



PROJECT MUSE®

Fairness, Globalization, and Public Institutions

Dator, Jim

Published by University of Hawai'i Press

Dator, Jim.

Fairness, Globalization, and Public Institutions: East Asia and Beyond.

Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Project MUSE., <https://muse.jhu.edu/>.



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/64094>

the present of . . . economics and politics . . . suggest that political reform will not be successful (no matter how coherently designed, no matter how accommodating the political strategies of certain elected officials) if political power continues to be the most sure source of economic gain.”⁸⁴ We challenge you, in the name of future and present generations everywhere.

FURTHER THOUGHTS

Global Governance

Walt Anderson

FOR MANY PEOPLE the dream of world government has always seemed the key to the future, the only pathway to a world of peace, stability, equity, and fairness. This was the dream expressed by Alfred Lord Tennyson in his poem “Locksley Hall,” invoking a future time when “the war-drums throbbed no longer and the battle flags were furled/In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.”

Today World Federalists carry forth the idea of a global government complete with constitution, capital, and powers to levy taxes and enforce world law. Outside their ranks, many people who are not prepared to go all the way with a complete global state nevertheless advocate a greatly strengthened United Nations or perhaps an elected global parliament.

In striking contrast to this is the worldview of the political theorists and government officials who call themselves “realists” and who see nation-states as the once and future keepers of legitimate power to govern and the realities of world events driven by national interest. From the realist point of view, such a global government is neither practical nor desirable.

A third point of view holds that we already have a system of global governance (not a government, but rather an ever-changing arrangement of governments, intergovernmental organizations, nongovernmental organizations, multinational corporations, regimes, and practices) and that the hope of the future lies in its evolution, variously described as an “ambiguous world order,” a “no-body-in-general-charge system,” or an “ecology of governance.”

Notes

1. Ted C. Lewellen, *Political Anthropology: An Introduction* (Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey, 1992), chaps. 1, 2.

2. D. S. Wilson, “Human Groups as Units of Selection” *Science* 276 (June 20, 1997): 276–277.

3. Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), 228.

4. Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1982); Eric Alfred Havelock, *The Muse Learns to Write: Reflections on Orality and Literacy from Antiquity to the Present* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986); Jack Goody, *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Jack Goody, *The Power of the Written Tradition* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000); David R. Olson and Nancy Torrance, eds., *The Making of Literate Societies* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001); Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979); M. Ethan Katsh, *The Electronic Media and the Transformation of Law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

5. Harvey Wheeler, "Constitutionalism," in *Governmental Institutions and Processes: Handbook of Political Science*, ed. Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1975), 5:esp. 6 and 76f.

6. Kim Stanley Robinson, *Red Mars* (New York: Bantam Books, 1993), 89.

7. The following paragraphs are based on Fred Riggs, "Presidentialism: A Problematic Regime Type," in *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*, ed. Arend Lijphart (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 217–222.

8. James A. Dator, "Beyond the Nation-State? Images of the Future of the International Political System," *World Future Society Bulletin* 15.6 (November–December 1981): 5–14; and James A. Dator, "Beyond the Nation-State: Three Images of Global Governance," *The Futurist* (December 1981): 24.

9. Dator, "Beyond the Nation-State," 24.

10. Rexford Tugwell, *A Model Constitution for a United Republics of America* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1970); Arthur Waskow, *Running Riot: A Journey through the Official Disasters and Creative Disorder in American Society* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970); and Alfred de Grazia, *Kalos: What Is to Be Done with Our World?* (Bombay: Kalos Press, 1973), esp. Part V, "Reconstitution" and the "Kalotic Constitution."

11. Draft Constitution CONV 724/1/03, vol. 1, 28 May 2003, available at <http://register.consilium.eu.in>; and Draft Constitution CONV 802/03, vol. 2, 12 June 2003, available at <http://european-convention.eu.in>.

12. Available at www.eduskunta.fi/efakta/vk/tuv/tuvesite.htm.

13. Available at www.aka.fi/modules/page/show_page.asp?id=00AE7FC471CD44B4BC6C508078FF674A&lay_out=akademia-eng&count=1&template=&frameName=data_1&tportal.

14. Available at www.tukkk.fi/tutu/tva/bottom_ffa.htm.

15. Ian Lowe, "Governing in the Interests of Future Generations," in *Co-Creating a Public Philosophy for Future Generations*, ed. Tae-Chang Kim and Jim Dator (Twickenham, UK: Adamantine Press, 1999), 140.

16. Barry O. Jones, "Balancing Now and the Future," in *Co-Creating a Public Philosophy for Future Generations*, ed. Kim and Dator, 85–88.

17. H.R. 3070, "A bill to provide for the continuous assessment of critical trends and

alternative futures.” Clem Bezold, “Governmental Foresight and Future Generations,” in *Co-Creating a Public Philosophy for Future Generations*, ed. Kim and Dator, 92.

18. Staff Report of the Select Committee on Committees, House of Representatives, *Committee Reform Amendments of 1974: Explanation of H. Res 988 as Adopted by the House of Representatives, October 8, 1974*. 93rd Cong., 2d sess., H41-730-O, 56.

19. Bezold, “Governmental Foresight and Future Generations,” 92.

20. Clem Bezold, *Anticipatory Democracy: People in the Politics of the Future* (New York: Random House, 1978).

21. Jerome Glenn, Theodore Gordon, and Jim Dator, “Closing the Deal: How to Make Organizations Act on Futures Research,” *Foresight* 3.3 (June 2001): 177–189.

22. Lowe, “Governing in the Interests of Future Generations,” 140.

23. Supreme Court (of the Philippines), *Reports Annotated*, vol. 224, July 30, 1993, 802f.

24. *Ibid.*, 804.

25. John Ehrenberg, *Civil Society: The Critical History of an Idea* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

26. *Ibid.*, xi.

27. *Ibid.*, x.

28. David Crocker, “Civil Society and Transitional Justice,” in *Civil Society, Democracy, and Civic Renewal*, ed. Robert Fullinwider (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 381.

29. John Donahue, “Is Government the Good Guy? After 50 years of Market Ascendancy, Government may be Poised to Reclaim its Role as an Integral and Admirable Part of American Life.” Available at www.nytimes.com/2001/12/13/opinion/13DONA.html?todaysh headlines.

30. Crocker, “Civil Society and Transitional Justice,” 383.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*, 384.

33. Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

34. *Ibid.*, 16ff

35. *Ibid.*, 22ff.

36. *Ibid.*, 33ff; and Benjamin Barber, *A Place for Us: How to Make Society Civil and Democracy Strong* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998). See also his “Clansmen, Consumers and Citizens: Three Takes on Civil Society,” in *Civil Society, Democracy, and Civic Renewal*, ed. Fullinwider, 9–29. Barber’s use of the label “clansmen” also critiques the “neutrality” that some uses of “civil society” imply—hate groups like the Ku Klux Klan and/or groups that are internally organized as patriarchal dictatorships, for example, can be understood to be good examples of “civil society” unless a specific value orientation is added.

37. *Ibid.*, 75.

38. Available at http://aei.org/events/eventID.329,filter./event_detail.asp.

39. Available at www.NGOWatch.org.

40. Martin Kohler, “From the National to the Cosmopolitan Public Sphere,” in *Re-*

imagining Political Community Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy, ed. Daniele Archibugi, David Held, and Martin Kohler (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999), 231.

41. *Ibid.*, 233.

42. *Ibid.*, 247.

43. Daniele Archibugi, David Held, and Martin Kohler, *Re-imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999), 4.

44. David Held, "Democracy and Globalization," in *Re-imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*, ed. Archibugi, Held, and Kohler, 21, 22.

45. *Ibid.*, 22.

46. *Ibid.*, 21–24 *passim*.

47. On China's destruction of its gigantic exploring sailing fleet and withdrawal into isolation just before Europe set sail for the "New World" in the fifteenth century, see Ben Finney, "The Prince and the Eunuch," in *Interstellar Migration and the Human Experience*, ed. Ben Finney and Eric Jones (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 196–208. On Japan's three hundred years of *sakoku* (isolation), see Chie Nakane and Shinzaburo Oishi, eds., *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990); and Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991).

48. Bill McKibben, *Enough: Staying Human in an Engineered Age* (New York: Times Books, 2003).

49. Martin Rees, *Our Final Hour: A Scientist's Warning: How Terror, Error, and Environmental Disaster Threaten Humankind's Future in this Century, On Earth and Beyond* (New York: Basic Books, 2003).

50. John Gastil, *By Popular Demand: Revitalizing Representative Democracy through Deliberative Elections* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

51. *Ibid.*, 6.

52. *Ibid.*, 7.

53. *Ibid.*, 8.

54. *Ibid.*, 9.

55. Michael Meyerson, *Political Numeracy: Mathematical Perspectives on Our Chaotic Constitution* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002).

56. Bruce Tonn and David Feldman, "Non-Spatial Government," *Futures* 27.1 (January/February 1995): 11–36.

57. Jack Burnham, *Beyond Modern Sculpture: The Effects of Science and Technology on the Sculpture of this Century* (New York: G. Braziller, 1968).

58. See, esp., Glendon Schubert, "The Evolution of Political Science Paradigms of Physics, Biology, and Politics," *Politics and the Life Sciences* 1 (1983): 97–110.

59. James Dator, "Quantum Theory and Political Design," in *Changing Lifestyles as Indicators of New and Cultural Values*, ed. Rolf Homann (Zurich: Gottlieb Duttweiler Institute, 1984), 53–65; and Dator, "Confessions of a Quark Smeller: The Implications of Quantum Physics for Political Design," paper for a panel chaired by Ted Becker for the American Political Science Convention, Chicago, September 3, 1987.

60. Theodore Becker, ed., *Quantum Politics: Applying Quantum Theory to Political Phenomena* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1991).

61. Christa Slaton, *Televote: Expanding Citizen Participation in the Quantum Age* (New York: Praeger, 1992).

62. James Robinson, "Newtonianism and the Constitution," *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 1.1 (1957): 252–256; Martin Landau, "On the Use of Metaphor in Political Science," *Social Research* 28 (1961): 331–353.

63. Landau, "On the Use of Metaphor in Political Science," 331–353.

64. Wheeler, "Constitutionalism," in *Governmental Institutions and Processes*, 5:esp. 6 and 76f.

65. For more discussion on the questionable assumptions of rationality underlying law and electoral decision making, see Dator, "Quantum Theory and Political Design."

66. Michio Kaku, *Hyperspace: A Scientific Odyssey through Parallel Universes, Time Warps, and the Tenth Dimension* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Fred Alan Wolf, *Parallel Universes: The Search for Other Worlds* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988).

67. Michael J. Shapiro, *Reading the Postmodern Polity: Political Theory as Textual Practice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992); Michael J. Shapiro, *Language and Political Understanding: The Politics of Discursive Practices* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1981).

68. Laurence H. Tribe, "The Curvature of Constitutional Space: What Lawyers Can Learn from Modern Physics," in *Quantum Politics, Applying Quantum Theory to Political Phenomena*, ed. Theodore Becker (New York: Praeger, 1991), 171. (Originally published in *Harvard Law Review* 103.1 [1989]: 1–56.)

69. *Ibid.*, 172.

70. *Ibid.*

71. Jiri Rasanen, "The Platform of Aanivalta (The Finnish Citizens' Power Movement)," unpublished. Contact jiri.rasanen@nic.fi.

72. For more on this, see Jim Dator, "When Courts are Overgrown with Grass: Futures of Courts and Law," *Futures* 32.1 (February 2000): 183–197.

73. John Hibbing and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, *Stealth Democracy: Americans' Beliefs about How Government Should Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

74. *Ibid.*, 1f.

75. *Ibid.*, 2.

76. *Ibid.*, 3.

77. E.g., even though the titles suggest innovative and unconventional ideas of governance, the authors dismiss the idea of direct democracy without showing any familiarity with the literature on it: Ted Halstead and Michael Lind, *The Radical Center: The Future of American Politics* (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 126ff; Cass Sunstein, *Designing Democracy: What Constitutions Do* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 7; and John Haskell, *Direct Democracy or Representative Government? Dispelling the Populist Myth* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2001).

78. Lyn Carson and Brian Martin, *Random Selection in Politics* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1999).

79. Clement Bezold et al., *Cyber Democracy 2001: A Global Scan* (Alexandria, Va.: Alternative Futures Associates, 2001), Executive Summary.

80. Ibid.

81. For more discussion, pro and con, on this issue, see Mark A. Abramson and Therese Morin, eds., *E-Government 2003* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003); Steve Davis et al., *Click on Democracy: The Internet's Power to Change Political Apathy into Civic Action* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 2002); Elaine Kamarck and Joseph Nye, *Governance.com: Democracy in the Information Age* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2002); Brian D. Loader, *The Governance of Cyberspace* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Michael Margolis and David Resnick, *Politics as Usual: The Cyberspace "Revolution"* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publishers, 2000); Abbe Mowshowitz, *Virtual Organizations: Toward a Theory of Societal Transformation Stimulated by Information Technology* (Westport, Conn.: Quorum Books, 2002); Harold Myerson, "Democrats Campaign Online," *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 19, 2002, A10; Cass Sunstein, *Republic.com* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001); and Anthony Wilhelm, *Democracy in the Digital Age* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

82. Ted Becker and Christa Daryl Slaton, *The Future of Teledemocracy* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2000), 211.

83. Ian Shapiro and Stephen Macedo, eds., *Designing Democratic Institutions* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 15.

84. Ibid., 291.

