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Fairness, Globalization, and Public Institutions

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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 “nobody-in-general-charge system,” or an “ecology of governance.”

Notes

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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.

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

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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.

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

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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.

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

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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).

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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.

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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).

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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.

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

84. Ibid., 291.

