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Cosmopolitan Democracy: Re-evaluation of Globalization and World Economic System

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COSMOPOLITIAN DEMOCRACY: RE-EVALUATION OF GLOBALIZATION & WORLD
ECONOMIC SYSTEM

BY

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A master's thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in partial fulfillment of

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Liberal
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ABSTRACT

Cosmopolitan Democracy: Re-evaluation of Globalization & World

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Advisor: Professor Roslyn Bologh

This thesis examines cosmopolitan democracy theory as a method of addressing the problems of globalization. I begin by introducing the concept of "cosmopolitan democracy." I then proceed to discuss contemporary political climate and its relation to critiques of globalization. Finally, I conclude by examining the elaborations of cosmopolitan democracy by various theorists as a way of addressing these problems. Chapter 1 introduces the work of David Held who introduced the concept in his book, *Cosmopolitan Democracy and the Global Order: Reflections on the 20th Anniversary of Kant's "Perpetual Peace."* Cosmopolitan democracy refers to global governance through democratic theory. Held illustrates the shortcomings of current global institutions such as the United Nations and Bretton Woods Institutes with regard to addressing problems in a democratic manner caused by globalization. Chapter 2 discusses contemporary political climate through the rebirth of nationalism and the role of the globalization in these matters. Chapter 3 elaborates on the theory of cosmopolitan democracy by examining four major interpretations and elaborations of this theory as alternatives to solving global problems. It ends with my concluding thoughts.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

According to David Held in the text *Cosmopolitan Democracy and the Global Order: Reflections on the 200th Anniversary of Kant's "Perpetual Peace"*, cosmopolitan democracy can be defined as the establishment of an international democratic community committed to upholding the democratic public law across boundaries. This is based on the creation of expanding the number of states to prevent war permanently under a political structure such as Republicanism or Confederalism by which the gathering of nation states is voluntary and can be dissolved at any time. Cosmopolitan democracy requires the active consent among the nation states as the foundation of a single global political unit can be impractical, potentially dangerous, and contradictory to democratic theory. Thus, as active consent is necessary, citizens of the nation states must be directly engaged in the process of governance, or "consent ought to follow the majority decision of the people's representatives as long as they - the trustees of the governed - up-hold cosmopolitan democratic law and covenants." (Held, 424). Though consent is important for cosmopolitan democracy to prosper, the matter of the contention which shall be discussed is how democracy should be understood while securing the series of the interconnected powers and authorities on the global level. As Held discusses, Democracy involves not only the implementation of the civil, political and social rights but also the pursuit and enactment of such rights in transnational and intergovernmental structures. Thus, through the evaluation of democratic theory, the text provides an analysis of how democracy can be sustained as a global political unit.

My dissertation will discuss cosmopolitan democracy as a global political unit by analyzing contemporary contentions of globalization, its social structures and how cosmopolitan democracy can address such complications. The text will discuss how to transform the goals that guide the investment of capital accumulation in the world economic system which focuses on capital profit

rather than the advancement of human development. Furthermore, the text will analyze democratic theory and its congruence with cosmopolitan democracy.

The discussion of cosmopolitan democracy as a global political unit is of importance due to current contentions of globalization. As defined by Lisa Lowe, globalization is the economic, social, political interdependence of cultures, societies, and nation-states that have been precipitated by the expansion of capitalism on a global scale. While such expansion of globalization has transcendence the manner in which humanity interacts, it also has its discontents which are due to the global economic system. This is illustrated in *Zygmunt Bauman's Wasted Lives: Modernity and Its Outcast,* which takes a critical view of Globalization in the context of waste. The central argument of Bauman's criticism of globalization is based on the observation of Richard Rorty who stated the "central fact of globalization" in 1993. To sum up briefly, the economic actions of citizens have passed beyond the control of the nation-states. States can no longer dictate if the money saved or earned in one country will be spent and invested in that country. This, in turn, has created a global class of the super-rich that can operate without any thought of interest but their own. To Bauman's conclusion, this is neither legal nor illegal due to the fact that there is no global polity or law in operation to set such distinctions. (Bauman, 64-65). One might argue entities such as the United Nations, World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), do play the roles of polity and law although such polity is based on patronage and clientele. The economic fact of globalization has, in turn, created a ripple effect on nation states who are taking on the burdens of globalization through surplus humans, whether migrants, refugees or asylum seekers. Humans that are viewed as waste, oftentimes are categorized as genuine villains with the hysterical linkage between migrants and terrorist. This, in turn is causing anxiety over the loss of historical privilege among natives of Western societies and has translated into a rightward shift in political attitudes towards nationalism and nativism. Though such critiques are legitimate, the issue of nationalistic rebirth, lies on the intense

desires of patriotism within nation states, which sets a dangerous precedent with effects that are well documented based on the historical processes of both World Wars.

The current contentions of globalization are based on the global capitalist economic system which has led neoliberal policies that aim to maximize capital accumulation through fiscal austerity, privatization, deregulations, and outsourcing of jobs. While such discontents are legitimate, nation-states cannot solve global problems individually due to their complexity and require international action. Cosmopolitan democracy as the unit of global political order can begin to address such issues while reevaluating the goals that guide such investment of the capital accumulation while implementing policies that focus on the advancement of human development on a global scale with an emphasis on the commonality of humankind, and the defense of human rights. Further, democratic theory must also be reexamined while discussing cosmopolitan democracy as a model of a global unit of the political order, much of which this text aims to address.

The dissertation seeks to answer what alterations are taking place in the structure of interstate relations? What are the repercussions of economic and cultural globalization in international relations? Which institutions can offer a basis for deliberation over, and action upon, global problems? Lastly, it seeks to answer how we can redefine the processes of globalization that is beneficial to human development through cosmopolitan democracy.

The first section of the text will discuss the current political climate and current trends of isolationism and rebirth of nationalist ideals by nation states that include, the United States, United Kingdom in case of the Brexit and its referendum to leave to the European Union. The section will discuss the importance of rebirth of nationalism and its role in the critique of globalization. The critique of globalization will be analyzed on the two lenses. The first lens is based on economic globalization and the world capitalist system. This includes the role of US hegemony in International

Relations. The first critique of economic globalization will also include an analysis on the historical processes of globalization and its discontent, and the origins of global institutions such the Bretton Woods institutes as well as the United Nations in their significance. The second lens of critique is based on cultural globalization and the role of the multiculturalism. In the following chapter, through historical analysis, the text will provide theoretical solutions to contemporary issues of economic and cultural globalization. The solution is based on cosmopolitan democracy which aims to generate democratic governance at a variety of levels, including the global level while increasing pluralism, accountability, and social equity. The solutions will focus on various theories of cosmopolitan democracy and the methodologies of achieving global governance. The text will also discuss economic globalization and potential solutions to economic globalization through various ideologies in the case of the Third Way. The alternative solutions proposed intent to reevaluate how current global policies can be reconstructed through cosmopolitan democracy to focus on human development rather than capital accumulation.

CHAPTER 2: CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL POLITICAL REALITIES

The contemporary global political climate can be depicted as the rebirth of nationalistic ideology in the case of the United States election of Donald Trump, United Kingdom's referendum to leave the European Union also known as Brexit as well as the election of Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil. It also includes the nationalist policies of the Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, his counterpart Narendra Modi in India, the Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan as well as the success of far-right parties in Italian, German, French and Austrian elections from 2017 through 2018. In essence, the commonality of these movements is based on the ideals of what is known as far-right nationalism. This entails racist, xenophobic attitudes towards marginalized groups and migrants seeking refuge in particular nation states. It also includes authoritarianism and longing for a superficial past, as well as the call for isolationism through the reassertion of nationalistic ideals. As discussed by Florian Bieber in the text *Is Nationalism on the Rise? Assessing Global Trends*,

> Nationalism is best understood as a malleable and narrow ideology, which values membership in a nation greater than other groups (i.e. based on gender parties or socio-economic groups), seeks distinction from other nations, and strives to preserve the nation and give preference to political representation by the nation for the nation (Bieber, 520).

Based on the Hans Kohn text, *The Idea of Nationalism: A study on its Origins and Background*, Bieber further illustrates "conventionally, nationalism has been distinguished between an ethnic and a civic variant. Civic nationalism is based on citizenship and the ability of individuals to join the nation, whereas ethnic nationalism is based on the myth of common descent and is less inclusive. (Bieber, 521) The rebirth of nationalistic ideology is in part, a rebellion against globalization and its liberal ideals which can be defined based on the interpretations of Lisa Lowe in the text *"Globalization." Keywords for American Cultural Studies*. Globalization is can be described as the "economic, social, political interdependence cultures, societies, and nation states that have been

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precipitated by the expansion of capitalism on global scale" (Lowe, 1). This includes open borders and large scale-immigration, as well as foreign intervention on economic sovereignty of nation states. The rebirth of nationalism is on the premise of reasserting the nation-state as the proper unit of political order.

Critique of Globalization I: World Economic System

The critiques of globalization, or liberal internationalism is based on various circumstances. The first derives from economic globalization and the global economic system which are based on the ideology of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism can be defined as a set of policies that aim to increase opportunities and profit for businesses and investors through the reduction of government spending on public welfare while privatizing government services, and public goods in the case of infrastructure and national resources. This process includes selling public goods and services to private corporations and investors who in turn, aim to maximize their profits by increasing rates of such services. During economic stagnation, governments are often pressured to impose fiscal austerity, which are a set of economic policies the government implements to control the public sector debt while privatizing goods and services. It also includes deregulations, and the abolition of regulations that impede the entry of new firms or restrict competition, except in the areas of safety, environment and finance. A key aspect of neoliberalism is trade liberation and the increasing foreign direct investment (FDI) by reducing barriers. (Saad-Filho & Johnson 1-6). This can be seen in the creation of international free trade agreements such as European Union (E.U), North American Trade Agreement (NAFTA), as well as Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) which essentially remove trade barrier on goods.

The world economic system can also be examined based on the theory of Immanuel Wallerstein, who published *The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts*

for Comparative Analysis; discussing the world-system theory in relation to the capitalist world economy as a total social system (Wallerstein, 390). Based on the interpretations of the Walter L. Goldfrank, Wallerstein describes the world system theory as "a world economy" that is integrated through the market rather than a political center, in which two or more regions are interdependent with respect to resources as they also compete for hegemonic power (Goldfrank, 167). He defines such system based on the division of labor in which the production and exchange of basic goods and raw materials is necessary for all. The division of labor refers to the relations of production for the world economy as it leads to the existence of the two interdependent regions known as the core and periphery. Geographically and culturally different, the core focuses on capital intensive while the periphery focuses on the labor-intensive production. The semi-peripheral act as buffer zone between the two with mixture of institutions within them. Power hierarchy between the systems is important as core are powerful, wealthy nations that dominate and exploit peripheral nations. The advancement of nations depends on their position in such system. Wallerstein's world system theory can be viewed through neoliberalism as it operates under the liberal notion of limited government, and free trade that is focused on capital accumulation (Goldfrank, 168-169).

Economic globalization today can also be interpreted through the role of the U.S hegemony. This is an important matter of the contention when discussing the historical progression of economic globalization and its neoliberal policies. U.S hegemony can be marked through the Washington Census which are a set of economic policy recommendations for developing countries, and Latin America in particular, that became popular during the 1980s. The term Washington Consensus, coined by John Williamson, refers to the level of agreement between the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and U.S. Department of the Treasury on those policy recommendations. These policy recommendations were neoliberal as they activated the free market and the reduction of state involvement, which were seen as crucial to the development of semi periphery and periphery

countries also known as the Global South.

The Washington Consensus has been met with criticism as further illustrated by Alfredo Saad-Filho in the text *From Washington to Post-Washington Consensus: Neoliberal Agendas for Economic Development.*

> Politically, in the rich countries neoliberalism seeks to cancel the "Keynesian consensus" and roll back the welfare states, at least partially. In contrast, in the poor countries, Keynesianism and the welfare state have never existed, and although state intervention was often unwieldy and inefficient, it was indispensable for rapid growth and the promotion of social justice, among other areas. In these countries, Washington consensus policies reduce state capacity to address pressing social problems, including poverty, unemployment and the concentration income and wealth (Saad-Filho, 115).

With the appointment of Joseph Stiglitz as chief economist of the World Bank in 1997, there was a shift towards what was known as the "Post Washington Consensus", which acknowledged "the fact that at the core of the development process lies profound shift social relations…" (Saad-Filho, 117). However, such changes suffer the same weakness as the Washington consensus due to parallel ideological principles.

> They are both highly conservative in fiscal and monetary policies, and support "free" trade, privatization, and liberalization and deregulation. The only significant different between them concerns the speed, depth and method of reform, because new institutionalism accepts the potential usefulness of localised state intervention in order to correct specific market failures (Saad-Filho, 118).

The role of U.S in such matters relating to globalization and global capitalism is further discussed by Dawn Paley in the text *Drug War Capitalism*, who references William I. Robinson, as he explained the overarching goal of U.S foreign policy during an interview in 2011. "All the evidence shows us

that what the US is doing is playing the lead role in organizing a new globalist capitalist system, a new epoch of global capitalism" (Paley, 24). According to Robinson, world capitalism was a system in which circuits of production existed first within and later between nations. Global capitalism, which is the current system, consist of transnational circuits of production and trade in which manufacturing takes place across nations rather than within them. As an example, under the world capitalism, clothes were sewn in Mexico from fabric made of Mexica-grown cotton, and under global capitalism, fabric is imported, clothing is partially assembled in Mexico and exported for completion in the US (Paley, 24). As further explained by Paley, while referencing Robinson,

> Political and economic power tends to gravitate towards new groups linked to the global power economy, either directly or indirectly through reorganized local states apparatuses which function as "transmission belts" for transnational interests. In every region of the world, both North and South, from Eastern Europe to Latin America, states, economies and political processes are becoming transnationalized and integrated under the guidance of this new elite (Paley, 24).

Elsewhere, Paley notes that nation-state capitalism had placed an accumulation while breaking free of the class compromises, and concessions that had once been imposed by working and popular classes as well as the national governments in the preceding era. "In Mexico, as we have seen, many of these compromises and concessions survived the imposition of NAFTA and the onset of neoliberalism into the twenty-first century" (Paley, 25). Saad-Filho further claims that the key issue of concern relating to neoliberalism is that the,

> Pattern of growth is undesirable because it concentrates income and power, perpetuates deprivation, and prevents the realization of human potential. The limitations and insufficiencies of neoliberalism make it essential for the poor majority, who have hardly benefited from economic development for an entire generation, consider alternative policies

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for their countries. These policies should respond to the imperatives of equality, democracy and social justice, and foster economic growth, mass employment, social inclusion, [and] the satisfaction of basic needs and the provision of welfare for the vast majority of the population. Experience shows that these objectives can be achieved only through the deployment of centrally co-ordinated industrial and investment policy (Saad-Filho, 118).

I concur with Saad-Filho on such issue. For such reform to be accomplished, a strong democratic state, with clear objectives, along with internal and external cohesion through cosmopolitanism is required. This includes the capacity to control the economically powerful part of the population. Achievement of economic reform requires the recognition of the negative consequences of neoliberalism, and the mass mobilization by global citizens. I expect this can be achieved through cosmopolitan democracy.

Critique of Globalization II: Pluralism and Multiculturalism

Pluralism and Multiculturalism Defined

The second critique of the globalization is based on pluralism and multiculturalism. While stresses dissemination of democratic power among variety of ethnic groups within a society. Multiculturalism initiates such ideals through public policy, under the protection of the law. The preservation of diverse cultural identities is enacted through policies in conjunction with political entities within a society. Pluralism assumes diversity is beneficial to society and autonomy should be enjoyed by all cultural groups within a society, including religious groups, trade unions, professional organizations, and ethnic minorities (Taylor, 329). As cultural globalization plays an active role in unifying the world and deconstructing arbitrary borders, most modern democracies are comprised of citizens with diverse cultural viewpoints, practices, and contributions. The migration of people causes many minority cultural groups to experience exclusion or the defamation of their cultures and identities.

Multiculturalism seeks the inclusion of minority views and the contributions of diverse members of society while maintaining respect for their differences and withholding the demand for their assimilation into the dominant culture.

While multiculturalism is achieved through the enactment of the policies in any given society, the institutions in these societies promote pluralism and diversity. As a liberal democratic society, the U.S is considered a multicultural society based on the foundation of its Constitution. This includes the right to freedom of speech, economic liberty as well as religious practice. Through constitutional law, the Republic theoretically facilitates multiculturalism while preserving cultures of intersectional minorities in the society. Institutions showcase the practice through policies such as Affirmative Action that seek establish to equal access to education, employment regardless of an individual's sex, race, and religion. Though Jodi Melamed in the text *The Spirit of Neoliberalism: From Racial Liberalism to Neoliberal Multiculturalism,* illustrates such practices are on false pretense as "Multiculturalism reference masks the centrality of race and racism to neoliberalism." (Melamed, 1). In our globalized world, with capitalism central to our development, "Race continues to permeate capitalism's economic and social processes, organizing the hyperextraction of surplus value from racialized bodies and naturalizing a system of capital accumulation that grossly favors the global North over the global South." (Melamed, 1).

The presentation of multiculturalism is important to its success in any given society. As Charles Taylor discusses in the text *Interculturalism, Multiculturalism,* the misunderstanding of multiculturalism creates resistances to the policies as it can be seen in the case of the Canada, and European societies. "The underlying assumption seems to be that too much positive recognition of cultural differences will encourage a retreat into ghettos, and a refusal to accept the political ethic of liberal democracy itself…" (Taylor, 330). In the case of Canada, its success of multiculturalism derives from the nation's concern with integration and putting greater emphasis on matters such as

teaching the national languages.

Objections of Pluralism and Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is also closely associated with *Identity Politics* which attempt to further the interests of particular group of people based on shared identities in civil societies rather than shared cultures. This in part, led to World War I, and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a multicultural society. Bases on the observations of Margaret MacMillan in the text *The War That Ended Peace: The Road to 1914*, the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary by Serbian nationalist causes the declaration of War to Serbia which in turn, caused a causal sequence of events and the formation of mutual defenses alliances throughout the region. Identity politics played an important role in such predicaments (Margaret, 1). However, both identity politics and multiculturalism have in common the demand for recognition to amend for past injustices. This is illustrated by J. Kenhaulani Kauanui in the text *"Indigenous." Keywords for American Cultural Studies.* This can be seen in the case of indigenous peoples in the U.S who struggle to press for the inclusivity and self-determination though not being classified as citizens therefore not subjected to laws of the society.

There are varying degrees of the objections to multiculturalism. The first of which includes the belief that privileges the good of the certain groups of people over the common good, thereby potentially eroding the common good in favor of a minority interest. The second is that multiculturalism undermines the notion of equal individual rights, thereby weakening the political value individuals for equal treatment. This can be seen during the late 1960s with emergence of the multiculturalism in response to mobilization of minorities groups in various Western democratic nations such the United States who aimed at gaining recognition. The recognitions the minority groups sought included land rights and self-governance for indigenous people, strengthening regional

autonomy and language for sub-state national groups, as well as adopting inclusive policies for immigrant groups. This brought backlash in which scholars such as Brian Barry and Samuel Huntington believed the ideals of multiculturalism stand to challenge liberal democracy. Such ideals of liberal democracy are based on the core Enlightenment values of individual freedom, democratic citizenship and universal human rights. Liberal democracy holds the notion all citizens should be treated equally under the law based on the shared common identity of "citizenship" regardless of an individual's cultural, political, and economic status in a society. Scholars believes this leads to a tendency of homogenizing the collectiveness of citizens and assuming a common political culture that all citizens participate in, while understating ways in which such citizens are not equal (Kymlicka, 209-210). Such view tends to discount other prominent features of the identities politics that surpass citizen, such as class, race, gender and religion.

There are scholars such as Isabel Metz and Eddy S. Ng who believe multiculturalism serves as an effective public policy tool in enhancing a nation's competitiveness in the era of globalization. This can be in the case of Canada and Australia. Through policies of the pluralism and multiculturalism, these nations can attract skilled talents necessary for the development of their perspective societies. "Immigrants who retain their ties with their countries of origin (home countries) can serve as natural trade links for their countries of residence (host country) and contribute to a reverse 'brain flow rather than a brain gain/drain for the countries of residence/origin." (Ng, E.S. & Metz, I. J, 254). Though such perspective promotes socioeconomic mobility for diverse individuals, theorists such as Richard Rorty issue the concern that multiculturalism can lead to a competition between cultural groups all seeking recognition which sequentially reinforce the dominance of the governing culture. Rorty in the text the *Postmodernist Bourgeois Liberalism* discusses importance of finding national solidarity with a society while discussing impossibility of cultural values of a particular group dominating others (586-587).

Furthermore, Trevor Philips, the founding chair of the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) believes Britain is on the edge of catastrophe on the issue of "super-diversity". A term coined by Steven Vertovec, that intends to underline the level of cultural complexity surpassing anything previously experienced in a particular society. (Vertovec, 970). As Philips states, there are two main social problems associated with 21st century super-diversity. The first of which includes, "...rather than producing integrated societies in which race and ethnicity count for less and less in our destinies, western societies are more and more stratified by these characteristics." (Phillips, Trevor, et al., 3). The second emerging concern is associated with the question of "offence" in which, "Increasingly, the world-views of very different social identity groupings are colliding. Incompatible attitudes of sex, religion and the rule of law are producing frictions for which the tried and trusted social lubricants seem just too thin." (Phillips, Trevor, et al., 3). Richard Rorty, Trevor Philips, among other scholars express the concern on the clash of cultures with regards to other important differences such as class and sex.

The current contention is the manner in which multiculturalism is analyzed philosophically, socially and politically in a cosmopolitan democratic society. Multicultural policies are ultimately enacted for minority groups to assimilate to the dominating culture. Such assimilation is not basis forgetting one's own culture but rather understanding all cultures while practicing one's own culture. In a multicultural society, particular groups can maintain particular identities while residing and being integral and recognizable part of the whole society. The inclination of particular groups to advocate for autonomy derives from the basis of experiencing suppression politically and/or economically by the dominating group. The protection of minority cultures ultimately contributes to the enrichment of the dominant culture, and the development of the society as a whole though in our globalized world, political economy of the society must also be appraised.

Multiculturalism is both a response to the fact of cultural pluralism in modern democracies

and a form of compensating cultural groups for past exclusion, discrimination, and oppression. It is also due to current trends of cultural globalization which can be defined as the transmission of ideas, and values around the world transcending current social relations. The process is marked by the global consumption of cultures that have been transcended through time and space on vary degrees such as our method of interacts on the world wide web, our consumption popular culture media, as well as through international travel and the migration of people.

Cultural globalization can be depicted through film industries such as Bollywood, the Indian, and Hindi-language film industry and largest of the world. Its Nigerian counterpart Nollywood, as the second largest film in the world, followed by the third largest in the case of Hollywood, the Western film industry. The entertainment industries have transcended cultural globalization through pop culture. This is well illustrated by Jonathan Matusitz and Pam Payano in the text *Globalisation of Popular Culture: From Hollywood to Bollywood.*

> Bollywood is renowned for its vivacious and effervescent musical sequences and romantic love affairs, but its success seems to reside also in its aptitude to bind together disparate viewers, whether located in India or anywhere else on the globe. One must in this context not forget that Bollywood films are immensely popular all over Asia and Africa, with dubbing in many different languages (Matusitz & Payano, 126).

A particular case of such transcendence is seen in the case of the film *Slumdog Millionaire* which won eight Oscars and grossed over $100 million at the box office as it bridge cultural gaps by incorporating elements of Bollywood in the case of poverty, survival, love and triumph along with Hollywood elements in the case of achieving the notion of an "American Dream" (Matusitz & Payano, 127). In addition, Nollywood, the youngest of the three film industries is also on the verge of playing an important role in cultural globalization. This is illustrated by Elizabeth Flock's *Inside Nollywood, the booming film industry that makes 1,500 movies a year.* The film industry produces

over 1,500 movies a year, which is vastly more than Hollywood, and second to Bollywood. Such films are available globally on cell phones, Netflix and YouTube. Despite many obstacles filmmakers face such as electricity cuts, and fuel scarcity, the film industry is positioned to become a global brand much like the films of Bollywood (Flock).

Cultural globalization can also be depicted through international sports in the case of Football under the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), which is the Football's global governing body and varying regional and global competitions. In the case of global competitions, the FIFA World Cup is a key example of the importance of cultural globalization and how pluralism is achieved on global level. The World Cup is contested by senior men's and women's national team members of FIFA. The championship partakes every four years since its inaugural tournament in 1930, with an exception of 1942 and 1946 due to the Second World War. The football tournament is the most viewed and followed sporting event in the world, exceeding the Olympic Games; which is the international sporting event held every four years, in which over two hundred nations participate in a variety of competitions.

According to the 2018 FIFA World Cup Russia: *Global Broadcast and Audience Executive Summary*, a record 3.572 billion people watched the 2018 FIFA World Cup held in Russia. More than half of the global population aged four and over watched the sporting event (FIFA). Furthermore, regional sport events such as European Champions League (UCL) which is hosted annually forms a unifying bond that transcendence nationalistic ideology. Though a sense of nationalistic pride is expressed by supporters, the sport serves a universal language by which a Brazilian and German national can feel a deeper bond of shared values for a sport they appreciate greatly. Or how a child in Congo can use waste to play such sport and feel a connection to the world. It serves as a cosmopolitan sport in which supporters feel sense of belong to the world regardless of geographical location or nationalistic identities.

Discontents of Globalization

The contention of globalization and rise of nationalistic rebirth in relation to multiculturalism is also well illustrated in *Bauman's Wasted Lives: Modernity and Its Outcast,* which offers harsh a critical view of Globalization and current issue of migration that is occurring across Europe as well as U.S. Bauman's dense literature describes waste in terms of our continuous disregard for human lives, the global polity as well as the social trends we take upon in the name of what he refers to as "liquid modernity" without acknowledging our production of waste (Bauman, 29). Through philosophy and materialistic case studies, Bauman criticizes globalization and its discontents.

The central argument of Bauman's criticism of globalization is based on the observation of Richard Rorty who stated the "central fact of globalization" in 1993. To sum up such fact stated by Rorty briefly, the economic actions of citizens have passed beyond the control of the nation states. States can no longer dictate if the money is saved or earned in one country, and if it will be spent and invested in that country. This in turn, has created a global class of the super-rich that can operate without any thought of interest but their own. Bauman agrees to such conclusions of Rorty as he further illustrates this is neither legal or illegal due to the fact that there is no global polity or law in operation set such distinctions (Bauman, 64-65). The facts issued by Rorty and Bauman are those I sympathize with based on the current contentions of globalization. As Bauman further illustrates, one might argue entities such as the United Nations, World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), do play the roles of polity and law although such polity is based on patronage and clientele. The economic fact of globalization has in turn created a ripple effect on nation states. Through our historical processes, humans in the name of modernity have created an uncontested monopoly over what Bauman terms "Design" (Bauman, 24-25). Design of what we deem beautiful that was based on order-building of nation states and polity. To such design we have become overpopulated. Unlike the legitimacy of such design, no one planned the collateral casualties of modernity. In the name of

modernity, such superfluous humans are disregarded like our continuous production of waste.

States are taking on the burdens of globalization through surplus humans, whether migrants, refugees or Asylum seekers. Humans that are viewed as waste, oftentimes are categorized as genuine villains with hysterical linkage between migrants and terrorist. The former British Prime Minister Tony Blair once suggested constructing so called "safe havens" for these refugees, near their nation states and away from Europe (Bauman, 68-69). In this case the core, developed Western societies in world economic system. Bauman further illustrates such wasted humans be seen through the penal systems and ghettos, as the two are starting to lack distinction between one and the other. He draws this distinction through the notes of Jerome G. Miller who stated the "prisonization" of public housing is serving as a single purpose dumping pit in the United States. These projects are fenced up with authoritarian control that include "random searches, segregation, curfews, and resident counts…" (Miller, 101). Much of these "Hyper-ghettos" are also seen in European nations for immigrants. (Miller, 101). This is an ineffective solution to dealing with global problem due to exclusion migrants and their inability to assimilate into the European society. This in turn plays a critical role in immigrants' joining terrorist networks, which further causes blows back on European society. Global problems tackled by local states, with humans as collateral damage to modernity.

Bauman's linkage between the superfluous population and waste holds a strong case. The lack of knowledge on how to tackle such problems holds true based on ineffective solutions of the nation states. It holds true based on current the refugee crisis and the solutions stated are implementing to address such problem. Global problem tackled by local states as European nation's implemented camps that lack necessities for the refugees while deporting all those who crossed the border. The implementation of these so-called Hyper-ghettos in both the U.S and Europe also causes more problems for these societies. Much of these refugees are perceived as villains with linkage to terrorist when terrorist acts are committed in nation states that have stagnate economies. Humans

treated as waste due to the blowback of economic globalization and can also be seen the global political climate through the rebirth of nationalism. The current issues of globalization are causing anxiety over loss of historical privilege among natives of Western societies against migrants of the global south. The current world economic system of core and the periphery, could very well shift due to the migration of the global south as it is affecting the lifestyle of the western societies caused by economic stagnation. Such anxiety among natives of Western societies has translated into a rightward shift in political attitudes towards nationalism and nativism.

Bauman further analyzes our culture of waste through the modern anthropological social order as well as the current world capitalism economic system of globalization. As a collectivized society in a globalized world, we have become transgressive, transcending social creatures who live ahead of the present. The belief that nothing last forever with our impatient syndrome. Bauman presents this through our culture of hierarchy, debt, language, fashion, beauty, interpersonal relationships and technology. As capitalism calls for capital accumulation through consumerism, our culture of debt is illustrated based on the actions of the middle class who have a compulsive desire to spend much more than they can acquire. In turn, they accumulate debts due to such continuous cycle of consumerism. Bauman's illustrations of our cultural system of waste production also exemplifies the problems of economic globalization. (Bauman, 108). The strong suits of such argument are on the culture of the fashion, beauty and debt. Through the notion of modernity, there is a lack of acknowledgment for our production of waste. Environmental issues and the global warming are becoming increasingly difficult to tackle by nation states individuality and requires global actions. As a global society, we lack the understanding of our actions in the present. Thus, we have created a culture of hierarchy based on wealth, and the compulsive desire to acquire more than one wishes to gain. Through such compulsiveness, we have created the illusion that one must not stop their desire. The illusion of desire has caused us to believe that the future is beyond what you

hope to gain. To acquire what one hopes to gain, one must act on self-interest and disregarding the long-term implications. And those who worry about the long-term goals are the seen as gullible and improvident. On such note, the issue remains how we as collective global society can begin to address such problems. I debate global governance through cosmopolitan democracy is required to address such problems.

Historical Processes of Globalization

While the critiques of globalization are legitimate, the issue of nationalistic rebirth, sets dangerous precedent on our progression of globalization. Such rebirth I would argue is due to a certain amnesia to our global historical progress. This includes an amnesia to the causes of World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Though a monarchy, it is one of the first multicultural societies in which the subjects of this empire practiced many religions, spoke different languages and the concept of *Race* was impossible to define. The problems of identity politics are depicted after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary by Serbian nationalist. As discussed by George Lichtheim in the text *Europe in the Twentieth Century,* this caused the declaration of war to Serbia and in turn caused a causal sequence of events and the formation of mutual defenses alliances throughout the region. Identity politics played an important role in such predicaments of the First World War as well as the interwar period of 1919 till 1939 (Lichtheim, 101). Furthermore, the effects of nationalism and identity politics are also depicted through World War II and Nazi Germany's quest for hegemonic power. This produced fascism, the desolation of Europe and the eugenics movement which translated into the horrors of the Holocaust. As part of Hitler's Final Solution plans, the death tolls included five to six million Jews; More than three million Soviet prisoners of war; More than two million Soviet civilians; More than one million Polish civilians; More than one million Yugoslav civilians; About 70,000 men, women and children

with mental and physical handicaps; More than 200,000 gypsies; Unknown numbers of political prisoners, resistance fighters, homosexuals and deportees (The Telegraph). During the interwar, the scarcity of human lives was discarded based amount of death tolls.

Role of Global Institutions

The destructions of the Second World War and the confrontation with the reality of a Nazi New World Order in Europe acted as a catalyst for the foundation for the defense of human democratic values among nation states. It also acted as a catalyst for renewed interest in the processes of the globalization, global integration and international economic cooperation among nation states in the modern world. This can be seen through the creation of the Bretton Woods Institution in 1944, which comprised of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. With a common objective of prosperity, the respective mandate of the former was the functioning of the international monetary system and the promotion of the stable macroeconomic policies as a precondition for sustainable economic growth. The respective mandate of the latter was on long-term investment projects, institutional building, environmental and social issues as well as the eradication of global poverty. (Helleiner, 258)

Furthermore, the development of the Atlantic Charter of 1941, a policy by which the US President, Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill issued a joint declaration detailing the objectives of the Allied powers concerning the World War II. The Charter also included post world war objectives and the development of the foundation for international peace. The principal points of the Charter included: (1) safety within national boundaries, freedom from fear and want; (2) abandonment of the use of force; (3) fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field (Atlantic Charter). In addition, the various points of the Atlantic Charter affirmed the basic principles of international justice. This included "no aggrandizement; no territorial

changes without the freely-expressed wishes of the peoples concerned; the right of every people to choose their own form of government; and equal access to raw materials for all nations." (UN Yearbook, 1). The Atlantic Charter was widely accepted by the Inter-Allied Council, which unanimously adopted adherence for its common principles. It subsequently paved way for the foundation and joint declaration of United Nations. On January 1, 1942, a declaration was issued by the representatives of 26 nations that were fighting against the Axis aggressors. The declaration illustrated the defense of,

> life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, that they now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world. [Thus declaring] (1) Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war. (2) Each Government pledges itself to co-operate with the Governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with enemies (UN Yearbook, 1).

The Atlantic Charter proved to be one of the first steps towards the formation of the United Nations, henceforth the implementation of structural processes of globalization.

<center>Concluding Reflections</center>

Based on the critiques of the globalization and its historical processes, the matter of contention here is how globalization perceived due to its multi-layered definitions. Through economic globalization, there is a striking fear that cultural globalization aims at imposing a dominant culture. The fear is that the global culture will ultimately emerge to be dominated by predominantly Western values. For the global south also known as periphery nation states, there is the fear of imposition of Western-American values. While in the case of Western societies, there is also the fear of losing one's own

culture due to the blowback of economic globalization with the amplifying issues of migration, environmental degradation as well as geopolitical issues. This is all due to the lack of focus on human development, all of which are caused by world capitalism in varying degrees. I find the imposition of this fear to be misguided and on false pretense. Such false pretense is well illustrated by Dr. Ogechukwu C. Ugbam, Dr Benjamin Chukwu and Dr. Ann Ogbo on the text *The Effects of Globalization on African Culture: The Nigerian Perspective.* As stated,

> There is not enough evidence to show that America is deliberately trying to impose its culture on the rest of the world, if cultural homogenization occurs as a result of acculturation, in this case, process of natural selection that selects the best of each culture and combines per unites them to achieve a perfect dominant global culture, humanity will be better for it (Ugbam, Dr. Ogechukwu C., et al, 62).

While it is undeniable that economic globalization through neoliberalism and the world capitalist system is at fault to various global problems, one must understand that globalization is "double edged sword" as it impacts cultures, societies positively and negatively (Ugbam, Dr. Ogechukwu C., et al, 62). I believe the negative results are based on fears of imposition by foreign cultures. I believe the fear of one's own culture being extinct or diluted is psychological in nature due to the lack of banal practices and respect of one's own culture. It is also based on the superiority-inferiority complex that makes an individual discard their own cultural for what is foreign, and what foreign is often perceived to be off beauty as Bauman illustrated. I find such fears stemming from a lack of intelligence in differentiating forceful imposition of foreign cultures and the ideology of pluralism which permits peaceful coexistence among varying cultures. If such forceful imposition is occurring, one has the power to resist through democracy. Globalization, as a complex phenomenon, involves the interactions of multiple cultures and societies in various lenses that can be seen politically, socially and economically. Thus, one cannot distinguish a single society, in this case Western or American,

to be dominating over other cultures, and societies on a global level. Furthermore, our current problems of globalization cannot be tackled individually by nation states and requires global unifying actions. I find potential solution such problem can be seen in the case of cosmopolitan democracy.

CHAPTER 3: COSMOPOLITAN DEMOCRACY THEROY

Considering the historical processes of globalization, as well as the alterations that are occurring in the structure of interstate relations, the question remains, which institutions can offer a basis for deliberation, and for action with regards to global problems? A model of analysis that offers such solutions can be seen in cosmopolitan democracy which aims to generate democratic governance at a variety of levels include the global level. This essentially entails providing citizens with the opportunity to participate in world politics parallel to and independently from their own state government. As such participation occurs at the global level, it could also generate progressive alternatives to domestic policies of nation state governance. As global politics becomes more representative, it could also affect domestic politics of nation-states by allowing political communities to further consolidate their own political institutions. Thus, cosmopolitan democracy aims to incorporate changes not only on the global level but also on the national and regional level, while increasing pluralism, accountability, and social equity. The idea of a cosmopolitan democracy was not intended to provide a single solution but rather serves as a unifying framework for multiple proposals with the aim of developing global governance in a democratic direction. The theories and frameworks of the cosmopolitanism I find to be most favorable are further analyzed here for deliberation.

World Capitalist Economic System Reevaluated

The first important piece of discussion that arises out of implementation of the cosmopolitan democracy as the global unit of political order is on the issue of global economy. As previously discussed, the current policy of world capitalist system through neoliberalism has brought forward various discontents. This is essentially due to its goal capital accumulation in which international corporations disregard the importance of human development as pinnacle to democratic values which

W.B. Gallie discusses. This raises the discussion on how the current world economic system can be reconstructed to focus on human development rather than capital accumulation through cosmopolitan democracy. The idea of cosmopolitan democracy is not intended to provide a single recipe to achieve global governance but rather to serve as a unifying framework for various campaigns for change. Such change is based on the desire to transform world politics in order to make it make it more transparent, accountable, and representative with a focus on human development. This includes the world economic system.

While there are alternatives to how cosmopolitan model of democracy can be implemented, there is lack discussion on the current global economic system of globalization. Though there are alternative economic systems in the case of Socialism, and communism, such system does not entirely address how they can be implemented on a global level. The question thus remains, how can we reevaluate the current global economic system? Alejandro Colas in the text *Neoliberalism, Globalisation, and International Relation* begins this discussion. As stated,

> Neoliberalism is not an inescapable system of social reproduction, but a set of reversible policies. Similarly, few critics of capitalist globalization would want to do away with the increased social, economic and cultural interconnections and co-operation between and across states. The point instead is to democratise and equalise these positive aspects of globalization. The greatest challenge to neoliberal globalisation is therefore the challenge of a global democratic alternative to capitalism (Colas, 79).

The Third Way

An alternative so such world economic system I find most beneficial can be seen in the economic policy movement of the Third Way. Though the economic policy has various interpretations, the Third Way was born in the mid-1990s with close association with the New Labor government in the

United Kingdom in 1997, the election of Schroder-led Social Democratic government in Germany as well as the "new Democratic" project of Bill Clinton in the U.S. Furthermore, other forms of the policy include Swedish social democracy of the postwar period as well as Yugoslav self-management. The Third Way is fusion of free market ideology of the Right and social democracy. It supports the pursuit of greater egalitarianism in society through action to increase the distribution of skills, capacities and productive endowments while rejecting income redistribution. It emphasizes commitment to balanced budgets, providing equal opportunity as well as personal responsibility. While the Third Way has been heavily criticized as effectively a neoliberal movement by social democrats, anarchists and communists, the Third Way differs in the sense that it focuses on the decentralization of government power to the lowest level possible, while encouraging public–private partnerships, improving labor supply, investment in human development, preserving of social capital and protection of the environment.

This is further illustrated by Philip Arestis and Malcolm Sawyer in the *"Neoliberalism and the Third Way." Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader* while discussing the 'The Essential of the Third Way' as stated:

> Seventh in the economics of the Third Way there is concern over inequality of outcome rather than inequality of possibilities (or of opportunities) [...] Inequality of outcomes (e.g in terms of income) could be seen to be addressed through a progressive tax system and a redistributive social security system. Inequality of possibility (opportunities) can be addressed through education and training (initial endowments), through "employability" policies (for inclusion in the labour market and employment), and through seeking to change the rewards offered by the market. [...] A stress on reducing inequality of opportunity leads to policies designed to change the distribution of abilities to compete and to make education more egalitarian; but these policies accept that competition will generate inequalities of income, wealth and

outcomes (Arestis & Sawyer, 180).

The matter of contention here is the criticism of the Third Way, which was often perceived as the new face of neoliberalism. The policy often embraces the increase of international trade playing a larger role for foreign direct investment by transnational corporations. Such ideals are parallel to the ideals of neoliberalism. Further, such parallelism can also be seen in the favorability of deregulation and liberalization of markets. As discussed by Thomas I. Palley in *From Keynesianism to Neoliberalism: Shifting Paradigms in Economics. Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader,* the Third Way differs from neoliberalism as it seeks to "humanise the market" through policy while emphasizing taxation and regulation as an alternative to transforming the private-sector. As further discussed by Palley,

> Post-Keynesianism differs fundamentally from the Third Way because of its rejection of the neoliberal approach to income distribution and claims of an automatic tendency to full employment. Labour is not automatically paid what it is worth by an anonymous neutral market process. Rather, the pattern of income distribution is impacted by labour markets institutions, and institutional interventions are needed because markets have a tendency to favour capital over labour (Palley, 28).

The policies of neoliberalism differentiate neoliberalism from the Third Way. The biggest factor of differentiating them is the "…production of essential services such as health and education - which markets under-provide- the Third Way is comfortable having government contract for these services, and then have the private sector produce them." (Palley, 28).

I find the economic policy of the Third Way favorable due to its centralist position on the economic system. A transition to such an economic system is feasible in respect to current complexities of economic globalization. The presentation of the Third Way as an alternative to the current world economic system also aims to open to deliberations other possible alternatives. The

current discourse on the subject matter of alternatives to world economic system of capitalism can be seen in the text *It's the System Stupid: Structural Crises and the Need for Alternatives to Capitalism* by Hans G. Despain who discusses four recent books that take on the discourse of alternative visions for both the workplace and the economy more generally. The books include Rick Wolff's *Democracy at Work: A Cure for Capitalism* (2012), David Schweickart's *After Capitalism* (2011), Gar Alperovitz's *America Beyond Capitalism: Reclaiming Our Wealth, Our Liberty, and Our Democracy* (2011), and Dada Maheshvarananda's *After Capitalism: Economic Democracy in Action* (2012).

> One important aspect shared by each of these books is that each was either written, or expanded and reissued, in reaction to the crisis of 2008 and the Occupy movement of 2011. All four books provide highly practical calls to action which are capable of transforming the economy and democratizing the workplace (Despain).

Sam Gindin in the text *We Need to Say What Socialism Will Look like* also discusses Socialism as an alternative to capitalism. Though such alternatives are often perceived as leftist and radical. And such perception of radicalism often leads lack of discourse. Though I do not disregard such alternatives presented, principally, the key issue to consider while addressing global economy is the case of creating a unifying ethos by which the overarching goal is a focus on human development. Through such ethos, some processes of globalization must remain unaffected. An example of this is the case of international trade, which is integral to cooperation between nation states as it softens the desire the pursue war. It also continues to expand the deliberation cosmopolitan democracy and the various frameworks to achieving global governance.

Cosmopolitan Theory I:

The theoretical framework I find that encompasses the ideals cosmopolitan democracy is based on David Held's *Cosmopolitan Democracy and the Global Order: Reflections on the 200th Anniversary of Kant's "Perpetual Peace"*. According to Held, based on Kant's theory of Perpetual Peace, the most conspicuous feature of the new international institution is the emergence of issues that transcend national frontiers. Processes of economic internationalization, the problem of the environment and the protection of the rights of minorities are increasingly severe matters for the international community as a whole. The limits on national autonomy imposed by the influence of terror have now been supplemented by a much subtler, more structural form of erosion caused by the processes of environmental, social, and economic globalization; that is, by a shift in the transcontinental and interregional scale of human social organization and the exercise of social power.

Several fundamental disjunctures have opened democratic politics and the processes of globalization in the 21st century. These disjunctures include the relation between citizens, nation-states, and the global economic system. The first disjuncture is between the formal domain of political authority and the actual economic system of production, which serves to limit or undermine the power of national political authorities that can be tied to roles of IMF and World Bank. The second disjuncture is between the idea of the state as an independent actor and the vast array of international regimes and organizations that have been established to manage whole areas of transnational activity in the case of trade, the constant debate between oceanic sovereignty of national state in case of economic trade zones. As new forms of multinational politics have emerged, new forms of collective decision-making involving states, intergovernmental organization have also risen. The last disjuncture is between the idea of membership in a national political community such as citizenship and the development of global of governance. Rights and duties of citizens are recognized in international law which transcends the claims of nation states. As illustrated by Held

in the case of Kant's theory of Perpetual Peace,

> freedom is threatened by the behavior of other nations and states...Democracy can prevail in a political community if, and only if it is unimpeded by threats arising from the action (or nonaction) of other political communities, or from the networks of interaction that cut across community boundaries...Although the threats to freedom derive, in Kant's view, from many forms of violence, above all they stem from war and the preparation for war. Thus, the establishment of what is required [is based on] the abolition of war as a means of politics and creation of the "sprite" of commerce and republicanism (Held, 421).

As commerce generates networks of mutual self-interest, the threat of war becomes hostile to disrupt such networks. Thus, the creation of political unit, under republicanism that depends on consent, leads citizens to be highly cautious of war while respecting neighboring republics, or in this case nation-states. Therefore, it is in the interest of a nation's commerce to reduce the possibility of war.

As Held further illustrates, cosmopolitan democracy can be defined as the establishment of an international democratic community committed to upholding democratic public law across boundaries. The establishment of an international democratic community arises out of the creation of expanding the number of states to prevent war permanently under a political structure such as Republicanism or Confederalism by which the gathering nations states is voluntary and can be dissolved at any time. Cosmopolitan democracy requires the active consent among the nation states as the foundation of a single global political unit can be impractical, potentially dangerous, and contradictory to democratic theory. Thus, as active consent is necessary, citizens of the nation states must be directly engaged in the process of governance, or "consent ought to follow the majority decision of the people's representatives as long as they - the trustees of the governed - up-hold cosmopolitan democratic law and covenants." (Held, 421).

The establishment of such cosmopolitan democratic law raises the question on how

democracy should be understood. As discussed by W.B. Gallie in the text *Essentially Contested Concept.* Democracy is a concept which has differing and competing definitions, causing various interpretations and contest in social reality. Due to these hollow interpretations, implicit assumptions are developed. Essentially, contested concepts are matters of "discursive struggle" (Gallie, 148). As further discussed by Gallie,

> The concept of democracy which we are discussing is internally complex in such a way that any democratic achievement (or programme) admits of a variety of descriptions in which its different aspects are graded in different orders of importance. I list as examples of different aspects (a) Democracy means primarily the power of the majority of citizens to choose (and remove) governments-a power which would seem to involve, anyhow in larger communities, something like the institution of parties competing for political leadership; (b) Democracy means primarily equality of all citizens, irrespective of race, creed, sex, etc., to attain to positions of political leadership and responsibility; (c) Democracy means primarily the continuous active participation of citizens in political life at all levels, i.e., it is real when, and in so far as, there really is self-government (Gallie, 148).

The discussion of democratic theory leads to the discussion on how cosmopolitan democratic can be implemented. Based on Held's interpretation, the implementation of cosmopolitan democratic law involves the implementation of a cluster of civil, political and social rights which can be defined as freedom of speech, press, and the right to assemble, vote, along with free and fair elections. As democracy within a political community is congruent with democracy in the international sphere, it establishes accountability of power systems entrenched within and across borders. The pursuit of and enactment of these rights on a transnational sphere is of key importance. Democracy can only be sustained through international agencies and organizations that are built on such ideals. The United Nations and its Charter fits this model on the account of extending sustaining peace and international

cooperation though it needs to be changed to model cosmopolitan democratic law as an element of political order. As stated by Held,

> To begin with, the cosmopolitan model requires, as a transitional measure, that the U.N system actually live up to its charter. This would involve, among other things, pursuing measures to implement key elements of rights conventions, enforcing the prohibition on the discretionary right to use force, and activating the collective security system envisaged in the charter itself. In addition, if the charter model were extended - for example, by providing means of redress in the case of human rights violations through a new international human rights court, or by modifying the veto arrangement Security Council and rethinking representation on it to allow for adequate regional accountability - a basis might be established for the charter system to generate political resources of its own, and to act as an autonomous decisionmaking center (Held, 424).

Held further explains that each state would come to enjoy greater equality in the UN system, as well as better representation of regional interest. This is through the creation of regional parliaments, i.e Latin America, Africa, European Union, Asian Pacific; as well as the enhancement of roles in cases where they already exist through legitimate autonomy of law.

Such a model would establish a constitution that creates the possibility of general referenda of groups cutting across nations and nation-states on transnational issues such as health, education, poverty, gender equality policies, as well as the entrenchment of rights that include civil, political, economic and social rights. The current example of this can be seen in the case of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which are a collection of global goals set by the UN General Assembly in 2015 for the year 2030. In a global partnership, they are an urgent call for action by all countries - developed and developing. They recognize that ending poverty and other deprivations must go hand-in-hand with strategies that improve health and education, reduce inequality, and spur

economic growth while tackling climate change and working to preserve our oceans and forests. However, there would still be massive disparities of power and asymmetries of resources which, Julios- Campuzano begins to address through a new model of jurisprudence in the text *Legal Cultures and Globalization: Methodological Premises for a Cosmopolitan Law* which will be addressed in detail in a subsequent section. Held further discusses the establishment of the cosmopolitan democracy:

> An ultimate objective would be the formation of an authoritative assembly of all democratic states and agencies- a reformed General Assembly of the United Nations, or a complement to it...the new assembly would become an authoritative international center for consideration and examination of pressing global issues (Held, 425-246).

This would include issues such as health and disease; food supply and distribution; the current issue of global warming and nuclear proliferation as well as immigration. The following figure provides clear distinctions on the short term and long terms goals of reforming the UN based on Held interpretation.

Short-Term	*Long-Term*
Reform of UN Security Council to give developing countries a significant voice	Entrenchment of cosmopolitan democratic law: new charter of rights and obligations locked into different domains of political, social, and economic power
Creation of a UN second chamber (following an international constitutional convention)	Global parliament (with limited revenue-raising capacity) connected to regions, nations, and localities.
Enhanced political regionalization (EU and beyond) and the use of transnational referenda	Interconnected global legal system, embracing elements of criminal and civil law; establishment of an international criminal court
Compulsory jurisdiction before the international court; creation of a new international human rights court	Separation of political and economic interests; public funding of deliberative assemblies and electoral processes
Foundation of a new coordinating economic agency at regional and global levels	Establishment of the accountability of international and transnational economic agencies to parliaments and assemblies at regional and global levels
Establishment of an effective, accountable, international, military force	Permanent shift of a growing proportion of a nation-state's coercive capability over regional and global institutions, with the ultimate aim of demilitarization and the transcendence of the war system

Cosmopolitan model of democracy and possible short- and long-term transformations of UN institutions (David Held, 426).

Cosmopolitan Theory II:

Clark M. Eichelberger in the text *World Government via the United Nations* also promotes the ideals of cosmopolitan democracy. As Held provides short term and long-term goals of reforming the UN, such ideals are also expressed in the case of Eichelberger as he focuses on the UN and its charter by calling for the charter be revision to fit the model of a cosmopolitan democracy. As stated,

> Those who believe in world government want essentially a few definite things. First, the law of the world community must be above the sovereignty of the individual nation. There must be supreme law against war. Second, there must be executive authority strong enough to use police force or whatever measure to preserve peace. Third, there must be a constant procedure for producing such regulations as are necessary to lessen friction among the peoples of the world and enable them to grow and expand in their world community. It might be called the legislative process. And above everything else there must be a sense on the part of the peoples of the world that they are members of a common society with common objectives and ideas towards world peace, towards economic advancement and towards respect for human rights and the dignity of the individual (Eichelberger, 20).

Eichelberger believes drastic revisions to the charter are unnecessary on the basis that executive, legislative and judicial processes can be found in the present charter. With the belief the UN is a growing institution, its charter is a comprehensive but loosely worded document. Therefore, nations can take full advantage of its provisions regardless of the held beliefs on how the charter should be interpreted. Eichelberger draws comparison to the United States constitution,

> There were those who said that the Government could do only what was expressly permitted in the Constitution. But this country did not then have railroads or the intensive economic and industrial development that came a few generations later. Today, within the provisions of the Constitution, Americans have it possible to create the Interstate Commerce

Commission, and the Federal Trade Commission, and other bodies for regulation and control

of this vast economic and industrial development (Eichelberger, 21).

As further explained by Eichelberger, the UN is a sovereign body by which the Secretary General

may create additional staff and bodies to perform the necessary functions of the organization, though

this will be at significant sacrifice to the sovereignty of nation-states. The biggest obstacle preventing

the UN to maximize its current duties are the veto power of permanent member states which includes

China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, and United States.

The charter provides that a decision of the Security Council shall be taken by a majority of

seven including the votes of the five permanent members. However, it is now agreed that an

abstention is not a veto, and frequently the great powers, including the Soviet Union, have

[the abstention] rather than case a negative vote and have it count as a veto (Eichelberger,

23).

One can come to the conclusion that such matters can be resolved through the admission of new

permanent members as one nation, one vote, or a case of constitutional convention to revise the

Charter as far as the veto is concerned.

Cosmopolitan Theory III:

The third interpretation of the cosmopolitan democracy is based on the theory of Daniele Archibugi

and Marco Cellini as well illustrated in the text *The Internal and External Levers to Achieve Global*

Democracy. Archibugi and Cellini defines cosmopolitan democracy, or in this case, "global

governance" as "a world composed by states that are internally democratic. And where global

decisions are also taken according to some forms of democracy. In other words, we aim at reaching

together the globalization of democracy and the democratization of globalization." (Archibugi &

Cellini, 65-66). Though for Archibugi and Cellini, interpretations, concentration of power should

less on a world state, but rather the increase of democratic values in global governance under the "belief that democracy as a form of political organization could be developed also in the absence of a state." (Archibugi & Cellini, 66). Thus, building on a more general theory of democracy that is not "stated-centered and applicable to a variety of different human contexts...A more general definition of democracy does not rely on the existence of a 'government' or on 'statehood' and it seems more helpful to introduce notions of democracy also at the global level." (Archibugi & Cellini, 67).

This is due to the current constitutional structures of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) that do not resemble democracy that have been developed within States. International organizations (IOs) such as the UN, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization (WTO), do not contemplate elections taking places within nation-states. Further, states are reluctant to concede their sovereignty to IOs, which in turn causes citizens to be non-active participants of global affairs that affects them on a constant basis. Whereas the cases of active participation of citizens would hence global governance. As previously discussed, there are multiple problems that need to be addressed in our globalized world. Such issues include international security in the case of terrorism; humanitarian crises in the case of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers; global warming; the threats of epidemics as well as nuclear proliferation. For such problems to be addressed, global governance by must be achieved. As illustrated, "the political actions undertaken by national and/or transnational actors aimed at addressing problems that affect more than one state and/or where there is no defined political authority able to address to them" (Archibugi & Cellini, 66).

Global governance can thus be achieved based on the structures of IOs as independent from member states. They also hold the characteristic of democracy based on their values and principles. As further illustrated,

> IOs are based on Charters, Conventions, Treaties and other public acts. This makes them bounded to the rule of law and, more particularly, to international law. Some IOs also have

judicial methods to address controversies. Most of the activities carried out by IOs are transparent and accountable to member states and potentially, at least indirectly, to the member states' citizens (Archibugi & Cellini, 66).

Archibugi and Cellini believe the promotion of global governance can be achieved based on two levers. The first lever is through actions of internal regime of nation states. Based on the democratic values of nation states,

> [States] are likely to allow and facilitate a battery of interconnections. Political parties, both in government and in the opposition, trade unions, and civil society organization will be able to develop their own transnational networks, and this can be a powerful instrument to make global governance transparent, accountable, participative and ultimately democratic (Archibugi & Cellini, 67).

As further illustrated, the quality of democracy as well as the total number of democratic countries have increased over the last sixty year, with the year 1990 as the crucial turning point. On such basis of democratic regimes, the democratization of global governance can be seen through the creation of IOs such as the UN, EU, IMF and WTO as previously explored. Thus, transparency is key to accountability of IOs and such transparency can be achieved through Non-governmental organization (NGO) who often increase the participation of citizens on global level by raising awareness of contemporary issues.

More on the case of the NGOs, their participation across borders strengthens democratic institutions in internal regimes through lobbies, unions, activating civil society to increase pressure on governments. As illustrated,

> The larger the number if democracies, the more it is likely that they will give space to NGOs and other non-governmental players in IOs. In selected areas ranging from human rights to climate change, IOs have substantially changed their focus because of a major involvement

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of non-state and transnational actors. But the most important impulse of towards democratization has often occurred outside of the formal structures of IGOs: in core issues such as climate change, human rights, economic justice and peace-building… (Archibugi & Cellini, 71).

In essence, global social movements have often managed to shape the agenda of world politics. This can be seen in the case of Nigerian General Election of 2015 in which international observers played a critical role on the consolidation of democracy. As well illustrated by Sanusi Olatunde in the text *The Role of The International Observer in Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria: A Case of 2015 General Elections.*

Indeed, it can be emphatically asserted that between 1995-2015, there has been an absence of the politics of relevance in Nigeria. That is, politics geared towards the development of the nation and improvement in the material well-being of the generality of the people. Thus, led to a clarion call for change instead of continuity of the Peoples' Democracy Party that ruled the country for sixteen years. The change can only come about through free and fair election under the watchful eyes of local and international observers (Olatunde, 34).

The Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) implemented new technologies such voter registration machines which were employed to authenticate the bio-data of the voters as well as replacing temporary voter identification cards with permanent cards. Though there were minor glitches, the international observation team attested the General Election processes met the international best practices. This is in comparison to the 2011 elections which "provoked massive anger, condemnation and allegation of electoral fraud of the polls." (Olatunde, 34) Such assistance by the international observers played a critical role in the success or failure of the election as well as position of the country. This is taking into consideration that this nation state is acknowledged as the largest economy in Africa and has accumulated vast respect in Africa as well as the international

community.

The second lever by which global governance can be achieved is based on external conditions. This is through the increase and promotion of democratic nations. As stated,

> The long-term path towards democracy and legitimacy within countries is strongly influenced by the international climate. If fear dominates international relations, democratic countries tend to reduce their civil liberties and participation, while authoritarian regimes are reinforced. On the contrary, external conditions can act as a powerful engine for transition from authoritarian to democracy and to consolidation and expand it in nations that are already democratic (Archibugi & Cellini, 67).

This can be seen in the case of IOs playing a direct role in the manner by in which political life is organized within nation states. In developing democratic nations, IOs often "act as broker of free elections, especially in countries where elections have never been held or suspended for long periods where there is rooted distrust among the competing political parties." (Archibugi & Cellini, 71). This is often achieved through granting funds through the United Nations Democracy Fund to foster democratic government. Furthermore, the monitoring of human rights within nation state is another important aspect by which IOs can play a significant role in consolidating democracy.

Another key aspect of consolidating global governance is through the promotion of the role of international judicial agencies. Often, independent judicial review is fundamental to sustaining democracy as their procedures are key to the settlement of conflicts and disputes. As illustrated,

> A greater role and power to judicial review will certainly increase the legitimacy of IOs, especially if states are prepared to accept their jurisdiction. Several states have accepted the mandatory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) if called by states that have also accepted it...The underlying assumption is that some countries are willing to respect the rule of law (and the rulings of independent Courts) regardless of the internal regime of their

counterpart (Archibugi & Cellini, 70).

While Held provides a comprehensive definition of the Cosmopolitan Democracy and the actions that can be taken to achieve global governance through reforms of the international institutions, such ideals can be perceived as purely theoretical. Similarly, in the case of Eichelberger, who calls for the revision of the UN charter, such call lacks prudence. What I find effective is in the case of Archibugi & Cellini, who take a pragmatic approach as the coauthors provided levers in achieving global governance. These are practical solutions offered for deliberation while taking into consideration the complexity of global institutions. Though I concur with Held and his presentation of envisioning the UN as a global institutional model. It serves as an effective tool on how cosmopolitan democracy can be established. Though cosmopolitan law is also an issue that needs to be discussed. The theoretical matter is further illustrated by Alfonso de Juois-Campuzano.

Cosmopolitan Theory IV:

Alfonso de Juois-Campuzano in the text *Legal Cultures and Globalization: Methodological Premises for a Cosmopolitan Law* illustrates the importance of international judicial agencies in cosmopolitan democracy. One must understand that globalization is undeniably multifaceted and has various interpretations. As a complex phenomenon, it cannot be reduced to the mere expansion of Western technology, free market and human rights. Globalization also brings forth the expansion of existing cultural identities and the appearance of new and yet known cultural links. With such appearance of new cultural links and identity, brings forth the deliberation for the interpretation current legal cultures and the appearance of new forms of legal pluralism in the context of globalization. Legal pluralism leads to important challenges for jurisprudence and legal theory. The future of law in the age of globalization must inescapably imply mutual comprehension. As stated by Jouis-Campuzano, "On the one hand, the peaceful coexistence of several legal cultures demands

a reasonable level of sustainable diversity; on the other hand, the processes of legal convergence can conceal new ways of legal imperialism, by means of legal transplant." (Jouis-Campuzano, 498)

> In this assessment, we understand there is a possibility of building a cosmopolitan law, but it requires a new model of jurisprudence, and the "released from the monist conception of state law, a formula that can go beyond the framework of old 19th century jurisprudence, in order to respond to the new circumstances of interdependence, globalization and multiculturalism. (Jouis-Campuzano, 498).

While such belief is based on the complexity of the global interconnection through globalization, it is also based on the multiculturalism that exists within the framework of globalization, therefore raising the question of how cosmopolitan law can begin to tackle such problems facing society presently. In this case, cosmopolitan law seeks to implement a Universalist law that would not undermine the inherent diversity of cultures and peoples. And which would be capable of preserving reasonable elementary legal foundations among members of the human species. As further illustrated by Juois-Campuzano, the risk of an uncontrolled globalization must be minimized through the creation of suitable legal structures and normative regulations, capable of submitting the informal law of transnational corporations to precise and equitable rules. At the same time, satisfying the reasonable demands of an expanding market and the preservation of wealth of the diverse legal traditions.

> "For this reason, it is important to realize that legal and economic integration will not be satisfactory unless it is realized under conditions of equality, unless situations of imposition are avoided, and old stereotypes are abandoned" (Juois-Campuzano, 507). The old stereotypes that are based on paternalism. The policy in which the dominant groups and those in positions of authority restrict the freedom and responsibilities of those subordinate to them, in the subordinates' supposed best interest. The implementation of such global law involves the need to incorporate a global vision

of human problems as nation states can no tackle global problems locally, a resolution Held, Archibugi and Cellini addressed. The acknowledgement of pluralism is also necessary for the decentralization and openness to the other. The assertion of perpetual peace through Kant's theory can be reached through global law while respecting cultural pluralism that is inherent to human history.

Concluding Reflections

The theoretical frameworks offered here are for deliberation on how cosmopolitan democracy can be incorporated while taking into account the current complexities of the globalization. The idea of a cosmopolitan democracy was not intended to provide a single solution but rather serves as a unifying framework for multiple proposals with the aim of developing global governance in a democratic direction. Cosmopolitan democracy can be developed through a variety of policy and institutional changes. Such changes offered are not only on the global level but also on the national and regional level, while increasing pluralism, accountability, and social equity. As such development occurs, the active consent and participation of the citizens at the global level required. Transparency, equal representation, accountably, and active agents from both the bottom up in the case of the citizens, and the top down in the case elected representatives and institutions must be sustained while the potential of such changes occur.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

Dangers of Utopianism while achieving cosmopolitanism

While the pursuit Cosmopolitan democracy is desirable, caution must be affirmed. What might be deemed as progress, in the case of cosmopolitanism, may also turn for the worse. Such qualities draw parallelism to the discussion of a utopian society. As illustrated by Shannon Reclaiming in the text

The Utopian Imaginary in IR Theory, utopianism can be defined as an imagined society that possesses perfect qualities for its citizens with the focus on equality through the social, political and economic structures (Brincat, 582). While cosmopolitanism aims to address the current discontent of globalization, we must proceed with caution. The opposite of utopianism is a dystopian society which is characterized by tyrannical governments, environmental disaster and the cataclysmic decline in society.

An example of this can be seen in George Orwell's novel *1984* as he discusses the dangers of totalitarianism and its means of acquiring power and control over society. In such a regime, the notion of liberty, freedom of speech and thought are pulverized under the power of the government. As a dystopian novel published in 1949 during nuclear age, it illustrates worst human society imaginable, in an effort to convince readers to avoid any path that might lead toward such societal degradation. It discusses the danger of totalitarian governments and their abusive power as the step towards modernity as well as the destruction of civilization by the development of thermonuclear weapons. This presents a new form of hopelessness though many do not believe war is possible with nuclear weapons at hand. While the state wishes to create a utopian society, Orwell illustrates the dangers utopianism as he depicted a dystopian society through which we will lose human qualities of love, thoughts, expression as we become soulless beings while being unaware of true history. Orwell's work is helpful in part, for the alarm it sounds against the abusive nature of authoritarian governments, but even more so for its penetrating analysis of the psychology of power and the ways that the manipulation of language and history can be used as mechanisms of control.

One must understand that globalization, much like history, is a dialectical process. Local transformation is as much an element of globalization as the lateral extension of social relations across space and time. Thus, we must understand that a cosmopolitan democracy law cannot, nor can we expect it to solve all the problems of the world. It can only begin to address such problems, but

we must continue to remain vigilant of its processes as it can be long and difficult. As stated by Eichelberger,

Those in the world federation movement should avoid giving the idea that the world can be saved by a constitution. The world can be saved only by the insistence of men and women that their governments fulfill their obligations under the United Nations Charter. If all the governments of the world were to make the United Nations the foundation of their policy instead of making it an instrument of convenience to be used or not, as expediency demands, if all the nations where to put 100 per cent of their national energy into making the United Nations work, nobody need to talk of world government and federation (Eichelberger, 24).

We live in an imperfect world. Thus, the establishment of a cosmopolitan concept of democracy is a form of seeking to strengthen democracy and human development by elaborating and reinforcing the ideals of our shared community and mortality through a network of regional and international agencies that cut across nation states. Such an idea seeks to embrace all of humanity through peace, interdependence, and tolerance of our differences.

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