

BOOK REVIEW
*Global Environmental Governance,
Perspectives on the Current Debate*
edited by Lydia Swart & Estelle Perry

Marquita K. Hill

March 2008

Marquita Hill, retired to Virginia from the University of Maine's Department of Chemical Engineering, presented in *Minerva* #28 (February 2005) an overview of some of the many transboundary pollution problems that cannot be solved without international cooperation, based on the second edition of her book, *Understanding Environmental Pollution*, published in 2004 by Cambridge University Press. Her review of several books on biological warfare appeared in *Minerva* #24 (November 2002).

Lydia Swart is Executive Director of the Center for UN Reform Education and **Estelle Perry** is its President.

Global Environmental Governance, Perspectives on the Current Debate was published by the Center for UN Reform Education in May 2007.

In the Introduction, Swart and Perry point out that global climate change is not the only "inconvenient truth". Another is that "global environmental problems require global solutions". However, "the institutional deficiencies of global environmental governance ... hamper global efforts to effectively address climate change" and many other environmental issues. This book's intent is to identify shortcomings in the United Nations system for handling environmental issues and examine recommendations to overcome them. These problems "revolve around a lack of authority, institutional capacity and resources". "There is growing realization that unless global environmental governance is dramatically improved, the goal of providing environmental security for the world's peoples cannot be achieved."

The problem: Ninety million people are added to the world population each year and yet, already with our current population, one in three persons lacks enough fresh water; greenhouse gases continue to accumulate; ecosystems necessary to our survival continue to be degraded; and land degradation threatens food security, especially in Africa. Humans have not been able to stop this trend despite the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP). This program, founded in 1972, is weak, under-funded, and, thus, ineffective in the functions assigned to it.

Possibly, we could improve this situation by strengthening UNEP. To this end, a chapter is devoted to "Moving Forward by Looking Back: Learning from UNEP's History". The UNEP was not purposefully established as a "weak, underfunded, overloaded, and remote organization". There was great hope that it would "serve as the world's ecological conscience". It would also acquire and disperse reliable environmental information, set goals and standards, and provide technical assistance as well as education & training and public information. Too, it would speed up actions on urgent environmental problems.

Unfortunately, UNEP is a Program. Within the UN hierarchy, a Program has the least independence and authority, and must rely on voluntary financial contributions for its operations. Moreover, environmental responsibilities are spread throughout many UN organizations. Worse, there is no database that would allow one to find which organizations are active in a specific environmental activity. This statement leads to a conclusion as to the biggest weakness of the current global environmental governance: there is a lack of coordination.

Overall, there is "a disconnect between the magnitude of environmental problems on the one hand and the ability of contemporary institutions to effectively address them on the other". Even worse, the "challenges of environmental governance are huge and still growing".

Despite this pessimistic assessment, there is progress, sometimes amazing. Advanced industrialized countries now spend 2-3% of their GNP on the environment. Some of the many treaties enacted through UNEP have been effective. The best known, in terms of its effectiveness, is the reduction of stratospheric ozone reduction. Others are re-

ductions in European acid rain and in the number and volume of oil spills into the oceans.

The last chapters of this book offer ideas for and progress toward policy and institutional options for the future Global Environmental Governance. There is general agreement that just strengthening UNEP is not enough to allow it to cope with all the environmental challenges facing humanity. A new agency is required.

One possibility is to upgrade UNEP into a Specialized Agency, the World Environment Organization (WEO), analogous to the World Health Organization or the

Food and Agriculture Organization. This would improve coordination of global environmental governance, enhance recognition of environmental problems among governments, and assist in developing the capacities for environmental improvement in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

An alternative approach first proposed by the European Union is to transform UNEP into the United Nations Environment Organization (UNEO). Again, this would be a Specialized Agency with a budget most probably based on assessed (not voluntary) contributions. It would be established on the basis of an international treaty, which would give it some autonomy from the

UN. Not being a subsidiary of the UN, it would have political clout and the ability to develop a strengthened scientific base. It would also give developing countries the opportunity to have meaningful influence on the UNEO's work.

Whatever system of global environmental governance is envisioned, and despite the "urgency of environmental problems facing the world", the governance will not work to prevent further environmental degradation unless UN Member States fully commit themselves to making the system work. This is our greatest challenge.

Political Globalization: A New Vision of Federal World Government
by James A. Yunker
(Lanham MD: University Press of America, Inc., 2007)

BOOK REVIEW

Political Globalization: A New Vision of Federal World Government by James A. Yunker

Ronald J. Glossop

17 January 2008

Ronald J. Glossop is Professor Emeritus at Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville (SIUE), a member of the national board of Citizens for Global Solutions Education Fund, Chair of Citizens for Global Solutions of Greater St. Louis, Vice-President of UNA of Greater St.

Louis, Coordinator of the St. Louis Coalition for the ICC, and President of the American Association of Teachers of Esperanto. He has taught a course on "Global Problems & Human Survival"

for twenty years. Dr Glossop is the author of *World Federation?* (1994) and *Confronting War* (4th edition, 2001).

This book aims to be a wake-up call both to world federalists and non-world federalists. To world federalists the message is: adjust the details of your objective so that you can overcome the obstacles that stand in the way of achieving your goal. To the non-world federalists the message is: the world community needs a world government just as local and national communities do, and global problems such as ever-more-destructive wars, the spread of nuclear weapons, the deterioration of the environment, and the growing gap between rich and poor need to be addressed by a real government with a legislature, police forces, and the power to tax rather than the governance system which now exists.

Professor Yunker's proposed solutions are the same as he put forth in his earlier book, *Rethinking World Government*, namely, that the world community very much needs (1) a limited but real world federation, a Federal Union of Democratic Nations [FUDN] to resolve conflicts non-violently and without military threats as well as to deal with other community problems just as is routinely done within most nations and (2) a systematic plan (a World Economic Equalization Program [WEEP] or global Marshall Plan) to gradually equalize the economic status of people in all countries. He also repeats the view that proponents of world government must consider why their view is so readily dismissed by most people and modify their proposal in order to overcome these objections.

The main two reasons for opposition to the creation of a world government are: (1) the fear that such an all-powerful global government could become a worldwide tyranny from which there is no escape and (2) the fear that a democratic world government controlled by the majority poor of the world would use its power to require what Yunker calls “Crude Redistribution” of the world’s wealth in order to get more equality. To nullify these fears, Yunker proposes that the world federation to be created (a) would allow participating nations to maintain whatever kind of military force they wish (including having nuclear weapons) and (b) would allow nations to leave the federation at any time without penalty. Additionally, in the world legislature there would be (c) a dual voting system. Separate votes would be taken on a material basis (where the number of votes a country has depends on its wealth) and on a population basis (where the number of votes a country has depends on its population). This system means that no measure could be adopted that doesn’t have the support of the rich countries, but also that no measure could be adopted that doesn’t have the support of the poor countries. Yunker believes that such a limited world government would dispel the fears which now cause opposition to a world government in the rich countries. It would also address the fears in poor countries that a world government would be a way for the rich countries to maintain and even solidify their control over the poorer, weaker countries.

The other part of his proposal is the program — described and persuasively argued for in chapters 4, 5, and 6 — to gradually decrease the gap between the rich and the poor. Yunker, an economics professor at Western Illinois University, uses computer simulations to show that there is good reason to believe that over several decades the economic situation in poor countries could be substantially improved while economic growth would be slowed only slightly in rich countries. He emphasizes that both the establishment of a world government and WEEP should be viewed as experimental efforts which would be ended if it became apparent that they were not achieving their goals.

Yunker’s argumentation for his WEEP is much more persuasive than his argumentation for world government, although he is eager to show that both are needed and that they are somewhat dependent on one another. His basic argument for world federation is that the world community has been gradually moving toward more cooperation for a long time (pp. 297-301 and 307-325) and concern about national sovereignty has been declining (p. 287). The fact that the transformative move to world government has not yet been made does not show that it can’t or shouldn’t be made. Yunker displays a readiness to discuss the weaknesses in his argument for world federation, admitting that the world has not had many successful experiences of creating federations out of previously existing nation-states and that in a fair number of cases federations have disintegrated (pp. 289-296). But, he argues, if government is a good thing at the local level, the national level, and the regional level, why would it not be a good thing at the global level (p. 335)?

Yunker’s book is full of repetitions. He admits this (p. 337), but says that it is necessary to “break through the encrusted prejudice against world government” (p. 337) which has come about because of the unlimited character of the world government put forth by its previous proponents. What is needed to counter this prejudice is the recognition that the more limited kind of world government being proposed by Yunker will not arouse the fears fed by the traditional views of what a world government would be. People will see that it is possible to have the benefits of world government without arousing such fears.

But there are questions that need to be addressed. Probably the most obvious one is how the Federal Union of Democratic Nations (FUDN) is any more of a government than the League of Nations or the existing United Nations. Yunker criticizes these confederal organizations for their ineffectiveness, which he blames on their not having their own military forces, their not being able to levy taxes, and their officials being appointed by the national governments rather than being elected (p. 309). But in his proposed FUDN the

national governments will be allowed to maintain their own military forces, even with nuclear weapons, and would be free to leave the union whenever they wanted, which they would be likely to do if the FUDN ever decided to use military force. Consequently, the military forces of the FUDN are likely to be virtually powerless against the more powerful nations. How would the FUDN be any less helpless than the League of Nations was? The FUDN might be able to levy taxes, but its financial resources would probably be very limited compared to those of larger, richer national governments. With regard to the election of FUDN officials, Yunker does not seem to appreciate how difficult that would be to carry out. Could laws about exactly who could vote, how much money could be spent on campaigning, and so on be enforced throughout the whole world?

The United Nations has coercive power when the Security Council approves a given course of action. Military force can be used against nations that attack other nations or that refuse to abide by Security Council resolutions. It is true that the permanent five have a veto, so no action can be taken against them or other nations which they support. But would the situation be any different with the FUDN as long as the individual powerful national governments are allowed to keep their military forces and nuclear weapons?

Yunker, as is so often the case with proposers of world government, fails to deal with the question of how we proceed from where we are now to the desired goal. How might the move toward the FUDN get started? Might the UN General Assembly call a conference to address the issue? Might NATO members or the European Union or some particular national governments (e.g. Australia, Brazil, Canada) take the lead in calling a conference to consider the proposal? Could anything be done if the government of the USA were opposed? Maybe Yunker thinks that his proposal is the kind that the US government could support, but unfortunately it is not easy to find a way to persuade those with great power to share their power (or their wealth) with others.

OVERVIEW
INSIDE VIEW
CRITIQUE
RESPONSE

BOOK DISCUSSION

Global Democracy

The Struggle for Political and Civil Rights in the 21st Century
by Didier Jacobs

Claude Buettner, Didier Jacobs, Joseph Schwartzberg

March & April 2008

Claude Buettner wrote this introductory review for the newsletter of the Minnesota Chapter of Citizens for Global Solutions, of which he is president. It is reprinted with his permission.

I - OVERVIEW (Claude Buettner)

... One proposition of this brilliant book is that the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization together form our current global government, albeit an ineffective one. But it is the global government that the permanent members of the Security Council want: a “weak confederation”, with veto and opt-out privileges for a select group of powerful nations, the so-called P-5, and a “federation”, with no veto and no opt-out privileges, for all others.

Mr Jacobs asserts, only slightly tongue-in-cheek, that the global government we already have is characterized as a system of apartheid, in which one’s position in the pecking order is determined by the color of one’s passport.

Among the take-away points in *Global Democracy*’s conclusion are:

- Institutions are essential (“Governance without government” is, at best, nonsense).
- “Global democracy is a big idea that is astonishingly easy to communicate: ‘We believe all people should have equal say in decisions that affect all of them’; ‘The World Trade Organization is not democratic and that is not OK’; ... ‘The Security Council does not have proper checks and balances; that’s bad in national politics, it’s also bad in world politics.’”
- In our everyday conversation we can promote global democracy by referring to the UN or the WTO as “our global government”. But this is not enough; eventually ordinary citizens will rightfully expect to elect their representatives in that government.
- The peace movement needs to form and promote a long-term strategy for change (even in between unpopular wars) instead of abdicating that role to nationalist and benevolent imperialist think tanks.



Didier Jacobs, Special Advisor to the President at Oxfam America, holds a Masters degree in Public Policy from the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard. He has been a researcher at the London School of Economics and Catholic University of Louvain, as well as an aid worker for Médecins Sans Frontières in Liberia. He serves on the Steering Committee of the World Federalist Institute of Citizens for Global Solutions.

This essay is an adaptation of a presentation he made at the annual meeting of Citizens for Global Solutions in Minneapolis, October 2007. FMI: <www.global-citizens.org>

Reframing the Global Solutions debate in this way is worth considering in spite of the risk that it will be seen by some as excessively ambitious. As we slide well into the 21st century, it’s time to reframe our stand on how we can solve such seemingly intractable global problems as environmental degradation and nuclear arms, among others, that are beyond the capacity of the currently undemocratic “global government” to manage effectively.

II - INSIDE VIEW (Didier Jacobs)

I initially came to the United States for graduate studies in public policy. I recall that it was in my second class that I learned about the concept of framing an issue. Framing a policy issue is to communicate about it from the perspective that is most attractive to the people you try to convince. The arguments that are most persuasive to you are not necessarily the most persuasive to others. Reframing an issue is therefore like talking about it in a foreign language: it is the same subject, but it sounds very different. Reframing an issue is like wearing tinted glasses: you look at the same thing,

but it has different colors. One could say that this book is all about reframing world federalism in a way that is most relevant to Americans today.

The title is *Global Democracy*. It could have been World Federalism instead, but I chose not to use that title for the same reasons that the World Federalist Association changed its name to Citizens for Global Solutions. The sub-title gives the new frame through which I write about world federalism. It is: The Struggle for Political and Civil Rights in the 21st Century. World federalism is a civil rights issue.

The usual frame for world federalism is the creation of a world government. But very few people think they want a world government. To most people, world government sounds scary, overbearing, authoritarian. On the other hand, everybody supports civil rights. Nobody is going to argue against them. So if we manage to frame world federalism as a civil rights issue, we have made a major breakthrough.

How do I manage to frame world federalism as a civil rights issue? It is very easy: I assert that we already have world government.

World government is not utopia. It is reality.

World government is not futuristic. It is history; it is a part of our historical heritage.

How come we have not noticed? We have not noticed the existence of our world government because the United Nations system does not quite look like other governments we are familiar with. There are many kinds of governments.

Our world government is not a communist regime like Cuba. It is not an absolute monarchy cum theocracy like Saudi Arabia. It is not a medieval empire, although it has some resemblance to that: it has a Byzantine structure. Its authority is contested in many parts of the world. And its geographic boundaries are not clear, as some countries are members of one international institution but not the other.

Our world government is not a liberal democracy either, although again it has some resemblance to it: the UN system respects freedom of speech and association. It consists of modern bureaucracies.

The United Nations system is none of the above and yet it is a government in the simple sense that it is an organization that does public policy. That is my definition of a government anyway: an organization that does public policy.

The World Trade Organization, for instance, has adopted 30,000 pages of legal text, which its member-states must respect in their entirety. These pages contain very precise economic regulations that greatly influence national economies. The WTO even has a quasi-judicial body to arbitrate disputes of implementation, and can take sanctions against states that do not respect the rules. Why on earth don't we call that a federal world government? Or a branch of it, anyway.

I suggest the following thought experiment. Let us imagine a moment that the United Nations General Assembly was directly elected by the people. And let's assume that it had co-decision power on all matters currently dealt with by the UN Security Council, the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank. So all the decisions that these bodies now make would also need to be approved by the directly-elected General Assembly.

I think that if that were the case most people in the streets would agree that, of course, we have a world government, and Joe Blogh is my representative. Everything else in the UN system could remain the same. If only there were elections, people would recognize their world government, because the concept of elections is very closely associated with the concept of government.

But of course, not all governments are elected. What we have is a world government that is not democratic. It is an apartheid regime. We live under global apartheid. Americans and Europeans make decisions, and the rest of the world must follow the rules, without voice. That is plainly unfair, and here is where the civil

and political rights frame comes into the picture.

So my book is about the struggle for political equality in the 21st century. The struggle for nationals of poor nations to have equal say in decisions that affect all humankind. There are global policies on trade, on climate change, on nuclear proliferation and so on and so forth. I claim that these policies should be decided according to the "one person, one vote" rule. And I argue that it is realistic to expect that to happen by the end of this century.

I compare this struggle with previous civil rights struggles, such as the movements for women's suffrage in the 19th and early 20th centuries, or the working class movement for suffrage around the same period, or the struggle to end apartheid in South Africa.

In the first part of the book, I criticize current political science on the subject of global governance. I discuss concepts like governance and government, democracy, federalism and confederalism, or sovereignty, and define them in ways that allow us to view the world through a whole new frame, the frame of global democracy.

In the second part, I present a picture of:

- how our world government could democratize incrementally in the coming century,
- how that would improve its effectiveness to cope with this century's global challenges,
- and, last but not least, what political forces could drive the democratization process.

Tad Daley tells of the East Berliners who, back in 1983, imagined a future without wall a hundred years later. Back in 1983, it was impossible to discern the political forces that would lead to the collapse of the Berlin Wall only six years later. But today, it is possible to discern the political forces that might bring about global democracy, and that is the story I tell in the book.

For sixty years, the goals of the world federalist movement have been the cre-

ation of a democratic and federal world government. We are half-way there: we have a federal world government, albeit not a democratic one. We can be proud of being half-way in our journey. That is one lesson from the book.

A second lesson is that we should be careful about how we communicate. We should not talk about world government in the future tense; we should talk about it in the present tense. That way, we will no longer be perceived as utopians. We will be perceived as relevant.

Here is another thought experiment. Let's imagine that Citizens for Global Solutions (CGS) convinced many other NGOs to call the UN, the WTO, the IMF, the World Bank etc. "our global government". Then, soon enough, journalists will pick up that phrase. And then people will start reading about their global government in the daily paper: "Today, our global government decided X on climate change"; "Today, our global government failed to make any decision on Darfur". Then people will start asking: "Wait a minute, did I vote for these guys? And the idea of global democracy will take root.

The third lesson is that it is easier to mobilize people against an actual and current harm than in favor of some benefits that they may get in the future. It is easier to mobilize people against the global apartheid than in favor of a stronger global government.

Because of the "creation of a world government frame", CGS has so far focused its energy on extending the reach of our global government. It focuses on "more global government" rather than on "fairer global government".

The current CGS priorities — Law of the Sea, the International Criminal Court, and UNEPS — are all examples of "more global government". (However, some issues are relevant to both "more" and "fairer" global government.)

By contrast, there is a big movement out there — the so-called anti-globalization movement — that puts more emphasis on "fairer" global government. It chal-

lenges the legitimacy of the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank rather than trying to extend their reach. There is also the peace movement, which mobilizes people against the injustice in Iraq.

Some Americans lose their jobs because of WTO rules. Some Americans lose their sons & daughters because of the American veto in the Security Council, without which the Security Council might have explicitly outlawed the war against Iraq, which might have prevented that war. Our global government does affect the lives of Americans a lot. In some cases, it hurts them. And they do take notice.

No wonder then, that trade unions, environmental organizations, and NGOs like the one I work for, Oxfam, have managed to mobilize millions of Americans against unfair trade agreements. No wonder then, that the peace movement has mobilized millions of Americans against the war in Iraq, and has managed to have a real impact on Congressional elections.

By contrast, it is very hard to mobilize Americans in favor of the Law of the Sea or UNEPS, or other good causes to expand the reach of our global government.

And working on selected issues such as the ICC or UNEPS is a niche for a small organization with limited resources. UNEPS is an issue for which CGS can actually exercise leadership within the NGO community. By contrast, CGS' voice would be barely audible in the debate between free traders and protectionists.

But think about it another way.

The organization I work for, Oxfam, is one of the largest global campaigning groups. We advocate on international trade, international finance, climate change, human rights issues, and many conflicts around the world. Yet we do not have a vision for global governance in the 21st century. We try to influence scores of global public policies, but we barely try to influence global decision-making processes. Amnesty International, Greenpeace, the AFL-CIO, Peace Action, and others: many large US or global advocacy organizations work daily on impor-

tant global public policy issues, without a vision for our global government. It is hard to convince the Senate to ratify the Law of the Sea. But it could be easier to convince other progressive organizations that they ought to pay attention to global decision-making processes as well as to global public policies.

With CGS at a critical strategic juncture, I take this opportunity to propose devoting some of resources to a program that would specifically target big, progressive campaigning organizations to:

- teach them how to talk about our global government,
- help them analyze how their current advocacy is likely to affect our global government, and
- encourage them to develop a vision for our global government in the 21st century.

I believe NGOs ought to challenge the World Bank or the WTO. But the way they do it can be either constructive or destructive. It can point to global democracy or to a reversal to global anarchy. CGS could play a very positive role of bringing along other organizations to consider how advocacy on their pet issue can impact the broader project of building global democracy. And of course, my book provides the intellectual framework necessary to do this.

The fourth and last lesson I propose for Citizens for Global Solutions is that we ought to be more critical and aggressive toward our world government. So far, CGS has always adopted a quite ambiguous attitude toward the UN system. On the one hand, we are very supportive of the UN. On the other, we call for lots of reforms to strengthen both its legitimacy and effectiveness.

In theory, there is no contradiction here. We support global solutions to global problems. So we support the current global institutions that can deliver such solutions, and at the same time, we call for reform, or for new institutions to promote solutions where current institutions fail.

In practice, however, there often is a contradiction. It is hard to call for reform of

an institution, and at the same time shield it and cocoon it. If you want to reform an institution, it is better to create a sense of crisis around it. We should not fear another showdown at the Security Council. We should look forward to it. Instead, whenever the UN is seriously challenged by nationalists, we run to the rescue. The antagonists of the UN have been very assertive, and they have scared us, but they are a minority. They are reactionaries. They are not the mainstream. They have much less influence on the second Bush Administration than they had on the first one. And they are likely to be even more marginalized or completely absent in the next administration. They will keep a blocking minority in the Senate for some time. But they are not powerful enough to bring the UN system down.

Not only do we already have a world government, but that world government is here to stay. For it is backed by very powerful interests supporting the status quo in the UN system. I mentioned the 30,000 pages of legal text of the WTO earlier. Global business stands squarely behind them. Think of more powerful interests than that!

The United Nations is not about to collapse. Most if not all national governments want it to continue to play the roles it plays. The US public is also pro-UN by large margins. The next President of the United States just cannot ignore that. Even President Bush no longer ignores it.

So the UN system does not need rescue; it needs reform. And for that, Citizens for

Global Solutions should join other political forces, like Oxfam and many other organizations that are part of the global movement for social justice. Together, we must challenge the legitimacy of the system, and challenge it hard.

As long as the world federalist frame was to create a world government, it made sense to cocoon the global institutions that did exist. But if the world federalist frame becomes civil rights, we should challenge that government vigorously.

If the powers that be eventually faced the choice between reforming the UN or letting it collapse, I bet they would reform it, because they need it, and know it. So let's bring on the crisis that will force that choice!

Joseph Schwartzberg, Professor Emeritus in Geography at the University of Minnesota and President of the Minnesota Chapter of Citizens for Global Solutions, writes and lectures extensively on UN reform and is writing a book titled *Designs for a Workable World*.

III - CRITIQUE (Joseph Schwartzberg)

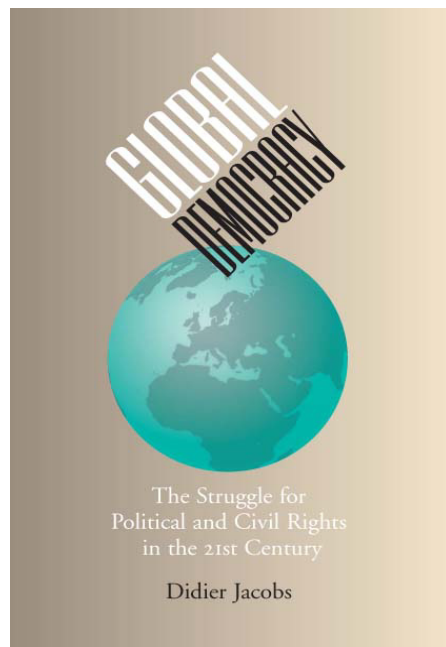
Thanks to the originality of Didier Jacobs' thinking, the logical organization of the text, the clarity and persuasiveness of his writing, and the excellent documentation of his sources, one can learn much from reading *Global Democracy*, especially in regard to the work of the WTO.

I share his view that major global government reforms are more likely to come about incrementally than via the wholesale process of UN Charter revision, though I would certainly not rule out the latter possibility.

Also, I think his point is well taken that we already have some form of "world government", even though many people prefer to use the term "governance" instead, and I agree that we are likely to lose our intended audience if we insist on the need to "create" a world government where none exists.

I am put off, however, by Mr Jacobs' revisionist definitions of federalism and strong and weak confederalism. He uses the terms to relate not only to national governments, which is correct, but also to particular governmental institutions, which, in my view (following the work on federalism by the jurist K.C. Wheare) is incorrect. The key element of a federation in Wheare's view is a constitutionally guaranteed division of powers between a central government and the constituent states (provinces, whatever) making up the nation over which the central government exercises some degree of authority. I am particularly critical of the notion that an institution such as the Security Council (among others) can be federal to some of its members and confederal to others. I know of no one else who uses the terms in the way that Didier Jacobs does. To his credit, he is consistent in his approach, but it is unconvincing.

Another complaint is that I think he underestimates the lingering importance of assumptions about sovereignty. Admittedly, sovereignty — the ability of a nation to exert legal control over what takes place within its own borders — has been seriously compromised in most parts of the world, but nations continue to subscribe to the fiction that they are in control and conduct their international affairs accordingly.



(Vanderbilt University Press, 2007)

But to go to the heart of Didier Jacobs' argument, I would agree that his recommendations are plausible and that, if they were to play out in the way that he advocates, the world would be a great deal better off than it is today. But "plausible" does not translate into "probable" or "most desirable".

Basically, what he seems to be arguing — although never stated explicitly — is for by-passing the fundamentally flawed and insufficiently democratic UN system and strengthening and/or creating "second-tier" institutions, most notably NATO (renamed) and the WTO, under the leadership of mainly Western democracies, to perform tasks that the UN is insufficiently capable of doing well. I believe that approach would tend to polarize the world, with a group of nations, led mainly by China, in one camp and another group, led mainly by the US, in the other. My sense is that the US has, in the last couple of decades (and especially in the G.W. Bush years), so badly compromised its own moral authority, brain-washed its own citizenry, and promoted a wildly inaccurate view of the rest of the world, that we have forfeited whatever claim to leadership we once enjoyed. I think it will take decades to repair the damage. Moreover, I would foresee the process of building up communities of "democratic" membership in the second-tier institutions as being subject to perennial political pressures and the acceptance of double standards such that our friends will time and again be given the benefit of the doubt and be seen as democratic, whereas nations whose foreign and economic policies we don't happen to like will be branded as despotic.

My own preference would be to reform and strengthen the existing organs, to create needed new organs under the UN umbrella, and to make all such organs, with the sole exception of the UN Human Rights Council, maximally inclusive. I would be prepared to give a voice to those with whom I now strongly disagree in the expectation that doing so is likely, over time, to lessen the gulf between their views and my own. The best way to move undemocratic nations in the direction of greater democracy, in my opinion, is to maintain polities, social systems and economies that much of the populations in the world's less democratic societies will wish to emulate, just as they now emulate so much of Western culture. The process is not likely, in my view, to play itself out any more slowly than the one that Mr Jacobs recommends. Regrettably, neither he nor I has a crystal ball to ascertain whether future change will be more along the path that he recommends than along the one that I favor.

Global democracy is, Didier Jacobs argues, an idea whose time has come – and he is surely right about that. Drawing on his extensive experience in economics, international affairs, and as a citizen of the European Union, Jacobs presents a concise, clear, and realistic case for moving forward on what is likely to be the great civil rights struggle of the 21st century. This is a book that everyone interested in creating a better world should read, discuss, and act upon.

- Peter Singer,
Princeton University.

Global Democracy tackles one of the most important questions of our time: how to bring global governance under a modicum of democratic control. In the age of "governance without government", Didier Jacobs reminds us that institutions matter, and that the concept of political equality is as relevant at the global level as it is at the national level.

- David Held,
London School of Economics

IV - RESPONSE (Didier Jacobs)

The world is changing, and I propose new definitions for familiar words to reflect that change. The boundaries between states and international institutions are increasingly blurred. Most analysts agree that international institutions engage in "global public policy", and refer to them with increasingly convoluted terms such as "system of global governance". Why not simply call them what they are: "our global government"? I believe in the power of ideas, and the power of words. If most activists referred to the UN, World Bank, WTO etc. as "our global government", the media would soon take on that phrase, and people would question why they do not elect representatives to that government.

"Global governance" is little more than a euphemism hiding the lack of democracy at the global level of government. Likewise for "federalism". Joe Schwartzberg may be nostalgic of a neat definition of federalism that was useful in the past. But what is the essence of a federation and of a confederation? The essence of the difference is that the federated entities can escape the rules of a confederation (either by vetoing them or by opting out of them) but can be forced to abide by them in a federation (no veto or opt-out right). By that simple definition, the WTO has de facto achieved world federalism by stealth. World federalism is no longer a utopia, it is reality! And the task is now to democratize our federal world government.

The future that I advocate is one where the United Nations continues to play the roles it plays today, as well as it can, but where nations that are willing to cooperate more closely to build a better world do so in various international forums. Two principles should guide those "second-tier" institutions: inclusiveness and sharing power. Inclusiveness means that all nations willing to respect more demanding rules of cooperation should be welcome to join: nations would stay out only because they are not willing to abide by the rules, not because they are not invited in the first place. Sharing power ultimately means applying majority voting with the "one person, one vote" rule, although there can be many intermediate steps to get there. So, contrary to Joe Schwartzberg's understanding, this is not the old model of US-led alliance.

BOOK REVIEW
The Great Experiment:
The Story of Ancient Empires, Modern States,
and the Quest for a Global Nation
by Strobe Talbott

Ronald J. Glossop

3 April 2008

Ronald J. Glossop, Professor Emeritus at Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville (SIUE), is Chair of the Steering Committee of the World Federalist Institute of Citizens for Global Solutions. He is the author of *World Federation?* (1994) & *Confronting War* (4th ed., 2001).

Strobe Talbott, president of the Brookings Institute, provides us an excellent overview of human political history enriched by personal experiences and comments, all organized to show how humanity is slowly but surely creating ever larger political units to the point where now the next step is a creation of a global nation, a politically unified community that encompasses the whole Earth. Talbott gave us his general viewpoint in his 1992 article in *TIME* when he said, "I'll bet that within the next hundred years . . . nationhood as we know it will be obsolete; all states will recognize a single, global authority" (pp. 126-27). He now adds, "I have qualified my forecast somewhat, but not in essence" (p. 127). The book's vast historical sweep, apparent in the subtitle, is also evident in the three parts into which the 405-page survey is divided: "The Imperial Millennia" (roughly up to 1914), "The American Centuries" (roughly up to the end of the Cold War in 1990), and "The Unipolar Decades" (from 1991 to the present). There are also another 71 pages of notes in this carefully documented work.

This book is a dramatic erudite narrative of human history told by a top-notch American scholar with an insider's view of current events. Strobe Talbott and Bill Clinton shared a house while both were Rhodes Scholars at Oxford University (p.17), and Talbott later was asked by Clinton to be his Deputy Secretary of State. Talbott's own account of his life and career, which includes 21 years with *TIME*, is in the "Introduction" (page 11).

World federalists will especially enjoy reading chapter 10 titled "The Master Builder", which covers the end of World War II, the beginning of the UN, and the all-too-brief flourishing of the world federalist movement. Most readers will be surprised to learn that Harry Truman, from the time he graduated from high school in 1901, carried a scrap of paper in his wallet on which were written 12 lines of Alfred Lord Tennyson's poem "Locksley Hall", including the lines "Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd, In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World". Talbott notes that "Truman recopied this text by hand as many as forty times during his life" (p.184) and that in a 1951 conversation with author John Hersey Truman said, "Notice that part about universal law. . . . We're going to have that someday. I guess that's what I've really been working for ever since I first put that poetry in my pocket" (p. 210).

The negative reaction of world federalists to the UN plus their arguments for a radical change are described in detail. One example is this quotation from Einstein's September 1945 letter to J. Robert Oppenheimer: "The wretched attempts to achieve international security, as it is understood today by our governments, do not alter at all the political structures of the world, do not recognize at all the competing sovereign nation-states as the real cause of conflicts. Our governments and the people do not seem to have drawn anything from past experience and are unable or unwilling to think the problem through. The conditions existing today force the individual states, for the sake of their own security based on fear, to do all those things which inevitably produce war. At the present state of industrialism, with the existing complete integration

The Great Experiment: The Story of Ancient Empires, Modern States, and the Quest for a Global Nation
by Strobe Talbott
(New York, London, Toronto, Sydney:
Simon & Schuster, 2008)

of the world, it is unthinkable that we can have peace without a real governmental organization to create and enforce law on individuals in their international relations. Without such an over-all solution to give up-to-date expression to the democratic sovereignty of the peoples, all attempts to avoid specific dangers in the international field seem to me illusory” (p. 197).

The book also contains several statements that suggest that world federalist ideas are having some influence in unexpected places. For example, Talbott notes that in the first edition of his 1948 classic *Politics Among Nations* prominent realist political theorist Hans Morgenthau observed that “the argument of the advocates of the world state is unanswerable. There can be no permanent international peace without a state coextensive with the confines of the political world [and] a radical transformation of the existing international society of sovereign nations into a supranational community of individuals” (p. 198). In 1992 Ronald Reagan said that he could foresee “a standing UN force — an army of conscience — that is fully equipped and prepared to carve out human sanctuaries through force if necessary” (p. 258). In his 2006 farewell address at the Truman Library and Museum in Independence, Missouri, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said, “The United States has given the world an example of a democracy in which everyone, including the most powerful, is subject to legal restraint. Its current moment of world supremacy gives it a priceless opportunity to entrench the same principles at the global level” (p. 391).

Talbott provides interesting inside accounts of crucial events and international meetings during the years of the Clinton administration as well as an insightful analysis of the actions and views of individuals in the current Bush administration. His last chapter, “The Crucial Years,” focuses on the upcoming U.S. Presidential election and the policies Talbott believes the United States should adopt as well as the issues that must be addressed. “The next administration should . . . waste no

time in demonstrating that respect for international law is once again part of the bedrock of U.S. foreign policy” (p. 393). There should be greater support for the United Nations, but beyond that “the UN needs to be incorporated into an increasingly variegated network of structures and arrangements — some functional in focus, others geographic; some intergovernmental, others based on systematic collaboration with the private sector, civil society, and NGOs” (p. 394). The United States should “encourage regional organizations to develop their own capacities as well as habits of cooperation with one another and with the UN itself” (p. 395). Also “ensuring a peaceful twenty-first century will depend in large measure on narrowing the divide between those who feel like winners and those who feel like losers in the process of globalization” (p. 395).

With regard to the most urgent problems to be tackled, Talbott points to “two clear and present dangers. One is a new wave of nuclear-weapons proliferation; the other is a tipping point in the process of climate change. These mega-threats can be held at bay in the crucial years immediately ahead only through multilateralism on a scale far beyond anything the world has achieved to date” (p. 395). Talbott concludes with this comment: “By solving [these] two problems that are truly urgent, we can increase the chances that eventually . . . the world will be able to ameliorate or even solve other problems that are merely very important. Whether future generations make the most of such a world, and whether they think of it as a global nation or just as a well-governed international community, is up to them. Whether they have the choice is up to us” (p. 401). It seems to this reviewer that Talbott strays from his own basic insights when he suggests that the nuclear proliferation problem might be resolved by multilateralism on a grand scale in the absence of a prior revolutionary change to the global nation system (that is, to a world federation) which would substantially restrict national sovereignty.

Eva B. Olds

5 November 1922 – 5 April 2008

This issue is respectfully dedicated to the memory of Eva B. Olds, a friend of *Minerva*, whose life was devoted to pioneering multiple roles for women. “My mother comes from the Pleiades – all sparkle,” writes her daughter, Professor Linda Olds.

Notes & Resources

HUMAN SECURITY: STUDENT ATTITUDES

In its early phases, Paul Evans’ University of British Columbia web-based course, “Human Security in the Emerging International System”, gathered more than 25 definitions of human security in many different languages, ranging “from those that are comprehensive and holistic to those that are narrow and focused. Using such a continuum, Lloyd Axworthy’s focus on humanitarian interventionism is considered biased towards the narrow side, while those interested in both conflict and development are considered broad.” As early as 2001, Evans reported (at a Harvard JFK School of Government workshop on “Measurement of Human Security”) “an interesting ‘generational gap’ appearing — students instinctively lean towards the comprehensive approach and are unbothered by challenges to traditional notions of sovereignty”.



GLOBAL HUMAN SECURITY REPORT

At the same conference in 2001, Andrew Mack announced that he would shift from Harvard to the University of British Co-

lumbia to develop a “Global Human Security Report” focusing on violence (war, conflict, crime, genocide, human rights abuses). In his remarks on that occasion, he emphasized that understanding the concept of human security is “not purely an issue of analytics, but also of shared political and moral values”; however, “focus and coherence are necessary in any individual research activity if human security is not to be discredited, in the way that ‘structural violence’ was”, he commented. Mack asserted that the report was needed because the “UN does not have a research culture”, and “security-development-governance” need to be brought together. Although there would be data constraints, of course, the Report would try to develop a composite index, including ranking of countries, with a view toward prevention of violence.

The first *Human Security Report* was issued in 2005. It was produced by the Human Security Report Project, then located at the University of British Columbia’s Human Security Centre, now (since May 2007) at the School for International Studies, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver. FMI: www.humansecurityreport.info



HUMAN SECURITY UNIT

The Human Security Unit (HSU) was established in May 2004 in the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) “to integrate human security in all UN activities. By combining the management of the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS) with the dissemination and promotion activities on human security, the HSU plays a pivotal role in translating the concept of human security into concrete activities and highlighting the added value of the human security approach as proposed by the Advisory Board on Human Security (ABHS)”.



COPENHAGEN CONSENSUS (a) PEACEKEEPING

A report claiming to be the first cost-benefit analysis of UN peacekeeping initia-

tives, based on a study of civil conflicts around the world over the past four decades, has been prepared for the Copenhagen Consensus, a project to analyze the costs and benefits of various solutions to world problems. It finds that “the international community would get better value for money from peacekeeping operations if it created a standing military force to come to the rescue of democracies threatened by coup or civil war. ... It argues that peacekeeping is even more cost-effective when provided in the form of an ‘over the horizon’ security guarantee — a commitment to send in foreign troops if needed” (Reuters, 22 April 2008). In a telephone interview with Reuters, report co-author Paul Collier, professor at Oxford University’s Centre for the Study of African Economies said: “It would be much better if it were just regularised as UN guarantees instead of ... ad hoc, hit-and-miss former colonial (arrangements).”

The Copenhagen Consensus Center <www.copenhagenconsensus.com> “analyzes the world’s greatest challenges and identifies cost-efficient solutions to meeting these challenges. The Center works with multilateral organizations, governments and other entities concerned with mitigating the consequences of the challenges which the world is facing. With the process of prioritization, the center aims to establish a framework in which solutions to problems are prioritized according to efficiency based upon economic and scientific analysis of distinct subjects.”

It was conceived and is headed by a controversial figure in studies of climate change amelioration, Bjørn Lomborg, author of *The Skeptical Environmentalist* and then-director of the Danish government’s Environmental Assessment Institute. The initial project was co-sponsored by the Denmark and *The Economist* newspaper. A book summarizing the Copenhagen Consensus 2004 conclusions, *Global Crises, Global Solutions*, edited by Lomborg, was published in October 2004 by Cambridge University Press. After the project’s first two conferences of economists, the Center itself was established at the Copenhagen Business School, to organize the 2008 conference.

(b) MALNUTRITION

The 2008 Copenhagen Consensus results were issued on 30 May, reportedly after an expert panel assessed over two years of research by more than 50 economists to make a prioritized list of 30 specific solutions to “some of the biggest challenges facing the world”. Ranked #1: nutrition for the 150 million children who are undernourished.



FOOD

Ahead of the World Bank meeting in April, with drastically rising food prices provoking unrest in developing countries, Bank head Robert Zoellick proposed for discussion “a massive, coordinated international plan to reduce hunger”, a “new deal” for global food policy, according to Agence France-Presse. The International Monetary Fund, at its spring meetings in Washington, already had issued a dire warning about potential “terrible consequences” of the food crisis. At a closing news conference, IMF managing director Dominique Strauss-Kahn said that development gains made in the past five or 10 years could be “totally destroyed” and that resulting social unrest could lead to war.

Thirty-seven countries currently face food crises, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization.



MANAGING CHANGE AT UN

New publication from the Center for UN Reform Education: *Managing Change at the United Nations* <www.centerforunreform.org/node/308>.



BULLETIN ON FEDERALISM

The Centre for Studies on Federalism (Turin, Italy) announced in February a new issue (3/2007) of the *Bibliographical Bulletin on Federalism*, available at <www.csfederalismo.it>. The online Bulletin “provides a timely update on new articles on federalism and an archive useful to researchers all over the world”, cover-

ing “specific topics related to federalism, such as the theory and practice of federal states; multi-level systems of government and governance; the theory, practice and reform of international organisations; processes of regional integration; federalism as a political idea. The specific policies of federal polities are not considered other than as case studies relevant to institutional and theoretical arguments, strictly related to federal ideas and structures.”



PUBLICATIONS ABOUT ICC

In *The Politics of Constructing the International Criminal Court: NGOs, Discourse, and Agency* (May 2008), Michael J. Struett of North Carolina State University writes: “It should be clear that the NGOs’ countless written and verbal interventions, in formal and informal settings, decisively shaped the final result on virtually every provision of the statute. That outcome can only be explained through the logical force of the communicatively rational arguments put forth by NGOs.”

Courting Conflict? Peace, Justice and the ICC in Africa (March 2008), by Nicholas Waddell and Phil Clark, includes essays by individuals belonging to several CICC member organizations <http://www.royalafricansociety.org/documents/Courting_Conflict-Justice_Peace_and_the_ICC_in_Africa.pdf>.

The War Crimes Research Office (WCRO) at American University’s recent report (March 2008), “The Gravity Threshold of the International Criminal Court”, reviews “the underlying purpose of the threshold as understood by the drafters of the Rome Statute, analyses the application of gravity in the situations and cases that have come before the Court thus far, and offers recommendations aimed at clarifying both the objectives of the threshold and the factors relevant to its satisfaction” <www.wcl.american.edu/warcrimes/icc/icc_reports.cfm>.

In his February 2008 briefing titled “The Justice Dilemma in Uganda”, United States Institute of Peace Rule of Law program adviser Scott Worden provides a

background of the Ugandan conflict and offers recommendations on how to move forward with a comprehensive justice plan <www.usip.org/pubs/usipeace_briefings/2008/0222_justice_uganda.html>.

“Prosecuting Aggression”, Noah Weisbord’s article in the winter 2008 issue of the *Harvard International Law Journal*, puts the current negotiations on this issue in the context of past initiatives, begins to forecast prosecutorial challenges created by alternative formulations, and identifies the main prosecutorial challenges common to all formulations to consider how a case against a political or military leader for the crime of aggression might look <www.harvardilj.org/print/128>.

“Puissances et impuissances de la Cour pénale internationale: des ambiguïtés de la notion de complémentarité”, an article by Benjamin Bibas & Emmanuel Chicon in the French online magazine *Mouvements* (13 April 2008 <www.mouvements.info/spip.php?article278>), offers an assessment of the work of the ICC on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Rome Statute, focusing primarily on the principle of complementarity.

According to the Coalition for the International Criminal Court, Dr Cenap Çakmak, in “Civil Society Actors in International Law and World Politics: Definition, Conceptual Framework, Problems” (*International Journal of Civil Society Law*, January 2008 <www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/intro/growing/2008/01civilintlaw.pdf>), explores “the relationship between transnational civil society organizations and the rise of a new, participatory, and pluralistic global governance. Dr Çakmak uses the CICC as an indicator of this phenomenon, pointing to the Coalition’s truly global nature, links with governmental authorities, and its position as a leading force behind adoption of the Rome Statute and the ICC.”



ICC GENDER REPORT CARD

On 30 November 2007, the Women’s Initiatives for Gender Justice launched the Gender Report Card on the Interna-

tional Criminal Court for 2007 at the Assembly of States Parties in New York. It was the third year that the WIGJ Gender Justice Gender Report Card provided an overview and assessment of each of the situations where the ICC is conducting its investigations, the charges, major judicial decisions during the year, the developments in jurisprudence regarding victims’ participation, and the institutional developments at the ICC regarding appointments and policies. The Gender Report Card 2007 and the speech given at the launch by the WIGJ Executive Director, Brigid Inder, are available at <<http://www.iccwomen.org>>.



HUMAN TRAFFICKING REPORT

The US Department of State released the *2008 Trafficking in Persons Report* on 4 June 2008. This eighth annual report, covering the globe during the period of April 2007 through March 2008, serves as the US government’s “primary diplomatic tool to encourage partnerships and determination” in counteracting human trafficking. It may be downloaded at <<http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2008/>>.



DRC DOCUMENTARY

In Lisa F. Jackson’s film, “The Greatest Silence: Rape in the Congo” (Special Jury Prize, Sundance 2008), she talks to survivors, caregivers, law enforcement officials, UN peacekeepers, and some rapists.



CHILD SOLDIERS REPORT

The Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers issued its first report since 2004 in May. It describes current patterns of child soldier use, early effects of bringing perpetrators before the ICC & the Special Court for Sierra Leone, and major shortcomings in programs to reintegrate child combatants. In addition to the important example of high-level prosecutions, “it is really important that recruiters face consequences,” said Coalition Director Victoria Forbes Adam.

~

THE COUNCIL OF WOMEN WORLD LEADERS

The Council is a network of current and former women prime ministers, presidents, and cabinet ministers whose mission is to “mobilize the highest level of global women leaders for collective action on issues of critical importance to women and equitable development”. It has ten years of experience convening women leaders and working with grassroots organizations and multilateral institutions. The Advisory Group of the Council includes six male former heads of state. FMI: www.cwwl.org

~

WOMEN LEADERS INTERCULTURAL FORUM

WLIF, a program of Realizing Rights: the Ethical Globalization Initiative, is a network of women leaders of different generations, cultures and professional disciplines, committed to “bringing about a more secure and just world”. It aims to “increase the participation of women leaders in conflict resolution and in policy-making on security by supporting the effort of principled women leaders and coordinating diplomatic missions of women leaders to areas of acute crisis”. FMI: www.realizingrights.org

Both The Council of Women World Leaders and the Women Leaders Intercultural Forum are working to support the International Colloquium on Women’s Empowerment, Leadership Development, International Peace and Security in Liberia in March 2009, to be co-convened by Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and President Tarja Halonen of Finland. At a planning meeting in Liberia in January 2008, WLIF organized workshops on “The Economics of Insecurity” and “Gender and Climate Change”. WLIF also is responsible for coordinating the Colloquium’s content on international peace and security. The Council of Women World Leaders is serving as Vice-Chair for North America, working closely with counterparts in Europe and Africa.

~

WOMEN’S LEARNING PARTNERSHIP & GLOBAL SECURITY SUMMIT

At the November 2007 Global Security Summit, President Mahnaz Afkhami committed the WLP to support the outcomes by producing and distributing training materials for political participation that will emphasize “transformational leadership” and democratic processes. A manual translated into the 17 languages used by WLP’s partner organizations in 20 countries in the global south will document the experience and expertise of Palestinian women and women in Afghanistan, Iran, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe in peacebuilding & conflict resolution and present curricula for women activists to strengthen their organizations. The purposes are to “use technology for advocacy and networking, engage young women and men in democratic leadership and human rights advocacy with curricula and trainings designed ... for them, and connect women’s organizations from the global south, especially Muslim majority countries, with women in the developed world so that they may collaborate, support and learn from one another”. FMI: www.learningpartnership.org

~

REAL SECURITY FILM

Under the auspices of the Annenberg Foundation Trust at Sunnyslans, Iris Films, a non-profit company “dedicated to making films that address social justice issues”, is producing a documentary, “Real Security”, observing the work of Betty Bigombe, former Minister of State from Uganda, Brazilian Minister of the Environment Marina Silva, a forest activist, and Sarah Sewall, director of the Carr Center for Human Rights at Harvard.

~

WOMEN’S EARTH ALLIANCE

According to Melinda Kramer, founding director of the Women’s Earth Alliance (interviewed by Rhyen Coombs in *World*

Pulse, 1 April 2008), the Alliance is “a global organization that links women working in environmental sustainability from around the world. And we provide opportunities for women to exchange resources, share best practices, build alliances around various environmental issues, and really amplify the voices of women [on] environmental sustainability. In particular, we have a focus on water because women are so inextricably linked to issues of water.” The Alliance is working with GROOTS in Kenya, which specializes in women’s collectives & cooperatives; the Green Belt Movement; A Single Drop, based in the Philippines; and a small international organization called Crabgrass. An African-led continental training conference that the Alliance planned for March in Kenya had to be postponed because of the turmoil there.

The Alliance also has a “Transformative Advocacy” project, linking women professionals in environmental justice law and other specialties with local women activists to collaborate on “a particular issue in a particular region based on a stated need” — beginning this month with Native American women in the southwest. FMI: www.womensearthalliance.org

~

INTERCULTURAL SPACES

The Irish Royal Academy organized a symposium in 2003, calling for thought on the inextricable links between culture & language & identity as their “conflicts and synergies” shift in a “globalized” world with its “plethora of intercultural spaces”, featuring both intense cultural exchange and seemingly growing intolerance. In the recently resulting book, *Intercultural Spaces: Language-Culture-Identity*, edited by Aileen Pearson-Evans and Angela Leahy (New York, Peter Lang, 2007, 301pp), various conference participants — from the worlds of politics, literature, education and the theater and from different geographical backgrounds — attempt to discern the characteristics of the cultural cross-currents in order to define and emphasize the positive and minimize the negative.



EXPLORATION FUND

George Soros announced in March the creation of a \$2million fund at the Open Society Institute to help prompt some risk-taking and entrepreneurship among scholars, journalists, and activists working on “national security; citizenship, membership and marginalization; authoritarianism; and new strategies and tools for advocacy”.



ROBOTS

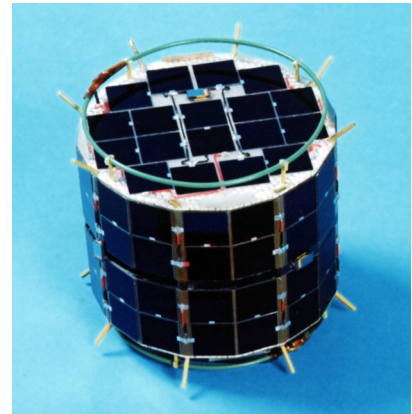
Fans of robots named “Minerva” will want to know, thanks to *Minerva* reader Mary Ellen Crowley, that there are several, including a Minerva robot that gave tours in the Smithsonian National Museum of American History, a Minerva transformer robot (Japanese cartoon), a Minerva LEGO robot, and a robot system for neurosurgery named MINERVA!

The Department of Public Affairs at JAXA, the Japan Aerospace Exploration

Agency, believes *Minerva* readers will enjoy knowing more about their exploration rover as follows:

“JAXA and IHI Aerospace have cooperatively developed the asteroid exploration rover ‘MINERVA’, which stands for Micro Nano Experimental Robot Vehicle for Asteroid. MINERVA has the unique mobility by hopping, which is specialized in the micro-gravity environment. The weight of MINERVA is about 0.6[kg]. MINERVA has 3 CCD cameras to observe the surface precisely and 6 thermometers to measure the temperature of the surface. MINERVA has on-board computer with high performance to explore autonomously.

“MINERVA is the first small body exploration rover in the world, which was taken to the asteroid 1998SF36 by Japanese spacecraft “Hayabusa”. On 12th November 2005, MINERVA was deployed by Hayabusa spacecraft. Unfortunately MINERVA could not arrive at the surface of the asteroid, but Hayabusa could communicate with MINERVA and confirm that the health of MINERVA was good.”



Minerva photo courtesy of JAXA

Back cover: **A Grazing Encounter Between Two Spiral Galaxies**
(NGC 2207 and IC2163)

Credit: NASA and The Hubble Heritage Team (STScI) - This image was created from 3 separate pointings of Hubble. The Wide Field Planetary Camera 2 data sets were obtained by Debra Meloy Elmegreen (Vassar College), Bruce G. Elmegreen (IBM Research Division), Michele Kaufman (Ohio State University), Elias Brinks (Universidad de Guanajuato, Mexico), Curt Struck (Iowa State University), Magnus Thomasson (Onsala Space Observatory, Sweden), Maria Sundin (Goteborg University, Sweden), and Mario Klaric (Columbia, South Carolina).

“Trapped in their mutual orbit around each other, these two galaxies will continue to distort and disrupt each other. Eventually, billions of years from now, they will merge into a single, more massive galaxy. It is believed that many present-day galaxies, including the Milky Way, were assembled from a similar process of coalescence of smaller galaxies occurring over billions of years.”