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Topic: New challenges for Diplomacy.
Safeguard and pursue national interests
inside regional integration.

Soundbyte

- The cold war ended in 1990. The cold war's geo-political structure ended in February/March 2003
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I. The role of the US

- ❑ US as megapower but no international institutionalisation reflecting this new phenomenon
 - ❑ Unilateral multilateralism
 - ❑ Prevention and pre-emption, but what about other countries
 - ❑ Coalition of the willing – pressure on the unwilling
 - ❑ US losing its hard won right of primogeniture showing the way, rallying nations and people behind a banner of ethics and values
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II. Power

- There has never been so much power around, never been so difficult to use it
 - Military. Who are the enemy, how to fight the enemy, structure of armed forces
 - Economics. Globalization limits the room of manoeuvre for individual nation-states
 - Values. Fight for the moral high ground. Fundamentalism, US strive for democracy.
 - The power vector winning the game is ethics, you can do very little against the global opinion, dissemination of news out of control.
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III. The former model – Nationalism.

The former – national – model was based upon.

- ❑ Pursuance of national interests.
 - ❑ Safeguard of sovereignty.
 - ❑ Nation-state \neq international system's performance.
 - ❑ Von Clausewitz: Crisis – conflict – confrontation \rightarrow possible war.
 - ❑ Protect the nation-state. Gain on behalf of other nation-states, zero sum game.
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IV. The new model – Globalization/Regionalization

- ❑ Transnational forces, Supranational enterprises, International organisations,
 - ❑ Cross border pressure groups Multinational civic society
 - ❑ Secure international system as basis for security and wealth of nation-states. International system \neq nation-state's performance.
 - ❑ New Strategic thinking: Co-operation – Compromise – Consensus → Global Governance
 - ❑ Win – Win.
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V. The shifts. Scarcity. (1/4).

- ❑ The era of plenty gives way to the era of scarcity.
 - ❑ Water, energy, food, raw materials.
 - ❑ Burden sharing lurking just around the corner
 - ❑ The world is totally unprepared
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V. The Shifts. Economics. (2/4).

- Formerly economic activity took place primarily at the national level. Regulatory framework was also national.
 - Now economic activity is being globalised but a large part of regulatory framework and legislation is still national.
 - The main problem: Ensure that economic activity and regulatory framework plus legislation operate on the same level.
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V. The Shifts. Security – human security. (3/4).

Legitimacy of the political system. Protection of the citizen.

- Formerly: Threats – militarily and economically – against nation-states.
 - Now: Threats at human security, human welfare, stability of society: Well functioning of society. Economic↑ Military ↓
 - How to deliver when regulatory framework and legislation becomes more international hence outside the grasp of national political system
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V. The Shifts. International Legal system. (4/4).

- ❑ Former system geared to protect the nation-state against other nation-states and/or the international community.
 - ❑ Future threats. Protect the international system (globalization) against nation-states threatening the well functioning of the international system.
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VI. Changed outlook–new definitions (1/4)

- ❑ Regulatory framework slips out of national box.
 - ❑ Cuts link nation-state ↔ corporations. Citizens. Organisations.
 - ❑ Asymmetry. Established players + established interests less influence on regulatory framework. Unknown players with unknown interests more influence.
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VI. Changed outlook–new definitions (2/4)

- ❑ Sovereignty
 - ❑ Defensive in its character. Globalisation makes this meaningless
 - ❑ Transfer/pooling of sovereignty.
 - ❑ Sovereignty (power) not fixed/static but can be increased and exercised at several layers at the same time.
 - ❑ Domestic rules interact with economic internationalization and international rules to enlarge room of manoeuvre – economically and regulatory framework.
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VI. Changed outlook–new definitions (3/4)

- ❑ Nation-state pursue own political preferences. Legitimacy political system.
 - ❑ Only in conformity with and not in contradiction to international rules.
 - ❑ Nation-state shifts from defensive attitude to offensive tactic shaping international rules.
Examples (1): Nuclear power stations. Haze.
Examples (2): SARS. Bird flu
 - ❑ The defense of nation-states sovereignty takes place internationally.
 - ❑ Adjustment burden on other nation-states.
Example: Technical standards.
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VI. Changed outlook–new definitions (4/4)

- ❑ Legislation and regulatory framework shift from national level to international level.
 - ❑ How to ensure
 - transparency
 - accountability
 - legitimacy
 - ❑ How to make an international political system responsive to OUR needs and wishes.
 - ❑ Which channels to built up? A whole new pattern of political communication with new players.
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VII. The EU System (1/7).

- ❑ Supranational.
 - ❑ Conceptually accept the realities and draw the consequences by pooling sovereignty.
 - ❑ EU rules directly applicable in nation-states, takes precedence over national legislation.
 - ❑ Answer the question above: How to ensure transparency, accountability, legitimacy.
 - ❑ A European model but basic elements universal.
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VII. The EU System (2/7).

- ❑ Commission - Europe
 - ❑ Independent of member states
 - ❑ Exclusive right of initiatives
 - ❑ The guardian of the treaties
 - ❑ Why? The driver of integration, look at EU as a whole disregarding national interests.
 - ❑ How to know what is going on, how to influence?
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VII. The EU System (3/7).

- ❑ Council – member states
 - ❑ Decision-maker
 - ❑ Ref EU rules↑National rules↓ explains why member states must be ultimate decider.
 - ❑ Unanimity, simple majority, qualified majority (QMV).
 - ❑ Negotiation process heavily influenced by QMV.
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VII. The EU System (4/7).

- ❑ QMV. Break through 1986, Single Market
 - ❑ Force member states to negotiate in earnest
 - ❑ Explain negotiating position → pressure on domestic group to explain and understand
 - ❑ Consensus and compromise. Join a consensus to get i.a. 75% or say no and get nothing. You cannot block!
 - ❑ Education in INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL MATURITY.
 - ❑ Link EU → domestic political system.
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VII. The EU System (5/7).

- ❑ European Parliament
 - ❑ More and more influence.
 - ❑ Only powers to block.
 - ❑ Still consultative.
 - ❑ Moving gradually towards people`s chamber in a bicameral system but slowly.
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VII. The EU System (6/7).

- ❑ Court of Justice
 - ❑ A powerful institution getting influence on the integration
 - ❑ Not only institutions and member states but also individuals can take matters to the Court and they do!
 - ❑ Remarkable example of a rule based international system
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VII. The EU System (7/7).

- ❑ Analysed over the years the EU is moving towards a bicameral system – commission/government, Council/Senate, parliament, Supreme Court. Still some way to go
 - ❑ The reason
 - the new model, international
 - offensive interpretation of sovereignty and nation-state`s political preferences
 - Legitimacy of political system
 - ❑ Most important of all: If you stop halfway in an integration you will face all the problems but you limit political instruments to deal with them
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VIII. Case studies - EMU.

- ❑ The long march – 1969→ 2002.
 - ❑ Economic interdependence→Congruous economic policies→EMU→reap the benefits of a de facto situation.
 - ❑ Background. Exchange rate adjustment no longer effective economic policy instrument.
 - ❑ Regulatory impact
 - Strong: Single market for goods, freedom for labour and capital, monetary policy, fiscal policy?
 - Weaker/slower: Tax harmonisation, services, restructuring across borders, supervision financial institutions
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IX. General lessons. Applicable also outside European framework. (1/2)

- ❑ Political will. Pursue national interests in the globalized world.
 - ❑ The nation-states too small in the globalized world.
 - ❑ Sense of common interest and common destiny.
 - ❑ A positive sum game.
 - ❑ Not a goal in itself.
 - ❑ Problem grinder.
 - ❑ Congruity with domestic political goals.
 - ❑ Set long term objective – pursue it step by step.
 - ❑ Do not be discouraged in case of set back – wait and then try again, judge the political and economic conditions.
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IX. General lessons. Applicable also outside European framework. (2/2)

- ❑ All member states take part in all aspects of the integration. Stakeholders.
 - ❑ Institutions constitute the foundation, without institutions no rules based cooperation.
 - ❑ A hard core of member states as drivers.
 - ❑ Find a role in the world.
 - ❑ Influence in the world depends upon link to domestic policies.
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X. What the integration can and should do.

- Make it visible for citizens why it is there.
 - Be a stakeholder in globalization.
 - Not an end in itself - a tool for solving problems.
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XI. Conclusion.

- ❑ EU is the first of its kind. Extrapolating the domestic rules based – legal – system onto the international level.
 - ❑ Despite all shortcomings trying to establish an international political system with rights and obligations for all member states.
 - ❑ The art of compromise, negotiations.
 - ❑ We all have an interest that this continues to be successful.
 - ❑ The alternative is back to the nation-state rivalry.
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