

André Gsponer - Contribution in Absentia Globalization and National Defence

While it is now commonplace to discuss at length the economic, social, and political implications of the current dynamics of globalization of the economy, the military implications of this process are largely ignored by the public and the media, as well as by most intellectuals and other opinion leaders.

For instance, with the possible exception of session four, which alludes to strategy through the concept of global governance, the military dimension of the globalization process is totally absent from the program of this conference. Is the military going to be the guarantor of the fundamental liberties of the citizens of the Nation-states or the protector of international free-trade? Is the military going to serve the interests of the mightiest nations or the international community at large?

From a military¹ point of view, globalization of the economy can be perceived as a diffuse strategy of world dominance, ideologically rooted in the postulated universality of the present Occidental economic model. From a tactical point of view, this strategy makes use of the most refined methods of economic and psychological warfare, which may take the seemingly benign forms of international trade agreements, marketing, management, or communication. The result is a subtle, ruthless, and anonymous mode of imperialism in which the absence of immediate physical violence is not the measure of the true number of casualties.

In fact, economic globalization in the name of international trade or financial efficiency leads to a more and more visible erosion of the fundamental role of the State in democratic nations: the defence of the economic well-being of the citizens. In particular, for the majority of countries where land is the main source of subsistence, the traditional role of armed forces has always been to defend the national territory. Due to the great volume of contemporary transnational exchanges, this picture is now somewhat obsolete. Nevertheless, it is true that the progressive loss of many major social and economic achievements of the welfare state is a consequence of the growing decline of the regional economy relative to the global economy. If modern democratic States become less and less capable of defending their citizens against economic aggression, should not the goal of their national defence be redefined?

Centuries were needed for democratic States to come into existence and to start functioning in an acceptable way. It is therefore doubtful that any sus-

tainable form of global governance will emerge from the current dynamics of globalization without many adjustments. On the contrary, it is likely that the kind of global economy, which is now swiftly being imposed without any truly democratic debate, will result in a very conflictual situation, which may well lead to a world war.

In this context, one must not ignore the rapid changes that characterize the evolution of military strategy and technology in all highly industrialized countries, including Japan and Germany. For instance, the emphasis on professionalization and intervention forces clearly indicates a redefinition of national interests in terms of transnational objectives. Moreover, the development and possible deployment of a fourth generation of nuclear weapons (which would not qualify as weapons of 'mass' destruction) is another symptom of the fragility of the current strategic environment. A nuclear arms race, in which the most economically advanced countries (e.g., Japan, France, Germany, etc.) would compete to become the second largest military power in the next century, would then be nothing less than the military counterpart of their fierce economic competition on the world market.

In conclusion, policing the global economy cannot be discussed in isolation from its geo-strategic implications. This is especially true since international trade agreements are also powerful instruments of national policies. Neither does it make sense to discuss global governance without due consideration to the foreseeable evolution of the balance of force between all potential actors, whether on the ideological, technological, or military levels. Finally, such discussion cannot be held without the participation of all major Asian, Arab, or African States, as well as of many smaller Occidental States, whose sovereignty is challenged by globalization. This is why a whole session of this forum could have been devoted to the subject of "Globalization and National Defence."

¹The words military and peace are nowadays often replaced by the euphemistic expressions defence and security. Military activity refers to offensive or defensive use of force, whether physical or psychological, direct or indirect, open or covert, in the pursuit of an economic or political goal.

POLICING THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

Why, How and for Whom?

Proceedings of the
International Conference
organized by the
BELLERIVE FOUNDATION AND GLOBE INTERNATIONAL
Co-sponsored by the W. Alton Jones Foundation, Inc.

Geneva March 1998

Edited by
SADRUDDIN AGA KHAN



CAMERON
MAY
INTERNATIONAL LAW & POLICY

CONTENTS

Preface.....	8
Co-Chairmen's conclusions.....	11

OPENING SESSION

Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan.....	12
Gérard Ramseyer.....	16
HE Ambassador Walter B Gyger.....	19
HE Kofi Annan.....	21
HE Ambassador Renato Ruggiero.....	22
Tom Spencer.....	29

SESSION 1: BEYOND THE DAVOS CULTURE

The Rt Hon Sir Leon Brittan.....	36
Ricardo Petrella.....	43
Klaus Schwab.....	49
John Cavanagh.....	55
Paul H Dembinski.....	59
MD Nanjundaswamy.....	64
Luciana Castellina.....	66
Questions from Session 1.....	70

SESSION 2: HOW CAN THE TRADE & ENVIRONMENT AGENDA BE REVIVED?

Gary Sampson.....	82
Robert Madelin.....	87
Konrad Von Moltke.....	92
Dom Mauro Morelli.....	98
Vandana Shiva.....	104
Stanley Johnson.....	110
Carlos Pimenta.....	113
Beat Burgenmeier.....	116
Questions from Session 2.....	121

SESSION 3: UN REFORM: BALANCING THE WTO WITH A PROPOSED 'WORLD ENVIRONMENT ORGANISATION'

HE Ambassador Rubens Ricuperro.....	128
David Korten.....	136
Talal Abu-Ghazaleh.....	146
Chiedu Osakwe.....	155
Hazel Henderson.....	160
Ricardo Melendez-Ortiz.....	165
Edward Goldsmith.....	171
Questions from Session 3.....	179

SESSION 4: GLOBALIZATION: THE CHALLENGE OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE REFLECTING THE CULTURAL AND ETHICAL DIMENSIONS

HE Ambassador Bill Richardson.....	186
Martin Khor.....	191
Lukas Vischer.....	197
Michel Rocard.....	201
Gary Sampson.....	207
Carlo Ripa di Meana.....	212
Pierre Lehmann.....	220
Questions from Session 4.....	223

CLOSING STATEMENTS

Tom Spencer.....	230
Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan.....	232
Contribution in absentia from André Gsponer.....	235
Unanswered and partially answered questions from all sessions.....	237
Annexes.....	248
List of Speakers.....	281
List of Participants (not including Missions and Media).....	284
List of Participants - Missions.....	298
List of Participants - Media.....	302