.[51]

Since cosmopolitans see the numerous and, to use Held's term, interlocking institutions of the transnational community as the champion of morality, they must be sceptical of any entity that would stand against the collective will. Not only does self-assertion weaken the community's ability to perform its function, it offers assertive individuals and institutions enhanced opportunities to practice the self-ishness that cosmopolitans abhor. Certainly, twenty-first century political activists commonly assume that wilful independence is manifestly bad. Stephen Goose of Human Rights Watch (HRW), also a Nobel Prize winner, criticizes the US position on landmines on the grounds that 'they stand alone as the only government that is trying to seek a technological solution to the problem rather than banning the weapon'.[52] The NGO Contract With the Planet also condemns a variety of American policies simply on the grounds that Washington is, in its term, lonely.[53]

Ironists will note that the transnational community itself commonly expresses its will through acts of assertion. Operation Allied Force may, as Chandler implies, serve as an example of cosmopolitans exceeding mere international law to enforce a collective sense of morality, but Lavrov would be entitled to add that it serves at least as well as an example of NATO states trampling cosmopolitan morality in pursuit of their own selfish policies. American State Department documents, as noted earlier, do not even make any great effort to challenge the Lavrovian interpretation. Jody Williams appears to be proud of the way in which NGOs took the initiative over landmines, and perhaps rightly so.

Moral and political inconsistencies of this nature are part of the human condition. Transnational political activists have, however, recognized a potential for self-contradiction in their position and applauded attempts to counter it. Naomi Klein, whose criticisms of international commerce help to inspire the transnational anti-globalization movement, develops this theme when she praises the Mexican activist Subcomandante Marcos.[54] Marcos, who speaks for a group called the Zapatista National Liberation Army of Chiapas, refuses to divulge his name or reveal his face. When he appears in public, he wears a black wool mask that reveals only his eyes.[55]

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50 Ibid.: 345.

51 Anonymous, *How Did It All Start?*, http://www.icbl.org/tools/faq/campaign/start (7-03-2007).

52 Stephen Goose, *Profile in NSP Research*, www.nspresearch.org/steve.html (21-03-2007).

53 Anonymous, *Contract with the Planet*, http://www.contractwiththeplanet.org (05-02-2002).

54 Klein, op. cit., p. 208.

55 Ibid., p. 210.

Klein interprets this as a sign of self-effacement.[56] She concludes that he is an 'anti-leader' suitable for those who have learned to mistrust charismatic individuals.[57]

Marcos is not only modest about his personal qualities, he is modest about his ideology. Although he began his career as an orthodox Marxist, he came to appreciate that Marx's writings failed to address the actual problems of Mexico's rural communities.[58] Klein praises Marcos as 'a man who came to his leadership not through swaggering certainty, but by confronting political uncertainty, by learning to follow'.[59] Indeed, Marcos adopted the title 'subcomandante' to emphasize that he is not a 'commander barking orders', but merely a 'conduit for the will of the [Zapatista movement] councils'.[60]

This, Klein suggests, is the type of co-ordinator – one hesitates to say leader – today's transnational activist should follow, and perhaps even the type of co-ordinator today's activist should aspire to become. Other members of the anti-globalization movement have adopted masks as well, for similar reasons.[61]

The International Campaign to Ban Landmines, the similar campaign against the small arms trade and the comparable Cluster Munitions Coalition are not centrally organized institutions but loose alliances of hundreds or, in the case of the ICBL, thousands of NGOs based throughout the world.[62] These movements undoubtedly adopted this form of organization for practical reasons rather than ideological ones. The various groups that make up the coalitions are unlikely to submit to central control. Nevertheless, Klein and Marcos would undoubtedly approve.

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56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid., p. 211.

59 Ibid., p. 210.

60 Ibid., p. 211.

61 One activist writes: 'A second complaint that I have heard from the left, and in particular from other … [protesters] is that they don't like our masks. I've been yelled at by protester and cop alike to take off my mask. This idea is impossible for most of us. What we are doing is illegal. We believe in militant, direct action protest tactics. We are well aware that police photograph and videotape demonstrations, even when they are legally disallowed from doing so. To take off our masks will put us in direct danger of the police.

The masks serve another, symbolic purpose as well. Although there are certainly those who wish to advance their own positions or gain popularity within the militant anarchist community, the Black Bloc [a collective term for the violent wing of the anti-globalization movement, discussed further in the next chapter] maintains an ideal of putting the group before the individual. We rarely give interviews to the press (and those of us who do are generally frowned upon or regarded with suspicion). We act as a group because safety is in numbers and more can be accomplished by a group than by individuals, but also because we do not believe in this struggle for the advancement of any one individual. We don't want stars or spokespeople' (Mary Black, *Letter From Inside the Black Bloc* (July 25, 2001), http://www.alternet.org/story/11230/?page=1 (27-04-2007), p. 1).

62 Anonymous, *Cluster Munitions: Governments to Discuss New Treaty Oslo Conference Plans to Limit Weapon Threatening Civilians* (Oslo, February 2007; John F. Troxell, 'Landmines: Why the Korea Exception Should Be the Rule', in *Parameters*, 30/1 (Spring 2000): 88.

Twenty-first century cosmopolitans recognize that they demand greater concessions from states and greater sacrifices from individuals than the cosmopolitan thinkers of previous generations. When Chandler reviews the writings of Held, Archibugi and David Beetham, he finds that these thinkers see twenty-first century cosmopolitanism as a natural extension of earlier political movements. '[Beetham] suggests that in the same way that democracy was extended from the level of the town to that of the state in the eighteenth century is should, in the twenty-first century, be extended from the nation to humankind as a whole'.[63] Beetham, one notes, associates transnationalism with democracy and approves of both. Indeed, most cosmopolitan thinkers advocate democracy in one form or another, even those who, like Archibugi, criticize existing democratic systems for promoting individual selfishness.[64]

Where Beetham perceives the development of transnational democracy as the latest development in a long historical process, Dobson presents his version of cosmopolitanism as a break with earlier theories. '[W]e could not', Dobson tells us, have expected the Kant of 1795 and his *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*, for example, to consider [contemporary economic and environmental interdependence] as a basis for his theory of transnational obligation'.[65] What Dobson calls 'thick cosmopolitanism' is, he claims 'a child of its historical time'.[66]

Dobson goes on to discuss the question of whether contemporary cosmopolitans have discovered eternal (if previously unrecognized) moral principles or whether they are offering specific responses to the specific problems of the early twenty-first century. Dobson frames his comments as a reply to David Miller, who suggested that 'the empirical development [of air pollution] makes us more actively aware of our obligation not to damage other people's environments, but it does not create it'.[67] Elsewhere, Miller elaborates. 'The basis for the obligations was there all along'.[68] Dobson agrees with the general thrust of what Miller – along with several other writers on these topics – has said, but he wishes to correct the others on finer points:

> Everything here makes perfect sense – except for the tone of [Miller's] last sentence. It is not that 'perhaps' the empirical developments associated with globalisation 'make us more actively aware of our obligation', but that these empirical developments turn the theoretical possibility of transnational obligation (the independently derived set of rights and obligations') into everyday reality. 'Does then the process of globalisation make a difference to what needs to be said about world ethics?' asks Nigel Dower … Both he and Miller … say no, but surely the answer is yes. This is because, by systematically turning Samaritan relations between strangers into relations of justice between individuals and communities tied into material relations of cause and effect, globalisation makes a fundamental difference to how we react to our relations with distant others. We can no longer regard them as we would regard invitations to be charitable; we must regard them as demands founded in justice.[69]

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63 Chandler, 'New Rights For Old': 333.

64 Ibid.

65 Dobson, 'Thick Cosmopolitanism': 180.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

Cosmopolitanism is changing, Dobson tells us, because technology, economic relations and the planetary ecosystem are changing. Without these changes, his ideas would be idle musings. Dobson does not worry unduly about this possibility, since he takes it for granted that the changes are 'hard to dispute'.[70] Even those who present cosmopolitan ideals as older and more universal commonly reinforce their arguments by referring to the assortment of assumed trends known as globalization.[71] Cosmopolitans, in short, have gambled their moral and political beliefs on a certain interpretation of current events. To advance their beliefs, they must also advance this interpretation.

Popular Cosmopolitanism

Whether or not twenty-first century cosmopolitanism depends on specific economic, technological and environmental developments for its intellectual validity, it depends on them for its effectiveness. Few outside the academy think of themselves as political cosmopolitans. Many, however, care passionately about such issues as war, poverty, human rights and the earth's ecosystem. Thriving popular movements address these issues. These movements intertwine to form a coherent, if multifaceted, cosmopolitan sensibility.

Theorists and practitioners alike acknowledge the connections among these movements. Dobson highlighted trade and environmental issues as spurs to cosmopolitanism. Chandler associated cosmopolitan thought with movements addressing war, human rights and state sovereignty. Professor Rosalind P. Petchesky bridged the gap between scholarship and popular leadership in a teach-in on the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. In her address, she linked all the previously-mentioned issues and more, analyzing 'the global power dynamics' in terms of wealth, imperial nationalism, pseudo-religion, militarism, masculinism and racism.[72] Petchesky went on to comment on America's singular reluctance to support the International Criminal Court, and on the fact that the US 'is the only major industrialized country to refuse to sign the Kyoto Protocol on Global Climate Change'.[73]

Activist groups commonly take on roughly the same collection of issues as Petchesky. People and Planet, for instance, aims to 'end world poverty, defend human rights and protect the environment'.[74] Contract With the Planet addresses these themes and more, adding that it opposes US obstruction of treaties, the American missile defense programme known to critics as Star Wars, the militarization of

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70 Ibid.

71 Chandler, 'New Rights For Old': 333; Alicia Ely Yamin, 'The Future in the Mirror: Incorporating Strategies for the Defense and Promotion of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Into the Mainstream Human Rights Agenda', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 27/4 (November 2005): 1223.

72 Rosalind P. Petchesky, 'Phantom towers: feminist reflections on the battle between global capitalism and fundamentalist terrorism' in Ammu Joseph and Kalpana Sharma (eds), *Terror-Counter-Terror Women Speak Out* (London, 2003), pp. 52–68.

73 Ibid., pp. 62–5.

74 Anonymous, *People and Planet*, http://peopleandplanet.org (16-03-2007).

space and the influence of monied interests on politics.[75] Even groups that begin by focusing on isolated issues commonly find that they must address the others as well. Oxfam International, for instance, concluded that its mission to assist the world's poor required it to address the government abuses of human rights that so often keep people in poverty.[76]

Organizations that promote human rights have had the same experience in reverse. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, for instance, have progressively placed greater emphasis on broad economic social and cultural (ESC) rights as well as narrow civil liberties issues.[77] Meanwhile, scientific researchers, not to mention environmental activists, have found that their positions on climate change compel them to address a similar set of concerns. The proceedings of the prestigious Workshop on Earth Systems Science and Sustainability highlight the 'political and social sciences dimension' of climate studies, which researchers W. Lucht of the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research and R.K. Pachauri of India's Energy and Resources Institute rather clinically sum up as 'the mental component of the earth system'.[78]

Representatives of these linked movements commonly argue in similar moral and political terms. These arguments also appear to inspire those representatives' many supporters. The cosmopolitan theorist Dobson's idea that everyone – or, at least, everyone in the developed world – is personally guilty of perpetrating today's global injustices and has a personal obligation to make restitution recurs frequently. The idea that general international sentiment is morally more legitimate and perhaps even prudentially wiser than the policies of specific state governments is perennial as well.

Many members of the various political movements would disagree with these cosmopolitan ideas. Even those who accept them in one form or another may disagree over their interpretation. With those caveats, however, one may note that the ideas are widespread. Further and more specific examples abound.

The cosmopolitan principle that state governments should defer to collective opinion on military and diplomatic matters has achieved the highest levels of respectability. As the previous chapter noted, diplomats as eminent as Lavrov and Levitte advanced these ideas in the United Nations Security Council. Chandler adds that Solana's argument justifying Operation Allied Force relied, in a paradoxical way, on the same cosmopolitan willingness to put common sentiment ahead of sovereignty. The fact that popular movements for peace and disarmament are even more passionate in their support of collective international agreements to limit military activity scarcely requires elaboration. More noteworthy is the fact that

75 Anonymous, *Contract with the Planet*, http://gbgm-umc.org/umw/legislative/contract_with_planet.html (26-03-2007).

76 Mary Robinson, 'Advancing Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: The Way Forward', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 26/4 (November 2004): 867.

77 Ibid.

78 W. Lucht and R.K. Pachauri, 'The Mental Component of the Earth System' in Hans Joachim Schellnhuber, Paul J. Crutzen, William C. Clark, Martin Claussen and Hermann Held (eds), *Earth System Analysis for Sustainability* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 341–65.

commentators on so-called security issues have taken up the cosmopolitan themes of guilt and corresponding obligation as well.

When Petchesky reflects on al-Qaeda's successful attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center, she concludes that the US 'has to take responsibility for being in the world'.[79] One notes that Petchesky is reminding Americans of their responsibility, not merely for particular things they may have done, but for their simple existence. Petchesky goes on to explain that taking responsibility will mean surrendering both assets and control. America must, in her view, share its 'wealth, resources and technology', while 'democratizing decisions about global trade, finance and security'.[80] Earlier, Petchesky acknowledged that that her prescriptions 'would mean the United States becoming something different from itself, transforming itself' and her indignation about Americans' 'arrogant' confidence in their 'way of life' suggests that inhabitants of the transformed America would have to live differently.

Novelist and political commentator Arundhati Roy developed a similar theme:

> America's grief at what happened has been immense and immensely public. It would be grotesque to expect it to calibrate or modulate its anguish. However, it will be a pity if instead of using this as an opportunity to try and understand why September 11 happened, Americans use it as an opportunity to usurp the whole world's sorrow to mourn and avenge only their own.[81]

Roy goes on to suggest that Donald Rumsfeld, then America's Secretary of Defense, appears to be usurping the world's sorrow for narcissistic purposes. '[I]f he could convince the world that Americans must be allowed to continue with their way of life, he would consider it a victory'.[82] One notes that Rumsfeld himself would probably have been happy to say the same. Republicans and twenty-first century cosmopolitans agree that people secure their chosen society domestically by securing their nation's power abroad. Cosmopolitans, however, view both projects with suspicion.

Given the fact that contemporary cosmopolitans explicitly question citizen freedoms in liberal democracies, one might expect the twenty-first century human rights movement to be a republican concern. There is indeed an assortment of international activist groups that promote explicitly pro-Western, pro-American and, in principle, pro-republican ideas about the relationship of the individual to the state. One of these NGOs refers to itself as the International Republican Institute (IRI).[83] IRI documents emphasize that this organization is republican in the political theory sense, not in the sense of its (easily assumed) affinity with America's Republican Party.[84]

Other advocates of personal freedom and integrity have taken a cosmopolitan view. Indeed, the proposition that people have rights beyond what their government allots to

79 Petchesky, 'Phantom towers', p. 67.

80 Ibid.

81 Arundhati Roy, 'The algebra of infinite justice', *The Guardian* (September 29, 2001), http://www.guardian.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,4266289,00.html (29-09-2001).

82 Ibid.

83 Anonymous, *International Republican Institute*, http://www.iri.org (4-03-3007).

84 Anonymous, 'Frequently Asked Questions', *International Republican Institute*, http://www.iri.org/faq.asp (4-03-3007).

them is, in the most basic sense, a cosmopolitan idea. When the American revolutionaries founded a republic on the principle that people did possess such rights, they were introducing a distinctive and somewhat convoluted version of republicanism.

Moreover, few twenty-first century human rights advocates wish to found new governments, much less wage revolutionary wars against existing ones. Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbaev, Czech president Vaclav Klaus and Russian president Vladimir Putin accuse IRI and its compatriots of being an exception.[85] Groups such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, by contrast, base their approach on political impartiality. Therefore, when these groups discover governments in the process of unjustly killing, torturing, imprisoning and otherwise harming the very citizens many twenty-first century republicans would agree that those governments exist to protect, the human rights NGOs most practical course of action is to appeal to the moral – and, increasingly, legal – authority of international law and global opinion. Such practices both presuppose and reinforce the existence of the transnational authority networks discussed by theorists such as Held and Kaldor.

This is, indeed, the course such NGOs typically follow.[86] Machiavellian republicans might try to thwart them in this, but Jeffersonian republicans would find it difficult to justify doing so, even if their own country happened to be the one that had come under NGO scrutiny. The fact that most state governments have acceded to such documents as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights makes it easier to reconcile the human rights monitoring groups' cosmopolitan methods with the republican principle of state self-determination. Kenneth Roth, Executive Director of Human Rights Watch, argues that organizations such as his own accomplish the most when they define human rights abuses strictly in terms of such widely recognized agreements, thus minimizing political controversy about their findings.[87]

Chandler, however, warns that transnational human rights advocacy can never protect peoples' freedoms as reliably or as satisfactorily as they protect them for themselves in liberal democratic republics:

> The cosmopolitan citizen, by definition, has no fixed territorial identity and thereby no place within any institutionalized framework of legal and political equality from which to hold policy actors to formal account. Freed from any such framework, the 'rights' of the cosmopolitan citizen become dependent on the advocacy of an external agency [such as a human rights NGO].[88]

Unlike political parties within democratic republics, NGOs do not even claim to speak on behalf of constituents. Chandler cites numerous NGO enthusiasts who

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85 Risto Karajkov, 'N.G.O. Bashing', *Worldpress.org* (November 13, 2005), http://www.worldpress.org/Europe/2178.cfm (4-03-2007).

86 Anonymous, *Human Rights Watch*, http://www.hrw.org/ (9-07-2007); Anonymous, *Amnesty International*, http://www.amnesty.org/ (9-07-2007).

87 Kenneth Roth, 'Defending Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Practical Issues Faced by an International Human Rights Organization', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 26/1 (February 2004): 68–9.

88 Chandler, 'New Rights For Old': 340.

agree that such bodies exist, not to represent any particular group, but to articulate an ethical point of view.[89] As earlier sections have noted, this role may bring NGOs into conflict with conventionally democratic institutions.

Chandler also warns that the cosmopolitan willingness to allow enlightened outsiders to override even democratically-ratified expressions of local selfishness licenses states that adhere to transnational ethical understandings to subjugate those who do not.[90] NATO's war against Kosovo reminds us that this is a realistic concern. Human rights advocates may justly respond that it is obtuse to use one's concern for sovereignty and the democratic process as a pretext for condoning torture, ethnic persecution or mass murder. One may recall that democratic governments faithfully representing the majority of their citizens once returned runaway slaves to their owners.

Chandler's points become more salient as transnational advocates expand their definitions of human rights to include issues on which reasonable people may honourably disagree. Roth's warnings notwithstanding, many have not hesitated to do so. Leonard S. Rubenstein of Physicians for Human Rights, to pick one example, cites the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights to make the case that transnational human rights groups should take an interest in the way governments draw up their budgets.[91] To comment on a state's budget is to comment on its tax regime, and Rubenstein implies as much when he writes '[t]here will be occasions, of course, when a government chooses one need over another, and in such cases, the response should be further advocacy to obtain the resources for the unmet needs'.[92] Although republicans in the American tradition might not grant even democratic states a sovereign prerogative to practice genocide, they have famously insisted on their sovereign right to set their own tax policy.

Meanwhile, other human rights advocates go even farther than Rubenstein. Alicia Ely Yamin, whose work includes reporting for Physicians for Human Rights and the Lawyer's Committee for Human Rights, reminds us that 'there is a small but increasingly rich jurisprudence regarding the enforcibility of the right to health and other ESC rights'.[93] This includes 'programmatic obligations' – i.e. the obligation to establish and finance appropriate programmes.[94] Like Dobson, Yamin is impatient with less punitive approaches:

> As long as the misery of the poor in the global South is treated as an exotic spectacle, disconnected from the policies and programmes that create it, compassion fatigue will seem inevitable; starving and suffering people will languish on television screens forced

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89 Ibid.

90 Ibid.: 341–9.

91 Leonard S. Rubenstein, 'How International Human Rights Organizations Can Advance Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Response to Kenneth Roth', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 26/4 (November 2004): 856.

92 Leonard S. Rubenstein, 'Response by Leonard S. Rubenstein', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 26/4 (November 2004): 880.

93 Yamin, 'The Future in the Mirror', p. 1222.

94 Ibid.

to become ever more pathetic and dehumanized in order to garner sympathy from those who flip through the world's daily tragedies from their sofas.[95]

Yamin goes on to express her support for the growing body of commentators who, like Dobson, would impose such obligations on people simply because those people exist within an unjust society. The question of whether those people have personally committed identifiable violations is irrelevant.[96]

Yamin observes that while human rights advocates have historically devoted most of their attention to scrutinizing state activities, the task of enforcing economic, social and cultural rights will require them to target a broader range of individuals and institutions:

> The conventional liberal wisdom that respect for civil and political rights, including the right to elect one's own government will permit popular participation in decisions regarding the distribution of income and in the allocation of the social spending budgets of [impoverished] countries appears increasingly to be wishful thinking as democratic accountability and even state sovereignty mean less and less in this era of globalization. Today, international financial institutions and organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), together with third-party states, and sometimes transnational corporations (TNCs) exercise inordinate control over the economies – and therefore the politics and policies – of many, if not most countries in the developing world.[97]

Yamin quotes Susana Chiarotti, general coordinator of the Latin American and Caribbean Committee for the Defense of Women's Rights to argue that the human rights movement must engage personal behaviour by private individuals.[98] In Chiarotti's words 'profound social transformations cannot occur without changes in family structures. A democratic country cannot be constructed out of monarchic families'.[99] Moreover, Yamin argues, human rights campaigners must abandon their traditional squeamishness about taking sides in political and economic debate:

> Human rights advocacy too often accepts a notion whereby the economy pre-exists politics and law, and thereby lies beyond the realm of concern. However, economic paradigms are just as much a human creation as political models and a rights-based project that fails to emancipate people from the crushing shackles wrought by certain economic policies renders itself irrelevant to the lives of millions around the world. Further, as it is the countries of the north and the international institutions controlled by those countries that mask abuses under a discourse of the inevitable progress of history, human rights groups in the North have a special responsibility in directing advocacy at their governments and these institutions to demonstrate that the inevitability of ever-increasing global interconnectedness need not be synonymous with an exclusionary model of global governance and development.[100]

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95 Ibid., p. 1243.
96 Ibid., pp. 1222–3.
97 Ibid., p. 1223.
98 Ibid., p. 1226.
99 Ibid.
100 Ibid., p. 1235.

If human rights advocates choose to take on prevailing economic ideas and the governments and institutions that implement them, they will be joining another significant twenty-first century political movement. Members of this movement commonly describe themselves as opponents of 'globalization' or 'capitalism'.[101] The previously-cited Naomi Klein refers to herself as an opponent of 'global corporatism'.[102] Whatever term one chooses to apply, the anti-globalization movement has adopted the transnational approach to organization and authority characteristic of twenty-first century cosmopolitanism. Anti-globalization activists named one of their earliest protests the Global Street Party, and went on to make international diversity one of their movement's defining themes.[103]

Self-described anarchist Chuck Morse celebrates the fact that the anti-globalization movement has given his own ideology's 'anti-statist' views 'a political legitimacy that has eluded us for decades.[104] Morse adds:

> [T]here are virtually no localists in the anti-globalization movement, but rather decentralist movements that regard the community (not the state) as the locus of political life and want to reconstruct the world around a new relationship between communities.[105]

Having researched a wide range of anti-globalization literature from an outsider's perspective, researcher Kate O'Neill confirms Morse's claim. '[E]ven though the state is not the direct target of the transnational protest movement, it is its major opponent'.[106] Later, she rephrases this finding, drawing on the work of other scholars to explain that the transnationally organized anti-globalization organizations 'interven[e] in a government's [or other body's] political decision-making'.[107] The movement has, in other words, claimed the right to do as cosmopolitan theorists suggest that transnational organizations should do.

Not only do anti-globalization activists commonly take cosmopolitan positions regarding the state, they commonly take cosmopolitan positions regarding moral responsibility as well. Arundhati Roy, for instance, qualifies as a leader within the anti-globalization movement. Certainly, her admirers routinely associate her with that cause.[108] In 2004, over 70,000 anti-globalization activists gathered to hear her speak at the World Social Forum.[109] Roy used this opportunity to propose targets for

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101   Keith Conlon, 'Mayday for Capitalism', *The Guardian* (Monday April 16 2001), http://www.guardian.co.uk/letters/story/0,,473746,00.html (18 March 2005).

102   Naomi Klein, *Fences and Windows*, p. 44.

103   Naomi Klein, *No Logo* (London, 2000), p. 444.

104   Chuck Morse, 'Theory of the Anti-Globalization Movement', *New Formulation*, 2/1 (February 2003), http://newformulation.org/1antiglobalization.htm (30-03-2007).

105   Ibid.

106   Kate O'Neill, 'Transnational Protest: States, Circuses and Conflict at the Frontline of Global Politics', *International Studies Review*, 6/2 (June 2004): 234.

107   Ibid.: 237.

108   Sue Jones, 'Dams, Lives and State Terror', *Socialist Review* (July 2003) http://www.socialistreview.org.uk/article.php?articlenumber=8533 (29-03-2007).

109   Kalpana Sharma, 'Go beyond resisting Iraq war, says Arundhati Roy', *The Hindu* (17-01-2004), http://www.hindu.com/2004/01/17/stories/2004011706370100.htm (10-07-2007).

future protests, suggesting that she is willing to assume an executive role.[110] Earlier sections have cited Roy's cosmopolitan thoughts on the inherent injustice of the American lifestyle.

War Resisters International (WRI), which describes itself as an 'international pacifist network with more than 80 affiliates in more than 40 countries' accepts that its members 'need to engage in the struggle against economic globalization, and join forces with anti-globalization actors coming from other movements and backgrounds'.[111] Not only does WRI explicitly embrace Roy and Dobson's view of personal responsibility for structural injustice, it reminds its western members that they must take their own share of this guilt.[112]

Researcher Donald H. Schepers, in his work on popular views of business' ethical responsibilities, identifies a 'perspective of attitude' that he calls 'moral agency'.[113] Just as Roy and Dobson hold individuals personally responsible for their society's injustices, those who adopt a perspective of moral agency hold corporations directly responsible for broad structural outcomes. Schepers finds this perspective to be widespread within the anti-globalization movement.[114] Joel E. Ostereich finds the anti-globalization movement's opposition to every individual member of the existing commercial order to be implacable.[115] For this reason, Ostereich warns corporate leaders that they are unlikely to ward off the movement's attentions by adopting more stringent ethical policies – committed protesters will continue to hold even the most scrupulous businesses responsible for the perceived inequities of commerce in general.[116]

As Schepers reflects on the moral agency perspective, he adds:

> If business is considered a moral agent, it could be contended that one ethical responsibility of business is environmental care. That is, business could be understood as responsible for all externalities, not merely those that affect stakeholders (i.e. sentient beings). One need

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110   Ibid.

111   Anonymous, 'The Anti-Globalization Struggle', Nonviolent Activist: The Magazine of the War Resisters League (September–October 2001), http://www.warresisters.org/nva0901-1.htm (29-03-2007).

112   'Those of us who live in the west benefit from economic globalization, from the more and more rudimentary welfare systems, which are a result of the workers struggle of the past, and designed to trickle down some of the benefits of economic exploitation of the south and east, from the widespread availability of the produces of cheap labor in the south for consumer goods in the west. While for those of us in the west the struggle is for maintaining and expanding existing welfare systems, for creating a life in opposition to consumerism and merely materialist values, for those of us in the south and east the struggle often is a struggle for survival …' (Ibid.)

113   Donald H. Schepers, 'Three Proposed Perspectives of Attitude Toward Business' Ethical Responsibilities and Their Implications for Cultural Comparison', *Business and Society Review*, 111/1 (March 2006): 20–1.

114   Ibid.

115   Joel E. Ostreich, 'What Can Businesses Do to Appease Anti-Globalization Protestors?', *Business and Society Review*, 107/2 (Summer 2002): 207–220.

116   Ibid.: 218.

not imagine a scenario 100 years from now to posit that global warming entails ethical responsibility for those firms that create such impacts.[117]

Others have posited such scenarios for decades, if not longer. Eminent writers have advocated this approach to ecological issues, not only as a way of mitigating environmental catastrophe, but as a way of promoting the type of attitudes that strengthen transnational authority. Diplomat George McGhee, writing in 1992, muses on the future of global political relationships:

> I believe that an effective and lasting new world system can best be achieved over the long run by a continuing strengthening of the bonds of international community. What is international community? International community will never be a single political entity, or any one organization. It will be the net effect of many overlapping efforts by people and nations all over the world based on the willingness to cooperate with and assist others in endeavors for the common good. It is a mind-set, a secular ideology. A mind-set of community, in my view, cannot be imposed from above but arises as a natural instinct of humankind ascending from lower to higher levels. I believe we should accept as the goals for a new world system the fostering of this sense of community through example and education, through the creation of means of cooperation to practice it, and by providing the climate and conditions essential for its growth.[118]

One notes that McGhee shares more recent cosmopolitan theorists' rejection of centralized world government in favour of 'overlapping' efforts organized from below 'all over the world'. Despite McGhee's emphasis on psychological factors, he intends for the transnational political community to enforce its judgments through economic sanctions and military force.[119] McGhee suggests that the UN may organize such efforts on the transnational community's behalf, while holding open the possibility that the same function might fall to 'some other auspices'.[120] The more recent theorists also intend for the loosely structured transnational community to make use of the military and economic capabilities of more tightly organized institutions such as states.[121]

These thoughts lead McGhee to a critical question. 'How do we encourage international community?'[122] Although McGhee admits that a 'broad-based analysis of all the obstacles that must be overcome' lies beyond the scope of his book, he identifies 'certain elements' which is sees as 'critical to the success of a movement toward international community'.[123] McGhee reasons deductively, beginning with general propositions and using them to generate more specific ones:

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117 Schepers, 'Three Proposed Perspectives': 21.

118 George McGhee, *International Community: A Goal for a New World Order* (Lanham MD, 1992), p. 37.

119 Ibid., 41–2.

120 Ibid., p. 42.

121 Chandler, 'New Rights For Old?': 338.

122 McGhee, p. 42.

123 Ibid.

> To obtain widespread cooperation among nations and encourage a willingness to make the sacrifices this will entail, a trust must be created that others will respond in a similar manner.

> A major impetus to the spread of international community will be education. By teaching international community, by writing about it, and by exposing the concept through the media to audiences of all backgrounds and ages, we will begin to change people, which is the heart of the matter. We will begin to create a new belief in the possibility that the nations of the world can cooperate and live in unity. In bringing international community to the attention of people, it will be to our advantage to strive for specificity. The more detailed the coverage of actions that exemplify individual or national spirit of international community, and the more practical the suggestions that are provided for putting this spirit into operation – especially at the level of the individual – the more readily it will become a reality.[124]

Having identified the need for action to promote the community spirit, McGhee must find reasons for individuals to work together and sacrifice. The diplomat briefly notes possibilities ranging from '[c]ooperating in international efforts to deter and contain aggression' to 'encouraging increased understanding, tolerance, and exchange of views between the world's great religions to identify common beliefs that can form a basis for common action' and seeking to improve the rhetoric of international political and intellectual leaders in such a way as to emphasize the constructive and unifying expressions.[125] McGhee concludes his discussion of this topic with a full page on a particularly promising approach. 'A prime candidate for a shared goal must be the resolution of environmental problems, serious threats that directly confront us all. Many believe that cooperation in this area offers one of the best means of furthering a sense of community among nations'.[126]

McGhee suggests that a useful environmental issue would require international cooperation, mandate a re-evaluation of 'Third World aid and development policies' and demand 'high level' coordination within the US (along, presumably, with other states).[127] Although McGhee refers to the campaign to reduce chloroflurocarbon (CFC) emissions, which was widely publicized at the time of his writing, he does not specifically mention global warming, which did not achieve its current political significance until the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change released its second report in 1995.[128] One notes, however, that efforts to reduce emissions of all greenhouse gasses meet his criteria for a useful environmental issue even more fully than efforts aimed merely at CFCs. Climate change may be an inconvenient truth for most of us, to paraphrase the title of Vice-President Albert Gore's well-received film, but it is supremely convenient for cosmopolitans.

Dobson, writing in 2006, appreciates this point:

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124 Ibid., pp. 42–3.

125 Ibid., pp. 43–4.

126 Ibid., p. 49.

127 Ibid.

128 Ibid.; For a capsule history of how the issue of global warming achieved political prominence, see Bill McKibben, 'Warning on Warming', *New York Review of Books*, 54/4 (15 March 2007), http://www.nybooks.com/articles/19981 (04-04-2007).

[I]f I mean to say that globalisation produces literally *global* [emphasis in original] relations of causal responsibility, I could hardly have chosen a more convenient example than global warming. Its very name suggests a global reach and range; indeed it is the only plausible candidate for a truly global phenomenon in the strict sense that it affects 'every inch and every hour of the globe', as Bill McKibben evocatively puts it … It is quite something, when we are considering responsibility, to recognise that not one flake of snow in Antarctica is where it would be but for anthropogenic effects on the climate.[129]

Dobson goes on to reiterate that he and other theorists also appreciate the value of environmental issues as a means for inspiring people to establish and empower transnational institutions:

[I]t is often suggested that dealing with global environmental problems invites the kind of transnational institutional response that is sometimes part of cosmopolitan institutional design: 'advocacy of environmental ethics tends to be either implicitly or explicitly cosmopolitan in character, Many environmental problems are global in scope and require for their solution co-operation between many countries and citizens acting in appropriate ways'.[130]

Having noted this, Dobson reminds readers that his own argument has more to do with establishing universal responsibility than with institutions of any kind.[131]

Environmentalists have taken up these themes of personal responsibility and transnational authority in much the terms that McGhee and Dobson might have hoped. Sir John Houghton, writing as co-chairman of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and chairman of Britain's Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution, touches on both points in a few lines:

That the 'polluter should pay' when the pollution is global rather than local is one of the Principles (Principle 16) enshrined in the Rio Declaration of June 1992. Appropriate mechanisms are needed to apply this principle on a global scale … the appreciation that an individual burning fossil fuels anywhere in the world has an impact globally demands that a global attitude must be presented to the problem.[132]

Like McGhee, Houghton envisions a scenario in which leaders within the international community foster a new mindset as it ascends from what McGhee called the lower to the higher levels. Houghton also echoes McGhee by suggesting that the United Nations might co-ordinate actions by the various participants in this movement:

Many people in the world are already deeply involved in a host of ways in matters of environmental concern. Such concern could, however, with benefit to us all, be elevated to a higher public and political level. Al Gore … has suggested that we should embrace the preservation of the Earth as our new organizing principle. The United Nations, so far as it is able, had laid out a course of action. An appropriate challenge for everybody, from individuals, communities, industries and governments through to multinationals,

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129 Dobson, 'Thick Cosmopolitanism': 175.

130 Ibid.

131 Ibid.

132 John Houghton, *Global Warming: The Complete Briefing* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 229.

especially for those in the relatively affluent Western world, is to take on board thoroughly this urgent task of the environmental stewardship of our Earth.[133]

Bill McKibben, the writer and environmental protest organizer who provided Dobson with the quotation about humanity's responsibility for each snowflake in Antarctica, endorses the details of Dobson's moral philosophy as well. '[T]he reason the atmosphere is filled to the danger point with carbon is because *we've* [emphasis in original] already been filling it for two centuries … '[134] McKibben goes on to lament the fact that American political leaders appear unwilling to impose cosmopolitan penitence on US citizens. 'The current president's father announced on his way to the [Earth Summit] in Rio that "the American way of life is not up for negotiation". That's what defines a tragedy'.[135] Elsewhere, McKibben favourably entertains Peter Whybrow's suggestion that Americans have an inherited biological tendency toward selfishness.[136]

UN official Kevin Watkins re-asserts the cosmopolitan position that '[j]ustice and moral responsibility dictate that those responsible for creating the climate change threat invest in containing its consequences'.[137] Like Dobson, he is indignant at the possibility that the guilty parties might present this moral duty as an optional act of good will.[138]

The United Nations as an institution has also acted in practical ways to realize cosmopolitan ideas about granting diverse transnational institutions an authoritative role in environmental politics. Maurice Strong, the Canadian diplomat and UN official who organized the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, commonly known as the Earth Summit, actively sought to give transnational activists a place alongside state leaders. Researchers Pratap Chatterjee and Matthias Finger summarize his efforts:

> The UNCED secretariat made a valiant effort to try and bring in previously unheard voices by setting up a special NGO liaison unit to assist NGOs from all over the world to come to the [planning meetings] and lobby the government delegates on whatever aspect of the agreements they thought was important. Other organizations such as the Center for Our Common Future embarked on a similar effort by organizing what they called the 'independent sector', i.e. all people, groups and organizations that are not officially linked to governments. And many other NGOs started to form federations so as to become more efficient in influencing the UNCED process.[139]

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133 Ibid., p. 233.

134 Bill McKibben, 'The Great Leap: Scenes from China's industrial revolution', *Harpers Magazine*, 311/1867 (December 2005): 52.

135 Ibid.

136 Bill McKibben, 'Reversal of Fortune', *Mother Jones* (March/April 2007), http://www.motherjones.com/news/feature/2007/03/reversal_of_fortune.html (15-04-2007).

137 Kevin Watkins, 'Tide of suffering', *The Guardian* (April 2, 2007), http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/story/0,,2048036,00.html (2-04-2007).

138 Watkins, 'Tide of suffering.'

139 Pratap Chatterjee and Matthias Finger, *The Earth Brokers: Power, Politics and World Development* (London, 1994), p. 63.

During the initial planning meetings, these efforts attracted what Chatterjee and Finger called 'a mere thirty' NGOs.[140] The UN, however, persisted, taking the step of funding activists to attend its gatherings.[141] By the time the summit actually took place, 1,420 NGOs were involved in the process.[142] The diplomats who organized the negotiations leading up to the Kyoto Protocol not only consulted NGOs but entrusted them with the task of persuading recalcitrant state leaders to endorse the agreement.[143]

The scientists who attended the Dahlem Workshop concurred that twenty-first century environmental problems demand global political reform. 'Taking care of the Earth system and ensuring ultimate sustainability require arrangements that far transcend the scope of local communities, regions and sovereign states'.[144] Like Dobson, they emphasize that specific contemporary events inspire reforms of novel character and unprecedented scope. Having reviewed historical work on 'human-environment relationships', a category within which they include social organization and government, the Dahlem delegates go on to note:

> Today's situation is more daunting. Humanity is now a global environmental force, altering biological communities, biogeochemical cycles, landforms and climate on unprecedented spatial scales, with unprecedented rates of change … [H]umanity [also] operates today in an interdependent world in which global processes affect outcomes at the local level, and many small-scale processes can have global consequences, making the consideration of cross-scale interactions essential.[145]

The Dahlem participants acknowledge that social and political 'changes must ultimately be driven by the public and governmental sectors' but add 'science has a role to play in analyzing and distilling past success and failures, and on providing guidelines for future institution-building efforts'.[146] The fact that the authors go on to describe political questions as 'research challenges' suggests a belief that the role of science should be a broad one.[147]

Given the Dahlem researchers' emphasis on rational planning, one should not be surprised that they question the cosmopolitan preference for overlapping institutions with potentially conflicting authority. Having surveyed the plethora of UN programmes, independent think-tanks and international scientific panels that currently comment on environmental issues, they muse:

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140   Ibid.

141   Ibid., p. 1.

142   Ibid., p. 63.

143   Aynsley Kellow, 'A new process for negotiating multilateral environmental agreements? The Asia-Pacific climate partnership beyond Kyoto,' *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 60/2 (June 2006): 293.

144   A.P. Kinzig, W.C. Clark, O. Edenhofer, G.C. Gallopin, W. Lucht, R.B. Mitchell, P. Romero Lankao, S. Sreekesh, C. Tickell and O.R. Young, 'Group Report: Sustainability', in Hans Joachim Schellnhuber, Paul J. Crutzen, William C. Clark, Martin Claussen and Hermann Held (eds), *Earth System Analysis for Sustainability* (Cambridge, MIT Press, 2004), p. 426.

145   Ibid., p. 410.

146   Ibid., p. 419.

147   Ibid.

There are some advantages to having the diverse set of approaches and perspectives represented in these organizations, not least of which is the development of knowledge and expertise relevant to particular local or regional problems as well as a breadth of 'natural experimentation' in trying to find compelling solutions to environmental problems. Nonetheless, their sheer multiplicity can mean that, collectively, they lack coherence and may undermine one another's effectiveness.[148]

For this reason, the authors consider an approach that might have appealed to an earlier generation of cosmopolitans:

A second method of proceeding is to create a new international organization that would coordinate existing institutions and devote itself to building bridges between science, technology and the environment, on one hand, and their practical application for sustainability, on the other. The idea of a World Environment Organization has been promoted by a wide range of actors – including the German Chancellor, the French President, and the outgoing Director General of the World Trade Organization – as a way of achieving a balance between scientific, environmental and trade considerations on a basis of broad equality, with the necessary arrangements for judging and settling any disputes between them. Proponents have argued that such an organization would give sustainability, in all its complexity, a single and powerful focus at a global level.[149]

Other Dahlem participants voiced a twenty-first century response. 'Opponents cite the dubious track record of 'super' institutions trying to encompass environment and development at the international or national level'. A third faction suggested the more modest possibility of an international advisory body with authority comparable to the IPCC, but some opposed even that.[150] Despite certain Dahlem participants' interest in a World Environmental Organization, the group as a whole expressed more uniform support for system of 'participatory decision-making' based on the decentralized model of contemporary cosmopolitanism. Like Kaldor and Archibugi, they intend for this system to supersede traditional institutions based on national sovereignty and democratic representation.[151]

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148 Ibid., p. 426.

149 Ibid., pp. 426–7.

150 Ibid., p. 427.

151 The Dahlem participants write: 'Participatory decision making has been promoted as being capable of resolving many global and regional environmental problems. There are many benefits of such participation – not the least of which is securing people's rights in industrialized societies. However, can we presuppose that such inclusive systems automatically, or even usually, achieve outcomes consistent with fostering the long-term sustainability of the Earth system? There are many reasons to believe, in fact, that such processes are inherently ill-equipped to grapple with the complex dynamics that span large spatial and temporal scales. There may be a tension between 'rightness of procedure' and 'goodness of outcome' …

Despite these difficulties … we support participatory decision making wherever possible, without supposing that those processes would usually be democratic in the strictest sense of the word. Participants will assume different roles, assets, strategies and opportunities for participation. Negotiation of the values society holds or will hold is legitimately within the purview of every stakeholder or citizen. Scientists can, and should, however, have a stronger voice concerning the likelihood of various future scenarios and their courses and impacts (both

Republicanism with a Cosmopolitan Face?

Superficially, the cosmopolitan idea of political administration by multiple organizations with overlapping spheres of authority appears to taken shape in Europe. The European Union meets Kaldor's previously-cited definition of a cosmopolitan institution. Nevertheless, just as American neoconservatives combine their republican commitment to national self-determination with an occasionally incompatible commitment to what they present as universal moral imperatives, the European Union and its supporters combine their cosmopolitan reliance on transnational institutions with classically republican aims. The Treaty on European Union, which formally established the EU, set Europe the 'objective' of 'assert[ing] its identity upon the international scene'.[152] Although the Treaty does not explicitly anathematize the 'international scene' as, in Pocock's phrase, a stream of irrational events, this goal of asserting collective identity against the backdrop of a larger and potentially hostile world is the essence of republicanism.

Just as signatories to America's Declaration of Independence pledged their primary loyalty to one another, the European Union sets itself the objectives, not of upholding universal standards of human rights, but of 'strengthen[ing] the protection of the rights and interests of the nationals of its member states', 'maintain[ing] and develop[ing] the Union as an area of freedom, security and justice' and 'ensuring the effectiveness of the mechanisms and the institutions of the Community'.[153] If one based one's understanding of European integration entirely on the Treaty, one would define the EU as a republic. One might wonder whether it can achieve its republican goals without establishing a more efficient process for making collective decisions prudently. Nevertheless, the fact that its component states retain the prerogatives of independent republics would not invalidate the definition.

In practice, the European Union displays more cosmopolitan tendencies than its formal objectives might suggest. The Treaty itself qualifies the republican self-interest of the section on economic objectives with more high-minded commitments to 'social progress' and 'sustainable development'.[154] The second phrase is particularly significant, since it came into common use when the World Commission on Environment and Development introduced it in a 1987 report on to the United Nations.[155] As its name

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beneficial and harmful). Similarly, others with specialized knowledge (lawyers, historians, economists) will have particular roles to play. Final decisions that weigh scientific, economic, political, social and cultural considerations are ultimately in the hands of legitimately recognized representatives or leaders, when they exist. Many countries, unfortunately, lack such legitimate leadership (Ibid., p. 415).

152 Anonymous, *A Constitution for Europe*, http://europa.eu/scadplus/constitution/ introduction_en.htm (28-05-2007); Anonymous, 'Consolidated Versions of the Treaty on European Union and of the Treaty Establishing the European Community', *Official Journal of the European Union* (29-12-2006), http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2006/ ce321/ce32120061229en00010331.pdf (18-05-2007): 11.

153 Anonymous, 'Consolidated Versions' : 11.

154 Ibid.

155 Anonymous, *Framing Sustainable Development: The Brundtland Report – 20 Years On*, http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/csd/csd15/media/backgrounder_brundtland.pdf (29-05-2007);

implies, the World Commission took a global – and, thus, cosmopolitan – outlook. Moreover, the term sustainable development refers primarily to environmental sustainability, and thus, the fact that this expression appears in the Treaty suggests official EU sympathy for the generally cosmopolitan environmental movement.

One finds more eclectic combinations of republican and cosmopolitan thought in the EU's less formal documents. Martin Ortega's 2007 monograph *Building the Future*, published under the EU's Chaillot Paper series, warns that the 'unilateralist and fragmentary approach to global challenges is doomed to failure'.[156] Accordingly, he calls for 'management of global problems and the pursuit of global objectives through the concerted efforts of states and other international actors'.[157] Like many twenty-first century cosmopolitans, Ortega rejects the idea of world government in favour of so-called governance by multiple interacting institutions.[158] Ortega suggests that the process of European integration can serve as a model of how this might work, and adds that the EU has historically played a particularly constructive role in the project of creating a system of global governance, but he looks forward to a day when Europe itself is subordinate to yet broader networks of institutions.[159]

Elsewhere, however, *Building the Future* revives the republican theme in European integrationist thought. Where pure cosmopolitans might urge Europeans to accept unlimited responsibilities to the rest of the world on moral grounds, Ortega urges the EU to take on conditional international commitments on the ground that this will be the most effective way for Europe to retain as much control over its destiny as possible. Ortega writes:

> It seems clear, however, that the Europeans will not have the same kind of political, economic and cultural presence that they enjoyed in previous centuries. In an increasingly multipolar world, the Europeans will partake in global exchanges of all sorts but will not have a quasi-monopoly thereof, as in the past. To cite an example from the previously-quoted *The New Global Puzzle: What World for the EU in 2025?*, in terms of population the European Union will represent just over six percent of the world's inhabitants by 2025. Even though some basic international principles seem indisputable for all global actors, from both the economic and cultural points of view the world will be more complex and uncertain. Responses to global issues, from security to the environment, will have to be negotiated permanently among political actors.

> Faced with this prospect, if you are a European leader or citizen looking to the future, you have two alternatives: either to resist and try to maintain old privileges, or to participate in global processes in order to introduce the best possible input into them. The risk of trying to resist is that historical developments in the twenty-first century are so unstoppable that those who try to hang onto the past may be simply bypassed and ignored. Conversely, participating in global processes gives us an opportunity to contribute to shaping the future and making it better.[160]

World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* (Oxford, 1987).

156 Martin Ortega, *Building the future: The EU's contribution to global governance* (Paris, 2007), p. 45.

157 Ibid., p. 46.

158 Ibid.

159 Ibid., pp. 91–118; Ibid., p. 123; Ibid., p. 125.
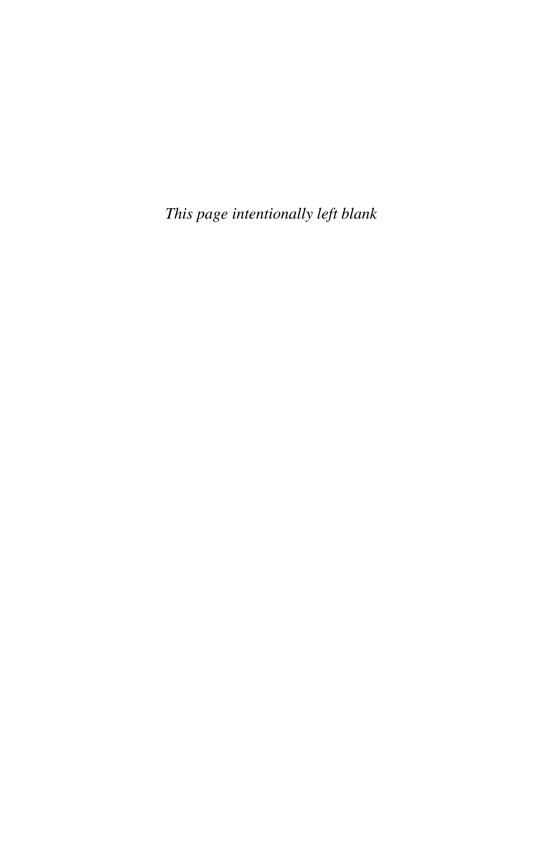
160 Ibid., pp. 119–20.

This emphasis on actively 'shaping the future' is characteristically republican. Ortega's enthusiasm for free trade may also distance him from the anti-globalization element within twenty-first century cosmopolitanism.[161] Ortega rightly notes that Europeans have has yet to determine how they will respond to the global challenges he describes.[162] Whether or not they take up his suggestions, his work illustrates the mix of republican and cosmopolitan ideas that make up the European Union's political identity.

Conclusion

The disputes over states' legal right to use military force, peoples' fundamental rights as human beings, the justice of global economic practices and the proper response to global climate change all raise similar sets of questions about the ethical status of the sovereign state, its just prerogatives, its obligations to its citizens, and those citizens' collective obligations toward the rest of the world. Republican and cosmopolitan thinkers have outlined diametrically opposing ways of answering such questions in theory. While certain state governments – and, apparently, their constituencies – follow the republican approach in practice, a wide range of politically active groups advocate the cosmopolitan approach as well. The next chapter will examine these groups, their beliefs, and their activities in more detail.

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161 Ibid., p. 62.
162 Ibid., p. 106.

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Chapter 4

The Sincerity of the Cosmopolitans

Not only are cosmopolitan ideas regarding responsibility austere in theory, the various cosmopolitan movements interpret them that way in practice. Indeed, these movements often seem to advocate even more repressive policies than their avowed goals make necessary. Representatives of these movements also apply their strictures consistently at every level of society. Just as cosmopolitan theorists would make state governments accountable to overlapping institutions, cosmopolitan activists would enmesh individuals in similar systems of cross-cutting control. Cosmopolitan leaders typically claim, sometimes more convincingly than others, that they make no exception for themselves.

This chapter explores the cosmopolitan commitment to sacrifice in greater depth. By exploring what cosmopolitans demand of individuals, one gains a fuller understanding of what twenty-first century cosmopolitanism entails and how it is likely to develop. As later sections will show, twenty-first century cosmopolitanism is closely akin to the older bundle of social and political instincts that social theorist Christopher Lasch characterizes as populism. Populism, as its name implies, has an inherent appeal to many people. Lasch finds that it embodies a wisdom that optimistic and more ostensibly rational traditions have forgotten.

Readers may decide whether the populism of the twenty-first century manifests the virtues Lasch describes. Whatever the case, populism also has vices. Not only do populist movements tend to oversimplify complex issues, they propagate attitudes that make it easier for extremists of various kinds to operate. As the final sections of this chapter will indicate, the seeds of these vices are present in twenty-first century cosmopolitanism.

Controlling Carbon, Controlling People

Since environmentalists have been particularly outspoken in advocating austerities, this chapter begins by looking at the movement to curb global warming. To analyse the role of ideas in the environmental movement, one must first note the role of physical realities. There are material reasons why environmentalists, whether cosmopolitans or not, virtually always advocate restrictive legislation of one form or another. Where peoples' activities physically affect the environment, those who wish to preserve the earth in its earlier state have no alternative to controlling those peoples' behaviour. Attempts to slow or, ideally, stop human-induced (anthropogenic) global warming appear to demand particularly stringent controls.

The ways in which people produce the so-called greenhouse gasses (GHGs) that apparently warm the earth's atmosphere include practically all the industrial processes

basic to a technological economy. People produce further GHGs on an individual basis through activities that range from driving automobiles to heating their homes. Moreover, climate researchers agree that restrictions on GHG emissions will have to be severe to be effective. In 1990, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) reported that, for humanity to stabilize long-lived greenhouse gasses such as carbon dioxide at their current levels, human beings would have to reduce their emissions of those gasses by an immediate 60 per cent.[1]

The longer people delayed these reductions, the IPCC warned, the greater the cuts would ultimately have to be.[2] In this spirit, a 2007 coalition of US senators introduced a bill to cut America's emissions 80 per cent by 2050.[3] Mainstream estimates suggest that the aggregate cost of achieving such reductions may reach an annual 1.5 per cent of global gross national product.[4] Environmental sceptic Bjorn Lomborg suggests a slightly higher figure of two per cent per year.[5]

Although these numbers are intimidating, they need not be cause for despair. As Lomborg acknowledges, economists also expect the global economy to grow at an average pace of 2–3 per cent per year throughout the twenty-first century.[6] Therefore, even if one accepts his pessimistic estimate that controlling greenhouse emissions will cost two per cent of global GNP, one may take comfort from the fact that the world will still be getting richer. Indeed, if one extends projected growth and the projected costs of reducing emissions to infinity, one finds that controlling global warming would only retard humanity's economic progress by a single year.[7]

One is entitled to doubt that the matter will be so simple. In the long term, as Maynard Keynes famously observed, we are all dead, and there is no guarantee that the costs of reducing GHG emissions by 60 per cent or more will be so manageable for those living through the short-term period in which the reductions actually have to take place. Nor is there any guarantee that environmentally acceptable alternatives for 60 per cent of today's GHG-producing activities will be available at any price. Nevertheless, the economic figures suggest, not only that it may still be possible to mitigate humanity's impact upon the climate, but that people have the wherewithal to mitigate the impact of GHG reductions upon themselves. Given this fact, one

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1   John Houghton, 'An Overview of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and its Process of Science Assessment' in Ronald E. Hester and Roy M. Harrison, *Global Environmental Change: Issues in Environmental Science and Technology*, Cambridge: Royal Society of Chemistry, 2002), p. 4.

2   Jeremy Leggett, 'Anxieties and Opportunities in Climate Change' in Gwyn Prins, *Threats Without Enemies* (London: Earthscan, 1993), p. 42.

3   Bernard Sanders (on behalf of himself and sponsors), *S. 309* (*Global Warming Pollution Reduction Act*) (January 16, 2007), http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/F?c110:1:./temp/~c110eUI3Z0:e0: (5 April 2007).

4   Tony Brenton, *The Greening of Machiavelli: The Evolution of International Environmental Politics* (London, 1994), p. 168.

5   Bjorn Lomborg, *The Skeptical Environmentalist: Measuring the Real State of the World* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 323.

6   Ibid., p. 323.

7   Ibid.

can imagine a variety of responsible policies for addressing anthropogenic climate change, and for distributing the costs of doing so.

All these policies would involve both scientific and economic uncertainty. Although the overwhelming majority of climate researchers agree that human activities are progressively raising the average atmospheric temperature to dangerous levels, scientists cannot predict the precise effects of climate change on any given place at any given time, nor can they guarantee that specific levels of GHG reduction will produce specific environmental benefits.[8] Economic forecasts are, if anything, less reliable than meteorological ones, and this principle most certainly applies to predictions regarding the costs of climate change mitigation.[9] Just as people must choose among various ways of allocating the burdens of slowing global warming (or failing to), people must also choose among various ways of weighing the unknowns in one policy against the unknowns in others.

Whatever course of action any particular political community chooses to take regarding climate change will involve subjective judgments about a wide range of issues. The politics of climate policy, in short, have the potential to be complex.[10] This is not, however, the way in which representatives of the environmental movement typically present the situation. To the contrary, these environmentalists portray climate change as a problem in which the right response is simple, definite and generally known. Dissension, their rhetoric implies, can only be a sign of ignorance or worse.

'We know what to do', asserts British diplomat and government advisor Sir Crispin Tickell, whose 1977 work *Climactic Change and World Affairs* helped bring the issue of anthropogenic global warming to public attention. '[B]ut we don't have the will to do it'.[11] Tickell took part in the panel that summed up the conclusions of the Dahlem Workshop, and this may explain why the panel makes a similar statement:

> It is widely recognized that scientific information is not the only, and may not even be the primary, limitation to achieving a transition to sustainability. Lack of knowledge is frequently not the impediment to action. Global and national institutions will therefore have to evolve in many ways if humanity is to cope more effectively with global environmental problems.[12]

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8   Patrick J. Michaels, 'False Impressions: Misleading Statements, Glaring Omissions, And Erroneous Conclusions in the IPCC's Summary for Policymakers, 2001' in Patrick J. Michaels, *Shattered Consensus: The True State of Global Warming* (Lanham MD, 2005), pp. 1–19; R.B. Mitchell and P. Romero Lankao, 'Institutions, Science and Technology in the Transition to Sustainability' in Hans Joachim Schellnhuber, Paul J. Crutzen, William C. Clark, Martin Claussen and Hermann Held (eds), *Earth System Analysis for Sustainability* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 393.

9   Brenton, p. 168; P. Senker, 'The Economics of Climate Change (analysis of the UK House of Lord's report on the economics of climate change and the IPCC)', *Energy and Environment*, 16/6 (2005): 1098–1101.

10   Mitchell and Lankao, 'Institutions, Science and Technology', p. 390.

11   Crispin Tickell, *Climactic Change and World Affairs* (Oxford, 1978); John Houghton, Overview of the Climate Change Issue: Presentation to Forum 2002, St. Anne's College, Oxford, 15 July 2002, http://www.jri.org.uk/resource/climatechangeoverview.htm (4-08-2006).

12   A.P. Kinzig, W.C. Clark, O. Edenhofer, G.C. Gallopin, W. Lucht, R.B. Mitchell, P. Romero Lankao, S. Sreekesh, C. Tickell and O.R. Young, 'Group Report: Sustainability', in

John Houghton, in an address to St. Anne's College, repeated Tickell's line with evident agreement.[13] Houghton also quotes Tickell in his written work, continuing with reflections of his own:

> Many recognize this lack of will to act as a 'spiritual' problem (using the word spiritual in a general sense), meaning that we are too obsessed with the 'material' and the immediate and fail to act according to generally accepted values and ideals particularly if it means some cost to ourselves or if it is concerned with the future rather than the present. We are only too aware of the strong temptations we experience at both the personal and the national levels to use the world's resources to gratify our selfishness and greed.[14]

James Lovelock, originator of the well-received Gaia Hypothesis, dismisses all dissension from his policy proposals as 'the well-intended but unwise advice of those who think there is an alternative to science'.[15] Lovelock directs this passage, not at maverick climate researchers who question the very proposition that peoples' GHG emissions cause global warming, but at environmentalists who accept the findings of mainstream scientific bodies such as the IPCC but persist in what Lovelock calls the 'naïve' hope for an environmentally 'sustainable' way to continue with economic 'development'.[16] Opponents of nuclear power come up for similar criticism.[17] In making these accusations, Lovelock does not cite any particular scientific findings. Lovelock apparently expects his readers to accept that science as an institution has definitively answered the social and political questions related to climate change.

McKibben, meanwhile, finds the moral and political implications of climate science 'intuitively obvious', noting elsewhere that anyone who 'think[s] about it for even a minute' will share his conclusions.[18] Many climatologists find this kind of certainty misleading. A minority of researchers, known somewhat pejoratively as climate sceptics, question the very idea that anthropogenic global warming is taking place.[19] These sceptics, unsurprisingly, feel marginalized, and, equally unsurprisingly, accuse their opponents of trying to silence them for political reasons. Moreover, even researchers who embrace mainstream scientific opinion on the subject report pressure to present their findings in ways that environmentalists find edifying.

Hans Joachim Schellnhuber, Paul J. Crutzen, William C. Clark, Martin Claussen and Hermann Held (eds), *Earth System Analysis for Sustainability* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 418–19.

13 Houghton, *Overview of the Climate Change Issue*.

14 John Houghton, *Global Warming: The Complete Briefing* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 151.

15 James Lovelock, *The Revenge of Gaia: Why the Earth is Fighting Back and How We Can Still Save Humanity* (London, 2006), pp. 10–11.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Bill McKibben, 'The Great Leap: Scenes from China's industrial revolution', *Harpers Magazine*, 311/1867 (December 2005): 52.

19 Ross McKitrick, 'The Mann Et Al. Northern Hemisphere "Hockey Stick" Climate Index: A Tale of Due Diligence', in Patrick J. Michaels (ed.), *Shattered Consensus: The True State of Global Warming* (Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), pp. 20–49; K. Kondratyev, 'Key Aspects of Global Climate Change', *Energy & Environment*,15/3 (July 2004): 469–504.

The Dahlem participants 'recognize' that scientists must 'clearly communicate what is and is not known to the users of scientific information', thus implicitly recognizing that scientists are occasionally less than clear in practice.[20] Mike Hulme of the Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research is more direct:

> Climate change is a reality, and science confirms that human activities are heavily implicated in this change.
>
> But over the past few years, a new environmental phenomenon has been constructed in this country – the phenomenon of 'catastrophic' climate change.
>
> It seems that mere 'climate change' was not going to be bad enough, and so now it must be 'catastrophic' to be worthy of attention … I have found myself increasingly chastised by climate change campaigners when my public statements and lectures on climate change have not satisfied their thirst for environmental drama and exaggerated rhetoric.
>
> It seems that it is we, the professional climate scientists, who are now the (catastrophe) sceptics. How the wheel turns …
>
> The language of catastrophe is not the language of science. It will not be visible in next year's global assessment from the world authority of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).
>
> To state that climate change will be 'catastrophic' hides a cascade of value-laden assumptions which do not emerge from empirical or theoretical science.[21]

Houghton, whose credentials suggest that he understands the scientific method and appreciates it in its place, might respond that science and values intertwine. Values, indeed, may take priority. 'Action addressing environmental problems depends not only on our knowledge about them but on the values we place on the environment and our attitudes towards it'.[22] Houghton goes on to note two ways in which science can help people develop 'appropriate attitudes'.[23]

- the perspectives of balance, interdependence and unity in the natural world generated by the underlying science;
- a recognition – some would argue suggested by the science – that humans have a special place in the universe, which in turn implies that humans have special responsibilities with respect to the natural world.[24]

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20 Kinzig, Clark, Edenhofer, Gallopin, Lucht, Mitchell, Romero Lankao, Sreekesh, Tickell and Young, 'Group Report: Sustainability', p. 411.

21 Mike Hulme, 'Chaotic World of Climate Truth', BBC News (11/04/2006), http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/mpapps/pagetools/print/news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/sci/tech/61156... (16-11-2006). Those who wish to verify Hulme's prediction about the 2007 IPCC report can find it and associated documents at Anonymous, *Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*, http://www.ipcc.ch/ (12-07-2007). Although the report is disturbing, Hulme correctly claimed that it would present its findings in precise, emotionally neutral language wherever possible.

22 Houghton, *Global Warming*, p. 152.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

McKibben, meanwhile, suggests what he believes these responsibilities entail. '[T]he goal of the twenty-first century must somehow be to simultaneously develop the economies of the poorest parts of the world and *undevelop* [emphasis in original] those of the rich'.[25] This undevelopment will be extensive enough to curtail peoples' access to basic foodstuffs. McKibben looks forward to a day when Americans will have to eat less meat.[26]

Lovelock would deny people vegetables as well. In order to reduce the amount of the planet's surface given over to agriculture, he suggests that humanity synthesize its entire food supply:

> The chemicals for food synthesis would come directly from the air, or more conveniently from carbon compounds sequestered from power station effluent. The nitrogen and sulphur could also come from these effluents, and all that we would need in addition would be water and trace elements. We would be acting like plants, but probably using fusion instead of solar energy.

> What would be synthesized would not be the intricate, natural chemicals we now eat as broccoli, olives, apples, steaks, or, more probably, hamburgers and pizzas. Rather, the large new food factories would make simple sugars and amino acids. This would be the feedstock for tissue cultures of meats and vegetables and for junk food made from any convenient organism that could be safely eaten. The technology would not be greatly different from that now employed in brewing beer or making antibiotics. By doing this on a scale large enough to feed everyone, the land now farmed could be released back to Gaia and used once again for its proper purpose, the regulation of the climate and chemistry of the Earth. The present overfishing of the oceans could also cease.[27]

These writers' determination to control peoples' diets further illustrates the way in which their moral and political sensibilities inform their purely environmental concerns. In 2006, Britain's Carbon Trust commissioned Enviros Consulting and the Centre for Environmental Strategy at the University of Surrey to analyse the ways in which individual British citizens contribute to carbon dioxide emissions.[28] Researchers found that UK consumers 'use products and services with a combined carbon footprint of 176.4 Mtc (millions tonnes carbon per annum)'.[29] Consumption of food and non-alcoholic beverages accounted for only 14.5 Mtc, or 8.2 per cent of the total.[30]

Even when one adds the carbon associated with the catering industry, food-related emissions rise only to 22.4 Mtc, or 12.6 per cent of the total.[31] Restricting peoples' access to foodstuffs does not appear to be a promising way to reduce Britain's overall GHG emissions. The fact that a varied diet plays such a considerable role both in promoting health and in facilitating one's enjoyment of life might further deter a purely pragmatic environmentalist from trying to limit peoples' access to food. Given

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25 McKibben, 'The Great Leap': 52.

26 Ibid.

27 Lovelock, 133.

28 Anonymous, *The Carbon Generated In All We Consume* (London, 2006), p. 3.

29 Ibid., p. 1.

30 Ibid., p. 19.

31 Ibid., p. 21.

the fact that another 12.3 per cent of British emissions come from activities related to health and hygiene, those whose only concern was to mitigate climate change might find it equally useful to convince Britons to put off vacuuming their carpets.[32]

Nevertheless, environmentalists take their campaign against dietary indulgence to the point of publicly clashing with charities. Activist Claire Fauset, who played an instrumental role in organizing a 2006 campaign to shut down Britain's coal-fired DRAX power station, has publicly debated representatives of the Fairtrade organization, which helps people in developing countries overcome poverty by exporting local products.[33] Fauset sees no excuse for such trade in any form. 'All the Fairtrade stuff – chocolate, coffee, mangoes, ornaments, etc. – are luxuries. We do not need them'.[34]

A Fairtrade volunteer responded that Britain's entire food transportation industry is responsible for only three per cent of the country's GHG emissions.[35] The volunteer went on to note that Fairtrade imports account for only 0.03 per cent of that three per cent.[36] Unrelated research at the University of Wales confirms that transportation accounts for only a tiny fraction of the food industry's carbon footprint, and thus that the volunteer's figures are likely to be accurate.[37] Fauset, however, never claimed that Fairtrade plays a significant role in warming the planet. Rather, she claims that the Western way of life is inherently immoral. '[I]t is we rich Northern nations who are the prime criminals'.[38]

Fauset doubts that developing world producers will benefit from trading in any event. Fairtrade's market, she notes, is 'vulnerable to a change in taste or fashions', which would deprive the producers of their newfound income.[39] One might note that the Western taste for coffee and chocolate has lasted approximately five centuries and shows no signs of diminishing. Again, however, such an observation would fail to address Fauset's actual concern. Fauset opposes Fairtrade because she believes that it encourages Westerners to continue their corrupt lifestyle:

[M]ore to the point, we need drastic cuts in our use of fossil fuels. Surely one of the first places to start is the long-distance freighting of unnecessary items.

Our first priority should be to only buy what we need. [emphasis in original] If Fairtrade gives us an excuse for unsustainable indulgence, then it blinds our consciences to the greater damage done by fossil fuel use'.[40]

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32 Ibid.

33 John Harris, 'The burning issue', *The Guardian* (14 April, 2007), http://environment. guardian.co.uk/climatechange/story/0,,2055755,00.html (2-07-2007); Anonymous, *People OR Planet – Do consumers face a dilemma?*, http://peopleandplanet.org/debate_fairtrade/ environment (24-04-2007).

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 James Randerson, 'The eco-diet ... and it's not just about food miles', *The Guardian* (June 4, 2007), http://lifeandhealth.guardian.co.uk/food/story/0,,2094796,00.html (4-06-2007).

38 Anonymous, *People OR Planet*.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

Lovelock finds similar moral imperatives in other areas. Given the pressures the human population places on the earth's systems, he would reform our approach to health care. 'The regulation of fecundity is part of population control, but the regulation of the death rate is also important'.[41] 'Traditionally', Lovelock notes, 'hospitals have for the elderly been places for dying in comparative comfort and painlessness'.[42] Lovelock would prefer that they limited themselves to that traditional function.

For this reason, Lovelock not only questions research into new cancer treatments but deplores peoples' less spectacular attempts to ward off degenerative diseases by eating organic food.[43] '[O]ur primary obligation is to the living earth', he would remind the 'urban greens' who indulge in such produce. 'Humanity comes second'.[44] Elsewhere, he generalizes that 'it seems amoral to strive ostentatiously to extend our personal lifespan'.[45]

Lovelock is aware that such ideas may provoke resistance. His 'most gloomy thought is the likelihood that we [will be] unable to stop emissions in time; think how difficult it could be for those large nations China, India and the United States to overcome the social inertia of their massive populations'.[46] Given that one of these countries is a single-party oligarchy, all allegedly practice state-sanctioned torture and all officially practice capital punishment, there seems little chance that milder democracies will prove strong enough to enforce Lovelock's measures. Indeed, it appears unlikely that politicians in any country will propose pro-cancer policies in the foreseeable future.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to dismiss the authoritarian side of the environmental movement as a purely theoretical concern. Just as there are material reasons why environmentalists of all political preferences must favour regulation, there are material reasons why regulating GHG emissions is likely to involve intruding upon ordinary peoples' everyday lives. David Miliband, speaking as Britain's Environmental Secretary, estimated that 'household decisions on energy and transport cover 44 per cent of [GHG] emissions'.[47] Miliband went on to propose extending the European Union's emissions trading scheme to individuals.[48]

Under such schemes, each participant receives a license to emit a certain maximum quantity of GHGs. Those who wish to emit more must convince others to emit less, normally by paying them. This arrangement may well be an equitable way to control overall emissions, reward low emitters and maximize all participants' freedom of choice. Nevertheless, when one considers the logistics of arranging for every European to keep track of his or her personal GHG emissions in some way that a regulatory body could audit, one sees that Miliband's proposal contained a degree of boldness. The fact that the Environmental Secretary chose to advance it at a time

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41 Lovelock, p. 141.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., pp. 141–2; Ibid, p. 121.

44 Ibid., p. 121.

45 Ibid., p. 141.

46 Ibid., p. 74.

47 Joe Bolger, 'Make car drivers pay for their pollution', *The Times*, No. 68952 (March 6, 2007), p. 4.

48 Ibid.

when political analysts viewed him as a candidate to be Britain's next prime minister indicates the degree to which mainstream Western politicians have become willing to associate themselves with imposing burdensome environmental regulations upon individuals.

Canadian Environment Minister Stephane Dion has proposed a similar personal emissions trading scheme for his country.[49] Not only is Dion willing to focus regulations on individual citizens, he suggests that he would prefer to. 'We will have a bottom-up approach instead of top-down, and this I think will be spectacular as a result'.[50] Dion notes the problem of accounting for GHG emissions and suggests that Canada limit its initial trading scheme to those responsible for large quantities of GHGs, although he hopes eventually to make the programme universal.[51]

A step away from government, Jonathon Porritt, appointed by British Prime Minister Tony Blair to head the independent advisory body known as the Sustainable Development Commission, advocates modifying peoples' lives in ways that go far beyond personal emissions trading.[52] '[W]e don't have a choice about this: we've got to rethink the basic premise behind capitalism to make it deliver the goods'.[53] Actually, Porritt's additional comments imply, he is not so much looking for a system of government and economic activity that delivers goods as he is looking for one that will withhold them. '[L]evels of consumption are already undermining life support systems on which we depend – so if we do it for any more people, the planet will go pop'.[54]

Like Fauset, Porritt takes his opposition to consumption to the point of opposing organizations that channel profits from commercial activities to charitable causes.[55] Porritt justifies this position in much the same terms as Fauset as well. 'I think [combining trade with charity] clutters up the awareness we need to encourage in people now'.[56] To him, the principle of opposing consumption outweighs the actual effects that consumption might have.

Porritt assures his audience that he does not favour re-introducing rationing as it was practiced during and after the Second World War.[57] Nevertheless, given his conviction that 'there's an awful lot of unnecessary consumption, conspicuous consumption, irresponsible consumption, and we've just got to get used to cracking down on that in our own lives and really thinking through the implications of all that' one can only assume that his preferred alternative to capitalism would resemble

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49 Anonymous, 'Dion promotes emissions trading scheme', *CTV* (August 11, 2005), http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/112379240194_119206440/... (07/04/2007).

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Anonymous, 'Jonathon Porritt', *Sustainable Development Commission*, http://www.sd-commission.org.uk/pages/porritt.html (08-04-2007).

53 David Smith, 'Stop shopping … or the planet will go pop', *The Observer* (8 April, 2007), http://observer.guardian.co.uk/uk_news/story/0,,2052490,00.html (08-04-2007).

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

1940s-era rationing in important ways.[58] Porritt implicitly acknowledges that life would be harder under his system. 'I know for sure that if we ever had a golden age, as far as most people are concerned, it's been over the last 50 years', he reflects.[59] One notes that he refers to this golden age in the past tense.

Not only do government advisors propose intrusive regulation, Hulme observes that government leaders overstate the case for imposing it. The Tyndall director criticizes British Prime Minister Tony Blair for indulging in histrionic rhetoric in an open letter to the European Union.[60] 'We have a window of only 10–15 years', Blair wrote, 'to take the steps we need to avoid crossing a catastrophic tipping point'.[61] Hulme notes that politically influential media outlets such as the BBC and *The Independent* newspaper routinely sensationalize the issue as well.[62] Houghton, Lovelock, McKibben and Porritt may be in the *avant garde* of environmental politics, but a substantial army is falling into step behind them.

Hulme finds this ominous. By exaggerating the case for extreme measures, he warns, campaigners may sabotage arguments for reasonable and necessary ones. Hyperbole makes measured statements seem weak by comparison. Barrages of distorted claims make people cynical when they hear the truth. Relentless 'fear and personal stress' dulls people into passivity at times when they need to act.[63] Hulme notes that public health campaigners have long been aware that overstated warnings can backfire, adding that 'empirical work in relation to climate change communication and public perception shows that it operates here too'.[64]

Hulme's concerns notwithstanding, cosmopolitan environmentalists have reasons for taking extreme positions. One of these reasons is the simple fact that, bad as the problem of anthropogenic global warming is, it is almost certainly about to grow worse. Researchers speculate about the possibility that continued climate change may trigger a variety of so-called positive feedbacks that would dramatically accelerate the pace of global warming.[65] Such acceleration would trigger floods, droughts, forest fires, agricultural failures and other disasters correspondingly sooner than expected. The only way to avert catastrophe, these scientists imply, may be to reduce GHG emissions faster and by even greater amounts than previously thought necessary.[66]

Moreover, even as Westerners debate reducing their GHG emissions, a significant number of Chinese, Indians and other non-Westerners are growing prosperous enough to acquire automobiles, household conveniences, electric power grids and manufacturing industries of their own. To make matters worse, industrial newcomers commonly find it cheaper to rely on older but more GHG-productive technology, along with high-GHG fuels such as coal. Lovelock sums up the situation by quoting

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58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

60 Hulme, 'Chaotic World of Climate Truth'.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 Anonymous, 'Sleeping giants', *New Scientist*, 2486 (12 February 2005): 9–11.

66 Anonymous, 'The doubters have one thing right', *New Scientist*, 2486 (12 February 2005): p. 5.

environmentalists Paul and Anne Ehrlich. 'The environmental system of Earth would collapse if the attempt were made to supply all human beings alive today with a European style of living'.[67]

Porritt observes the same points.[68] McKibben adds a logical – and undoubtedly widespread – developing world response.

> As Ma Jun – a daring environmentalist who's taken big risks to write his books – told me one day, 'Nearly 80 percent of the carbon dioxide has come from 200 years of the industrial world. Let's be realistic. Those historic burdens have to be shouldered by those countries that have enjoyed the benefits'.[69]

And, McKibben adds, rightly so. 'In any just scheme, it's not required of the Chinese to help solve global warming, any more than it's your kids' responsibility to work out the problems in your marriage'.[70] Whether or not one agrees with McKibben on grounds of principle, one must recognize the likelihood that the Chinese, Indians and others who finally see economic development within their grasp will stick to this position. Moreover, only the exceptionally hard-hearted would deny China, India, and, for that matter, the rest of the global South the opportunity to develop.

McKibben summarizes, 'China has hundreds of millions of people too poor to have clean water, and they sense that a few decades of burning coal might do something about that'.[71] Moreover, as Christ noted, man does not live by bread alone. Economic development is a blessing for reasons that go far beyond subsistence. In one section of McKibben's work, he quotes peasants who have finally become prosperous enough to enjoy mundane satisfactions such as liquor.[72] In another, he describes a scene he saw in Shanghai, when he stood in the old European quarter and gazed across the Huangpu River:

> On the other bank, in the Pudong District that China has made its great urban showpiece, huge towers rose in neon splendour – the Jinmao Tower, with the highest hotel on earth taking up its top thirty-four floors; the Oriental Pearl TV tower, its great kitschy globes glowing pink against the sky; the Aurora building, with its vast outdoor TV screen showing ad after ad. The vista was a little less grand than usual – the temperature had topped 95 degrees that day, so the government had decreed a power cut – but it was still enough to draw tens of thousands of spectators, content just to stand there in the dark and look. Many, perhaps most, were new arrivals from the countryside, in shabbier clothes and with ruddier faces than the city folk; they posed for pictures along the railing with the promise of the country glowing behind them.[73]

McKibben raises the hope that the Chinese and others may be able to realize their aspirations without causing intolerable environmental damage if the developed and

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67 Lovelock, p. 79.
68 Smith, 'Stop Shopping'.
69 McKibben, 'The Great Leap': 52.
70 Ibid.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid.

undeveloped world can 'meet somewhere in the middle, with us using less energy so that they can use more'.[74] As McKibben notes, developed countries might also offer the developing world economic subsidies and access to less-polluting forms of technology. The Global Commons Institute (GCI), which also advocates a policy by which developed and underdeveloped countries adjust their GHG emissions toward an environmentally acceptable mean, refers to this process as Contraction and Convergence (C&C).

GCI director Alex Evans explained the concept to the American research institute the Pew Center as follows:

> The contraction refers to a global emissions reduction trajectory designed not to exceed a specific greenhouse gas concentration in the atmosphere. The trajectory could be modified at any time in line with new data emerging from scientists, and the system thus regards precaution as its highest priority.

> The next question then becomes how to allocate the emissions available under this trajectory, and this is the 'convergence' part: national emissions entitlements are deliberately designed to converge by an agreed date at equal per capita emission entitlements for all countries, so that emissions allowances are proportional to population from then on.[75]

Although McKibben focuses on the moral case for such policies, one also notes that they may prove useful as a means for persuading the governments of developing countries to accept international environmental agreements. The GCI claims that the governments of China and India already accept C&C in principle.[76] The Africa Group and the Non-Aligned Movement have expressed support as well.[77] Another pragmatic reason why developed nations may have to reduce their GHG emissions disproportionately is that, if developing nations ultimately refuse to curtail their emissions, others may have to compensate.

The cosmopolitan case for imposing punitive environmental measures on westerners goes beyond these practical arguments. As the previous chapter discussed, cosmopolitan theorists welcomed anthropogenic climate change as a pretext for addressing what they present as larger inequities. Ma Jun's statement that 'historic burdens have to be shouldered by those countries that have enjoyed the benefits' puts him – and, by extension, McKibben – in agreement with anti-globalization activists and campaigners for ESR rights. For those who wish to exact retribution for perceived historical injustices, a system by which currently developed and currently underdeveloped countries meet the middle is not enough.

This aspect of cosmopolitan thought has sapped enthusiasm for contraction and convergence among those who might seem to be its natural supporters. C&C merely aims to equalize GHG emissions among currently developed and currently

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74 Ibid.

75 Alex Evans, *Climate Change: The Way Ahead, address to the Pew Center Equity and Global Climate Change Conference* (17 April 2001), www.pewclimate.org/document.cfm?documentID=17 (11-04-2007).

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

underdeveloped countries. Many reject the idea that the currently developed countries deserve equality. The GCI director laments:

> As to why contraction and convergence has remained the best kept secret in international climate change, the responsibility lies in no small part (and with great irony) with mainstream Northern environment NGOs. For forgivable but strategically flawed reasons, the international arms of organisations such as Greenpeace, the World Wide Fund for Nature and the World Resources Institute took a decision in the late 1980s and early 1990s to push for the principle of developed countries 'taking a lead'; even now they can be seen defending this principle (or lack of it) tenaciously.[78]

Evans encounters a similar insistence that the developed world take the lead from unspecified developing world governments, as well as the European Union.[79] Careful readers of previous passages will note that McKibben both called on the developed world to accept special responsibility and called for a C&C-like meeting in the middle. McKibben does not tell readers which principle he ultimately considers more important. Since he doubts that Americans will accept equality, he may consider the point moot.[80]

Moreover, cosmopolitans view the abundance of technological civilization as frivolous or worse. Even if they were satisfied with the distribution and environmental effects of this abundance, many would prefer that there was less of it. Having depicted the lights of Shanghai as a symbol of promise, McKibben swiftly qualifies his position. 'I'm not sure globalization makes sense for the globe even if it makes sense for China'.[81] A few sentences later, he qualifies his qualification. 'I'm not sure that if the Chinese someday got as rich as we are they'd be any happier than us'.[82]

And we, McKibben implies, are far from happy. Although the conditionally promising lights of Shanghai remind him of the lights of Las Vegas, the latter city merely disgusts him:

> But what is Vegas? It's the search for some kind of new stimulus for the jaded. Some thicker meat and pricier alcohol, for people who've been packing away meat and alcohol for decades. Some attempt to figure out what more might mean when you've already had too much.[83]

McKibben assures us that the rest of America is in a similar state. While 'China is actually accomplishing some measurable good with its growth' McKibben suggests that his fellow Americans are 'burning nine times as much energy per capita so that we can: air-condition game rooms and mow half-acre lots, drive SUVs on every errand, eat tomatoes flown in from Chile'.[84] Lovelock depicts twenty-first century

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78 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
80 McKibben, 'The Great Leap': 52.
81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid.
84 Ibid.

humans as a race of spoiled teenagers.[85] Elsewhere, he characterizes progress and the betterment of humanity as no more than a contemporary obsession.[86]

McKibben would add that this obsession can never be more than a transient phase in human history. For two centuries, he notes, fossil fuels have permitted our species a 'one-time binge of growth'.[87] Now, McKibben tells us, not only does the threat of global warming force us to reduce our use of such resources, but the earth's supply of these fuels is dwindling. Soon humanity must return whence it came, to 'biomass' powered life in the land 'where bread must be earned by 'the sweat of your brow'.[88]

The authors of *Beyond the Limits*, a 1992 sequel to the Club of Rome's influential *Limits to Growth*, reiterate that 'people don't need enormous cars'.[89] Nor, the authors tell us, do people need 'closetsful of clothes' or 'electronic entertainment'.[90] Lovelock would quibble on the final point:

> We are, unconsciously, evolving to a state where much of our time is spent using low energy devices. What a stunningly good invention was the mobile telephone: it exploits the universal tendency of humans to chatter and obliges us to consume hours of the day at minimal energy cost – it is one of the greenest inventions ever. Small computers of great efficiency are now stealing into our lives to make us spend our time at minimal energy cost, playing games or surfing the net. An ultra-high-tech low-energy civilization may well be possible … [91]

Lovelock may intend this suggestion in the spirit of Jonathan Swift, but his opening and closing comments suggest that he is in earnest. Many who jumped to defend their electronic entertainment from the Club of Rome may have lost some of their enthusiasm.

Porritt's summation of contemporary prosperity is also disparaging. 'When I look at the amount of consumption that almost instantly turns into waste, with huge amounts bought for no particularly good purpose and then discarded or thrown away, I do find it inexcusable'.[92] 'We've just got to get wiser', Porritt notes later, 'to what happens when we enjoy the perks of this life'.[93] We must hold the perks in suspicion, he seems to be saying, precisely because they are perks. In a similar spirit, Lovelock

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85 Lovelock, p. 159.

86 Ibid., p. 7.

87 Bill McKibben, 'Reversal of Fortune', *Mother Jones* (March/April 2007), http://www.motherjones.com/news/feature/2007/03/reversal_of_fortune.html (15-04-2007).

88 Ibid.

89 Donella Meadows, Dennis Meadows, and Jorgen Randers, *Beyond the Limits: Global Collapse or a Sustainable Future* (London: Earthscan, 1992), p. 216. These authors address numerous environmental concerns, of which climate change is only one.

90 Ibid.

91 Lovelock, p. 134.

92 Smith, 'Stop Shopping'.

93 Ibid.

reminds readers of the saying that there is no such thing as a free lunch.[94] Lovelock also warns that the campaign against Porritt's perks can never end.[95]

The Dahlem researchers suggest the more hopeful possibility that it may prove possible to re-educate humanity.[96] Science, which has 'unconsciously helped get us into our present predicament can, through a program of purposeful, self-conscious research and development, best support society's larger effort to sustain our common future'.[97] Where the Dahlem participants would cultivate peoples' reason, other cosmopolitan environmentalists would cultivate peoples' faith. McKibben, himself a practicing Methodist, believes not only that religion can help to make people more environmentally conscious, but that the environmental movement is helping Christians return to a more authentic version of their beliefs.[98]

Houghton also suggests that religion will move people to sacrifice for the planet, uplifting them in the process.[99] He emphasizes that our efforts on behalf of the environment will be good for us. 'If human communities are to be fulfilled and creative, they not only need goals related to economic performance but also moral and spiritual goals. Care for the overall health of the planet is such a goal'.[100] McKibben continues this line of argument in secular terms. First, McKibben notes public opinion research showing that citizens of developed countries do not, in the aggregate, report higher levels of happiness as their national economies improve.[101]

Not only does aggregate reported happiness not increase in direct proportion to wealth, polls suggest that, on average, Americans report less happiness than they reported in poorer times.[102] Other research implies that, once people achieve an annual income greater than 10,000 US dollars per capita, social connections raise their aggregate reported happiness more than money.[103] Although the idea of '[f]reeing people to build a more dynamic economy was radical and altruistic' at the time of Adam Smith, McKibben writes, people have taken that idea too far.[104] Adam Smith, McKibben explains, had hoped that individuals would, 'almost in

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94 Lovelock, p. 67.

95 'Whatever form future society takes it will be tribal, and hence there will be the privileged and the poor. This being so, there would in our high-tech world surely be a fashion among the rich for eating real food: vegetables grown in soil and cooked with meat and fish. We are in our present mess because the luxuries of whole-house heating and private transport by car have become necessities and far beyond the Earth's capacity to provide. Vigilance would be needed to constrain the growth of luxuries that threaten Gaia' (Ibid., p. 134.)

96 Kinzig, Clark, Edenhofer, Gallopin, Lucht, Mitchell, Romero Lankao, Sreekesh, Tickell and Young, 'Group Report: Sustainability', p. 410.

97 Ibid., p. 411.

98 Ira Boudway, 'Bill McKibben says we're stuffed', salon.com (March 23, 2007), http://www.salon.com/books/int/2007/03/23/mckibben/print.html (13-04-2007).

99 Houghton, *Overview of the Climate Change Issue*.

100 Ibid.

101 McKibben, 'Reversal of Fortune'.

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid.

spite of themselves' contribute to the 'social good'.[105] Over the past two centuries, however, those individuals have slipped out of control, growing capable of achieving 'longer lives, fuller tables [and] warmer houses' for themselves, without needing the community at all.[106]

McKibben quotes the neuroscientist Peter Whybrow on this theme:

> For the first two centuries of the nation's existence, even the most insatiable American citizen was significantly leashed by the checks and balances inherent in a closely knit community, by geography, by the elements of weather, or, in some cases, by religious practice'. You lived in a society – a habitat – that kept your impulses in some kind of check. But that changed in the past few decades as the economy nationalized and then globalized. As we met fewer actual neighbors in the course of a day, those checks and balances fell away. 'Operating in a world of instant communication with minimal social tethers', Whybrow observes, 'America's engines of commerce and desire became turbocharged'.[107]

The cosmopolitan theorists discussed in Chapter 3 consider it dangerous when states acquire excessive freedom to determine their own destinies, and McKibben finds such freedom equally dangerous for individuals. McKibben goes on to suggest that the availability of computers, larger houses, home karaoke machines, '42-inch plasma TV', and conveniently laid-out supermarkets has allowed Americans to reach a state of 'hyper-individualism'.[108] To demonstrate the existence of this condition, McKibben cites a trend toward relying on personal savings to meet health care expenses rather than taking out insurance policies, the fact that the US Army conducted a recruiting campaign using the slogan 'Army of One' and the popularity of a TV game show featuring selfish behaviour.[109] As global warming forces the inhabitants of the developed world to relinquish technology and return to manual farm labour, McKibben hopes, people will once again find themselves immersed in the close-knit communities that correlate with higher levels of average reported happiness.[110]

Same Themes, Different Issues

Such critiques of abundance and autonomy put environmentalists in agreement with other branches of the cosmopolitan movement. Critics of economic globalization echo environmentalist concerns about the corrupting effects of prosperity. Naomi Klein, for instance, rejects the egotism of individuals who see themselves as 'CEO of Me Inc'.[111] One of her main complaints about corporate advertising is that it fosters this attitude.

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105 Ibid.
106 Ibid.
107 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
109 Ibid.
110 Ibid.
111 Naomi Klein, *Fences and Windows: Dispatches From the Front Lines of the Globalization Debate* (London, 2002), p. 32.

Meanwhile, financier George Soros has become concerned that markets are amoral.[112] The problem with markets, Soros continues, is that they 'allow people to pursue their interests without let or hindrance'.[113] In his view, the September 11 2001 terrorist attacks highlight the need for a 'global society'.[114] This society, Soros hopes, will impose morals in a way that mere markets cannot.[115]

These arguments appeal to those associated with the political right as well as the political left. Kevin Phillips, formerly a political advisor to Richard Nixon, warns that global commerce will undermine American democracy.[116] Phillips excoriates individual consumers even more directly than Roy or Klein. Indeed, Phillips denies there is anything intrinsically good about raising peoples' buying power. Although he concedes that economic development helped precipitate the artistic and scientific developments of the Renaissance, he questions their value, dismissing the works of Leonardo, Botticelli, Titian and Michelangelo as 'idols of consumption'.[117]

Phillips sees little more value in raising the standard of living for those of modest means than he sees in producing art masterpieces for princes. Writing on the growth of the American economy in the 1920s, he approvingly quotes an author of that period named Stuart Chase. Chase decries the fact that middle and working-class people are using their new earning power to indulge their tastes for motorcars, radios, Tootsie Rolls, silk stockings, moving pictures, near-fur coats and beauty shoppes.[118] Faced with such behaviour from individual consumers, Phillips would invoke fellow-Republican Theodore Roosevelt's principle that 'every man holds property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare shall require it'.[119]

Another prominent conservative critic of globalization is the American politician Patrick Buchanan. The author acknowledges the irony of the fact that a man who holds Buchanan's positions on immigration and foreign policy also expresses the sensibilities this book characterizes as cosmopolitan. All ironies notwithstanding, Buchanan joined Ralph Nader in endorsing the activists who opposed the World Trade Organization in what became known as the Battle for Seattle.[120] Both denied that their relationship was merely a temporary alliance of convenience. To the contrary, Nader and Buchanan stated that, on certain issues related to global trade, they agreed as a matter of principle.[121]

Buchanan, like McKibben, was concerned about individualism. As families become accustomed to consumer lifestyles, he warned, women are abandon their

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112 George Soros, *George Soros on Globalization* (New York, 2002), p. 6.

113 Ibid.

114 Ibid., p. 165.

115 Ibid.

116 Kevin Phillips, *Wealth and Democracy* (New York, 2002).

117 Ibid., p. 334.

118 Ibid., p. 64.

119 Ibid., p. 52.

120 Patrick Buchanan and Ralph Nader, 'The Battle in Seattle', Time.com (November, 1999), http://www.time.com/time/community/transcripts/1999/112899buchanan-nader.html (17 March 2005).

121 Ibid.

traditional roles as full-time mothers in order to increase their earning power.[122] Buchanan went on to note that in the America of 1960, only 18 per cent of women with children under six worked outside the home. In 1995, that figure had risen to 63 per cent – a fact which Buchanan finds self-evidently troubling.[123]

Cosmopolitan critics of western states' defence policies also comment on the self-centeredness of western individuals. Arundhati Roy, writing in September 2001, suggested that American individuals should take unsympathetic responses to their losses in that month's well-known terrorist attacks as an overdue lesson in humility:

> It must be hard for ordinary Americans, so recently bereaved, to look up at the world with their eyes full of tears and encounter what might appear to them to be indifference. It isn't indifference. It's just augury. An absence of surprise. The tired wisdom of knowing that what goes around eventually comes around.[124]

Roy offered America (as a collective entity) emotional sympathy. 'America's grief at what happened has been immense and immensely public. It would be grotesque to expect it to calibrate or modulate its anguish'.[125] Nevertheless, although she accepted the American state's feelings, she feared the way in which American individuals might act upon them:

> However, it will be a pity if, instead of using this as an opportunity to try to understand why September 11 happened, Americans use it as an opportunity to usurp the whole world's sorrow to mourn and avenge only their own. Because then it falls to the rest of us to ask the hard questions and say the harsh things. And for our pains, for our bad timing, we will be disliked, ignored and perhaps eventually silenced.[126]

A member the activist group Globalise Resistance was more blunt:

> I'll cry for the Wall Street brokers killed in Manhattan when they cry for the half a million they killed in Iraq, the 30,000 civilians they killed in Nicaragua, the thousands still missing from Pinochet's CIA-backed regime …[127]

Rosalind Petchesky, in an essay based on her speech of 29 September 2001, also fears her fellow citizens personal 'need to vent anger and feel avenged'.[128] Petchesky goes on to criticize America's military and economic policies in detail, concluding

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122 John B. Cobb, 'Against Free Trade: A Meeting of Opposites', *religion-online*, http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=255 (17 March 2005).

123 Ibid.

124 Arundhati Roy, 'The algebra of infinite justice', *The Guardian* (September 29, 2001), http://www.guardian.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,4266289,00.html (29-09-2001).

125 Ibid.

126 Ibid.

127 Johann Hari, 'Young, educated – and dangerous?', *New Statesman* (1 October 2001): 37.

128 Rosalind P. Petchesky, 'Phantom towers: feminist reflections on the battle between global capitalism and fundamentalist terrorism' in Ammu Joseph and Kalpana Sharma (eds), *Terror-Counter-Terror Women Speak Out* (London, 2003), p. 58.

a section with a comment on American individuals' inflated sense of their own importance:

> What kind of meanness is this? And what does it say about forms of racism, or 'global apartheid' that value some lives – those in the US and Europe – far more than others in other parts of the globe?[129]

Although Petchesky does not countenance American anger, she echoes Roy in sympathizing with American grief. 'None of this reckoning an comfort those who lost loved ones on September 11, or the thousands of attack victims who lost their jobs, homes and livelihoods … '[130] Petchesky also condemns the attacks themselves.[131] Having made these caveats, she echoes Roy once again by asking Americans to take 11 September as a learning opportunity. '[I]n attempting to understand what has happened and think about how to prevent it happening again (which is probably a vain wish), we Americans have to take all these painful facts into account'.[132]

Two years later, in another commentary on 11 September, Roy returned to these themes. In *The Ordinary Person's Guide to Empire*, she expressed a wish to 'say to the citizens of America, in the gentlest, most human way: Welcome to the World'.[133] Americans should not, Roy reminds us, assume that their suffering is in any way special. Neither should they assume any automatic right to respond to it.

These ideas are compatible with a common argument against America's programme to develop interceptor systems capable of shooting down ballistic missiles before they reach their targets. Greenpeace, for instance, opposes that programme on the grounds that such defensive systems might work.[134] Just as McKibben sees dangers in allowing people to increase their personal autonomy by acquiring such seemingly desirable things as wealth and home conveniences, Greenpeace sees dangers in allowing people to increase their national autonomy by protecting themselves from nuclear attack. Defences, the organization warns, will make America more aggressive. The organization Stop Star Wars quotes a variety of scholars and public officials who take this point of view.[135] Stop Star Wars does not appear to find the fact that one of them is a major general in China's Peoples' Liberation Army worthy of special consideration.[136]

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129 Ibid., p. 65.

130 Ibid.

131 Ibid.

132 Ibid.

133 Arundhati Roy, *The Ordinary Person's Guide to Empire* (London: Flamingo, 2004), p. 20.

134 Anonymous, *Stop Star Wars: Quotes of Note*, http://www.stopstarwars.org/html/quotes.pdf (28-11-2001).

135 Ibid.

136 Ibid.

Cosmopolitanism as Populism

Just as the cosmopolitan preference for austerity and suspicion of autonomy attracts members of the political right, it distinguishes twenty-first century cosmopolitanism from more traditional left-wing movements such as Marxism. These movements do not even share the same goals in principle. Marx looked forward to a day when society would make 'it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticize after dinner, just as I have a mind … '[137]A McKibben might doubt that individuals would use their leisure on such worthy activities. Scholar Christopher Lasch, himself a critic of contemporary self-indulgence and a defender of traditional mores regarding family life, notes a similar point:

> [Marx] had no quarrel with modern technology or modern individualism, once the 'limited bourgeois form is stripped away'. The breakdown of community life might be 'sickening', but it was the price that had to be paid for progress.
>
> It is significant that Marx was not greatly disturbed by the sexual individualism that disturbed so many nineteenth-century social critics. The Marxist view of marriage stood in sharp contrast to that of communitarians, who deplored the reduction of marriage to a purely contractual relationship. Marx and Engels had no objection to such an arrangement. They wanted to push it to its logical conclusion, as they saw it. Under socialism, marriage would give way to free unions based solely on personal preference. The social stake in family life, they believed, was confined to reproduction and child rearing and did not extend to the living arrangements into which consenting adults might choose to enter. The goal of socialism was the fullest development of the individual. Capitalism, in spite of its individualizing effects, still encouraged the 'greatest waste of individual development', sacrificing the interests of the individual in the process of enlarging the productive capacities of mankind as a whole. Socialism would reconcile the individual and society. It represented a 'higher synthesis' between individualism and 'organic unity'.[138]

A little later, in response to Marx's 'sympathetic critic' Jon Elster, Lasch summarizes 'Marxism owes much of its appeal, at least in the West, to its identification with the central values of capitalism itself – which can allegedly be achieved in their fully developed form, only after the socialist revolution'.[139] Few would accuse the governments that have claimed to embody Marxist principles of granting their citizens any excess of individual freedom, even sexually. The organizers of these governments seem to have paid more attention to a different line from the Marxist

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137 Karl Marx (Tim Delaney, Bob Schwarz and Brian Basgen, transcribers), *The German Ideology, Critique of Modern German Philosophy According to Its Representatives Feuerbach, B. Bauer and Stirner, and of German Socialism According to Its Various Prophets* (1846), http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01a.htm#a4 (18-04-2007).

138 Christopher Lasch, *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and Its Critics* (New York, 1991), p. 152.

139 Ibid.

corpus. 'The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at'.[140]

Moreover, the Bolsheviks and their successors retained faith in planning, technology, centralized authority and their personal fitness to control all of that. Prominent members of the anti-globalization movement have criticized them on these grounds. In the process, the anti-globalization activists articulate ideas that seem to shape their positions on a wide range of issues. Although these writers speak only for themselves, similar ideas also appear in the writings of environmentalists and cosmopolitan theorists. These principles seem basic to cosmopolitan sensibilities in the twenty-first century.

Arundhati Roy equates 'Soviet-style Communism' with American-style market capitalism.[141] Both allow 'too few people to usurp too much power'.[142] In this criticism, Roy goes beyond Lord Acton's oft-quoted observation that power corrupts. She is unlikely to be satisfied by Madisonian systems of political checks and balances designed to tame and harness the energies of politically active individuals by making ambition counteract ambition. Communism and capitalism are both doomed, Roy tells us, because '[b]oth are are edifices constructed by human intelligence, undone by human nature'.[143]

Roy suggests, in other words, that there are limits to what human beings can accomplish. Not only are some tasks physically impossible, but some problems are beyond human comprehension. Such problems are also beyond human solution. People commit their gravest errors when they attempt to exceed their capacity, whether they seek excessive wealth for themselves or excessive social goods for all humanity.

Klein, as previously noted, praises Subcomandante Marcos for refraining from this error in his own revolutionary movement. By making himself 'transparent', Klein tells us, Marcos allows previously invisible communities to be seen.[144] Roy sees her own role as an author in much the same way that Marcos sees his role as a subcomandante:

> Writers imagine that they cull stories from the world. I'm beginning to think that vanity makes them think so. That it's actually the other way around. Stories cull writers from the world. Stories reveal themselves to us. The public narrative, the private narrative – they colonize us. They commission us … non-fiction is wrenched out [of me] by the aching, broken world I wake up to each morning.[145]

In September 2001, Roy recognized Klein's self-effacing 'transparency' in the terrorists who attacked the Pentagon and the World Trade Center.

> The world will probably never know what motivated those particular hijackers who flew planes into those particular American buildings. They were not glory boys. They left no

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140 Karl Marx, *The Communist Manifesto: Socialist Landmark* (London, 1948), p. 138.
141 Roy, *An Ordinary Person's Guide to Empire*, p. 40.
142 Ibid.
143 Ibid.
144 Klein, *Fences and Windows*, p. 212.
145 Roy, *An Ordinary Person's Guide to Empire*, p. 13.

suicide notes, no political messages; no organisation has claimed credit for the attacks. All we know is that their belief in what they were doing outstripped the natural human instinct for survival, or any desire to be remembered. It's almost as though they could not scale down the enormity of their rage to anything smaller than their deeds. And what they did has blown a hole in the world as we knew it. In the absence of information, politicians, political commentators and writers (like myself) will invest the act with their own politics, with their own interpretations. This speculation, this analysis of the political climate in which the attacks took place, can only be a good thing.[146]

Despite Roy's prediction, the world did learn a fair amount about what motivated the hijackers. Klein, at least, did not like what she discovered. Osama bin Laden's followers, Klein noted, like to imagine that they are living in times as grand as those described in the Koran.[147] This, she goes on to say, is, 'an idea we've heard from many quarters since September 11, a return of the great narrative: chosen men, evil empires, master plans and great battles' (Klein, 2002: 181). Klein warns us that such narratives have a dangerous flip side. 'When a few people decide to live larger than life', the subtitle of her essay warns, 'we all get trampled'.[148]

Not only does this warning about limits differentiate the anti-globalization cause from grander and more personalized ideologies such as Leninism and Maoism, it also underlies many of the anti-globalization movement's arguments against state and corporate malfeasance. '*Ya basta*', Subcomandante Marcos' Zapatistas protest, 'enough is enough'.[149] A vocal group of Italian activists has named itself *Ya Basta* in tribute to this sentiment.[150] For *Ya Basta* members, the phrase constitutes an eloquent response to issues ranging from corporate exploitation of workers and NATO military actions to European immigration policy.[151]

In a related theme, *Associazione Ya Basta* defines globalization itself as a process that exalts the interests of the few (and generally the wealthy few) over the community. This process 'involves dissolving complex social and political networks', all without 'any need for mediation, legitimisation, consensus [or] widespread consultation'.[152] The *Associazione* casts itself as a radical movement on behalf of traditional restraint. One notes that the complex social and political networks it wishes to preserve resemble the ones that McKibben hopes to see return as environmental crises force people back to the land. Lovelock would revive even more atavistic forms of community:

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146 Roy, 'The algebra of infinite justice'.

147 Klein, *Fences and Windows*, p. 181.

148 Ibid., p. 180.

149 Naomi Klein, 'Ya Basta! The Masks of Chiapas', *Common Dreams News Center* (originally published in *Toronto Globe & Mail*) (December 6 2000), http://www. commondreams.org/views/120600-101.htm (17-03-2005).

150 Lars Bevanger, 'Who are the Genoa Protesters', *BBC News* (Saturday 21 July 2001), http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/1450323.htm (15 March 2005).

151 Anonymous, *The Age of Clandestinity*, http://struggle.ws/global/about/yabasta.html (17 March 2005).

152 Ibid.

Tribal behaviour is surely written in the language of our genetic code … Tribalism is not wholly bad and can be mobilized to make us otherwise selfish humans perform truly bravely and even give our lives … [153]

Klein more gently suggests that the anti-globalization movement counter individualism by offering people 'the thrill of building something collectively'.[154] Both Klein and Roy write enthusiastically about democracy, and they use the word precisely. Although others may use the term as shorthand for all liberal systems of government, Klein and Roy are referring specifically to majority rule. Klein rejects the 'lethargic vision of trickle-down democracy' in which people receive rights from above'.[155] 'Real democracy – true decision-making power in the people's hands – is always demanded, never granted'.[156]

In practice, this decision-making power will frequently mean the power to say 'enough'. Democratic peoples may, Klein notes, wish to ban hormone-treated beef, or to subject the excessively wealthy to heavier taxes.[157] Anti-globalization activists find the latter idea particularly attractive. One French activist group highlights its interest in revenue enhancement by naming itself ATTAC, which stands for Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens.[158] Klein describes ATTAC as the most public face of the anti-globalization movement in much of Europe and Scandinavia.[159]

Klein does not explicitly connect the ethic of limits and her embrace of democracy. Nevertheless, the two are mutually supportive. Not only is majority rule an obvious alternative to charismatic leadership, it discredits the very idea of setting oneself apart from the group. The 'complex social and political networks' spoken of by *Associazione Ya Basta* have historically proved effective at controlling individual behaviour in innumerable ways. These networks have much in common with the system of overlapping institutions that cosmopolitan theorists would use to control states.

These are among the reasons why thinkers such as Alexis de Tocqueville feared that democracy would prove incompatible with liberty.[160] These are also reasons why those who fear that plutocrats and middle-class consumers are claiming too much liberty might find stronger democracy attractive. McKibben, among others, hopes to use existing democratic systems to restrain peoples' indulgences. When an interviewer asked him, 'what do you say to someone who says, 'I'll tell you when I've had enough. If I want another car, that should be my right', he responded:

All I'm saying is this is a democracy. I don't have much patience for the argument that no one should tell me what to do ever. In a democracy we work on figuring out what kind of society we want to build. And if you want to make the argument that we'd be better off

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153 Lovelock, p. 9.
154 Klein, *Fences and Windows*, p. 47.
155 Ibid., p. 47.
156 Ibid.
157 Ibid., p. 46.
158 Ibid., pp. 194–5.
159 Ibid.
160 Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Edinburgh, 1965), p. 195.

with all of us buying whatever car we want until the end of time, then you're going to have to deal with those of us who are pointing out some of the drawbacks.[161]

Twenty-first century cosmopolitans are hardly the first to propose an ethic of limits. Christopher Lasch traces similar ideas back through two centuries of social and political thought.[162] Since Lasch associates this ethic with the occasionally simplistic political instincts of the 'petty bourgeois', he refers to it as populism.[163] Populists, in his view, doubt 'the idea that history, like science, records a cumulative unfolding of human capacities'.[164] Where others focus on progress, populists insist that we look at the experiences of loss and defeat, which always have and always will compose much of the 'texture of daily life'.[165]

Populists go on to advance 'a more modest assessment of the economic aspirations appropriate to human beings'.[166] Some populists may view the progressive idea of 'luxury for all' as merely fantastical while others may view it as actually repellent. All, however, would concur with the idea that the attempt to achieve such a goal can only lead to frustration and moral bankruptcy. In place of progress, populists offer a 'more strenuous and morally demanding definition of the good life'.[167]

Populism does not promise material abundance, but it does suggest that anyone who sticks to its moral codes in the face of life's challenges has earned a measure of dignity.[168] Those who attempt to avoid those challenges, whether personally or on behalf of humanity, strike populists as foolish and cowardly. For this reason, certain populist thinkers criticize even acts of compassion as vanities.[169] Many of Lasch's populists have been religious reformers, although some prized religion as much for the mental discipline it promotes as for the accuracy of its teachings regarding the divine.[170]

Lasch does not specifically include the concept of community control of the individual in his definition of populism. Nevertheless, he implies that the latter will promote the former. *The True and Only Heaven* identifies 19th century political thinker Orestes Brownson as a key figure in the development of populist thought. Brownson noted his own emphasis on the group over the member when he stated, 'the *nature* [emphasis in original] of man is to live by means of an uninterrupted communion, with other men and with nature … '[171] When Lasch discusses his own motives for studying populism, he writes scathingly about contemporary individuals' refusal to subordinate their freedom of choice to the needs of society in general and the family in particular.[172]

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161   Boudway, 'Bill McKibben says we're stuffed'.
162   Lasch.
163   Ibid., p. 530.
164   Ibid.
165   Ibid.
166   Ibid., pp. 530–1.
167   Ibid., p. 531.
168   Ibid.
169   Ibid., pp. 251–6.
170   Ibid., pp. 286–95.
171   Ibid., p. 193.
172   Ibid., p. 34.

Populism blurs the distinction between the political left and the political right, and can potentially lure away partisans of either side. Lasch himself advocated Marxism during one period in his career and then turned to something closer to traditional conservatism in another.[173] Ultimately, Lasch tells us, populism points out truths that both the left and the right have denied. 'Political differences between right and left have by now been largely reduced to disagreements over policies designed to achieve comparable moral goals'.[174]

Left and right alike agree on 'the desirability and inevitability of technical and economic development'.[175] Meanwhile the 'everyday virtues of honesty, loyalty, manners, work and restraint' go forgotten.[176] Lasch adds that 'ritual deference to 'traditional values' cannot hide the right's commitment to progress, unlimited economic growth and acquisitive individualism.[177] Thus, 'the ideological distinctions between liberalism and conservatism no longer stand for anything or define the lines of political debate'.[178]

Readers will note that Lasch's themes recur throughout the works of the various activists discussed in this chapter. Lasch himself alluded to the affinity between populism and their movements. Like McGhee and Dobson, he suggests that emerging crises may finally compel people to do what moral principles demand of them (Dobson, of course, would add that these crises bring the principles into being.)

> A sign of the times: both left and right, with equal vehemence, repudiate the charge of 'pessimism'. Neither side has any use for 'doomsayers'. Neither wants to admit that our society has taken a wrong turn, lost its way, and needs to recover a sense of purpose and direction. Neither addresses the overriding issue of limits, so threatening to those who wish to appear optimistic at all times. The fact remains: the earth's finite resources will not support an indefinite expansion of industrial civilization. The right proposes, in effect, to maintain our riotous standard of living, as it has been maintained in the past, at the expense of the rest of the world (increasingly at the expense of our own minorities as well). This program is self-defeating, not only because it will produce environmental effects from which even the rich cannot escape, but because it will widen the gap between rich and poor nations, generate more and more violent movements of insurrection and terrorism against the West, and bring about a deterioration of the world's political climate as threatening as the deterioration of its physical climate.

> But the historical program of the left has become equally self-defeating. The attempt to extend Western standards of living to the rest of the world will lead even more quickly to the exhaustion of nonrenewable resources, the irreversible pollution of the earth's atmosphere, and the destruction of the ecological system, in short, on which human life depends.[179]

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173   James Seaton, 'The Gift of Christopher Lasch', *First Things*, 45 (August/September 1994), http://www.leaderu.com/ftissues/ft9408/seaton.html (20-04-2007).

174   Lasch, p. 22. Lasch is quoting Paul Gottfried and Thomas Fleming.

175   Ibid., p. 23.

176   Ibid., p. 22. Lasch is quoting Clyde Wilson.

177   Ibid.

178   Ibid.

179   Ibid., p. 23.

Into the Whirlpool

The term populism commonly implies, not only stern virtue, but demagoguery. Lasch addresses this issue as follows:

> I have no intention of minimizing the narrowness and provincialism of lower-middle class culture; nor do I deny that it has produced racism, nativism, anti-intellectualism, and all the other evils so often cited by liberal critics. But liberals have lost sight of what is valuable in lower-middle class culture in their eagerness to condemn what is objectionable … [w]hatever can be said against them, small proprietors, artisans, tradesmen and farmers – more of then victims of 'improvement' than beneficiaries – are unlikely to mistake the promised land of progress for the true and only heaven.[180]

Such twenty-first century cosmopolitans as human rights activists may justly respond that they lead the struggle against racism and nativism. Their movements attract, if anything, a disproportionately large number of intellectuals. Nevertheless, these cosmopolitans may suffer from blind spots of their own. Certainly, their opponents accuse them of prejudice.

Legal scholar T. Jeremy Gunn also observes a trend among experts on international law in which 'one ceases to evaluate the merits of particular actions, but criticizes them *because of who the actor is*. [emphasis in original]'.[181] The US Senate Foreign Relations Committee made the same claim in more vehement language when it rejected entreaties for America to join the 1997 Ottawa Convention banning landmines:

> The [Ottawa] Convention served unique political purposes, rather than humanitarian needs. It was negotiated in a forum with large numbers of NGOs protesting aspects of the US negotiating position and otherwise criticizing the United States as being part of the land mine problem. Additionally, a number of small countries such as the Seychelles, funded and emboldened by the various activist organizations, repeatedly sought to embarrass the United States. It was, in short, an environment where serious consideration of national security issues could not occur.[182]

The senators clearly have their own biases. For whatever it is worth, many of the organizations that led the anti-landmine movement work to avoid what Kenneth Roth of Human Rights Watch refers to as 'sloganeering'.[183] In Roth's view, such conduct squanders these organizations' power to achieve their goals.[184]

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180 Ibid., p. 17.

181 T. Jeremy Gunn, 'American Exceptionalism and Globalist Double Standards: A More Balanced Alternative', *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*, 1/1 (2002): 140.

182 John F. Troxell, 'Landmines: Why the Korea Exception Should Be the Rule', in *Parameters*, 30/1 (Spring 2000): 89.

183 Kenneth Roth, 'Defending Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Practical Issues Faced by an International Human Rights Organization', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 26/1 (February 2004): 65.

184 Roth writes: 'By expending our accumulated moral capital, we may well be listened to more than others in the short term, but that moral capital does not accumulate through our voice alone (why should our opinion count more than others?) but through our investigative

Roth explains his own organization's source of strength as follows:

> The essence of [our] methodology is not the ability to mobilize people in the streets, to engage in litigation, to press for broad national plans, or to provide technical assistance. Rather, the core of our methodology is our ability to investigate, expose and shame. We are at our most effective when we can hold governmental (or, in some cases, nongovernmental) conduct up to a disapproving public.[185]

Since 'only certain types [of public outrage] are sufficiently targeted to shame officials into action', Roth argues that organizations such as his own must argue in specific terms as well:[186]

> [C]larity is needed around three issues, violation, violator and remedy. We must be able to show persuasively that a particular state of affairs amounts to a violation of human rights standards, that a particular violator is principally or significantly responsible, and that a widely accepted remedy for the violation exists. If any of these three elements is missing, our capacity to shame is greatly diminished.[187]

Even within HRW, many express general scepticism of, for instance, the United States. Reed Brody, Advocacy Director of Human Rights Watch and Board Member of Human Rights International, does not hesitate to generalize that America has a 'problem with human rights', and is, as a nation, a 'challenge' to attempts to implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[188] Brody cites America's response to the Ottawa Convention as a case in point.[189] Although Brody initially published this piece in the journal Human Rights Tribune, the NGO Third World Network (TWN) reproduces it on its website, indicating that Brody's sentiments found a favourable response with that group's members as well.

One must also note that Roth speaks only for those who share HRW's methodology. Even within the community of human rights advocates, many take other approaches. Amnesty International, for instance, does attempt to mobilize large numbers of supporters. Oxfam does work directly to aid people in need.

Having acknowledged these points, however, one must also acknowledge that even methodologically diverse organizations such as Oxfam, Amnesty and HRW typically debate issues regarding the laws of war in specific terms.[190] These groups

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and reporting methodology. It is a finite resource that can dissipate rapidly if not grounded in our methodological strength' (Ibid.)

185 Ibid.: 67.

186 Ibid.

187 Ibid.: 68.

188 Reed Brody, 'America's Problem with Human Rights', Third World Network (May 1999), http://www.twnside.org.sg/title/1893-cn.htm (14-03- 2007).

189 Ibid.

190 For examples see Stephen Goose, *U.S.: Bush Administration Abandons Landmine Ban: Reversal Means US Can Use Mines Indefinitely, Anywhere* (Washington, Feb. 27, 2004), http://hrw.org/english/docs/2004/02/27/usint7684.htm (16-03-2007); Anonymous, *Shattered Lives: the case for tough international arms control*, http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/conflict_disasters/downloads/shattered_eng_summ.pdf (16 March 2007).

also tend to argue in civil language. Even Brody's previously-quoted claims about the US are hardly rabid. One may wonder whether these NGOs will be able to maintain these standards as they expand their involvement in the more controversial and less sharply defined issues of economic, social and cultural rights. Nevertheless, when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee complains about the NGOs that made up the anti-landmine movement, one is tempted to respond that things could be worse.

The senators might have had a stronger case if they had taken on a different sector of twenty-first century cosmopolitanism. Of all the contemporary cosmopolitan movements, human rights advocacy is among the least populist either by Lasch's definition or the by more the everyday connotations of the word. Goals such as abolishing landmines and reforming global penal practices are, if anything, progressive, and thus counter to the stoic resignation of the populists described in *The True and Only Heaven*. As a small organization made up of experts and lawyers, HRW hardly matches the common image of populist rabble-rousers either. The environmental movement, by contrast, has both more ascetic goals and a more colourful membership. Unsurprisingly, its rhetoric suggests a greater degree of volatility and prejudice.

The group known as Campaign Against Climate Change (CACC) provides an archive of its protest actions, featuring abundant examples of this rhetoric.[191] Given the fact that CACC events attract representatives of organizations ranging from Greenpeace International and Friends of the Earth to Germany's Bundestag, one may assume that its appeals strike chords with many throughout the environmental movement.[192] This organization also boasts well-known environmental writer George Monbiot as its nominal leader and former British Environment Minister Michael Meacher as an honorary Vice-President.[193] The CACC describes its 'well-attended and very sociable' 2006 Christmas Vigil:

> A select band also made it to the pub for the Crimbo Party – food, drinks and a convivial end to a great year's campaigning!

> The Christmas vigil was one of a series of events, held around monthly, outside the US embassy, to emphasise the urgent need for the US to stop its blocking – and outright undermining – of international efforts to reach an effective agreement on global emissions reductions. Most of the events were '*Protest Parties' at the US embassy* – [emphasis in original] – they included a 'Race against climate Doom' and 'Party for Global Climate Justice', a 'Climate Hellfire Party', a 'G ate my Planet Party', a 'Climate Gangsta Party' and a 'Bush in Wonderland – Mad Emitter's Tea Party'.[194]

CACC's 6 April 2007 Expose Exxon Day proved somewhat less 'convivial' as protesters mounted photographs of Exxon corporation executives' heads on the

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191 Anonymous, *Campaign Against Climate Change*, http://www.campaigncc.org/index.shtml (23-04-2007).

192 Ibid.

193 Anonymous, 'Who We Are', *Campaign Against Climate Change*, http://www.campaigncc.org/about.shtml (23-04-2007).

194 Ibid.

spikes of a fence.[195] Meanwhile, in the United States, the conservative Tennessee Center for Policy Research (TCPR) attempted to deflate former Vice President Al Gore's campaign to raise public awareness about the climate issue.[196] The TCPR drew attention to publicly available data on Gore's own energy use, exposing him as a profligate GHG emitter. Environmental activists telephoned TCPR members with death threats.[197] One activist posted TCPR Vice President Nicole Williams' home address on the internet.[198]

The anti-globalization movement overlaps with the environmental movement and shares its flamboyant style. Certain of its members have gone beyond intimidating rhetoric to loot shops and plant bombs.[199] Movement leaders would, however, deny the charge that they deal in prejudice. Arundhati Roy, for instance, has this to say to those who accuse her of anti-Americanism:

> What does the term mean? That you're anti-jazz? Or that you're opposed to free speech? That you don't delight in Toni Morrison or John Updike? That you have a quarrel with giant sequoias? Does it mean you don't admire the hundreds of thousands of American citizens who marched against nuclear weapons, or the thousands of war resisters who forced their government to withdraw from Vietnam? Does it mean that you hate all Americans?[200]

Roy is entitled to note that one can criticize a country – or any other entity – on specific issues while respecting it on others. Those who dismiss all opposition as bigotry thereby commit an unfair generalization of their own. Nevertheless, researcher Joel E. Oestreich is on stronger grounds when he notes that 'there is still no real consensus on what [anti-globalization activists'] opposition means or what anti-globalization protesters really want'.[201] Certainly, Oestreich and others have found sufficient material for scholarly articles attempting to identify the themes that link the so-called travelling circus of organizations that make up the anti-globalization movement.[202] Naomi Klein not only recognizes her movement's decentralization but sees it as a strength.[203]

A movement encompassing students, labour unions, French farmers, indigenous peoples from various developing-world countries, NGOs in all their diversity and full-

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195 Ibid.

196 Anonymous, *Tennessee Center for Policy Research*, http://www.tennesseepolicy. org/main/page.php (23-04-2007).

197 Nick Cohen, 'A lunatic fringe is jeopardising the already onerous task of curbing climate change', *The Observer* (April 15, 2007), http:www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/ story/0,,2057607,00.html (15-04-2007).

198 Ibid.

199 Kate O'Neill, 'Transnational Protest: States, Circuses and Conflict at the Frontline of Global Politics', *International Studies Review*, 6/2 (June 2004): 242.

200 Arundhati Roy, 'Not Again', *The Guardian* (September 27, 2002), http://www. guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/0,2763,800015,00.html (23-04-2007).

201 Joel E. Ostreich, 'What Can Businesses Do to Appease Anti-Globalization Protestors?', *Business and Society Review*, 107/2 (Summer 2002): 207.

202 See also O'Neill, 'Transnational Protest': 240.

203 Klein, *Fences and Windows*, p. 14.

time activists dressed as Monarch butterflies is unlikely to coalesce around complex or innovative ideas.[204] Researcher Kate O'Neill documents the way in which the anti-globalization movement forms and diffuses its positions within the 'whirlpool' of its own protest events.[205] Such a process is unlikely to promote deep reflection or careful consideration of evidence. Thus, although the anti-globalization movement may not be uniformly guilty of gross anti-American prejudice, it remains open to the charge that, like stereotypical populist movements composed of Lasch's lower-middle class provincials, it risks misunderstanding the very issues that concern its members so deeply. Moreover, the movement's vague definition of its own goals gives outside interests, radical minorities within the movement and others who have clearer objectives opportunities to manipulate the less thoughtful members of the crowd.

Other social and political movements are sailing into the whirlpool. O'Neill notes a symbiosis between the anti-globalization movement and the movement that formed to protest the 2003 invasion of Iraq.[206] Although NGOs such as Human Rights Watch have adopted sophisticated positions on issues such as landmines, they experience pressures to slant and simplify their political messages in order to appeal to the more populist members of the activist community. These pressures come from within the organizations as well as from without. Journalist Nick Cohen has noted how Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch compromised their traditional political neutrality in order to satisfy members and supporters who opposed the 2003 Iraq war.[207] A woman claiming to belong to the violent wing of the anti-globalization movement states that many of her comrades have 'day jobs' with more respectable 'nonprofits'.[208]

Moreover, NGOs and activist groups normally depend on outside donors for their budgets. This affects their choice of policies as well. The process is particularly obvious when NGOs fund other NGOs. Researchers Rohrschneider and Dalton have noted the ways in which Western environmental NGOs use their power to grant or withhold finances to influence their counterparts in the developing world.[209] William Fisher notes similar practices among NGOs involved in promoting economic development.[210]

NGOs experience particularly great pressures to conform to the activist community's assumptions when they form coalitions. For an example of this process in action, one may look at the ongoing campaign to control cluster munitions. Cluster munitions are bombs or projectiles that disperse large numbers of smaller explosive

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204 O'Neill, 'Transnational Protest': 240; Margaret Levi and Gillian H. Murphy, 'Coalitions of Contention: The Case of the WTO Protests in Seattle', *Political Studies*, 54/4 (December 2006): 651.

205 O'Neill, 'Transnational Protest': 241.

206 Ibid.

207 Nick Cohen, *What's Left* (London, 2007), pp. 322–6.

208 Mary Black, *Letter From Inside the Black Bloc* (July 25, 2001), http://www.alternet.org/story/11230/?page=1 (27-04-2007), p. 1.

209 Robert Rohrschneider and Russell J. Dalton, 'A Global Network? Transnational Cooperation Among Environmental Groups', *The Journal of Politics*, 64/2 (May 2002): 529–30.

210 William F. Fisher, 'Doing Good? The Politics and Anti-politics of NGO Practices', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26 (1997): 454–5.

devices when they detonate. These smaller devices often fail to go off in the initial burst. Nevertheless, they may still explode later, particularly if someone disturbs them. Thus, they pose a long-term threat to anyone in the vicinity. Despite the dangers such weapons pose to civilians, they are effective in combat, and representatives of various nations' armed forces would be on strong grounds in arguing that it would be foolish to relinquish them entirely. For this reason, HRW initially sought, not an outright ban on cluster munitions, but a moratorium on their use.[211]

HRW does not, however, have the resources to lobby for such a moratorium on its own. Therefore, it joined with other organizations to found the Cluster Munitions Coalition. This group comprises over 100 different NGOs from over 30 different countries.[212] Many of these groups lacked HRW's willingness to acknowledge military concerns. HRW ultimately conceded the point, and the Cluster Munition Coalition went on to seek the total abolition of cluster munitions.[213] The compromise position may have been an improvement – few, after all, would profess an actual affection for weapons that maim children – but HRW's difficulty in maintaining a complex position on this issue illustrates the more general difficulties it and other NGOs are likely to face in maintaining positions that account for the complexity of other political issues in the future.

Other NGO coalitions are much larger. The International Campaign to Ban Landmines, for instance, included over 1,000 groups from other 55 different countries.[214] One may assume that as coalitions grow, their tendency to reject complexity in favour of so-called common wisdom will grow as well. Certainly, those who investigate the membership of these coalitions will have little difficulty finding the more moderate groups matched with more radical ones. Pax Christi, which clarifies its positions on weighty issues by presenting complete transcripts of papal addresses, joins forces with People and Planet, which stages symbolic tug-of-war matches to protest the unethical practices of the oil industry, 'arm[s]' its members with ironing boards for marches against the controversial department store Primark and offers visitors to its website the opportunity to '[b]e part of a photo stunt'.[215] The Foreign Policy Centre, which offers visitors to its website a selection of editorials and analysis pieces harvested from serious broadsheet newspapers also publishes pictures of its supporters in proximity to banners bearing the ragged A of anarchism.[216]

A senior HRW researcher offers his own experiences with coalition-building:

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211 Marc Garlasco, personal correspondence with Dr. Thomas M. Kane (14 December, 2006).

212 Anonymous, *Cluster Munitions: Governments to Discuss New Treaty Oslo Conference Plans to Limit Weapon Threatening Civilians* (Oslo, 2007).

213 Ibid.

214 Troxell, 'Landmines': 88.

215 Anonymous, *Security and Disarmament*, http://www.paxchristi.org.uk/SecurityDisarmament.HTML (16-03-2007); Anonymous, *News and Reports*, http://www.paxchristi.org.uk/press.HTML (16-03-2007); Anonymous, *People and Planet*, http://peopleandplanet.org (16-03-2007).

216 Anonymous, Untitled, http://fpc.org.uk/articles/274 (16 March 2007).

[T]here is no coordination inter-NGO. It is TRULY like herding cats. I saw this in Iraq when I first got to Nasiriyah. We pulled in, went to the US military's Humanitarian Operations Center where the daily NGO briefing for the area was on. There was Amnesty, HRW, Danish Church Aid, Refugees International, Irish Bread for Peace, you name it and we all were doing the same thing. At least the Irish actually provided a service!

There is also A LOT of cross-pollination. I am sure that half of our staff used to work at Amnesty, and vice-versa. So everyone knows everyone. You talk to your peers sometimes. Often you do not for fear of letting them know of a nugget you have that they might not be aware of. Sad. We do sometimes come together though. When we were doing the torture research we teamed with HUMAN RIGHTS FIRST (yes, it confuses me too) and the ACLU to put out a report. It does happen. But often you disagree and end up either going your own way or you create a group like the Cluster Coalition to carry some semblance of a united torch forward.[217]

The same processes that compel more thoughtful coalition organizers to compromise can allow extremist minorities to operate unchecked. This phenomenon plagued the groups that formed in the 1960s to protest America's role in the Vietnam War. After months of internal struggles, the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NCCEWVN) withdrew its support, not from the self-identified Communists who viewed the democratic process as a waste of time and advocated an aggressive policy to disrupt American society, but from the anti-nuclear group Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), which distanced itself from the radicals.[218] SANE rallies featured talks by senators and intellectuals who, in the words of historian Robert Schulzinger, 'called for a negotiated settlement to end the war in Vietnam'.[219] The NCCEWVN came to favour chants of 'Hey, hey LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?'[220]

Nor did the radicals limit themselves to slogans. By 1968, student groups had begun to stage armed uprisings on university campuses, committing arson, kidnapping and assault in the process.[221] Nor was the violence limited to academia. Former president Richard Nixon recalls that, between 1969 and 1970, 'there were over 40,000 bombings, attempted bombings or bomb threats, most of which were war related. These caused $21 million of property damage, hundreds of injuries and 43 deaths'.[222] Meanwhile the Soviet intelligence services used antiwar organizations to smuggle deserters from the US armed forces to safety behind the Iron Curtain.[223]

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217 Garlasco.

218 Robert Schulzinger, *A Time for War: The United States and Vietnam 1941–1975* (Oxford, 1997), p. 232.

219 Ibid.

220 Ibid., p. 233.

221 James S. Campbell, Joseph R. Sahid, and David P. Stang, *Law and Order Reconsidered: A Staff Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (Washington DC, 1969), pp. 213–4.

222 Richard Nixon, *Real Peace/No More Vietnams* (New York, 1990), p. 237.

223 Anonymous, 'KGB report to the Central Committee on cooperation with Japanese peace groups during the Vietnam War in 1968, February 24, 1968' in Diane P. Loenker and

The number of antiwar activists involved in such activities was miniscule. Presumably, only a handful knowingly worked as agents of foreign powers. A US government report suggests that, although an estimated 40 per cent of American students felt disaffected with US society, only two per cent of the student population were personally ready to commit acts of terrorism.[224] The report estimates that another four to five per cent would have considered violence if given sufficient inducement.[225]

Schulzinger sums up the political convictions that motivated the majority of the antiwar activists in the following words:

> People went to these [antiwar] rallies for a variety of reasons: to hear speakers, to show support for the few hundred young men who burned their draft cards, to join a festival of music and art, or just to show that they did not like what the war did to the United States.[226]

This politically unreflective majority did not support the radicals, but neither did it object to them. Rather, in Schulzinger's judgment, it viewed the factional splits within the movement as irrelevant to the larger cause.[227] Schulzinger refers to the papers of the Student Mobilizing Committee of the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam to note that '[o]rganizers of the protests considered the demonstrations huge successes' because they 'gave "visibility to the ever-widening base of the antiwar movement" and produced cover for "many new groups and persons to enter the political struggle against this war".'[228] Those with extreme positions and violent methods found this cover particularly valuable.

The twenty-first century environmental and anti-globalization movements have their own violent factions, known collectively as the Black Bloc. O'Neill sums up these groups' methods and composition as follows:

> The Black Bloc is more of a banner under which individuals and groups come together for protest, rather than an organized movement, according to members' own literature. It includes members from radical groups of all types, from anarchists and radical environmentalists to ultranationalist groups. In the environmental movement, animal rights activists, anti-genetically modified (GM) food activists and others have taken to more radical actions in response to what they see as growing corporate and government infringement on their rights and those of the natural world. Organization is rarely formal.[229]

Although the Bloc may be informally organized as a collective entity, many of the groups that compose it claim to have clear goals and long-term plans. Shortly after the violent protests against the World Trade Organization which took place in Seattle in 1999, a Black Bloc group calling itself the ACME Collective claimed:

Ronald D. Bachman (eds), *Revelations from the Russian Archives: Documents in English Translation* (Washington DC: Library of Congress, 1997), p. 699.

224 Campbell, Sahid and Stang, pp. 215–16.
225 Ibid.
226 Schulzinger, p. 237.
227 Ibid.
228 Ibid., p. 238.
229 O'Neill, 'Transnational Protest': 242.

[W]e were certainly not disorganized. The organization may have been fluid and dynamic, but it was tight. As for the charge of opportunism, it would be hard to imagine who of the thousands in attendance didn't take advantage of the opportunity created in Seattle to advance their agenda. The question becomes, then, whether or not we helped create that opportunity … [230]

The ACME representatives go on to assure us that they 'certainly did':[231]

While we may not be professional activists, we've all been working on this convergence in Seattle for months. Some of us did work in our home-towns and others came to Seattle months in advance to work on it. To be sure, we were responsible for many hundreds of people who came out on the streets on the 30th, only a very small minority of which had anything to do with the black bloc. Most of us have been studying the effects of the global economy, genetic engineering, resource extraction, transportation, labor practices, elimination of indigenous autonomy, animal rights and human rights and we've been doing activism on these issues for many years. We are neither ill-informed nor unexperienced.[232]

ACME members also describe their tactics, perhaps for the benefit of those who would emulate them:

Slingshots, newspaper boxes, sledge hammers, mallets, crowbars and nail-pullers were used to strategically destroy corporate property and gain access (one of the three targeted Starbucks and Niketown were looted). Eggs filled with glass etching solution, paint-balls and spray-paint were also used.

The black bloc was a loosely organized cluster of affinity groups and individuals who roamed around downtown, pulled this way by a vulnerable and significant storefront and that way by the sight of a police formation. Unlike the vast majority of activists who were pepper-sprayed, tear-gassed and shot at with rubber bullets on several occasions, most of our section of the black bloc escaped serious injury by remaining constantly in motion and avoiding engagement with the police. We buddied up, kept tight and watched each others' backs.[233]

'Many people', ACME exults, 'will never see a shop window or a hammer the same way again'.[234]

In another anonymous communiqué, a protester claiming to have taken part in Black Bloc activities during the 2001 Genoa protests admitted that her group's efforts were 'clearly not enough to bring on a revolution', but also offered the following analysis of its long-term goals.[235] In presenting this analysis, she provides further

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230   ACME Collective, *N30 Black Bloc Communique* (10:48am, Saturday December 4, 1999), http://www.infoshop.org/octo/wto_blackbloc.html (27-04-2007).

231   Ibid.

232   Ibid.

233   Ibid.

234   Ibid.

235   Mary Black, *Letter From Inside the Black Bloc* (July 25, 2001), http://www.alternet.org/story/11230/?page=4 (27-04-2007), p. 4.

evidence for O'Neill's argument that the anti-globalization movement intertwines with movements protesting Western countries' foreign and defence policies:

> I started my activist work during the Gulf War, and learned early that sheer numbers of people at demonstrations are rarely enough to bring the media out. During the war I spent weeks organizing demonstrations against the war. In one case, thousands showed up to demonstrate. But again and again, the newspapers and television ignored us. It was a major contrast the first time I saw someone break a window at a demonstration and suddenly we were all on the six o'clock news. The militant mood of anti-globalization protests in the last couple years has undeniably contributed to the level of attention that globalization is now getting in the media. And although the Black Bloc is not the only reason for this (a myriad of creative, innovative strategies have helped to bring the fickle eye of the media in the direction of the left), I believe that George Bush II felt compelled to directly address the protesters at the G8 summit in Genoa because of the media coverage that our movement is finally getting.[236]

O'Neill confirms that other groups affiliated with the Bloc organize themselves in sophisticated ways:

> [T]he Earth Liberation Front, which has claimed responsibility for several recent bombings of car dealerships and a ski resort in the United States, has adopted a very loose cell-based mode of organization whereby none of the participating groups are aware of the others.[237]

O'Neill goes on to cite scholars Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, Marles Glasius and Mary Kaldor for their analyses of Black Bloc methods. These researchers note that violent anti-globalization activists use mobile telephones, the internet and other advanced forms of communication technology to co-ordinate activities among diverse groups without needing an administrative headquarters.[238] By adopting this decentralized system of organization, activists make it impossible for law enforcement authorities to cripple them by arresting any individual leader. Journalist Johann Hari notes that this is the same system of organization used by al-Qaeda.[239] Although O'Neill finds little evidence of material cooperation between the Black Bloc and Islamic terrorists, Hari finds anti-globalization activists ready to entertain the idea.[240]

Writing in October 2001, Hari notes:

> The day after the destruction of the World Trade Center, the great symbol of global capitalism, graffiti appeared in Genoa. Next to a red star – the symbol of the most hard-core anti-globalisation groups – protesters had sprayed the words 'Fly Osama Airlines'.[241]

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236 Mary Black, *Letter From Inside the Black Bloc* (July 25, 2001), http://www.alternet. org/story/11230/?page=3 (27-04-2007), p. 3.

237 O'Neill, 'Transnational Protest': 242.

238 Ibid.: 243.

239 Hari, 'Young, Educated': 37–8.

240 O'Neill, 'Transnational Protest': 243.

241 Hari, 'Young, Educated': 37.

Meanwhile, Hari continues, anti-globalization activists carried on an internet discussion concerning the question of 'whether 'we' might have been responsible':

> Some were horrified at the prospect, but others were more positive. One writer, on the anti-globalisation site urban75.org, said: 'There has been much talk of terrorist organisation pulling together … Could this shift from military to economic targets herald a new era of co-operation between radical groups of completely different ideologies? By this I mean religious fundamentalist and anti-capitalist factions'.[242]

Just as the mainstream of the antiwar movement in the 1960s and 1970s was willing to view what Schulzinger called 'doctrinal disputes' as a sideshow, more mainstream anti-globalization activist Naomi Klein writes casually of drinking with advocates of violence:

> The beers in my hotel bar in Rosario were blissfully cold, and the gang from the Worker's Assistance Center were all getting a little drunk. We were arguing, once again, about whether [corporate] codes of conduct have any merit whatsoever. Zernan Toledo (who personally favors armed revolution – it's just a question of when) pounded the table … [243]

This conversation took place in the Philippines. The fact that Klein wrote of it at a time when the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Communist New Peoples' Army were waging armed insurrections against the Manila government that claimed over 1,000 lives in the year 2000 alone reminds one that Toledo's call for revolution has some salience beyond the barroom.[244] Just as the 20 per cent of 1960s-era American university students who felt that the United States was a 'sick society' and the larger fraction that claimed to approve of 'disruptive tactics' had few logical reasons to oppose those who actually practiced such tactics, twenty-first century cosmopolitans share many fundamental beliefs with the more violent members of their movement. The previously-quoted representative of the Genoa Black Bloc justifies her actions as follows:

> Some of the critiques of the Black Bloc by the left come from our own acceptance of the values of our corrupt society. There is outcry when some kids move a dumpster into the street and light it on fire. Most people conclude the protesters are doing this to give themselves a thrill, and I can't deny that there is a thrilling rush of adrenaline each time I risk myself in this way. But how many of us forgive ourselves for occasionally buying a T-Shirt from The Gap, even though we know that our dollars are going directly to a corporation that violently exploits their workers? Why is occasional 'shopping therapy' more acceptable than finding joy in an act of militant protest that may be limited in its usefulness? I would argue that even if Black Bloc protests only served to enrich the lives of those who do them, they are still better for the world than spending money at the multiplex, getting drunk or other culturally sanctioned forms of entertainment or relaxation.[245]

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242 Ibid.

243 Klein, *No Logo*, p. 439.

244 Margareta Sollenberg and Peter Wallensteen, 'Patterns of major armed conflicts, 1990–2000', in Anonymous (eds), *SIPRI Yearbook 2001: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 61.
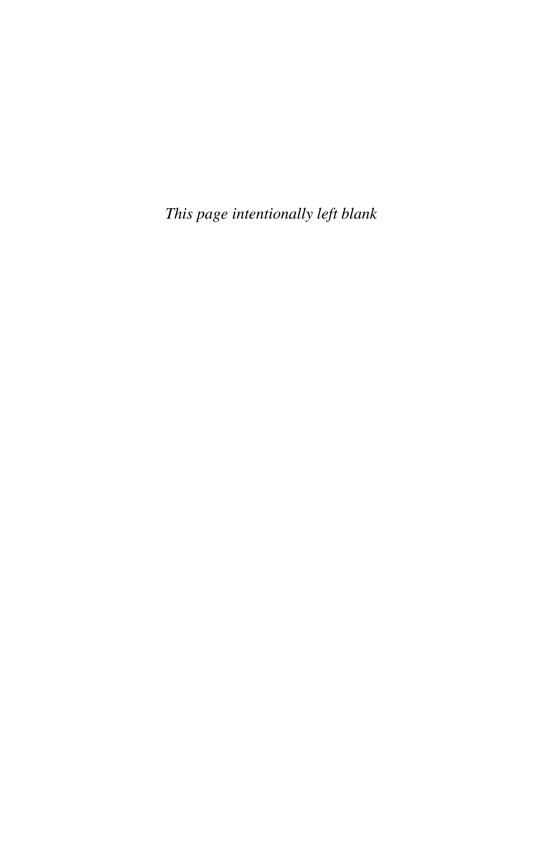
245 Black, p. 4.

Many twenty-first century cosmopolitans would still reject the Black Bloc's methods. Christians such as McKibben and Houghton may believe that their religion counsels them against violence. A segment of the anti-globalization movement consists of committed pacifists.[246] Nevertheless, cosmopolitans ranging from pure theorists such as Dobson to policy advocates such as Porritt have castigated Western consumers in much the same terms as the Genoa protester. Few cosmopolitans are ever likely to participate in riots or terrorism, but perhaps a majority accept the Black Bloc's fundamental arguments.

Conclusion

Twenty-first century cosmopolitans speak plainly on issues others find it all too convenient to ignore. These issues are as morally compelling as the persistence of poverty in a wealthy world and as practically important to every human being as the weather itself. Nevertheless, the cosmopolitans' prescriptions are as fallible as anyone else's. Since these prescriptions reflect harsh populist sensibilities, one might expect republicans to respond with counter-arguments of equal conviction. The next chapter will discuss the state of republican ideas in world politics during the aftermath of the 2003 Iraq war.

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246 Anonymous, 'The Anti-Globalization Struggle', Nonviolent Activist: The Magazine of the War Resisters League (September–October 2001), http://www.warresisters.org/nva0901-1.htm (29-03-2007).

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Chapter 5

Opposing Camps

Despite the vulnerabilities of cosmopolitan arguments, early twenty-first century republicans are contending with embarrassments of their own. The 2003 Iraq war, which symbolized certain states' republican determination to take control of affairs regardless of external opinion, involved the invaders in years of bloody civil unrest. In hindsight, many of the most prominent advocates of robust unilateralism have qualified their positions. Within Europe, varying responses to the frequently ambiguous political significance of the European Union complicate republican ideas, often beyond recognition. Thinkers and politicians in other parts of the world, notably Russia and the People's Republic of China, continue to advance republican arguments more straightforwardly. This chapter details these points successively.

Spinach All Around: Republicanism, Neo-Conservatism and the United States

When George W. Bush began his second term as president, he repeated both the universal moral claims and the republican corollaries of earlier administration statements such as the 2002 National Security Strategy. In his 2005 inaugural address, he committed the US yet again 'to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world'.[1] Bush promptly added that a president's commitment to his own country came first. 'My most solemn duty is to protect this nation and its people against further attacks and emerging threats'.[2]

Bush also implies that state governments – most notably his own – will take the lead in achieving these goals. Although he refers to 'friends' and 'allies', he suggests no role for international institutions.[3] Although he acknowledges America's need for 'help' and even 'counsel' he also declares that 'America's influence is considerable' and that 'we will use it confidently in freedom's cause'.[4] The Bush Administration continued to emphasize the ideological consistency of its foreign policy when it updated its National Security Strategy in 2006. Authors of the 2006 NSS stress the themes of continuity and progress by beginning each chapter with a review of relevant points from the 2002 document.[5]

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1 George W. Bush, *President Sworn In to Second Term* (January 2005), http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/01/20050120-1.html (15-05-2007).

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Anonymous, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington DC, 2006).

Robert Kagan, whose association with the Project for a New American Century (PNAC) implies broad agreement with Bush administration's neoconservative blend of moral rhetoric and republican self-determination, praised the 2005 inaugural address as a 'step beyond' the administration's earlier statements on foreign policy.[6] In Kagan's view, Bush had 'grounded American foreign policy in universal principles' more certainly than ever before.[7] This, he argued, would have 'consequences':

> Bush may be thinking about Iran and some Arab dictatorships, not China. But the next time China locks up a dissident or Vladimir Putin further curtails Russian freedoms, people will remind Bush about his promise that 'America will not pretend that jailed dissidents prefer their chains'.

> I believe Bush understands the implications of his universalist rhetoric. In Ukraine, Bush chose democracy over his relationship with Putin … in Asia too, we may be on the threshold of a strategic reevaluation that places democratic allies, not China, at the core of American strategy.

> The fight against terrorists must still remain the overriding focus on American national security efforts, because the price of failing to stop future terrorist attacks is unacceptably high. But the war on terrorism was never a sufficient paradigm for foreign policy. It was too narrow, too limited, and less than ideal for mustering the support of others around the world. Conservatives and realists in America and nervous Europeans will recoil at Bush's new boldness. But the pragmatic virtue of basing American foreign policy on the timeless principles of the Declaration of Independence is that they do reflect universal aspirations. Such a policy may attract wider support abroad than the war on terrorism has and a more durable support at home for an internationalist foreign policy. That is the higher realism that Bush now proclaims.[8]

If the war on terrorism was, as Kagan suggests, 'too narrow' to serve as the animating principle behind America's foreign policy, many seemed to find Bush's commitment to 'timeless principles' excessively abstract. In a semi-humorous article published in 2006, Americanist Walter Russell Mead suggested that his fellow citizens were finding fewer and fewer reasons to connect the administration's repeated invocations of hallowed American documents with their own actual lives, liberties and pursuit of happiness. Mead published this piece in the *Weekly Standard*, a periodical commonly associated with the Bush administration's neoconservative supporters. Although one cannot know how many *Standard* readers agreed with Mead, one may note that the editors considered his ideas worthy of consideration. Mead wrote:

> [E]leven years after Republicans first took over Congress, I'm amazed at how few appealing proposals are on the table.

> At any one time in American politics, we have a Spinach party and an Ice Cream party. The Spinach party wants you to do a lot of unpleasant things that will do you good. The Ice Cream party wants you to be happy now. Back in the Jimmy Carter administration, the

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6　Robert Kagan, 'A Higher Realism', *Washington Post* (January 23, 2005): B07.

7　Ibid.

8　Ibid.

Democrats were the Spinach party: pay higher taxes. Obey more government regulations. Turn down your thermostats. Give the canal back to Panama.

These days, however, the Republicans are sounding more and more spinachy. Finish the war. Retire later and get less when you do. Be nice, boys and girls, and stay quiet while all the good jobs go to China. You will thank us later when all our policies make you better off in the long run.[9]

George W. Bush certainly took a 'spinachy' tone in his 2005 inaugural. Where the 2002 National Security Statement had chided other countries for failing to fulfil the duties the Bush Administration conceived for them, the 2005 inaugural chided the American people. First, he accused them of wavering in their democratic faith:

Some, I know, have questioned the global appeal of liberty – though this time in history, four decades defined by the swiftest advance of freedom ever seen, is an odd time for doubt. Americans, of all people, should never be surprised by the power of our ideals.[10]

A few paragraphs later, Bush began, in Mead's words, to propose 'unpleasant things that will do you good':

From all of you, I have asked patience in the hard task of securing America, which you have granted in good measure. Our country has accepted obligations that are difficult to fulfill, and would be dishonorable to abandon.[11]

Although Bush did not specifically say 'finish the war', it is reasonable to infer that this occupied a prominent place among the obligations he had in mind. As Bush continued with his address, he repeatedly found it necessary to remind citizens about the virtues of sacrifice:

Make the choice to serve in a cause larger than your wants, larger than yourself – and in your days you will add not just to the wealth of our country, but to its character.[12]

In America's ideal of freedom, the public interest depends on private character – on integrity, and tolerance toward others, and the rule of conscience in our own lives. Self-government relies, in the end, on the governing of the self.[13]

In America's ideal of freedom, the exercise of rights is ennobled by service … [14]

Liberty for all does not mean independence from one another.[15]

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9   Walter Russell Mead, 'The Ice Cream Party and the Spinach Party', Weekly Standard, 11/20 (02/06/2006), http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/006/650qaifa.asp (31-02-2006).

10   Bush, *President Sworn In*.

11   Ibid.

12   Ibid.

13   Ibid.

14   Ibid.

15   Ibid.

Mead's response to such admonishments was light-hearted. 'The Spinach party often has a lot of worthy policy ideas, but there is a problem. Nobody comes running when the spinach truck drives by, jingling its bells'.[16] The Bush administration's problems in defending the neoconservative blend of idealism and republican self-determination were even more severe than that. By 2005, Bush could only struggle to maintain that his political ideas were worthy in principle. The president was finding it even more difficult to convince his own ideological supporters that their ideas could produce sound policy in practice.

At the level of principle, Bush's 2005 claims regarding rights and duties are dangerously vague. Superficially, Bush's speech resembles another spinachy inaugural address – that of John F. Kennedy in 1961.[17] Kennedy, however, did not call on Americans to submit to the national purpose until he had explained his vision of that purpose in detail. The line 'ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country', follows an extended discussion of world events and the role he hoped Americans would play in them:

> Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

> We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

> But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course – both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war. So let us begin anew – remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate.

> Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

> Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms, and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

> Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce.

> Let both sides unite to heed, in all corners of the earth, the command of Isaiah – to 'undo the heavy burdens, and [to] let the oppressed go free'.

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16 Mead, 'The Spinach Party'.

17 John F. Kennedy, *Inaugural Address* (January 1961) http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/jfkinaugural.htm (17-05-2007).

And, if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor – not a new balance of power, but a new world of law – where the strong are just, and the weak secure, and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days; nor in the life of this Administration; nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course.[18]

Thus, those who did, indeed, want to do something for their country knew where Kennedy thought they should focus their energies – upon 'sufficient' military vigilance to be sure, but also upon art, medicine, commerce, exploration, cultivation of desert land, arms control negotiations, attempts to strengthen international institutions and attempts to find common ground with the nation's enemies. Kennedy could also invoke his military service to show that he was personally prepared to give as much as he demanded:

Now the trumpet summons us again – not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need – not as a call to battle, though embattled we are – but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, 'rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation', a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility – I welcome it.[19]

In 2005, Bush left listeners to infer what he meant by service and self-government. Where Kennedy's record inspired confidence, Bush's record suggested reasons for concern. Not only did Bush lack the earlier president's combat experience, the fact that his administration had distinguished itself by attempting to redefine concepts regarding the humane treatment of prisoners so that interrogators could subject captives to mock drowning without technically being guilty of torture might make one reluctant to trust that administration to redefine freedom in loosely specified terms of service and restraint.[20] To the contrary, Bush's fusion of apparently conflicting concepts reminds one of Orwell's *Nineteen-Eighty-Four*, in which the government of Oceania proclaimed that freedom is slavery and ignorance is strength.

The Bush Administration may have had valid reasons for loosening restrictions on interrogation techniques, just as it may have had valid reasons for detaining foreign citizens indefinitely without trial, excusing itself from the provisions of the Geneva Convention dealing with the humane treatment of prisoners of war and supporting a

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18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Mike Allen and Dana Priest, 'Memo on Torture Draws Focus to Bush: Aide Says President Set Guidelines for Interrogations, Not Specific Techniques', *Washington Post* (9 June, 2004), p. AO3.

range of controversially restrictive domestic legislation. This administration has, after all, had to contend with vicious enemies whose clandestine methods of operation makes it impossible to combat them effectively while remaining within the rules designed for open state-to-state warfare. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that George W. Bush lacks credibility as a civic theorist. Given the opportunity to establish such credibility by clarifying his ideas, he failed to do so. Those troubled by the cosmopolitan preference for austerity and collectivism can no longer look to Bush – or, by extension, to the neoconservative version of republicanism – for an alternative.

Meanwhile, influential neoconservative thinkers concluded that their ideas about unilaterally seizing the initiative in world politics had failed the test of practice. Over the course of 2006, journalist David Rose of *Vanity Fair* interviewed a series of neoconservative thinkers about the ongoing war in Iraq. Rose's subjects included Richard Perle and Kenneth Adelman, both of whom sat on the influential quasi-independent advisory committee known as the Defense Policy Board Advisory Committee.[21] Perle also signed the Project for the New American Century (PNAC)'s 1998 letter to then-president Clinton on Iraq, which argued for the measures Clinton's successor ultimately adopted.[22] PNAC affiliates Frank Gaffney and Eliot Cohen added their voices to Rose's piece, as did David Frum, co-author of George W. Bush's 2002 State of the Union address.[23] Rose's interviewees repudiated the war and the George W. Bush administration.

Adelman added that the very principles of neoconservatism were defunct. Since, as Chapter 3 noted, different neoconservatives see those principles differently, one should observe that Adelman defined them in much the same terms as Muravchik, the PNAC and the Bush Administration itself. Neoconservatism, in his view, is 'the idea of using our power for moral good in the world'.[24] Although Adelman did not renounce neoconservative ideals in the abstract, he concluded that they had proven impracticable.[25] 'The policy can be absolutely right, and noble, beneficial, but if you can't execute it, it's useless, just useless'.[26] Moreover, Adelman felt, American voters and policymakers had noticed. Future attempts to base decisions on neoconservative principles are, in his view, 'not going to sell'.[27]

David Frum also felt that neoconservative ideas had failed. In earlier writings, he had defined those ideas in more universalistic – and, thus, less classically republican

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21 David Rose, 'Neo Culpa', *Vanity Fair* (January 2007), http://www.vanityfair.com/politics/features/2007/01/neocons200701?printable=true& … (11/12/2006).

22 Elliott Abrams, Richard L. Armitage, William J. Bennet, Jeffrey Bergner, John Bolton, Paula Dobriansky, Francis Fukuyama, Robert Kagan, Zalmay Khalilzad, William Kristol, Richard Perle, Peter W. Rodman, Donald Rumsfeld, William Schneider Jr. Vin Weber, Paul Wolfowitz, R. James Woolsey, and Robert B. Zoellick, *Letter to President Clinton on Iraq*, http://www.newamericancentury.org/iraqclintonletter.htm (12-05-2007).

23 Rose, 'Neo Culpa' (January 2007); Anonymous, *Project for the New American Century Statement of Principles*, http://newamericancentury.org/statementofprinciples.htm (11 September 2003).

24 Rose, 'Neo Culpa' (January 2007).

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

– terms than Adelman. Frum joined with Perle in envisioning 'a world at peace; a world governed by law'.[28] Like Adelman, however, Frum and Perle looked to 'American armed might' to realize these aspirations. Frum and Perle embellished their vision with the more straightforwardly republican idea that 'all peoples' were to be 'free to find their own destinies'.[29]

In 2006, Frum saw no evidence that such a vision could ever become reality. In his view, George W. Bush and his advisors had never even understood it:

> I always believed as a speechwriter that if you could persuade the president to commit himself to certain words, he would feel himself committed to the ideas that underlay those words. And the big shock to me has been that, although the president said the words, he just did not absorb the ideas. And that is the root of, maybe, everything.[30]

Although George W. Bush's detractors relish jibes about the president's failure to absorb ideas, Frum's statement damns neoconservative concepts as surely as it damns any particular politician. Neoconservatism, republicanism, and the republican themes within neoconservatism focus on problems of practical politics. The idea of taking charge of one's own destiny, whether on behalf of what Frum and Perle called America's moral 'vocation' or for any other reason, loses its impetus if one treats it as a purely hypothetical notion. Neoconservative thinkers have commonly asserted that their ideas are clearer – and thus, presumably, easier to absorb – than other schools of thought regarding foreign policy.[31] If a president with all the intellectual resources of the White House staff and the broader American academic community at his disposal cannot translate those ideas into effective policy proposals, their utility would appear to be limited.

Vanity Fair posted excerpts of Rose's article on its website four days before America's November 2006 Congressional elections.[32] Six of the interviewees responded in *National Review Online*.[33] The interviewees claimed not to have known that their comments would appear before January. Most expressed indignation at *Vanity Fair*'s timing. Several felt that Rose had quoted the out of context – Frum, for instance, was at pains to emphasize that he intended his most biting criticism for George W. Bush's National Security Council, not for the president as an individual.[34]

Having corrected such distortions, the six *Vanity Fair* interviewees added that they remained committed to their arguments. In the words of Eliot Cohen:

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28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Anonymous, *Project for the New American Century Statement of Principles*.

32 David Rose, 'Neo Culpa', *Vanity Fair* (November 3, 2006), http://www.vanityfair.com/politics/features/2006/12/neocons200612?printable=true& … (20-11-2006).

33 Eliot Cohen, David Frum, Frank Gaffney, Michael Ledeen, Richard Perle, and Michael Rubin, 'Vanity Unfair: A Response to Vanity Fair', *National Review Online* (5 November, 2006), http://article.nationalreview.com/?q=MzgxYzUzYmRlNjhmNzMyNjI2MDM4YmRjNTFhODA4MGQ= (12-05-2007).

34 Cohen, Frum, Gaffney, Ledeen, Perle and Rubin, 'Vanity Unfair'.

I stand by what I said, however, which is no different from what I have said in other venues, including in articles in the *Washington Post* and the *Wall Street Journal* as well a in a variety of print and television interviews over several years.[35]

Washington Post reporter Peter Baker not only confirmed Cohen's point but harvested similar criticism of the George W. Bush administration's foreign policy from Republican (in the American party politics sense) politicians such as Senator Arlen Specter former House Majority Leader Newt Gingrich.[36] The fact, however, that the neoconservatives expressed their doubts so prolifically only emphasizes the extent of their break with their earlier positions. Moreover, the neoconservative thinkers' decision to repeat their arguments for Rose's benefit had symbolic significance even if the arguments themselves were already familiar. As Frum, Gaffney, Ledeen, and Perle noted, *Vanity Fair* was well-known for its editorial hostility to the neoconservative cause. If they had intended to remain faithful to their president and to their original version of neoconservatism, it was imprudent of them to cooperate with that publication. One is entitled to doubt that five Washington insiders of their calibre would have simultaneously made such a gaffe.

Meanwhile, British journalist Matthew Parris, also known for opposing the 2003 invasion, found European neoconservatives to be as frustrated with the war's outcome and as threatened by its intellectual implications as their American counterparts.[37] Scholar and PNAC signatory Francis Fukuyama distanced himself from America's robust exercise of self-determination as well. In 2007, he declared that 'anyone who thinks that my ideas constitute the intellectual foundation for the Bush Administration's policies has not been paying attention to what I have been saying about democracy and development'.[38] Fukuyama went on to disassociate himself with the republican elements of neoconservatism while embracing some of the ideas this book defines as cosmopolitan:

[My book] *The End of History* was never linked to a specifically American model of social or political organisation. Following Alexandre Kojeve, the Russian-French philosopher who inspired my original argument, I believe that the European Union more accurately reflects what the world will look like at the end of history than the contemporary United States. The EU's attempt to transcend sovereignty and traditional power politics by establishing a transnational rule of law is much more in line with a 'post-historical' world than the Americans' continuing belief in God, national sovereignty and their military.

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35 Ibid.

36 Peter Baker, 'Embittered Insiders Turn Against Bush', *Washington Post* (November 19, 2006), p. A01.

37 Matthew Parris, 'Time for the neocons to admit that the Iraq war was wrong from the start', *The Times* (October 21, 2006), http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/matthew_parris/article607883.ece (12-05-2007).

38 Francis Fukuyama, 'The history at the end of history,' *The Guardian* (April 3, 2007), http://commentisfree.guardian.co.uk/francis_fukuyama/2007/04/the_history_at_the_end_of_hist.html (03-04-2007).

Finally, I never linked the global emergence to American agency, and particularly not to the exercise of American military power … [39]

As neoconservative thinkers qualified their commitment to boldly unilateral foreign policies, both Republicans and republicanism experienced setbacks in the US government. The Republican Party lost control of both America's Senate and America's House of Representatives in the 2006 elections. Within a day, George W. Bush replaced Donald Rumsfeld, his Secretary of Defense. Rumsfeld had endorsed his commitment to the neoconservative version of republicanism by signing the Project for a New American Century's 1997 Statement of Principles, and he had come symbolize the aggressive side of neoconservatism in his Cabinet career. Senior members of the Democratic Party welcomed the new secretary of defense, Robert Gates, for his apparent willingness to overturn Rumsfeld-era policies.[40]

A month later, John Bolton, George W. Bush's ambassador to the United Nations, withdrew from his post as well. During his earlier career, Bolton had taken explicit positions in favour of American self-determination and in opposition to the overlapping institutions advocated by twenty-first century cosmopolitans. In one typical statement, he had noted:

> The globalists' approach … is specifically targeted against the United States, in an effort to bend our system into something more compatible with human rights and other standards more generally accepted elsewhere. This conscious effort at limiting 'American exceptionalism' is consistent with larger efforts to constrain national autonomy.[41]

Bolton's jealous defence of America's exceptional status made him a controversial figure. Bush had posted Bolton to the UN while the Senate was in recess, temporarily circumventing that body's authority to review ambassadorial appointments. To keep the position permanently, however, Bolton needed Senate approval. After the Democratic Party's November gain, that approval was unlikely, and one may safely assume that he stepped down at least partially to spare Bush a futile political battle.[42] As the first decade of the century draws to a close, the western world's most outspoken republicans suffer from doubt, internal conflict and widespread perceptions of failure.

Different Kinds of Cheese

As American republicans qualify their positions, European political actors continue to invoke the principle of self-determination. The fact, however, that republican ideas remain widespread in Europe does not mean that Europeans agree with one

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39 Ibid.

40 Anonymous, 'Bush replaces Rumsfeld to get "fresh perspective",' *CNN* (November 9, 2006), http://edition.cnn.com/2006/POLITICS/11/08/rumsfeld/ (14-05-2007).

41 T. Jeremy Gunn, 'American Exceptionalism and Globalist Double Standards: A More Balanced Alternative', *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*, 1/1 (2002): 137.

42 Peter Baker and Glenn Kessler, 'UN Ambassador Bolton Won't Stay: Bush wary of Battle with Democrats', *Washington Post* (5 December, 2006), p. AO1.

another. To the contrary, European republicanism inclines different actors in different directions at different times. Thus, the European Union's aspiration to 'assert its identity' remains incompletely realized.[43]

In 2004, the European Union sought to improve its political effectiveness by instituting a Constitutional Treaty. EU documents describe this as 'a decisive step' and 'the completion' of the continent's 'long process of integration'.[44] The 2004 treaty would have been the first to establish Europe as a unified entity with a formal legal personality.[45] Perhaps more significantly from a practical point of view, the Constitutional Treaty simplified European legislative processes, presumably allowing the collective body to act faster and more decisively on difficult issues. Those with a particular interest in international politics will note that the Constitutional Treaty consolidated the authority formerly distributed among the External Relations Commissioner and the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy in the hands of a single Minister for Foreign Affairs.[46] The Constitutional Treaty also created new agencies to implement the new Minister for Foreign Affairs' policies.[47]

Heads of state from the European Union's member countries signed the Constitutional Treaty in October 2004. In January 2005, the European Parliament voted to adopt the treaty by a majority of 500 to 137, with 40 abstentions.[48] Nevertheless, for the treaty to take effect, each EU member state had to ratify it according to its own government's procedures. Ten of those governments announced plans to hold referenda in which their citizens could vote directly on the question of whether to ratify the treaty.[49]

A Eurobarometer poll performed in November 2004 and published in January 2005 suggested that, although almost one third of Europeans remained unaware of the treaty (and only eleven per cent claimed familiarity with its details), the continent's citizens strongly supported the idea of a constitution.[50] One European in two supported the treaty.[51] Only 16 per cent actively opposed it.[52] Not only did supporters outnumber opponents in the aggregate, Eurobarometer found advocates of the treaty in the majority in every EU member state except for Great Britain.[53]

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43 Anonymous, 'Consolidated Versions of the Treaty on European Union and of the Treaty Establishing the European Community', *Official Journal of the European Union* (29-12-2006), http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2006/ce321/ce32120061229en00010331.pdf (18-05-2007), p. 11.

44 Anonymous, *A Constitution for Europe*, http://europa.eu/scadplus/constitution/introduction_en.htm (28-05-2007).

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

48 Anonymous, 'The Future Constitutional Treaty: First Results', *Eurobarometer*, Special 214 (January 2005): 2.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.: 3.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.: 8.

53 Ibid.: 9.

Those who supported the treaty tended to do so because of their belief that it would allow Europe to make policy more efficiently, and thus to exert greater political influence. The most commonly-expressed reason for supporting the treaty was that it was 'essential in order to pursue European construction', cited by 38 per cent of supporters, followed by the claim that the treaty was 'essential for the smooth running of the European institutions', cited by 22 per cent of supporters.[54] Seventeen per cent specifically mentioned that the treaty would help integrate the EU's new member states into the collective organization, and fifteen per cent specifically mentioned that it would help strengthen the EU in relation to the United States.[55] Those who opposed the treaty tended to perceive Europe's Constitution as a threat to national sovereignty. Thirty-seven per cent of opponents cited this reason, with 22 per cent citing a simple opposition to European integration in any form.[56]

The Eurobarometer poll, in short, portrayed the public debate over the Constitutional Treaty as one of republicans against republicans. Younger, better-educated and better-informed Europeans supported the treaty for the republican reason that it would help them take control of their collective destiny.[57] Older, less informed, and British respondents resisted it out of commitment to their nation-states. Nationalism is not conceptually identical to republicanism, but one may presume that most twenty-first century European nationalists ground their beliefs in some variation of the republican idea that their own state is the most effective representative of the specific combination of people who make up its population.

The poll also warned treaty supporters against complacency. One third of the Europeans polled had yet to make up their minds whether to support the treaty.[58] Eurobarometer analysts attributed the large number of uncertain respondents to peoples' ignorance of the issue.[59] The analysts went on to advise treaty supporters that 'an effort to provide additional information seems to be necessary among populations who will be asked to vote 'yes' or 'no' to the new draft Constitution'.[60] Since poll data confirmed that better-informed respondents were more likely to support the Constitution, this appeared to be good advice.[61]

Treaty supporters, however, had more to contend with than mere lack of public awareness. Over the following year, the debate over the Constitutional Treaty became entangled with other political – and ideological – disputes taking place in various European states. Over the spring of 2005, this became particularly apparent in France, which had scheduled a referendum for 29 May. When French president Jacques Chirac announced the referendum, polls showed that 60 per cent of France's electorate supported the treaty.[62]

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54 Ibid.: 13.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.: 15.

57 Ibid.: 13.

58 Ibid.: 10.

59 Ibid.: 8–9.

60 Ibid.: 12; Ibid.: 8–9.

61 Ibid.: 12.

62 Anonymous, 'Q&A: French EU Referendum', *BBC News* (29 May, 2005), http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4483817.stm (21-05-2007).

French public awareness of the treaty was relatively high. Out of the 25 EU member states, the Eurobarometer poll indicated, France had the fifth best-informed population.[63] The French government distributed 46 million copies of the Constitutional Treaty to prospective voters, and senior members of the dominant political parties gave well-publicized speeches on the issue.[64] Nevertheless, during April and May, an anti-treaty movement took shape. The French voters ultimately rejected the Constitutional Treaty with a majority of 56 per cent.[65]

The referendum took place at a time when France's unemployment rate had reached 10 per cent.[66] Many treaty supporters portrayed the referendum result as a protest against the state of affairs in France, and not as a reaction to the European constitution itself. In an interview with Britain's *Financial Times*, Jacques Delors, formerly president of the EU Commission, emphasized that French public support for the treaty had declined in tandem with support for Jacques Chirac.[67]

Chirac's opponents undoubtedly exploited the anti-treaty movement. None of them, however, emerged as leaders.[68] Whatever combination of grievances raised treaty opponents' passions, the movement coalesced around the issue of the constitution. Indeed, this issue united factions that, under everyday circumstances, would have opposed each other.

Smaller political actors ranging from the Communist Party to such right-wingers as Philippe De Villiers and Jean-Marie Le Pen joined forces against the Constitutional Treaty.[69] The more mainstream Socialist Party split over the issue. Although the dominant Socialists supported the European constitution, former Socialist prime minister Laurent Fabius led a breakaway anti-treaty faction, reviving his own political career in the process.[70] The mainstream Socialists convinced Green Party leaders to back the treaty, but the Greens somewhat ambiguously called on supporters to support the Constitution with a 'not entirely enthusiastic 'yes'.'[71]

One may note that the anti-treaty movement resembled the anti-globalization movement both in its decentralized system of organization and in its ability to unite the political left with the political right. Prominent treaty opponents were, in fact, members of anti-globalization protest groups. These opponents argued against the Constitutional Treaty in anti-globalization terms and claimed their victory against the treaty as evidence of widespread support for their broader political programme.

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63 Anonymous, 'The Future Constitutional Treaty: First Results': 3.

64 Anonymous, 'Q&A: French EU Referendum'.

65 John Thornhill, Peggy Hollinger and Martin Arnold, 'French No vote leaves EU treaty in chaos', *Financial Times* (29 May, 2005), http://www.ft.com/cms/s/4110f030-d069-11d9-abb8-00000e2511c8.html (21-05-2007).

66 Anonymous, 'Q&A: French EU Referendum'.

67 Thornhill, Hollinger and Arnold, 'French No vote'.

68 Anonymous, 'Q&A: French EU Referendum'.

69 Anonymous, 'Q&A: French EU Referendum'.; Alex Duval Smith, 'How a 'Non' from France could throw Europe's future into crisis', *The Observer* (10 April, 2005), http://observer.guardian.co.uk/international/story/0,6903,1456149,00.html (22-05-2007).

70 Duval Smith, 'How a 'Non'.

71 Ibid.

Ignacio Ramonet, who numbers himself among the founders of ATTAC and the principal organizers of the anti-globalization event known as the World Social Forum, drew the following conclusions from the French referendum.[72]

> This no vote is of capital importance. It represents a setback to ultraliberal attempts to impose, all over the world and in contempt of people's wishes, the economic monoculture laid down by the dogma of globalisation.

> Since the mid-1990s this model has encountered resistance, such as the big social movement in France that began in November 1995. As far back as 1989 there had been Seattle, which gave rise to the movement that became known as 'Another World is Possible', especially after the first World Social Forum in Porto Alegre in 2001, and Genoa later that year. There have been movements in countries such as Argentina, India and Brazil. But the May vote was the first time that, in a country of the North and within the framework of a government referendum, a whole country had the chance officially to say no to ultraliberal globalisation.[73]

Ramonet emphasized that the 'the people really have spoken':

> [T]the abstention rate was only 30%, compared with 57% in the European parliament elections a year ago. The extent of this mobilisation, especially among young people and the working class, on a very dry subject – a text of 448 articles not counting appendices, declarations and protocols – is an unexpected success for democracy. The people have made a major comeback: they have moved from a sense of political dispossession to a determined stand to take back the political arena.[74]

Ramonet went on to argue that the French people had knowingly aligned themselves with the international anti-globalization movement.[75] BBC reporting supported

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72 Anonymous, *Ignacio Ramonet*, http://subsol.c3.hu/subsol_2/contributors3/ramonetbio.html (23-05-2007).

73 Ignacio Ramonet (Ed Emery, trans.), 'Open Door to Hope', *Le Monde diplomatique* (June 2005), http://mondediplo.com/2005/06/01leader (23-05-2007).

74 Ibid.

75 'The citizens of France understood that the treaty for which they were being invited to vote would constitutionalise fierce competition at European level between the producers of goods and services and between a set of social systems caught in a downward spiral. There was nothing in the feeble democratic advances of the treaty to counterbalance the establishment of an ultraliberal model that would have made future electoral exercises effectively meaningless.

The no vote was well informed. It came after thousands of meetings and much reading and discussion, with books about the constitution heading best-seller lists in France for months. In the face of state propaganda in most media, it was clear that people wanted to make up their own minds. They were helped by the patient grassroots work by many campaigning groups that sprang up across France, especially local committees set up by Attac. This has been a credit to democracy.

Was this a nationalist vote? No. Mostly it was actually a vote "for" Europe. This has been clear to the many trade unionists and campaigners in other European countries who, at home and in their contribution to the campaign in France, have expressed their solidarity with the forces behind this no vote, and have seen it as a way of building another kind of Europe.

Ramonet's statements about the motives and background of the French citizens who voted against the treaty. The BBC noted polls showing that 75 per cent of the treaty's opponents identified themselves as working class, and that the majority claimed to have voted on the basis of 'left of centre', principles, as opposed to simple nationalism.[76] Meanwhile, other French commentators argued that the referendum results represented, not merely a vote for a more authentic European Union, but a vote for a more cosmopolitan world order.

> The inability of the EU to create a specific political and social model is less striking than its obstinate refusal to tackle the task. It seems reluctant to break free from these international constraints, and indeed actively encourages them. Mandated by its governments, the European Commission has played a leading free-trade role in World Trade Organisation negotiations, at Doha (2001) and Cancun (2003). The EU does not merely submit to financial and liberal globalisation but gleefully imposes it upon the developing world, as the 2005 Cotonou agreement showed …

> Brussels may pay lip service to its role as a counterweight to the United States, but it refuses to defend the values that would proclaim its independence and identity. 'As part of Europe we are stronger', the French president, Jacques Chirac, told television viewers on 31 May; but the US war in Iraq revealed just how powerless the EU is in geopolitics …

> A new Europe demands a new vision of international relations. Historical links, political interests and migration require the EU to define an independent policy towards the developing world, based upon solidarity and free from the unfair rules of liberal globalisation. Such links with marginalised states can only increase the EU's geopolitical influence … [77]

Three days after the French referendum, a coalition of left-wing and right-wing political groups using much of the same rhetoric convinced citizens in the Netherlands to reject the Constitutional Treaty by an even greater margin.[78] Those who blame anti-treaty sentiment on public ignorance must account for the fact that the Eurobarometer survey indicated that the Dutch understood the Constitution more thoroughly than any other nationality in Europe.[79] After the Netherlands vote, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Ireland, Poland, Portugal, Sweden and Britain postponed their own referenda on the treaty indefinitely.[80] Thus, the cosmopolitan anti-globalization movement, momentarily aligned with more republican nationalists, set back the European Union's own republican aspirations.

Also, many Europeans, deprived of referendums in their own countries, effectively asked the French to vote no on their behalf' (Ibid.)

76 Anonymous, 'Q&A: French EU Referendum'.

77 Anne-Cecile Robert (Donald Hounam, trans.) 'Why France said non', *Le Monde diplomatique* (June 2005), http://mondediplo.com/2005/06/02frenchno (23-05-2007).

78 Stephen Mulvey, 'Varied reasons behind Dutch 'No', *BBC News* (1 June 2005), http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4601731.stm (23-05-2007).

79 Anonymous, 'The Future Constitutional Treaty: First Results': 3.

80 Anonymous, 'The Constitution's Future', *BBC News*, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4596005.stm (23-05-2007).

The East is Republican

In 1999, Russia's ambassador to the UN addressed the Security Council on states' responsibilities 'not only to their peoples but to all members of the United Nations'.[81] Over the eight years that followed, Russia's leaders have emphasized their own state's responsibilities to itself. Not only has the Russian government used revenues from its increasingly lucrative fossil fuel exports to augment its armed forces, Russian leaders have explicitly presented these policies as an expression of republican self-determination.

Russian president Vladimir Putin, addressing his country's Federal Assembly in 2006, noted that his country's 'modern foreign policy is based on the principles of pragmatism, predictability and the supremacy of international law'.[82] The same speech emphasized Russia's republican determination to control its own destiny free from external interference. Putin took advantage of the occasion to announce 'the situation in our armed forces today has changed dramatically'.[83] Since 2000, Putin noted, his country had built new warships, deployed new intercontinental ballistic missiles, initiated new programmes of weapons research, undertaken new programmes of military exercises and partially replaced its conscript forces with units of more efficient professionals.[84] Putin explained Russia's reasons for military expansion, not merely by invoking such general and generally accepted rationales as 'global security', but by specifying:

> We must be able to respond to attempts from any quarters to put foreign policy pressure on Russia, including with the aim of strengthening one's own position at our expense.

> We also need to make clear that the stronger our armed forces are, the lesser the temptation for anyone to put such pressure on us, no matter under what pretext this is done.[85]

A year later, with further military improvements in place, Putin increased his emphasis on resisting external pressure. Perhaps significantly or perhaps by chance, he dropped the phrase regarding international law from his list of basic principles guiding his country's foreign policy. 'Our foreign policy is aimed at joint, pragmatic, and non-ideological work to resolve the important problems we face'.[86] Putin later softened this by talking 'in broader terms' about the value of 'a culture of international relations based on international law', but he no longer accorded international law any 'supremacy'.[87] To the contrary, he declared a 'moratorium' on Russia's observance

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81 Anonymous, *Security Council Rejects Demand for Cessation of Use of Force against Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*, UN Press Release 6659 (26 March 1999) http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/1999/19990326.sc6659.html (21-02-2007).

82 Vladimir Putin, *Annual Address to the Federal Assembly* (May 10, 2006), http://www.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2006/05/10/1823_type70029type82912_105566.shtml (29-05-2007).

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid.

86 Vladimir Putin, *Annual Address to the Federal Assembly* (April 26, 2007), http://www.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2007/04/26/1209_type70029_125494.shtml (29-05-2007).

87 Ibid.

of the 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, which had restricted the size and deployment of signatories' non-nuclear military forces.[88]

Earlier in 2007, Yury Baluyevsky, Chief of the Russian Army's General Staff, suggested that his country might respond to US plans to deploy defences against ballistic missiles in Europe by abrogating the 1987 Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty.[89] This treaty committed signatories to refrain from deploying nuclear-tipped missiles with ranges between 500 kilometres and 1,500 kilometres.[90] INF also had symbolic significance as the first nuclear arms control treaty that eliminated weapons, as opposed to limiting their numbers. Key members of the Russian government's Federation Council for Defence and Security supported Baluyevsky's position, as did Russian senator Nikolai Tulayev.[91] General Nikolai Solovtsov, commander of Russia's Strategic Missile Forces, presented practical details on how his organization would implement Baluyevsky's proposal.[92]

Meanwhile, in 2004, internationally active non-governmental organizations of the type that commonly advocate cosmopolitan arguments in the West made a debut in a disputed presidential election in Ukraine. Ukrainian-based organizations such as the Committee of Voters of Ukraine drew on funds, organizational experience and rhetorical support from international groups such as the National Endowment for Democracy to challenge poll results that would have installed Viktor Yanukovich as president.[93] This challenge inspired mass protests in which Yanukovich's opponent, the reformer Viktor Yushchenko, pronounced himself the rightful winner.[94] Ukraine's parliament subsequently ratified Yushchenko's claim.[95] The protesters adopted the colour orange as a symbol of their movement, and Yushchenko's victory became known as the Orange Revolution.

Yanukovich represented the political elite that had dominated Ukraine throughout the 1990s. That elite, in turn, had cooperated with Russia. Thus Adrian Karatnycky of the American-based NGO Freedom House proclaimed the movement that drove Yanukovich from office to be 'a seismic shift Westward in the geopolitics of the region'.[96] Karatnycky, writing in *Foreign Affairs*, hinted of more to come:

> Yushchenko and Saakashvili thanked the international democratic community for supporting their struggles. 'We are certain that the revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine are shaping the new wave of liberty in Europe', the two leaders stated. 'They will usher in the ultimate victory of liberty and democracy across the European continent'.

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88 Ibid.

89 Mark Galeotti, 'Breaking Loose? Russia flexes muscles as US moves in', *Jane's Intelligence Review*, 19/4 (April 2007): 42–3.

90 Ibid.: 42.

91 Ibid.: 43.

92 Ibid.

93 Adrian Karatnycky, 'Ukraine's Orange Revolution', *Foreign Affairs*, 84/2 (March/April 2005), http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050301faessay84205/adrian-karatnycky/ukraine-s-orange-revolution.html?mode=print, 07-06-2007.

94 Ibid.

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.

During the 17 days of the orange revolution, groups of protesters at Independence Square gathered around several Belarusian national flags. They were part of a contingent of activists eager to soak in the experience of a revolution in the making and to carry its lessons back home. Kazakh opponents of Nursultan Nazarbayev's authoritarian regime also sought to learn from their Ukrainian counterparts. Russian civic activists, too, came to Kiev to meet with Ukraine's protest leaders and talk about organizing for change. In mid-January, when Russian pensioners rose up against cutbacks in their benefits, Moscow newspapers speculated that Russia could be going 'orange'.[97]

Putin responded to this cosmopolitan challenge with republican rhetoric. Even before the Orange Revolution, he had criticized NGOs in his annual address to the Federal Assembly.[98] In July 2005, he told a group of human rights activists that he 'categorically object[ed]' to allowing international bodies to fund political activities in Russia.[99] 'Not a single state that respects itself does that, and we won't allow it either'.[100] Over subsequent months, Russia's security services began a programme of scrutinizing NGOs active in the country.[101]

Later in 2005, Putin's political allies in Russia's Duma introduced a bill forcing all NGOs active in the country to register with authorities and provide detailed accounts of their funding.[102] Journalist Richard Williamson quotes Duma member Alexi Ostrovsky, one of the bill's sponsors, as explaining its purpose in the following terms. '[The proposed law] should help the government crack down on politically active NGOs that … might promote an Orange Revolution'.[103] The bill passed in 2006.[104]

NGO activists complained that the new law subjected them to such overwhelming administrative burdens that many of their organizations would have to disband.[105] Meanwhile, Russia's internal security service, the FSB, indicated its willingness to take harsher measures if necessary. Less than a month after the bill became law, the FSB accused several NGOs of conspiring with alleged British intelligence agents. The FSB detained a Russian citizen for complicity with the plot.[106]

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97 Ibid.

98 Vladimir Putin, *Annual Address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation* (May 26, 2004), http://www.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2004/05/26/2021_type70029type82912_64906.shtml (07-06-2007).

99 Risto Karajkov, 'N.G.O. Bashing', *worldpress.org* (13 November, 2005), http://www.worldpress.org/Europe/2178.cfm (04-03-2007).

100 Ibid.

101 Steven Eke, 'Russian spy chief backs NGO bill', *BBC News* (8 December 2005), http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4512028.stm (07-06-2007).

102 Richard S. Williamson, 'Putin fears hue and cry of Orange Revolution', *Chicago Sun-Times* (19 December, 2005), reprinted by the International Republican Institute, http://www.iri.org/newsarchive/2005/2005-12-19-News-ChicgoSunTimes.asp (04-03-2007).

103 Ibid.

104 Chloe Arnold, 'Russia: NGOs Uneasy as Deadline Passes', *Radio Free Europe* (April 19, 2007), http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2007/4/26B408F6-B197-4626-A7CE-81BB641368E8.html (07-06-2007).

105 Ibid.

106 Anonymous, 'UK diplomats in Moscow spying row', *BBC News* (23 January 2006), http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4638136.stm (07-06-2007).

The Russian media reports overwhelming public support for Putin and his policies.[107] Russian polls taken in 2006 reported that 81 per cent of the respondents specifically praised Putin for 'strengthening the [country's] sovereignty'.[108] Cynics may respond that Putin's acts in office have also included both official and unofficial measures to control the media.[109] Nevertheless, the American-based Pew Research Center confirms Putin's popularity. When Pew surveyed the Russian public in April 2006, it found that 71 per cent of respondents had confidence in their leader.[110] Only 33 per cent of Americans were willing to express similar support for George W. Bush at that time.[111]

Like Russia, the People's Republic of China has substantially improved its military, economic and diplomatic position in the early twenty-first century. Like Putin, Chinese leaders officially present their policies in republican terms. The Chinese Communist Party's commitment to national self-determination goes back at least to 1938, when Mao Zedong asked whether 'a Communist, who is an internationalist, at the same time be a patriot?'[112] Mao answered his own question. 'We hold that he not only can be but must be'.[113] Since, Mao argued, the Chinese people were fighting imperialists, the cause of China and the cause of international Communism were one.[114]

Mao's successor Deng Xiaoping defined the Chinese regime's purpose as being that of maintaining China's ability to control its own destiny in a hostile outer world. 'If China does not uphold socialism, it will be turned into an appendage of the capitalist countries'.[115] Jiang Zemin, who headed the Chinese government after Deng, repeated these points. On these grounds, Jiang warned his fellow citizens to guard themselves against foreign attempts to undermine their Communist system of government:

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107   Anonymous, 'Putin Popularity, Trust High Among Russian Voters – Poll', *MosNews. com* (04-08-2006), http://www.mosnews.com/news/2006/08/04/putinrating.shtml (31-05-2007); Vyacheslav Kostikov (*Elena Leonova*, trans.), 'Why Hasn't Putin Become a Stalin?', *Argumenty I Fakti*, 20 (16 May, 2007), http://www.wps.ru/en/pp/story/2007/05/17.html (31-05-2007).

108   Anonymous (Michael Simpson, trans.), 'Putin enjoys huge popularity, but Russians want changes in 2008', *Pravda* (31-03-2006), http://english.pravda.ru/russia/politics/31-03-2006/78195-putin_popularity-0 (31-05-2007).

109   Anonymous, 'Focusing on Putin and freedom of the press', International Herald Tribune (24 May, 2007), http://www.iht.com/articles/2007/05/24/opinion/edrussia.php (31-05-2007).

110   Richard Morin and Nilanthi Samaranayake, 'The Putin Popularity Score: Increasingly Reviled in the West, Russia's Leader Enjoys Broad Support at Home', *Pew Global Attitudes Project* (6 December, 2006), http://pewresearch.org/pubs/103/the-putin-popularity-score (31-05-2007).

111   Ibid.

112   Mao Tse-Tung, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Volume Two* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1954), p. 201.

113   Ibid.

114   Ibid.

115   Joseph Fewsmith, 'Reaction, Resurgence and Succession: Chinese Politics Since Tiananmen', in Roderick MacFarquhar (ed.), *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 485.

International hostile forces will never stop using peaceful evolution against us for a single day. Bourgeois liberalisation is an internal matching force which they use to carry out peaceful evolution. These kinds of hostile activities constitute a real threat to China's independence, sovereignty, development and reform. In other words, peaceful evolution and bourgeois liberalisation are aimed not only at overthrowing our socialist system but, fundamentally, at depriving us of our national independence and state sovereignty.[116]

China's leaders consistently stress their enduring commitment to 'Mao Zedong thought' and 'Deng Xiaoping theory', notably in the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party's 2006 Resolution on Major Issues Concerning the Building of a Socialist Harmonious Society.[117] The Chinese Communist Party of the early twenty-first century sums up its approach to international relations as an 'independent foreign policy of peace'.[118] Independence, China's leaders emphasize, does not mean isolation. To the contrary, as the Central Committee officially noted in the course of its work on the 11th Five-Year Programme for National Economic and Social Development, the PRC must 'actively foster a good external environment'.[119] The Central Committee went on to elaborate:

An active part should be taken in multilateral foreign affairs, and international co-operation should be promoted. People-to-people diplomacy should be conducted extensively and intensively; cultural exchanges should be carried out; external propaganda work should be strengthened; and mutual understanding and friendship with the peoples of other countries in the world should be enhanced.[120]

PRC authorities share Putin's view of politically active NGOs as potential agents of foreign subversion. *People's Daily* had this to say about the Orange Revolution:

'Rose Revolution,' 'Orange Revolution,' 'Lemon Revolution'… Within a short period of time the political powers of Georgia, Ukraine and *Kyrgyzstan* have changed colors. The ruling parties in these countries failed in general elections while the opposition parties seized the powers. 'Color revolution,' makes people dazzling. Fling the internal political situations in these countries away it is the indispensable operation behind the scenes manipulated by the United States that the 'color revolution' can succeed in the countries. The US government does not deny this, showing self-satisfaction. [121]

116 Allen S. Whiting, 'Chinese Nationalism and Foreign Policy After Deng', *China Quarterly*, 142 (June 1995): 304.

117 Chinese Party Central Committee, 'Resolution on Major Issues Concerning the Building of a Socialist Harmonious Society', *China Quarterly*, 189 (March 2007): 261.

118 Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, 'Proposal on Formulating the 11th Five-Year Programme for National Economic and Social Development', 'Quarterly Chronicle and Documentation', *The China Quarterly*, No. 185 (March 2006): 263.

119 Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, 'Proposal on Formulating the 11th Five-Year Programme': 263.

120 Ibid.

121 Anonymous, 'Is it American democracy or American arbitrariness?', *People's Daily*, http://english.people.com.cn/200504/26/eng20050426_182771.html (07-06-2007).

The Beijing government has instituted a range of legislation to control NGOs. Yiyi Lu of Britain's Chatham House explains that Chinese law bans certain 'social groups' from forming such organizations under any circumstances.[122] These groups include migrant labourers, laid-off workers and former military personnel.[123] Other Chinese regulations limit NGOs' ability to operate over large areas.[124] These laws forbid NGOs from having regional branches and prohibit any individual from acting as the legal representative for more than one such organization.[125]

Chinese authorities apply these laws more rigorously in some cases than in others.[126] The US Embassy in China posts an on-line report suggesting ways in which NGOs may attempt to circumvent the difficulties they face when operating in the PRC.[127] The embassy document discusses the implications of a range of Chinese regulations not mentioned in Lu's work. Lu, meanwhile, mentions laws not covered by the American diplomatic authorities. The embassy document ends its discussion of legal matters with the understatement 'clearly, the permutations that can co-exist in the current Chinese system are various and confusing'.[128]

China's system of NGO regulation, inconsistencies and all, has neutralized NGOs as a cosmopolitan alternative to the People's Republic.[129] Lu summarizes:

> Both officially organized and popular NGOs depend on the government for various vital support and resources. For example, thanks partly to the government's attempt to restrict their size, most NGOs lack the organizational capacity to implement even medium-scale projects. They therefore need to collaborate with the government and rely on its administrative network to implement their projects. NGOs are vulnerable to obstructive and predatory behaviour by individual government agencies or officials, which can jeopardize their work. In such situations, they must seek support from other government agencies and officials and rely on their protection to solve their problems. Because of the government's lack of transparency, NGOs rely on good connections to the government to obtain information on its policies and practices which directly affect their work. In short, even if NGOs do not receive any funding from the government, they are still dependent on it for their ability to operate.[130]

Cosmopolitans might still hope that the PRC government's increased desire to enjoy the benefits of participating in international institutions such as the World Trade Organization will lead Beijing to accept a greater degree of international input into its policies. Former US Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick suggested as much in 2005, looking forward to a day when China was a 'stakeholder' in the

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122 Yiyi Lu, *The Growth of Civil Society in China: Key Challenges for NGOs* (London: Chatham House, 2005), p. 2.

123 Ibid.

124 Ibid.

125 Ibid., pp. 2–3.

126 Ibid., p. 3.

127 Anonymous, *Chinese NGOs – Carving a Niche Within Constraints*, http://www.usembassy-china.org.cn/sandt/ptr/ngos-prt.htm (07-06-2007).

128 Ibid.

129 Lu, p. 3.

130 Ibid., p. 4.

international system and took up its 'responsibilities' in world affairs.[131] Two years later, the Chinese publication *Beijing Review* revisited Zoellick's statement and invited a variety of public figures to respond. Although the *Beijing Review* piece has no official status, it provides insight into the the way in which Chinese citizens perceive these issues. Moreover, given the PRC's relatively high degree of state control over the media, one may assume that the Beijing government finds the *Beijing Review* writers' conclusions acceptable, and that the authors were confident that it would.

The *Review* editors summed up the issue as follows. 'American and Western media picked up on [Zoellick's] term and now China also refers to itself as a "responsible big nation". Although both sides speak of 'responsibility', they mean different things by it'.[132] The article then quoted a statement by Wu Jianmin, formerly China's Ambassador to France. Wu began his statement with these lines. 'China is the world's largest developing country, and, with a population of 1.3 billion, it is home to one fifth of the world's people. Handling our own affairs well is our biggest responsibility to the international community'.

Chen Hu, editor of China's *World Military Affairs* magazine, made similar points to *People's Daily*. 'Though termed internal responsibilities, any overall issues China is facing can be said to be of global interests, since the country has almost one fifth of the total global population. This being the case, China's responsibilities are great'.[133] Both Wu and Chen also discussed China's more altruistic role in such matters as promoting global economic development, providing troops to UN peacekeeping operations, protecting the environment, assisting victims of natural disasters and cooperating with other countries to prevent terrorism.[134] Wu insisted, however, that the international community in its current form has no right to judge China:

> For centuries, the world has been Western-centered. Although the global situation is changing, the West as the center of the world is still a prevalent Western opinion. If one does as the Western world asks, the West says it has acted responsibly; if one does not, then it will be blamed for having failed its responsibilities. The practice of being self-centered and asking others to act in its own interests is not only impractical but also illogical.[135]

Chen made similar points, focusing on his own area of interest. To those who criticize the PRC for improving its armed forces, he responds:

> [W]here do these comments really come from? They have definitely come from a nation leading or steering trends in the development of military science and technology globally, and from a nation of super-powerful military might with its military deployment spreading worldwide. China is being criticized for developing its third-generation jet fighters when in fact the detractor has already started to equip its armed forces with the most sophisticated

131 Anonymous, 'Defining Responsibility', *Beijing Review*, No. 19 (10 May, 2007), http://www.bjreview.com/print/txt/2007-05/10/content_63570.htm (31-05-2007).

132 Ibid.

133 Ibid.

134 Ibid.

135 Ibid.

fourth-generation warplanes. Under these circumstances, people should stop and think about the real intentions behind the constant raising of the alarms.[136]

In fact, Chen argued, the PRC's obligation to the world at large actually compels it to develop its military:

> No nation can take up its responsibilities if it is short of strength and, if it wants to take up more responsibilities, it needs more strength as backup. The strength we are talking about here includes a country's military power …

> Observers have commented that the development of China's national strength has violated or broken the regional balance of power. That balance itself is in a dynamic and relative state. In the contemporary world, the national defense spending of an individual country can equal the combined sum of several nations' military expenses; a single nation can issue threats of war to several countries or even an entire region. Can such a power be said to be in a state of equilibrium? Indeed, only by doing away with the original equilibrium, can the establishment of a more balanced world be facilitated.[137]

Like Mao in the 1930s, twenty-first century commentators such as Wu and Chen find no contradiction between holding internationalist ideals and basing national policy on republican principles.

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136 Ibid.
137 Ibid.

Chapter 6

Once and Future Battlefields

Having reviewed the successes and failures of republicanism and cosmopolitanism in the first decade of the twenty-first century, one does well to remember that political sensibilities are eternally in flux. Although Kenneth Adelman suggested that neo-conservatism would remain dormant for at least a generation, one may safely predict a resurgence of American republicanism in some form sooner than that.[1] European heads of state have already begun the process of finding a substitute for the Constitutional Treaty. In 2007, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, then occupying the rotating EU presidency, called for a new agreement in time for the 2009 European parliamentary elections.[2] Vladimir Putin, meanwhile, completes his second term as president in 2008. Under Russian law circa 2007, he cannot serve a third, and there is no way to know how long or how successfully his successors will maintain the republican elements of his policies.

The interplay between republicanism and cosmopolitanism has lasting significance, not because the ideological debates of 2003 to 2007 are likely to prove unusually enduring, but because they bear upon the outcome of issues that are. Singapore-based scholar and diplomat Kishore Mahbubani may be unduly apocalyptic when he predicts the 'impending demise of the postwar system', but his observations about the state of global affairs at the time of his writing are accurate. Mahbubani states:

> The benign American world order conceived by Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill and launched by President Harry Truman in 1945 has been responsible for the unprecedented global peace and prosperity of the past 60 years. Despite its enormous contribution to humankind, this world order is likely to die in our lifetime.

> We seem to take it for granted the continuation of the world order, just as we take it for granted that the sun will rise every day. But the laws of physics make the sun rise. In our human universe, we need human endeavour to keep things going. The tragedy here is how little human endeavour is going into preserving and updating our world order. By contrast, there are several factors working against its survival. The first is the failure of the main custodian of this world order, the United States, to take principal responsibility for maintaining it. The second has been the failure of the secondary custodians, the other Western nations and Japan, to assume the mantle of responsibility when America slipped.

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1   David Rose, 'Neo Culpa', *Vanity Fair* (January 2007), http://www.vanityfair.com/politics/features/2007/01/neocons200701?printable=true&… (11/12/2006).

2   Anonymous, 'EU leaders set 2009 deadline for institutional reform', *EurActiv* (20 April, 2007), http://www.euractiv.com/en/constitution/eu-leaders-set-2009-deadline-institutional-reform/article-162740 (23-05-2007).

The third is the emergence of non-Western powers, especially Asian powers, for the first time in centuries.[3]

Here one is entitled to ask why the United States, governed by a president who not only affirms his country's 'principal responsibility' for maintaining the current world order but has repeatedly waged war on that basis, should have 'slipped'. One may also ask why 'other Western nations', at a time when they have achieved an unprecedented degree of unity, have failed to 'assume the mantle of responsibility'. Mahbubani reveals his own cosmopolitan leanings when he attributes these failures to Western hypocrisy:

> Many Asians ask a simple question: will the West use its current domination of global institutions to preserve its own power, or to preserve the rules it established in the twentieth century. The West cannot do both.[4]

Western republicans, in other words, alienate Asian cosmopolitans. Mahbubani goes on to restate this argument at a more general level:

> More and more people believe they live in a single human community. Consequently, they also see more clearly the indifference of wealthier nations to their new neighbours. The net effect of all this is to de-legitimise many global institutions and the custodians of the current global order in the eyes of the majority of the world's population.[5]

For Mahbubani 'the issue of legitimacy is key'.[6] That arch-republican Machiavelli might have raised a questioning eyebrow. Mahbubani does not explain how loss of legitimacy might lead to loss of more tangible forms of power, but the contrasting experiences of republican movements in various countries suggests a mechanism. The cosmopolitan reaction against republican self-interest is at least as powerful within 'wealthier nations' as it is between those states and their poorer external 'neighbours'.

Cosmopolitans have proven capable of blocking republican policies. Moreover, divergent republican factions are typically ready to help impede one another. Republican principles practically require state governments to put their own interests ahead of unity, and different republican movements commonly interpret those interests differently. In some cases, as with the EU Constitutional Treaty, the participants in these disputes resign themselves to indefinite periods of stalemate.

In other cases, frustrated parties have acted unilaterally. This is, in principle, what any republican would recommend. In practice, however, it has proven costly and fraught with complication. Cosmopolitan thinkers may claim this as evidence that their claims about interconnectedness in contemporary world politics have a basis in fact, but even Machiavelli, writing in the sixteenth century, warned that no republic

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3   Kishore Mahbubani, 'The Impending Demise of the Postwar System', *Survival*, 47/4 (Winter 2005–2006): p. 7. Readers are entitled to quibble that Japan, an Asian power, played a global role throughout the twentieth century, and that the People's Republic of China is no newcomer to world affairs either.

4   Ibid.

5   Ibid.: 7–8.

6   Ibid.: 8.

could sustain an active foreign policy without external support.[7] Machiavelli was specifically concerned with the danger that the demands of pursuing a unilateral foreign policy would corrupt the regime that engaged in it – a warning which may resonate with twenty-first century Americans. [8]

Mahbubani might respond that all this emphasizes the need for Western republicans to acknowledge the truth in cosmopolitan arguments and take up their responsibilities within the global community. Self-interest – a concept republicans should be quick to grasp – compels them to do so. American scholar Joseph Nye more prominently advances a similar argument.[9] The populist tendency within twenty-first century cosmopolitanism, however, makes such reconciliation between Western republicans and Western cosmopolitans unlikely.

Those who reject the punitive anti-individualism of twenty-first century cosmopolitanism would find reconciliation difficult under any circumstances. Republicans inspired by the Anglo-American tradition of citizens' liberties are almost certain to oppose this aspect of contemporary cosmopolitan movements. Others may doubt that twenty-first century cosmopolitans have produced a political programme capable of achieving any material goals, even its own. Moreover, much of the twenty-first century cosmopolitan movement explicitly opposes existing Western states and the societies they represent. The current state of affairs appears likely to continue, with republicans comfortably dominating most states and cosmopolitans retaining the ability to impede and complicate their policies.

Russian and Chinese republicans have largely avoided such difficulties. From the 1990s onward, Moscow and Beijing have cooperated effectively with each other. The Russian and Chinese governments suffer from their own administrative handicaps, but their relative clarity of ideological purpose will help them act decisively on issues where other states may not. Meanwhile, all political actors, west and east, will find opportunities to exploit the republican-cosmopolitan dispute on various issues.

As the first decade of the twenty-first century approaches its end, countries throughout Europe and Asia are forming new patterns of alliances. The need for international action to limit greenhouse gas emissions remains as urgent as ever. Russia is taking economic and political advantage of its energy resources, while the PRC is consuming energy at an accelerating pace. These issues justify Mahbubani's suggestion that future of the international system is in question. The remainder of this chapter will show how debates between republicans and cosmopolitans affect these matters.

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7   Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Discourses of Niccolo Machiavelli*, Leslie J. Walker (trans.) (London, 1950), p. 225–6.

8   For an extended discussion, see Thomas M. Kane, *Theoretical Roots of US Foreign Policy: Machiavelli and American Unilateralism* (London: Routledge, 2006).

9   Joseph S. Nye, *Born to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York, 1990); Joseph S. Nye, *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone* (Oxford, 2002).

Once Again Into the Gulf?

Since the 2003 Gulf War, UNSC members have restored something approximating their prewar levels of cooperation. Prewar levels, however, frequently proved inadequate. Nothing about their revival indicates that they will prove any more effective in the future. Divisions between those who value initiative over procedure and vice versa are, if anything, deeper than ever. Not only does the United Nations continue to face issues that divide its more republican members from their more cosmopolitan counterparts on matters of strategic importance, but so has the European Union.

In May 2003, the UNSC formally began the restoration process by recognizing the US and Britain as occupying powers in Iraq. The UNSC pointedly refrained from commenting upon whether their occupation was legal.[10] America, Britain, their coalition partner Spain and Cameroon subsequently proposed a resolution authorizing a multinational military force to keep order in Iraq and setting out procedures by which the Iraqis would form a new government.[11] UN Secretary General Kofi Annan publicly criticized the coalition's first proposals.[12]

Over the following days, UNSC members persuaded the resolution's sponsors to modify their proposals. France, which had taken a particularly prominent stand against the Anglo-American invasion, played a prominent role in negotiating for these changes. The PRC state news agency *Xinhua* documented this process by publishing drafts of the resolution at various stages of development.[13] The UNSC adopted a compromise resolution on 16 October.[14]

The following summer, the UNSC unanimously adopted Resolution 1546, which endorsed an interim government for Iraq and set a date for Iraq's return to sovereignty. Coalition members and critics alike praised the resolution and the return to productive negotiation.[15] French representative Jean-Marc De La Sabliere acknowledged that his country has been 'demanding' adding that this was because

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10 Anonymous, *Resolution 1483 (2003)* (22 May 2003), http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/368/53/PDF/N0336853.pdf?OpenElement (10-06-2007); Fredric L. Kirgis, 'Security Council Resolution 1483 on the Rebuilding of Iraq', *American Society of International Law* (May 2003), http://www.asil.org/insights/insigh107.htm (10-06-2007).

11 Anonymous, 'U.N. Security Council Resolution 1511 on Iraq' *International Information Programs* (16 October 2003), http://usinfo.state.gov/xarchives/display.html?p=washfile-english&y=2003&m=October&x=20031016151238yesmikk0.6846125 (11-06-2007).

12 Anonymous, 'Iraq: Security Council starts discussing new US resolution', *UN News Centre* (2 October 2003), http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=8436&Cr=iraq&Cr1= (11-06-2007).

13 Anonymous, 'Full text of 3rd revised US resolution on Iraq', *Xinhua* (2003-10-14), http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2003-10/14/content_1121322.htm (11-06-2007).

14 Anonymous, *Resolution 1511 (2003)* http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/563/91/PDF/N0356391.pdf?OpenElement (11-06-2007).

15 Anonymous, Security Council Endorses Formation of Interim Government in Iraq; Welcomes End of Occupation by 30 June, Democratic Elections By January 2005', *UN Press Release SC/8117* (08-06-2004), http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2004/sc8117.doc.htm (11-06-2007).

'the stakes were considerable'.[16] Among those stakes, De La Sabliere noted, was the 'credibility' of the UN.[17] De La Sabliere returned to related points repeatedly, thus demonstrating that, even when celebrating a return to unity, his country remained committed to its cosmopolitan position.

George W. Bush, for his part, continued to speak in republican terms, even when attempting to mollify his European critics. In February 2005, Bush addressed an audience of European diplomats and government officials at the Concert Noble ballroom in Brussels. Bush called for 'a new era of transatlantic unity' and expressed the belief that 'our strong friendship is essential to peace and prosperity across the globe – and no temporary debate, no passing disagreement of governments, no power on earth will ever divide us'.[18] The American president went on to explain why Euro-American relations were so critical at that moment in history:

> Today, America and Europe face a moment of consequence and opportunity. Together we can once again set history on a hopeful course – away from poverty and despair, and toward development and the dignity of self-rule; away from resentment and violence, and toward justice and the peaceful settlement of differences.[19]

One notes that Bush specifically mentions the republican 'dignity of self-rule'. Although he opened his speech by noting that he was speaking in the 'seat of the European Union and the NATO alliance', he identified no comparable opportunity to strengthen multilateral institutions. In later sections of the speech, Bush praised certain international economic compacts, but when he addressed the subject of climate change, he offered cosmopolitans no concession. 'All of us expressed our views on the Kyoto protocol – and now we must work together on the way forward'.[20]

Although the White House transcript of the Concert Noble speech includes pauses for applause, journalistic accounts of the event suggest that the audience greeted Bush's remarks with silence.[21] Javier Solana, then serving as the EU's High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, publicly suggested that the American president's talk of unity lacked substance.[22] Bush's speech had raised the issue of trans-Atlantic policies toward Iran. 'In Iran, the free world shares a common goal: For the sake of peace, the Iranian regime must end its support for terrorism, and must not develop nuclear weapons'.[23] Since Iran had signed the 1970 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), Bush was correct to note that Iran had a legal obligation

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16   Ibid.

17   Ibid.

18   *George W. Bush, President Discusses American and European Alliance in Belgium (February 2005)*, http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/02/20050221.html (11-06-2007).

19   Ibid.

20   Ibid.

21   Alec Russell, 'Bush overture to Europe is met with silence', *Daily Telegraph* (23-02-2005), http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2005/02/22/weu122.xml (11-06-2007).

22   Ibid.

23   Ibid.

to refrain from developing such armaments. Solana warned reporters that Europeans and Americans were unlikely to agree on how to convince the Iranians to respect that obligation.[24]

'Iran … is different from Iraq', Bush assured his Concert Noble audience. 'We're in the early stages of diplomacy'.[25] Although the American president presumably meant that the international community was in the early stages of diplomacy with Tehran, his next sentences concerned America's diplomatic relations with its European allies. 'The United States is a member of the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] Board of Governors, which has taken the lead on this issue. We're working closely with Britain, France and Germany as they oppose Iran's nuclear ambitions, and as they insist that Tehran comply with international law'.[26]

'The results of this approach', Bush had continued, 'now depend largely on Iran'.[27] Machiavelli might have noted that no republican is likely to be satisfied with leaving the outcome of an important matter dependent on an outside rival. Iran's actions over the next two years illustrate the reason why. In May of 2006, 160 members of Iran's Majlis (parliament) issued a statement warning that their country would defy pressure to abandon its nuclear programme.[28]

If the United Nations tried to coerce Iran using force or sanctions, the Majlis members warned, they would consider repudiating the NPT.[29] In legal terms, this would clear the way for Iran to deploy nuclear weapons. Thus, the Majlis statement implies that Iran would go on to do so. Since the Majlis seats 290 members, the authors of this statement constitute a majority.[30] Iran's president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, fulfilled his reputation as a firebrand by issuing similar warnings.[31]

The European Union and the United Nations responded with ultimatums of their own. In June of 2006, representatives of the so-called EU-3 (Britain, France, Germany and High Commissioner Solana) presented Tehran with a proposal designed 'to develop relations and cooperation with Iran based on mutual respect and the establishment of international confidence in the exclusively peaceful nature of Iran's nuclear programme … [32] The proposal warned that, if Tehran did not cooperate, the EU-3 would ask the United Nations to impose commercial and diplomatic sanctions upon Iran.[33] A month later, Britain, France and Germany convinced the UNSC to pass Resolution 1696, demanding that Iran suspend all enrichment-related

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24   Ibid.

25   Bush, *President Discusses American and European Alliance*.

26   Ibid.

27   Ibid.

28   Anonymous, 'Iran's Nuclear Programme In A Dangerous Poker Game', *Disarmament Diplomacy*, 84 (Spring 2007): 77; Kim Howells, Testimony to the British House of Commons, *Publications and Records* (17 May, 2006), Column 998W, http://www.publications.parliament. uk/pa/cm200506/cmhansrd/cm060517/text/60517w0010.htm (13-06-2007).

29   Anonymous, 'Iran's Nuclear Programme': 77.

30   Anonymous, *The World Factbook 2007* (2007), https://www.cia.gov/library/ publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ir.html (17-07-2007).

31   Anonymous, 'Iran's Nuclear Programme': 77.

32   Ibid.

33   Ibid.

and reprocessing activities by 31 August of that year.[34] Like the EU-3, the UNSC threatened to impose sanctions if Iran did not comply.

When the 31 August deadline arrived, Iranian president Ahmadinejad declared that his country would not 'back down an inch'.[35] America and the EU-3 called for the UN to enact its threatened sanctions.[36] US officials, however, wanted to impose more stringent measures than their European counterparts.[37] Russia and China questioned the need to impose sanctions at all.[38]

The fact that the Russian government was building Iran's first nuclear power plant further complicated the debate. American officials argued that the UN sanctions should include measures to halt work on this facility.[39] Russia maintained that the plant conformed to international law. The UNSC eventually exempted the Russian plant from restrictions in order to prevent Russia from vetoing the sanctions proposal.[40]

The UN imposed an initial sanctions programme in December 2006.[41] Since Iran continued to defy Resolution 1696, the UN imposed further punitive measures in March of 2007.[42] UNSC members passed both sanctions resolutions unanimously.[43] Russian and Chinese representatives did, however, follow each sanctions resolution with comments about how difficult the negotiations had been.[44] Vitaly Churkin, speaking for Russia, emphasized that neither resolution permitted the use of force.[45]

That May, the United States Navy deployed two aircraft carriers, an amphibious landing vessel, and supporting warships off Iran's coast.[46] As of this writing, the outcome of this conflict remains to be seen. Whatever transpires in the Persian Gulf, the Iran issue suggests that the differences of interest and principle that divided the

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34   Ibid.; Anonymous, *Resolution 1696 (2006)* (31 July 2006), http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/450/22/PDF/N0645022.pdf?OpenElement, 13-06-2007.

35   Anonymous, 'Iran defiant on nuclear deadline', *BBC News* (31 August 2006), http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/5300292.stm (13-06-2007).

36   Peter Heinlein, 'Iran Sanctions Resolution Faces Slow Going At UN', *Voice of America News* (October 25, 2006), http://www.militaryinfo.com/news_story.cfm?textnewsid=2170 (13-06-2007).

37   Ibid.

38   Ibid.

39   Ibid.

40   Ibid.

41   Anonymous, 'Iran's Nuclear Programme':79.

42   Ibid.: 82–3.

43   Anonymous, *Security Council Imposes Sanctions on Iran for Failure to Halt Uranium Enrichment, Unanimously Adopting Resolution 1737 (2006)*, UN Press Release SC8928 (23 December 2006), http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/sc8928.doc.htm (13-06-2007); Anonymous, *Security Council Toughens Sanctions Against Iran, Adds Arms Embargo, With Unanimous Adoption of Resolution 1747 (2007)*, UN Press Release SC8980 (24 March 2007), http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc8980.doc.htm (13-06-2007).

44   Anonymous, *Security Council Imposes Sanctions on Iran*; Anonymous, *Security Council Toughens Sanctions Against Iran*.

45   Anonymous, *Security Council Toughens Sanctions Against Iran*.

46   Anonymous (U.S. Naval Forces Central Command/U.S. 5th Fleet Public Affairs Office), 'Stennis, Nimitz and Bonhomme Richard Enter the Persian Gulf', *Navy Newsstand* (5/23/2007), http://www.navy.mil/search/display.asp?story_id=29585 (13-06-2007).

Security Council in 2003 remain divisive in 2007. State leaders find it as difficult as ever to act decisively while adhering to UN procedures. Republicans – Russian as well as American – can still justify putting the priority on action.

Britain's International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) adds that state leaders continue to experience similar tensions between 'action' and collective governance when attempting to extirpate international terrorist organizations.[47] As the IISS notes, campaigns against such opponents raise questions about the circumstances in which states may violate each others' borders, the rights of detainees, the authority of international tribunals and the role of the UNSC itself.[48] In all cases, the authors find, the process of developing functional international legal procedures has 'stalled'.[49] The IISS concludes with the republican suggestion that:

> [L]aw may still be considered to be an important basis of international relations, but on certain issues it may sometimes have to give way to what is seen by one or another government as the more foundational and essential requirement to maintain the balance of power.[50]

The fact that the split between republicans and cosmopolitans continues to divide political leaders over matters involving terrorism, nuclear weapons and the oil resources of the Persian Gulf might seem significant enough. Moreover, as the 2005 referenda on the EU Constitutional Treaty indicate, this split affects the more general political status of Europe. For over three centuries, the questions of whether Europe shall unite and upon whose terms have been the pivotal issues in world politics. A united Europe will, even if its leaders give little thought to their role in doing so, arbitrate political questions that divided European states must, whatever their leaders' wishes, leave to others.

The politics of European unification under Brussels have been gentler than the politics of European unification under Berlin, Paris, Istanbul or the various seats of the Hapsburg dynasty. Still, the principle remains. The role of the EU-3 in negotiations over Iran's nuclear programme illustrates Europe's potential to mediate twenty-first century global disputes. Cosmopolitan thinkers routinely express the hope that a stronger European Union might curb America's tendency toward republican self-assertion.[51]

Although American leaders clash with their European counterparts, they also turn to them for support. Washington may find NATO more compliant than the EU, but even cynics will concede that Europeans and Americans benefit from the global political and economic relationships that have prevailed since the Second World War, and share an interest in preserving them. Even cynics will concede that terrorist organizations operating on both sides of the Atlantic have struck on both sides of the Atlantic, and that Europeans and Americans share an interest in suppressing them.

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47   Anonymous, *International Institute for Strategic Studies, Strategic Survey 2004/5* (London, 2005), p. 50.

48   Ibid.

49   Ibid.

50   Ibid.: 52.

51   See, for instance, Jurgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida, 'Europe: plea for a common foreign policy', *Watch*, http://watch.windsofchange.net/themes_63.htm (26-02-2004).

Less cynical observers might add that most Europeans and most Americans share broadly compatible ideals regarding individual freedom and access to a satisfying standard of living, however much they disagree about what these ideals entail in practice. As of 2007, the American government's rising budget deficit and continuing military commitment to Iraq and Afghanistan can only increase its need for capable European partners in strategic affairs.[52]

If Americans – including American republicans – have reasons to welcome a more unified and politically effective Europe, Russians – especially Russian republicans – have reasons for caution. Brussels explicitly takes an interest in its neighbours' form and practice of government. The European Council's 2003 European Security Strategy summarizes 'our task is to promote a ring of well-governed countries to the East of the European Union and on the borders of the Mediterranean with whom we can enjoy close and cooperative relations'.[53] When EU authorities have disapproved of neighbouring governments, they have not hesitated to follow the logic of this statement and withhold 'close and cooperative relations' in the form of aid programmes and trade agreements.[54] The European Union also funds non-governmental organizations lobbying for political change in states it identifies as badly governed.[55]

States that wish to enjoy European cooperation but fail to meet the European Union's standards of government must submit to detailed instruction.[56] Researcher Karen E. Smith explains the EU's policy. 'Clear benchmarks, set out in action plans, will spell out 'the actions the EU expects of its partners', and will be used to evaluate progress toward reform. New benefits will be offered only to reflect progress made'.[57] Smith takes the peremptory phrase 'the actions the EU expects of its partners' from a 2002 speech by Romano Prodi, then President of the European Commission.[58] EU action plans commonly task states with addressing several hundred 'priorities for action'.[59]

'Priorities for action' commonly deal with human rights, democratic political processes, cooperation with campaigns against international terrorism, cooperation with the International Criminal Court and adherence to international protocols designed to prevent new states from acquiring nuclear weapons.[60] To the extent that the EU succeeds in pressuring its neighbours to pursue these high-minded priorities, it fulfils the cosmopolitan goal of serving as a transnational moral counterweight to state governments. Nevertheless, as previous chapters have noted, the EU often seems to have a republican fist within its cosmopolitan glove. 'Priorities for

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52   For an analysis of American defence economics, see Anonymous, *The Military Balance 2006* (London, 2006), pp. 17–19.

53   Karen E. Smith, 'The outsiders: the European neighbourhood policy', *International Affairs*, 81/4 (July 2005): 760.

54   Ibid.: 764; Ibid.: 770.

55   Ibid.: 770.

56   Ibid.: 763.

57   Ibid.

58   Ibid.

59   Ibid.

60   Ibid.: 765.

action' also commonly include provisions that benefit Europe at the expense of the neighbouring state.

The EU's action plans for Moldova, Morocco, Tunisia and Ukraine, for instance, demand that those countries accept so-called readmission agreements.[61] 'In these', Smith explains, 'a third country must agree to readmit not only its own nationals expelled from member states but the nationals of other countries who have passed through its territory on their way to the EU'.[62] The EU's plan for Ukraine requires Kiev to 'continue consultations on the possible use of [its] long-haul air transport capacities'.[63] As Smith points out, the EU needs to acquire such transport capacities from some source in order to deploy its newly-formed Rapid Reaction Force in future conflicts.[64]

The action plans ostensibly encourage EU neighbours to cooperate with each other, as well as with Brussels. Smith notes, however, that the EU has offered little support – either financial or rhetorical – to neighbouring states that wish to do so. At present, she concludes, the EU 'creates a "hub and spoke" model for relations with its neighbours'.[65] In this model, 'the EU is clearly the dominant actor in the relationship, with no multilateral framework that might balance the partners'.[66]

Not only do the action plans favour Brussels, they favour Brussels in a way that republicans must find significant. Readmission agreements increase the EU's control over who may live within its borders. The bid for access to Ukraine's military transport aircraft increases Europe's ability to project military force abroad. Both, in other words, advance European republicans' goal of achieving greater freedom of action while eroding that freedom for Europe's partners.

Russia has declined to seek any partnership with Europe that might make it liable for a formal action plan.[67] Nevertheless, the European Union has criticized the Russian government's practices, notably over the insurgency in Chechnya.[68] The Russian government also finds the EU's attempts to influence Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia and Belarus troubling.[69] For these reasons, it is not surprising that Moscow has taken advantage of EU member states' persisting vestiges of disunity to establish 'hub and spokes' relationships of its own.

Russia commonly targets individual EU member states for economic sanctions.[70] Lithuania, Poland and Estonia have all received such treatment.[71] Plausible allegations suggest that the Russian security services staged a so-called cyber-attack against

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61   Ibid.

62   Ibid.

63   Ibid.

64   Ibid.

65   Ibid.: 772.

66   Ibid.

67   Ibid.: 759.

68   S. Neil MacFarlane, 'The 'R' in BRICs: is Russia an Emerging Power?', *International Affairs*, 82/1 (January 2006): 54.

69   MacFarlane, 'The 'R' in BRICs': 54, Smith, 'The outsiders': 770.

70   Anonymous, 'Barroso warns Russia against divide-and-rule approach to EU', *EUbusiness* (19 May, 2007), http://www.eubusiness.com/news_live/1179579602.17 (15-06-2007).

71   Ibid.

Estonian internet sites and organized riots in the Estonian capital of Tallinn.[72] Not only do such tactics increase Russia's leverage over specific countries in specific disputes, they remind all states of the dangers in putting their relationship with Brussels ahead of their relationship with Moscow. In May 2007, European Commission president Manuel Barroso declared that he was aware of Russia's practices, and that EU members were determined to present a united front against them.[73]

If the European Union had implemented the Constitutional Treaty of 2004/2005, its members would have entered 2007 in a stronger position to do so. One of the more significant reasons why European leaders developed the treaty was that they considered it necessary to unify the EU against external pressure. One of the more significant reasons why European heads of state resolved their own disagreements and signed a draft in 2004 was that they realized that the EU would face such pressure more regularly after it expanded to include the seventeen Central and Eastern European countries that joined the institution that year. The International Institute for Strategic Studies develops these points in its 2003/4 *Strategic Survey*.[74]

In early 2004, the EU's relations with Russia appeared more amicable.[75] IISS analysts suggest that al-Qaeda's March 2004 bombing of Madrid was the event that initially prompted European leaders to expedite negotiations on the Constitution.[76] This illustrates the point that the EU would have found the treaty valuable in a wide range of security issues, some more apparent than others. Whatever agreements Brussels implements in the future, the movements that blocked the Constitutional Treaty in 2005 reduced Europeans' collective ability to act on their own behalf during the years that the EU re-organized itself to incorporate the middle part of the continent. The consequences in terms of lost opportunities and altered political perceptions will be intangible, but they will also be significant.

States are also revising their diplomatic alignments and reforming their multilateral institutions farther to the east. In 2001, Russia, the People's Republic of China and a collection of Central Asian republics institutionalized their close relations on strategic matters by founding the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Since then, the SCO has held two joint military exercises and organized a Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (known, inevitably, by the acronym RATS) to ease cooperation among member states' security services.[77] The SCO includes India, Pakistan, Mongolia and Iran as observers.[78]

In 2002, the People's Republic of China signed a Joint Declaration with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) calling for coordinated anti-

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72   Jason Burke, 'Europe shivering in the new Cold War' *The Observer* (3 June, 2007), http://observer.guardian.co.uk/focus/story/0,,2094189,00.html (03-06-2007); Ian Traynor, 'Russia accused of unleashing cyberwar to disable Estonia', *The Guardian* (17 May, 2007), http://www.guardian.co.uk/russia/article/0,,2081438,00.html (17-05-2007).

73   Anonymous, 'Barroso warns Russia'.

74   Anonymous, *International Institute for Strategic Studies Strategic Survey 2003/4* (London, 2004), pp. 114–5.

75   MacFarlane, 'The 'R' in BRICs': 53.

76   Anonymous, *International Institute for Strategic Studies Strategic Survey 2003/4* p. 116.

77   Anonymous, *East Asian Strategic Review 2007* (Tokyo, 2007), p. 118.

78   Ibid., p. 49.

terrorist operations between the PRC and ASEAN's ten members.[79] From 2005 onward, the PRC has been negotiating to establish limited military cooperation with Indonesia and the Philippines.[80] In 2006, the Chinese People's Liberation Army Navy conducted a joint patrol with warships from its former enemy Vietnam.[81] Beijing is also working to create an ASEAN-China free trade area.[82] Meanwhile, in 2006, ASEAN states began negotiations to give their Association more authority to make collective decisions.[83] Although the PRC has historically preferred to negotiate with Southeast Asian states on an individual basis, Beijing formally endorsed closer ASEAN integration in 2004.[84]

The republican-cosmopolitan conflicts that have complicated European attempts to strengthen collective institutions and Western attempts to cooperate on strategic issues have been less apparent in Asia. One reason may be that Asian governments have been quicker to act against the rowdier representatives of popular cosmopolitanism. Representatives of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) enjoyed an unusually peaceful annual conference when they met in Singapore in 2006. Singapore's laws require protesters to apply for and receive state accreditation to hold public demonstrations.[85] Rather than test the stern reputation of Singapore's legal system, the anti-globalization coalitions Mobilization for Global Justice and Jubilee South urged their supporters around the world to protest in their own communities, as opposed to following their usual practice of converging on the conference site.[86]

Nevertheless, Jubilee South and allied organizations found themselves able to try the IMF and World Bank delegates at a 'peoples' tribunal' held in Indonesia.[87] Indian, Filipino, and Indonesian activists served as judges, prosecutors and witnesses in this event.[88] Anti-globalization organizations are active in Asia, and may play a more dramatic role there in the future. The most cursory review of Asian politics confirms that people and leaders throughout the continent treasure the sovereignty of their respective nations, and thus, that Asian cosmopolitans can expect to clash

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  79   Ibid., pp. 118–19.
  80   Ibid., p. 154.
  81   Ibid.
  82   Ibid., p. 153.
  83   Ibid., pp. 145–9.
  84   Ibid., p. 57.
  85   Alex Au, 'Testing the limits in Singapore', *Asia Times* (1 September, 2006), http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/HI01Ae01.html (17-06-2007).
  86   Anonymous, *Call for Global Actions Against IMF/World Bank September 14–20*, http://dc.indymedia.org/newswire/display/134649/index.php (17-06-2007).
  87   Administrator, 'Peoples' Trial of IMF-WB to Continue Despite Ban of Critics', *Sustainability Watch* (19 September 2006), http://www.suswatch.org/indonesia/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=24&Itemid=1 (17-06-2007).
  88   Administrator, 'Verdict of the Asian Peoples' Tribunal on Poverty and Debt', *Sustainability Watch* (19 September 2006), http://www.suswatch.org/indonesia/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=25&Itemid=1 (17-06-2007).

with something akin to republicanism.[89] Meanwhile, whatever happens in Asia, the politics of republicanism and cosmopolitanism in the West will affect Europe and America's ability to respond to it.

Cosmopolitanism's Iraq

If the conquest of Iraq has become a sobering experience for American republicans, the process of instituting the Kyoto Protocol on climate change may leave a similar legacy for environmentalist cosmopolitans. The two issues mirrored each other in earlier phases of their history. Both featured emotive conflicts of principle in which republicans and cosmopolitans fell back on characteristic tactics. Although republicans achieved their immediate goal of changing the regime in Iraq and cosmopolitans achieved their immediate goal of enacting a treaty to limit GHG emissions, neither has found much satisfaction in its apparent victory. Moreover, both conflicts are revealing the potential to repeat themselves.

The process that led to the Kyoto Protocol began in 1994, when 191 states adopted the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).[90] All significant emitters of GHGs signed this Convention. Although the UNFCCC did not require signatories to reduce their GHG emissions by any specific amount, it prompted signatories to hold further meetings known as Conferences of the Parties (COPs). The first of these took place in Berlin in March and April of 1995. Participants in this talk issued a joint statement known as the Berlin Mandate, which called for further talks to achieve effective international regulation of GHG emissions.[91]

The negotiations were controversial at every stage. Those seeking detailed analysis of the debates might consult Sonja Boehmer-Christiansen and Aynsley Kellow, *International Environmental Policy* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar), 2002. In July 1997, the US Senate commented on the process by passing a unanimous resolution opposing American participation in any agreement that limited industrial nations' GHG emissions without imposing similar limits on the developing world.[92] Since a treaty cannot become law in the United States without Senate approval by a two thirds majority, the Senators were in a position to act on their position.

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89 The previous chapter, for instance, has quoted Chinese thoughts on the topic. Association of Southeast Asian Nations' members historical reluctance to grant ASEAN even modest authority over member states testifies to the importance its members place on their sovereignty.

90 Anonymous, *The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*, http://unfccc.int/essential_background/convention/items/2627.php (19-06-2007).

91 Anonymous, *Kyoto Protocol*, http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php (19-06-2007).

92 Robert Byrd, Charles Hagel and others, *S.R. 198, Expressing the sense of the Senate regarding the conditions for the United States becoming a signatory to any international agreement on greenhouse gas emissions under the United Nations* (25 July, 1997), http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=105_cong_bills&docid=f:sr98ats.txt.pdf (19-06-2007).

That December, the UNFCCC parties produced a draft agreement. The COP of December 1997 took place in Kyoto, and the agreement became known by the name of that city. The Kyoto Protocol required industrialized countries to reduce their production of GHGs by fixed amounts proportional to their emissions in 1990.[93] Despite the US Senate's resolution, the treaty did not regulate emissions from developing nations.

There was no material reason why the Protocol had to take this form. Other types of international agreements could have reduced global GHG emissions at least as much, with different political implications. Chapter 4 discussed the alternative scheme known as Contraction and Convergence. The fact that developing nations have endorsed this idea in principle suggests that it had the potential to overcome the US Senate's stated objection as well.

The UNFCCC parties also had the option of addressing countries' individual characteristics in more detail. Different countries not only differ in their overall levels of economic development, they differ in the types of industries their people practice most extensively, the types of GHGs those industries emit and the rate at which their various industries are growing or failing to. Some countries have special opportunities to reduce their GHG emissions, for instance by replacing older electrical generation plants with more modern ones using more GHG-efficient fuels, or to counteract them, for instance by propagating forests. All countries have unique societies, geographies and systems of government, all of which make it easier for them to alter some features of their national life and harder for them to alter others. Both the Kyoto Protocol and Contraction and Convergence attempt to address such differences through emissions trading, but the process of determining how many emissions credits any particular party is entitled to sell merely multiplies the number of issues to be resolved.

The Kyoto Protocol could have been a collection of Kyoto Protocols, each designed for the sub-group of countries best positioned to control their GHG emissions through a certain set of procedures. These sub-groups might have been based on geographical region, economic characteristics, or whatever organizing principle best suited the participants. Military alliances and free trade agreements commonly achieve more ambitious goals faster when they limit their membership to those sharing specific interests and capabilities. Researcher David Vogel finds that the most successful international environmental agreements tend to involve selective membership as well.[94] Vogel reached this conclusion through his own study of the approximately 120 significant international environmental agreements in force in 1997, and through a review of extensive previous literature on this topic.[95]

One also notes that a system of multiple treaties gives national governments expanded opportunities to express their People's Republican claim to self-determination. A single treaty approach, by contrast, at least appears to have the cosmopolitan virtue of austere egalitarianism. Throughout the Kyoto negotiations,

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93   Anonymous, *Kyoto Protocol*.

94   David Vogel, 'Trading up and governing across: transnational governance and environmental protection', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 4/4 (December 1997): 566–7.

95   Ibid.: 566 (notes 45–48); Ibid.: 571.

America and Russia, among others, lobbied for a treaty that allowed individual nations to fulfil their obligations through a more varied range of mechanisms.[96] The European Union, in Bohemer-Christiansen and Kellow's summary, 'saw flexibility measures as providing loopholes to allow targets to be met without the desired "pain" of domestic [emissions] reduction'.[97] These disputes continued unresolved for four years.

The role-reversing parallels between international debates over the COP process and international debates over UN Resolution 1441 become striking in March 2001. On 28 March, George W. Bush announced that he would not submit the Kyoto Protocol to the Senate.[98] Bush explained his opposition to the treaty in the same language as the Senate resolution, citing the inequity of regulating emissions by some countries rather than others and expressing a general concern for the US economy.[99] Boehmer-Christiansen and Kellow note that Bush left the possibility of further negotiations open:

> The US Administration did not, however, seek to withdraw its signature from Kyoto, but rather did what the Clinton Administration had refused to do: it stated that it would not submit the protocol to the Senate for ratification. Politically, it would have been easier to submit the protocol for ratification and allow the Senate to kill it, but by not submitting Bush has actually left open the option of doing so at some future date'.[100]

In January 2003, French ambassador Jean-David Levitte reportedly suggested that UNSC members could pass over their ongoing dispute over whether or not to invade Iraq through a similar resort to subtleties. Journalists Bryan Burrough, Eugenia Peretz, David Rose and David Wise summarize:

> According to highly placed American insiders on both sides of the political aisle, Levitte made the US an offer it should have accepted. Hoping to avoid an open breach between the two countries, he suggested to [American National Security Advisor Condoleezza] Rice that if America was determined to go to war it should *not* [emphasis in original] seek a second resolution, that Resolution 1441 arguably provided the White House with enough cover, and that France would keep quiet if the administration went ahead. The solution wasn't ideal, but it would allow France not to have to use its veto. It would maintain the unity of the Security Council, safeguard Franco-US relations and allow France to retain its 'good cop' status in Arab eyes.[101]

British prime minister Tony Blair, however, had publicly promised to seek a second UN resolution explicitly authorizing war.[102] British and, undoubtedly, American leaders also wished to maintain their integrity. British ambassador Jeremy Greenstock

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96 Sonja Boehmer-Christiansen and Aynsley Kellow, *International Environmental Policy: Interests and the Failure of the Kyoto Process* (Cheltenham, 2002): 79.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.: 80.

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid.

101 Bryan Burrough, Eugenia Peretz, David Rose and David Wise, 'The Path To War', *Vanity Fair* (May 2004): 177.

102 Ibid.

comments that the French 'wanted us to be very clearly in the wrong, and we didn't accept that suggestion'.[103] Thus, the British and Americans rejected Levitte's offer and continued to lobby for a second resolution.

A week later, French foreign minister Dominique de Villepin publicly refused to 'associate' with 'military intervention that is not supported by the international community'.[104] American supporters of the war retaliated with even fiercer rhetoric. Jonah Goldberg of *National Review* magazine misquoted a line from a popular television programme to describe the French as a nation of 'cheese-eating surrender monkeys', while American secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld drew a derisive contrast between the 'Old Europe' of France and Germany and the presumably more energetic 'New Europe' of America's European supporters.[105] One notes, parenthetically, de Villepin's appeal to cosmopolitan concepts of community and his opponents' appeal to republican concepts of initiative.

When Bush declined to submit the Kyoto Protocol to the Senate, treaty supporters leaped to the rhetoric of confrontation and moral outrage even faster than their 2003 counterparts. British Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott expressed his thoughts in comparatively moderate – and explicitly cosmopolitan – terms when he warned that America 'must know that it cannot pollute the world while free-riding on action by everyone else'.[106] Malcom Bruce of the Liberal Democrats suggested a drastic way for the international community to deal with America's republican unilateralism. 'No wonder [Bush] wants a National Missile Defence. He perhaps knows how many new enemies of America his administration will create'.[107]

A former British environment secretary urged the European Union to retaliate by blocking American trade proposals.[108] Alan Simpson of Britain's governing Labour Party called for a complete boycott of American trade.[109] Romano Prodi, president of the European Commission, wrote to Bush informing him that, in Kellow's summary, 'the issue was an integral part of EU-US relations'.[110] The EU did not, however, find it practical to sanction trans-Atlantic trade.[111]

When the 2003 impasse over Iraq degenerated into vitriol, Britain and America followed characteristic republican logic and took matters into their own hands. The fact that they might have done so at less cost to their relationships and reputation if they had accepted Levitte's suggestion became a footnote. Throughout the Kyoto negotiations, treaty supporters used characteristically cosmopolitan methods to defend the Protocol. Not only did they engage in traditional diplomacy, they

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103 Ibid.

104 Ibid.

105 Ibid.

106 Anthony Browne, 'Prescott blasts free-rider Bush for Kyoto pull-out', *The Observer* (April 1, 2001), http://observer.guardian.co.uk/politics/story/0,6903,466551,00.html (18-06-2007).

107 Anonymous, '"Appalling" US president denounced', *BBC News* (1 April, 2001), http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/1254829.stm (18-06-2007).

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid.

110 Boehmer-Christiansen and Kellow, p. 80.

111 Ibid., p. 81.

mobilized formal and informal transnational institutions to pressure reluctant state governments at multiple levels.

The European Commission, for instance, budgeted over three million euro a year to support groups such as Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, the Climate Action Network and the (non-governmental) European Environmental Bureau.[112] European authorities explicitly earmarked substantial portions of this funding for 'capacity building, through the NGO network, on the problems of and the solutions to climate change and the co-ordination of European NGO policy on climate change'.[113] The state environmental ministries of Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands independently contributed funds to many of the same NGOs.[114]

These environmental NGOs used these funds to stage an international public relations campaign on behalf of Kyoto. The Climate Action Network, for instance, disseminated its arguments through an internationally-read journal of the NGO movement known as *Eco*.[115] *Eco* labelled representatives of the petroleum industry as 'reptiles', named individuals as members of a 'Carbon Mafia' and criticized various countries' negotiating positions in equally colourful terms.[116] Australia and Iceland, as well as the United States, found themselves on the receiving end of such arguments.[117]

Kyoto advocates also pressured reluctant state governments through formally established transnational (or, if one prefers, supranational) authorities. As earlier chapters have noted, the European Union has both republican and cosmopolitan features. To the governments of its member states, it frequently appears as a supranational authority with qualified power to interfere in national matters. When it appears in that form, it realizes cosmopolitan principles. The fact that events that strengthen EU supranational authority simultaneously realize republican principles on a continental scale raises other issues without changing the previous point.

The Kyoto negotiations provided the occasion for the EU to exercise its supranational authority. Previously, the EU had lacked the ability to set energy policy without the unanimous consent of its members.[118] Since the Kyoto treaty effectively regulates fossil fuel consumption, Italy, the United Kingdom, and others argued that it fell into this category.[119] Kyoto advocates, however, successfully reclassified Kyoto as an environmental agreement.[120] The EU can pass environmental laws on the basis of a simple majority vote.

EU member states retained the option of rejecting Kyoto in their own parliaments. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the EU decided this issue using a procedure that maximizes the influence of the collective. Brussels also empowered the European

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112 Ibid., p. 96; Ibid., p. 115.

113 Ibid., p. 96.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid., pp. 98–104.

116 Ibid., p. 96; Ibid., p. 100.

117 Ibid., p. 100.

118 Anonymous, *EU green light to Kyoto ratification*, http://www.eceee.org/latest_news/2002/News2020306.lasso (12 May 2005).

119 Ibid.

120 Ibid.

Executive Commission to determine emissions levels for member states.[121] Again, national governments retained the right to reject this commission's mandates. The fact that Brussels handled Kyoto this way need not imply that the EU will exercise similar authority over its member states in future climate change agreements, but it sets a precedent.

The Kyoto Protocol stipulated that the agreement would not take effect until 55 states accounting for at least 55 per cent of global carbon dioxide emissions ratified it.[122] By uniting its own members behind the treaty, the European Union accounted for almost half of that.[123] Neither NGO campaigning nor European remonstrance convinced the United States, with its 36.1 per cent of emissions, to change its position. This meant that Kyoto could not take effect unless Russia, with its 17.4 per cent emissions share, agreed to join.

Russia's government initially expressed reluctance. Like George W. Bush and the US Senators, Russian government advisors explained their position in terms of equity and national economic interest.[124] Where American republicans objected to the fact that Kyoto gave preferential treatment to developing countries, Russian critics objected to the fact that Kyoto required them to reduce their emissions from a 1990 baseline. Since Russia had been adjusting to the transformation of the Soviet Union in 1990, its industrial activities had been subdued and its emissions had been unusually low.[125] Although the Parties to the UNFCCC reduced Russia's obligations at their autumn 2001 conference, Moscow remained undecided.[126]

EU diplomats offered Russia various incentives to set its objections aside. Notably, the EU offered to reciprocate Russian support for Kyoto with its own support for Russia's ongoing campaign to join the World Trade Organization. *Pravda* credits this offer with convincing the Russian government to ratify the Protocol in October 2004.[127] Due to the EU's success at persuading Russia to accept the treaty, Kyoto went into force the following year.

George W. Bush marked the Anglo-American coalition's apparent victory in Iraq by appearing on the deck of the aircraft carrier Abraham Lincoln beneath a banner reading 'Mission Accomplished'. The United Nations lists over eighty events held to

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121 Ibid.

122 Anonymous, *Kyoto Protocol*, http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php (19-06-2007).

123 Anonymous, *Kyoto Protocol: Total carbon dioxide emissions of Annex I parties in 1990 for the purposes of Article 25 of the Kyoto Protocol*, http://unfccc.int/resource/kpco2.pdf (24-06-2007).

124 Stefan Wagstyl and Arkady Ostrovsky, 'Kremlin man but no fan of state control', *Financial Times* (7 October, 2004): 11.

125 Ibid; Anonymous, 'Russia forced to ratify Kyoto Protocol to become WTO member,' *Pravda* (26 October 2004), http://english.pravda.ru/main/18/88/354/14495_kyoto.html (12 May 2005).

126 Peter Christoff, 'Post-Kyoto? Post-Bush? Towards an effective 'climate coalition of the willing'', *International Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 5 (September 2006): 846.

127 Anonymous, 'Russia forced to ratify Kyoto Protocol'.

celebrate Kyoto's entry into force.[128] These range from invitation-only functions in the European Union's Parliament Building to public prayers for the treaty's success co-ordinated by the World Council of Churches. The Italian government sponsored a week of festivities, the Campaign Against Climate Change organized a parade in which marchers carried the flags of Kyoto-supporting nations through London and the American National Global Warming Coalition attempted to get George W. Bush to sign a ten-foot high 'Kyoto Valentine'.

In subsequent years, the armies of the Anglo-American coalition have suffered more casualties trying to maintain order in the new Iraq than they suffered accomplishing the original 'mission'. For Iraqis and American alike, the consequences of Bush's policy have proved ambiguous at best. As a means to mitigate climate change, the Kyoto Protocol has produced ambiguous results as well. According to the UNFCCC's 2006 inventory, the nations required to cut back their carbon dioxide emissions under Kyoto achieved a 3.3 per cent aggregate reduction between 1990 and 2004.[129] If one takes land use, land use change and forestry (LULUCF) into account, the total reduction is 4.9 per cent.

On a more troubling note, the Kyoto nations owe this success to 36.8 per cent reductions by what the UNFCCC calls economies in transition (EIT).[130] When one accounts for LULUCF, the EIT countries reduced their emissions by 44.8 per cent.[131] Economically established Kyoto nations actually increased their emissions by eleven per cent.[132] When one considers LULUCF, developed countries increased their emissions even further, by 12.1 per cent.[133] Moreover, all nations, transitional and established alike, reported less impressive reductions in the 2006 inventory than they reported in the 2005 survey.[134]

Researcher Peter Christoff, who remains cautiously optimistic about the Protocol's prospects, concludes that more than half of the Kyoto nations are in violation of the agreement, and that many of those that currently meet their emissions targets only do so by accident.[135] The Kyoto nations may improve their performance over time. Nevertheless, even if all Kyoto nations meet all their treaty obligations, the Protocol only seeks to reduce global GHG emissions by 5.2 per cent.[136] Given the IPCC's conclusion that humanity needs to reduce its total GHG output by 60 per cent or more, even Kyoto's most optimistic supporters must conclude that the treaty's value is primarily symbolic.

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128 Anonymous, *Events that marked the Kyoto Protocol's entry into force*, http://unfccc. int/meetings/kyoto_eif/items/3363.php (24-06-2007).

129 Anonymous, *National greenhouse gas inventory data for the period 1990–2004 and status of reporting* (Geneva: United Nations, 2006), p. 1.

130 Ibid.

131 Ibid.

132 Ibid.

133 Ibid.

134 Ibid.; Anonymous, *National greenhouse gas inventory data for the period 1990– 2003 and status of reporting* (Geneva: United Nations, 2005), p. 1.

135 Christoff, 'Post-Kyoto': 834–8.

136 Sonja Boehmer-Christiansen, 'Investing Against Climate Change: Why Failure Remains Possible', *Environmental Politics*, 11/3 (Fall 2002): 5.

Kyoto's supporters may rightly respond that they never claimed the Protocol alone would mitigate climate change. For the Kyoto Protocol to play a role in ameliorating global warming, states and other political actors must go on to negotiate a more robust agreement.[137] As one considers the prospects for such an agreement, the analogy between environmental negotiations and debates regarding international policy toward Middle Eastern states with alleged nuclear ambitions remains useful. European and American policymakers have acknowledged the need to cooperate on strategic matters and, to some extent, actually done so. Nevertheless, the Iran affair, along with many less prominent issues, has exposed familiar patterns of republican-cosmopolitan confrontation. Whether or not these patterns fully repeat themselves, they impede the participants' ability to act effectively on a range of critical issues.

In 2007, leaders of the Group of Eight industrialized countries agreed to develop a successor to the Kyoto treaty by 2009.[138] George W. Bush committed the US to being 'actively involved'.[139] Cynics may recall that America was actively involved in the Kyoto negotiations as well. At the same meeting, Bush proposed an alternative scheme for reducing GHG emissions in which the US would negotiate directly with other significant emitters, rather than relying on UN-sponsored talks aimed at producing a global treaty.[140]

Bush's alternative – some might say competing – framework for climate negotiations recalls the Asia-Pacific Partnership which Australia, the PRC, India, Japan, the Republic of (South) Korea and the US founded in 2005. The Partnership emphasizes voluntary action by a selective group of members who 'share a common interest' in its approach to addressing environmental problems.[141] Kellow notes that the Partnership provides a model for international environmental agreements that honour member states' sovereign independence and individual characteristics.[142] The Partnership is, in other words, compatible with republicanism. One notes that its members tend to be states where explicitly republican ideas are popular and visibly republican policies are in force.

Kyoto supporters respond that the Partnership not only leaves its members free to emit GHGs at whatever rate they find convenient, it lacks even funding to pursue

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137 Christoff, 'Post-Kyoto': 850.

138 Larry Elliott, Patrick Wintour and Matthew Tempest, 'Merkel announces "substantial" G8 climate deal', *The Guardian* (June 7, 2007), http://www.guardian.co.uk/g8/story/0,,2097367,00.html (7-6-2007).

139 Sam Eaton, 'A G-8 Agreement on Climate Change? Well … ', *American Public Media* (June 7, 2007), http://marketplace.publicradio.org/shows/2007/06/07/PM200706071.html (26-06-2007).

140 Julian Borger, David Adam and Suzanne Goldenberg, 'Bush kills off hopes for G8 climate change plan', *The Guardian* (June 1, 2007), http://environment.guardian.co.uk/print/0,,329958214-121568,00.html (1-06-2007).

141 Anonymous, Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate, http://www.asiapacificpartnership.org/APPFAQ.htm (26-06-2007).

142 Aynsley Kellow, 'A new process for negotiating multilateral environmental agreements? The Asia-Pacific climate partnership beyond Kyoto,' *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 60/2 (June 2006): 287–303.

its stated goal of reducing emissions by deploying cleaner technologies.[143] German Chancellor Angela Merkel undoubtedly spoke for much of the environmental movement when she insisted that future climate talks conform to the UN-based model.[144] Merkel added that her position is 'non-negotiable'.[145] This very phrase suggests that the international climate negotiations of the future will feature more confrontation than compromise.

Christoff suggests that this may actually bode well for international regulation of GHG emissions. In his view, one of the Kyoto agreement's main failings was that negotiators weakened too many of its mechanisms in the partially failed effort to appease reluctant states.[146] 'Paradoxically', he writes:

> the effectiveness, compliance and legitimacy of the Protocol may be improved by shifting away from attempts to re-engage the United States and towards developing a framework and 'culture of compliance' that actively includes the 'emergent major emitters', China, India and Brazil.[147]

The PRC has, indeed, passed the United States to become the world's largest national emitter of GHGs.[148] (Americans continue to emit far more GHGs per capita.) Unfortunately for those who would take a cosmopolitan approach to controlling Chinese GHG emissions, Beijing also shares the American government's tendency toward republicanism. In 2005, Chinese president Hu Jintao concluded his address to the China-ASEAN summit with four proposals, the first of which stressed the importance of 'respect[ing] the diversity' of national models for environmentally sustainable development.[149] Like academic environmental policy analysts Vogel and Kellow, he stressed that different nations must find models that 'suit their national realities'.[150]

The Chinese government released a national plan for addressing climate change shortly before the 2007 G-8 summit.[151] One may infer parallels between the PRC's plan and the Bush Administration's summit proposal. Both Beijing and Washington appear to have been attempting to establish alternatives to the UN-based model for climate negotiations endorsed by many members of the G-8. Unless republican state governments develop a sincere willingness to limit their GHG emissions or their

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143 Anonymous, *Asia-Pacific Partnership*; Christoff, 'Post-Kyoto': 848.

144 Nicholas Watt, Anushka Asthana and Dan McDougall, 'US told to toe line on climate', *The Observer* (3 June, 2007), http://observer.guardian.co.uk/politics/story/0,,2094361,00. html (03-06-2007).

145 Ibid.

146 Christoff, 'Post-Kyoto': 845–6.

147 Ibid.: 850.

148 John Vidal and David Adam, 'China overtakes US as world's biggest CO2 emitter', *The Guardian* (June 19, 2007), http://environment.guardian.co.uk/climatechange/ story/0,,2106689,00.html (19-06-2007).

149 Anonymous, 'Quarterly Chronicle and Documentation', *The China Quarterly*, No. 185 (March 2006): 241.

150 Ibid.

151 Anonymous, *National Development and Reform Commission, China's National Climate Change Programme* (June 2007), http://en.ndrc.gov.cn/newsrelease/ P020070604561191006823.pdf (26-06-2007).

more cosmopolitan counterparts find more effective ways of negotiating with them, future negotiations on mitigating climate change are likely to suffer many of the same handicaps as the Kyoto process.

Following the Money

Whatever effect the Kyoto Protocol and its successors have on GHG emissions, they also have financial implications. EU advocates take well-earned pride in Brussels' role in rallying support for the treaty.[152] One of the EU's rewards for taking the lead was the opportunity to shape the Protocol in ways that favour Western European economies. EU negotiators, for instance, were the ones who initially proposed basing countries' emission quotas on the volume of GHGs those countries produced in 1990.[153] Although this handicapped Russia, it was an advantage for Britain and Germany.

The United Kingdom's national power generation company had historically relied on inefficient coal-fired power plants, partially to support the country's mining industry.[154] In 1990, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher privatized electrical generation.[155] Meanwhile, the EU relaxed restrictions on gas-fired power plants. Accordingly, Britain's newly independent electricity firms began the process of replacing the state power company's inefficient coal-fuelled generators with newer gas-fuelled models.[156] As JT Holloway notes in an analysis for Britain's Royal College of Defence Studies, 'the percentage of electricity generated using gas as the primary fuel has increased from effectively zero in 1990 to approximately 40 per cent in 2005, mainly at the expense of oil and coal'.[157]

Meanwhile, in October 1990, the Federal Republic of (West) Germany formally merged with the (East) German Democratic Republic (GDR). The unified Germany promptly closed the GDR's coal-fired power plants.[158] In consequence, German energy consumption fell by 30 per cent in 1991.[159] German GHG emissions dropped proportionally. By basing Kyoto quotas on 1990 levels of emissions, the EU allowed Britain and Germany to take a period when their output of GHGs was relatively high as a starting point, claim credit for reductions they would have achieved even without a treaty, and force economic competitors to take on the expenses of industrial restructuring.

European negotiators also convinced the other Kyoto participants to set a single quota for the entire EU.[160] EU central authorities took on the role of allocating

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152 John Vogler, 'The European contribution to global environmental governance', *International Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (July 2005): 835–50.

153 Boehmer-Christiansen and Kellow, p. 57.

154 Ibid., p. 51.

155 Ibid.

156 Ibid.

157 J.T. Holloway, 'Who's Afraid of Comrade Wolf? Does Russia's Energy Security Policy Present A Threat to the United Kingdom's Future Access to Reliable Supplies of Gas?', in J.E. Spence (ed.) *Seaford House Papers 2006* (London, 2006), p. 4.

158 Boehmer-Christiansen and Kellow, p. 51.

159 Ibid.

160 Ibid., p. 56.

responsibility for GHG reductions among member states. This allowed Brussels to use the British and German windfalls to compensate for relatively high emissions in other EU countries. One notes that this not only gave Europeans a relative advantage over economic competitors elsewhere in the world, it asserted the EU's authority over the British and German states.

Annex A of the Protocol recommends specific policies that states should take to reduce their GHG emissions. Here again, the EU lobbied effectively to emphasize measures that its members were already taking while depreciating measures that had less relevance to Europe.[161] In the process, one notes, the EU expanded the number of transational checks on state authority worldwide, thus advancing a central aim of cosmopolitanism. The European Parliament has also called on the EU to lobby the World Trade Organization to enact measures that prevent countries that refuse to ratify Kyoto from enjoying a competitive advantage over those which do.[162] Such measures would advance cosmopolitan aims even further, while securing Europeans' ability to profit from the EU's role in the Kyoto Process.

To the extent that Kyoto succeeds at forcing countries to limit energy use, it benefits the EU in an even more fundamental way. Europe suffers from a dearth of petroleum.[163] Although oil is freely available on the world markets, European political leaders have historically tried to limit domestic energy consumption in order to maintain a favourable balance of exports to imports.[164] Extending these limits to the rest of the world helps European firms compete with industries that enjoy freer access to energy. Over the longer term, extending these limits also helps conserve the world's petroleum reserves.

Nevertheless, the fact that Kyoto has had limited success at reducing GHG emissions suggests that it has had equally limited success at reducing energy consumption. One of the countries best-positioned to profit from this situation is Russia. Russia is the world's largest producer of gas and the world's second-largest producer of oil.[165] In theory, international climate change agreements might curtail the use of these fuels sufficiently to deprive Russia of revenue, but in practice, the Kyoto process has augmented the already considerable political advantages Moscow derives from its energy reserves.

Countries that hope to fulfil their Kyoto requirements while continuing to consume energy at anything approaching their accustomed rate are likely to increase their use of the types of fuels Russia provides. Burning natural gas happens to produce fewer GHGs per unit of energy released than burning oil, and burning oil happens to produce fewer GHGs than burning coal.[166] Coal deposits happen to be more widely distributed than the cleaner fuels, particularly in Europe. Therefore, firms and governments that convert to oil and gas will frequently have to increase

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161 Ibid., pp. 68–9.

162 Ibid., p. 50.

163 Ibid.

164 Ibid.

165 Andrew Monaghan, 'Energy Security – What Role for NATO?', *Research Paper No. 29* (October 2006): 3.

166 Boehmer-Christiansen and Kellow, p. 50.

their reliance upon foreign sources. Europe as a whole imports half its gas and one quarter of its oil from Russia.[167] For nations in Central and Eastern Europe, these figures approach 100 per cent.[168]

As previously noted, the British electrical industry initially increased its use of gas for financial reasons. British firms adopted this policy before the Kyoto process began. Since then, however, environmental activists have begun a campaign to pressure Britain's electrical industry to phase out coal even where it remains profitable. The Drax plant, which burns coal to provide seven per cent of the UK's electricity, reported 221 million pounds in profit for the first six months of 2006.[169] That summer, protesters formed a Camp for Climate Action outside its gates and, on 31 August, attempted to storm the facility.[170]

A force of several thousand police officers repelled the protesters on that occasion, permitting Drax to continue its operations.[171] Participants in the Camp for Climate Action have stated their intent to continue their campaign.[172] Brussels may eventually accomplish what the activists did not. EU environmental regulation requires Britain to close its older coal-fired power plants – one third of its total – by 2015.[173] Gazprom is marketing gas-fired generators to replace them.[174] To this end, the Russian firm is seeking to form joint ventures with British power generation corporations, and industry analysts have identified Drax plc as a company that will find Russia's offers particularly attractive.[175]

Governments that wish to reduce their national GHG output may also turn to nuclear power. Moscow supplies 30 per cent of Europe's uranium.[176] The European nuclear industry also contracts with Russia to dispose of a portion of its radioactive waste.[177] Moreover, Russia is in the process of expanding its nuclear industry, both domestically and for export purposes. In 2006, the Russian state gas corporation Gazprom loaned the Russian state uranium corporation Tenex the equivalent of 1.1 billion US dollars to expand its mining operations.[178] Gazprom, Tenex and their

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167 Pepe Escobar, 'The Gazprom nation', *Asia Times* (May 26, 2006), http://www. atimes.com/atimes/Central_Asia/HE26Ag01.html (01-07-2007).

168 Ibid.

169 Anonymous, *Drax group plc Interim Report 2006*, http://www.draxgroup.plc.uk/ documents/2006_Interim_Report_Final_Web_version.pdf (2-07-2007), p. 6.

170 John Harris, 'The burning issue', *The Guardian* (April 14, 2007), http://environment. guardian.co.uk/climatechange/story/0,,2055755,00.html (2-07-2007).

171 Ibid.

172 Ibid.

173 Ibid.

174 Oliver Morgan, 'Russians plan UK power stations', *The Observer* (April 15, 2007), http://www.guardian.co.uk/russia/article/0,,2057234,00.html (2-07-2007).

175 Ibid.

176 Escobar, 'The Gazprom nation'.

177 Katherine Griffiths, 'Russians sail into the nuclear market', *The Daily Telegraph* (24-04-2007), http://www.telegraph.co.uk/core/Content/displayPrintable. jhtml;sessionid=VXR31D. (01-07-2007).

178 Anonymous, 'Gazprom Funds Nuclear Industry', St. Petersburg Times (February 16, 2007), http://www.sptimes.ru/index.php?action_id=2&story_id=20395 (01-07-2007).

sisters took advantage of the 2007 Russian Economic Forum to promote nuclear partnership with Europe.[179]

Since Russia's gas and nuclear industries are both state monopolies, profits from national energy exports go directly to the government.[180] At a time when the Russian government is embarking on an expensive programme of improving its armed forces, the strategic significance of this fact is obvious. Moreover, the Russian government has a history of attempting to coerce other states by cutting off their energy supplies. A notable example of this took place in January 2006, when Moscow disconnected Ukraine from its gas distribution network in a successful attempt to force Kiev to revise the terms under which it transports gas from Russia and Central Asia to Europe.[181]

As previously noted, Russia is attempting to join the World Trade Organization. Given the fact that the European Union not only has its own seat within that body but normally represents its member states at WTO functions, it has considerable influence over the organization's decisions about when to accept new members.[182] Since the WTO exists to promote free trade, the EU would have a strong case for demanding that Russia divest its state energy monopolies as a condition of membership. When the EU offered to endorse Russia's application in return for Russia's ratification of Kyoto, it missed an opportunity to do so.[183]

The West's deadlock with Iran gives Russia further opportunities to develop its energy industry. Despite Iran's impressive fossil fuel reserves, the country's energy industry relies on aging equipment and requires an estimated 160 billion US dollars worth of new technology to regain its efficiency.[184] American law prohibits most commerce with Iran.[185] This makes it difficult for America's trading partners to invest in Iran as well, since US legislation also prevents Americans from providing goods or services to third parties who may then transfer them to the Islamic Republic.[186]

As long as America and the EU continue to confront Iran without successfully compelling the Iranian government to modify its policies, Washington is unlikely to lift these sanctions, and could not do so without considerable embarrassment even if it desired. As previously noted, the split between republican-inclined and cosmopolitan-inclined governments is one of the factors that perpetuates the current state of hostile inactivity. Moscow, by contrast, retains cordial relations with Tehran. Not only does the Russian state nuclear industry profit from its contract to build

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179   Griffiths, 'Russians sail'.

180   Escobar, 'The Gazprom nation'.

181   Neil Buckley and Tom Warner, 'Moscow and Kiev can both claim "victory",' *Financial Times* (Thursday, January 5, 2006), p. 4.

182   Anonymous, *The European Communities and the WTO*, http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/countries_e/european_communities_e.htm (2-07-2007).

183   Kellow, 'A new process': 288.

184   Flynt Leverett, 'The Race for Iran', *New York Times* (June 20,2006), http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/20/opinion/20leverett.html?ex=1308456000&en=b5e45e5787f5c5f3&ei=5090&partner=rssuserland&emc=rss (2-07-2007).

185   Anonymous, *What You Need to Know About US Economic Sanctions: An Overview of OFAC Regulations involving Sanctions against Iran* (Washington DC: US Department of the Treasury, 2006).

186   Ibid., p. 2.

Iranian electrical generation plants, Gazprom officials have held talks with their Iranian counterparts about the possibility of 'co-ordinating' their operations.[187]

Iran possesses 15 per cent of the world's known gas reserves.[188] Since one of Gazprom's greatest liabilities is the prospect of exhausting Russia's own deposits, it would find an Iranian partnership valuable. The PRC has also taken advantage of its friendly relations with Iran. In 2004, China's Sinopec Group of energy concerns purchased the rights to develop Iran's fossil fuel-rich Yadavaran field.[189] The contract also committed Iran to providing China with minimum quantities of oil and natural gas for 25 and 30 years, respectively.[190]

Not only do Russia and China benefit from access to Iranian fuel reserves, the intertwined political relationships involving energy, Iran's nuclear ambitions, American republicanism and European cosmopolitanism may divide their potential rivals on a broader range of issues. NATO analyst Andrew Monaghan expresses the following concerns:

> [I]t is unclear how possible it would be to carve a unified NATO policy in response to a politically motivated reduction in [energy] supplies by a state. The concerns about Russia doing this were noted above. There are also concerns that other states such as Iran might limit its supplies in response to sanctions against it over its nuclear project. It could also use its geographical position to dominate a key 'choke point' in the straits of Hormuz. How NATO might respond could be a divisive issue. Would NATO be able to ask for deploying nations' military capabilities to re-open the Straits of Hormuz? How would NATO use its weight against Russia in case of another cut off to Ukraine which impacted on European members states' energy supplies?

> The need of 'producer' states to export significant quantities of hydrocarbons to Europe and the US to sustain their economies means that the scenario of a politically motivated limitation or cut off to these markets is not immediately likely. But given the divisions within NATO and Europe over the US-led intervention in Iraq in 2003 and similar divisions over how to deal with Iran, it should be considered. Turkey does not support more robust measures against Iran; France, Germany and Italy are unlikely to support robust measures against Russia.

> This also raises the connected questions about whether NATO would work as an alliance or as a forum to create *ad hoc* coalitions and what priorities NATO should address in terms of the best use of its limited – and, some might argue, already overstretched – resources. Where would an energy security strategy 'fit' in NATO's overall planning? As a key strategy in its own right, or as smaller, separate pieces of other strategies, such as counterterrorism?[191]

Monaghan may be overly complacent when he claims that energy exporting states are economically dependent upon their Western customers. Gazprom executives

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187 Leverett, 'The Race for Iran'.

188 Ibid.

189 Anonymous, China, Iran sign biggest oil and gas deal', *China Daily* (10-31-2004), http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2004-10/31/content_387140.htm (03-07-2007).

190 Ibid.

191 Monaghan, 'Energy Security': 2–7.

have repeatedly hinted that they could compensate for losing their European market by selling gas to the PRC.[192] These hints undoubtedly contain an element of bluff. Certainly, the Russian company would find it costly to change customers. Nevertheless, Chinese energy demands are growing prodigiously, and as long as Gazprom remains a state corporation, one must consider the possibility that it will put a higher priority on its role in Russia's foreign policy than on its profits.

Meanwhile, even without the crises Monaghan envisions, Russia's energy dealings with European states have exacerbated friction between the EU's western and eastern members. German energy firms E.ON and BASF, for instance, have joined a Gazprom-owned consortium to build a gas pipeline under the Baltic Sea, bypassing Poland.[193] The Polish government has expressed understandable resentment, not only of the consortium, but of the EU's failure to develop a common energy policy to regulate such enterprises.[194] Many factors have prevented Brussels from developing such a policy, but if the EU had managed to streamline its procedures with the 2004 Constitutional Treaty, it would presumably have improved its chances of overcoming them.

Conclusion

In grand strategy, in global environmental regulation and in attempts to develop various multinational political organizations, Western states have alternated between passivity and bursts of action. For America and its allies in the 2003 Gulf War and for ecologically-motivated supporters of the Kyoto agreement, action has often proved as frustratingly inconclusive as failure to act. Neither republicans nor cosmopolitans set out to create this situation, but their disputes create a political environment in which this situation becomes more likely.

Russia and the PRC have pursued less spectacular policies than their Western counterparts. Neither, for instance, has recently overthrown a foreign regime. Nevertheless, both have accumulated capital, improved their armed forces, expanded their long-term access to natural resources and developed their diplomatic relationships. Both have used revenue from their ventures to invest in new business operations, securing their economic gains for the longer term.[195] Both have founded multi-national institutions to facilitate military and economic cooperation with their new diplomatic partners. The fact that Moscow and Beijing have remained aloof from Western misadventures has contributed to their progress.

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192   Escobar, 'The Gazprom nation'.

193   Ibid.

194   Ibid.

195   Richard Orange, 'Italian firms strike oil deal with Gazprom', *The Business* (14 April 2007): 25; Richard Orange, 'Pumped Up Russians', *The Business* (14 April 2007): 4; Anonymous, 'China, Iran Sign'.

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Chapter 7

Conclusion

Republicanism and cosmopolitanism have one thing in common. In the late 1990s and early twenty-first century, holders of both sensibilities have distinguished themselves less by the successful ideas they have advanced than by the alternative ideas they have thwarted. The idea that the Soviet Communists' abdication of power had left liberal principles uncontested and the United Nations system as the generally-accepted basis for international relations never accounted for the differences of principle that divided even nominally liberal political communities. The tensions between republicanism and cosmopolitanism ranked high among these differences.

Partially because of these differences, the UN proved unable to act on matters that its members recognized as urgent. Thus, the UN tacitly granted governments that seemed inclined to exercise the republican virtue (if not *virtu*) of initiative increasing license to do so. That those governments also followed the republican principle of putting their own judgments ahead of external claims – including the claims of the UN itself – should not surprise anyone. That those governments' actions encroached upon the interests, and, perhaps, moral positions, of other governments should not surprise anyone either.

Under most circumstances, Russian political leaders rest both their rhetoric and their policies on republican sensibilities. Nevertheless, when NATO attacked Serbia in 1999, Russia's representative at the UN protested in cosmopolitan terms. Four years later, when Britain and America led a coalition to invade Iraq, their critics throughout the world took up a similar cosmopolitan argument. The cosmopolitans deprived the Anglo-American coalition of goodwill, and, quite probably, of military and financial support.

British and American republicans had the power to defy cosmopolitan sentiment. As good republicans, they did. Over the following years, the results of their policies have damaged both republican reputations and republican confidence. Republicans and cosmopolitans, in short, have humiliated each other by turns, thoroughly disposing of the concept of international consensus in the process.

On environmental issues, on the subject of human rights, on the matter of global disparities in wealth and in debates over the future of the increasingly united Europe, similar patterns prevail. When governments choose to act on republican principles, they normally can. Other political actors, however, can reliably use cosmopolitan arguments to interfere with their relations with third parties, undermine their popular support and, to a limited extent, inspire direct action against their interests by protesters. The winners, if any exist, are likely to be those whose circumstances allow them to remain aloof.

As one reviews the issues on which republicans and cosmopolitans have challenged each other, one is tempted to be thankful for the stalemate. Republicanism

has emerged as the sensibility that allows state leaders to rationalize invading rival countries, diluting international conventions against torture and permitting uncontrolled emission of pollutants. Cosmopolitanism has emerged as the sensibility that prompts its proponents to admire the self-abnegation of terrorists who pilot passenger aircraft into buildings and welcome climate change as a pretext for subjecting people to even greater austerities than the environmental problem itself appears to demand. One is tempted to conclude that it would be better for those who hold these contending political attitudes to go on blocking each other forever than for either to prevail.

Nevertheless, the stalemate leaves potentially troubling situations unaddressed. The suffering of Iraq's people had been heartrending. One need not subscribe to the populist cosmopolitan version of environmentalism to recognize that climate change threatens much of humanity and demands a global response. Westerners do well to ask what Russia and the PRC's steady increase in political influence means for their future.

If political communities – be they traditional states, NGOs, the EU or the United Nations – are to respond to such situations more effectively than they have in the first decade of the twenty-first century, republicans and cosmopolitans within and among those communities will have to resolve some of their conflicts. The task of achieving such a resolution will have more to do with practical politics than with theory. One cannot expect committed republicans and committed cosmopolitans to agree on a shared philosophy, but one can hope for political leaders to inspire enough of their constituents to agree on effective policies to put those policies into action.

Nevertheless, the process of developing and promoting such policies will require analysis and reflection. This process may also require a measure of sympathy. If republicans, for instance, wish to form partnerships abroad, they may find their arguments more effective if they can demonstrate their respect for other peoples' self-determination as well as their own. If cosmopolitan environmentalists wish to design a programme of GHG reductions that people will support and comply with, they do well to appreciate the goodness of wholesome food, comfortable housing and life opportunities, not to mention the validity of peoples' aspirations to enjoy them. Not only would a more thoughtful approach help republicans and cosmopolitans alike find more supporters for their policies, it might help them develop policies more worthy of support.

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